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Article

Leaving L'Estaque: Cézanne's imagery of Provence in the 1880s

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Abstract

Traditionally, Cézanne's landscape painting has been accounted for exclusively in terms of the evolution of the painter's technique. His pictures of L'Estaque have been regarded as preparing the way for his mature style of painting that culminates in the pictures of the Montagne Sainte-Victoire. This article argues for an alternative approach to Cézanne's landscapes which points to crucial shifts in his selection of motifs, shifts that divide his earlier and later painting. Focusing on the different types of landscape subject Cézanne painted it demonstrates how his choice of motif was reworked in relation to different traditions and conceptions of landscape painting associated with his native Provence. Rather than seeing the L'Estaque pictures as a prelude to his subsequent paintings of Provence, it suggests they represent a short-lived moment when Cézanne overtly engaged with modern motifs in a fast developing industrial region. His later paintings of Provence mark a decisive break with this modernity and the cultivation of a more traditional and nostalgic vision of the region.

Perhaps no artist is so indelibly associated with the painting of a single motif as Cézanne. Today it is as the painter of the Montagne Sainte-Victoire that he is most famous. Although the preeminence of this motif for his later career is indisputable, its emergence within his oeuvre follows a specific trajectory. While the Montagne Sainte-Victoire occasionally features in the backgrounds and, less frequently, as a principal motif in his paintings as early as the 1860s, it did not become the focus of a sustained series of depictions until the late 1880s. This period saw important changes in Cézanne's landscape painting, in which his choice of motifs was successively revised.[1] To illuminate the underlying factors which conditioned this redefinition of his landscape painting requires reexamining his selection of motifs. Such a reevaluation highlights important shifts that occurred in his approach to representing his native Provence in the latter part of his career that have so far been neglected.

In his earliest landscapes dating from the 1860s Cézanne eclectically explored an array of distinctive types of motif and styles, taking up different models of landscape painting at will. These ranged between works which display the kind of visionary and dream-like effects present in his 'narrative' paintings to, at the other end of the spectrum, the type of prosaic motifs associated with naturalism, with their emphasis on the evocation of a specific sense of place, particular *effet* or mood. During the 1870s, however, he began to focus his interest in painting landscapes *en plein air*. The importance of *plein airisme* for Cézanne in this period was consolidated through a series of collaborative relationships he established with Impressionist painters such as Armand Guillaumin and Camille Pissarro.[2] Working with Pissarro he aligned his landscape painting more closely to their ideas and working practices, exhibiting with him at the Impressionist exhibitions of 1874 and 1877. Cézanne spent the autumn and winter of 1872 with Pissarro in Pontoise, occasionally joined by Guillaumin, Edmond Béliard and Dr Gachet, one of his few patrons, an ardent republican and enthusiastic amateur landscapist who signed his works with the pseudonym Van Ruysdael.[3] The following year Cézanne moved to the neighbouring region of Auvers-sur-Oise, four miles east of Pontoise, remaining there until 1875.[4] This association was to continue sporadically for many years afterwards and even as late as 1882, he was to make visits to Pontoise to work with Pissarro.[5]

As many commentators have stated, under the example of the most theoretically minded of the Impressionists Cézanne gradually revised his approach to landscape painting, disciplining his impetuous manner of painting. Working more regularly *en plein air* and adopting a more 'unassuming' approach to nature, he gradually dispensed with the rapid approach to painting that characterised his earlier work in favour of a more deliberative and studied representation of his motifs.[6] Less attention, however, has been paid to Cézanne's choice of motifs and how these related to the broader currents of Impressionism.

While traditionally Impressionism has been seen as an homogenous movement, contemporary critical responses at the Impressionist exhibitions suggest it was a broad movement that expressed alternative tendencies and was successively redefined in the course of the lifetime of these exhibitions. While technically Pissarro and Cézanne shared much in common with their Impressionist colleagues their choice of rural landscape subjects at Pontoise and Auvers are quite distinct from the typical Impressionist paintings of the large rivers extending from Paris to its *environs*. Modernising the adaptations by Daubigny and Jongkind of the conventions of Dutch river scenes, these pictures with their ultra modern depictions of the barges, steamboats, yachts and rowboats, represent the patterns of labour and more particularly of bourgeois leisure that inhabit the rivers. The river, like the railway, a notable omission in Cézanne's representations of Pontoise, becomes the fulcrum of this ephemerality, a contingent space that provides the connecting link between the two forms of life: city and country.

These differences in conception point to actual divisions within the theories and practices of Impressionism. While in Impressionist theory the choice of motif was notionally regarded as subordinate to the painter's way of envisioning it, the choice of motifs selected by Pissarro and Cézanne implied a particular conception of landscape. The accentuated modernity of the representations of Argenteuil and Bougival by Monet, Sisley and Renoir, spaces of transformation, was registered in the mode of their manner of painting such scenes. The difference between Monet's impulsive interplay of *impressions* or the more measured delibera-

tive and reflective *sensations* of Cézanne were themselves associated with distinctions between forms of perception that were regarded as affiliated with metropolitan culture and the countryside respectively.[7] As Meyer Schapiro has argued, the mode of perception of artists like Monet and Renoir in the 1870s 'naturalised' the perceptual habits and manners of the aimless strolling urban *flâneur* and the consumption of the spectacle of nature among the bourgeoisie.[8] It presents a landscape quintessentially fashioned by the leisure and values of the urban middle classes. By contrast the denser more solid rendering of Pissarro and Cézanne was focused on the representation of *la vie agreste*.[9] Cézanne's mode of perception, implied a different kind of attentiveness and temporality associated with rural life. Cézanne and Pissarro sought to paint rustic scenes with a directness and formal honesty, giving full weight to the materiality of the Pontoisean landscape, Cézanne submitting the landscape to a rigorous structural form.

During his time in Pontoise Cézanne made little of the busy port that formed a network of links between Belgium, the industrial and northern centre of the north, Paris and other parts of France, or the river Oise, the large thoroughfare which connected Paris and Pontoise, setting only a handful of scenes on its riverbanks, even though water motifs featured strongly elsewhere in his landscape and figure painting. Where it does appear, it is mostly as a discreet and tranquil motif in paintings that look across its riverbanks to the villages and woods situated along it, devoid of the many factories that adorned its edges. Cézanne's depictions of the riverbanks of Oise have more in common with the depiction of small rivers and *mares* (pools) that populate the landscapes of Corot, Chintreuil, Diaz and Rousseau and most especially of Daubigny who lived close by than the motifs favoured by Impressionist painters like Manet, Sisley and Renoir. As a result, some critics, most notably Duret, an associate of both Pissarro and Cézanne, regarded them as representing a rural school of Impressionism.

Outside Pontoise and Auvers, however, Cézanne chose more overtly modern landscape motifs that had more in common with those favoured by other Impressionists. The earliest of these are imaginative compositions combining agricultural and industrial components in uncompromisingly unpicturesque landscapes. This interest in juxtaposing natural elements with new industrialised technologies was a feature of many of his landscapes around this time. In *Usines près de Montagne de Cengle*, 1867–69, (figure 1) Cézanne depicted an aggregation of factory chimneys, set against the hillside of a Provençal landscape featuring cultivated olive groves with the Montagne Sainte-Victoire in the background. The uniformly broad handling and strange relationships of scale within the picture, combined with the fact that there is no record of such a site ever having existed, suggests he was seeking to invent landscapes that paralleled Zola's literary portrayals of bleak industrial wastelands in Provence during this period.[10] Industrialised motifs were, however, rare in his oeuvre at the time, but were to become more prominent in the mid-1870s. At precisely the moment when Impressionist colleagues, like Monet, Renoir and Pissarro were moving away from the modern landscape subjects that had been such an important feature of their work in the first half of the decade, Cézanne began a sustained group of pictures that registered the presence of industry in the landscapes in a way missing from his pictures of Pontoise. An important influence in encouraging this new direction was his collaboration with Guillaumin. On several occasions Cézanne made copies of Guillaumin's paintings, and also appears to have painted side by side with him on a number of occasions at Pontoise and Issy-les-Moulineaux, the two painters comparing their treatment of the same motifs. Cézanne evidently admired his friend's ultra modern sub-

Figure 1 P Cézanne, *Usines près de Montagne de Cengle*, 1867-69, 41 x 55 cm, private collection

jects, making a number of depictions of the heavily industrialised port life at the quai de Bercy that Guillaumin had forcefully painted in the late 1860s and copying both his *Seine à Paris*, 1871, and *Seine à Bercy,* 1873–75, pictures populated with boats, barges, cranes, carts and stevedores, after moving into an apartment two doors away from the painter in the quai d'Anjou.[11] Guillaumin's *Soleil couchant à Ivry*, 1869, also seems to have exerted a powerful influence on Cézanne's compositions of modern industrialised landscape motifs.[12]

The most important of these were the paintings Cézanne produced from the early 1870s to mid-1880s at L'Estaque, an ancient fishing port some five miles north-west of Marseille, notable principally for one landmark, the tour Sommati. During these years he was to spend a substantial amount of his time painting in the region and its environs,[13] taking refuge there between 1870–1871 to avoid conscription during the Franco-Prussian war, and returning on a series of painting campaigns between 1875–1879 and 1882–1885, when he temporarily settled in the region.[14] Other less well-documented years may have involved further visits to the region.[15]

Cézanne's decision to work in Marseille and its environs was by no means arbitrary. Despite the gradual changes that were transforming his native Aix, the capital of Provence, it continued to be regarded as the seat of traditional Provençal customs. Marseille, by contrast, was a more cosmopolitan and modernised city and widely regarded as the heartland of a new culturally and economically reconstructed Provence.[16] During the latter half of the century it had become a thriving industrial port, with an increasingly mixed economic and urban infrastructure. In the 1870s Marseille was widely regarded as offering an alternative

capital to Paris, for it too had undergone a process of Haussmanisation: a thriving nightlife of café-concerts, sidewalk cafés and restaurants now lined the Canebière on its route from the harbour into the hills north of the city.[17] The focus of many of the most radical political currents within Provence, during the Franco-Prussian war it had also experienced its own version of the Commune.[18]

In addition Marseille had also become a flourishing centre for the arts and the regional focal point of the renaissance in Provençal painting. Emile Loubon, a leading figure in the new wave of Provençal landscape painting, took over as director of the Ecole des Beaux-arts and Musée Marseille in 1845.[19] The following year he founded the Sociéte des Amis des Arts de Marseille charged with purchasing paintings for the museum's collection.[20] In the same year he began planning the first of a series of ambitious exhibitions of contemporary art that were staged over the next two decades; exhibitors included, among others, local painters like Guigou, Granet, Ricard and Monticelli but also Delacroix, Couture, Isabey, Meissonier and painters associated with the Barbizon school.[21] As part of his promotion of a regional self-consciousness in the arts in 1861, Loubon organised a vast exhibition of Provençal art comprising over 1263 paintings, 80 sculptures, 300 drawings, 80 engravings and an assortment of crafts and faience ware.[22] Marseille was therefore a key site of the newly emerging socio-economic and cultural forces that were rapidly changing Provence and these factors may well account for what initially attracted Cézanne to the region.

Cézanne's deep attachment to Provence, so vividly expressed in his letters, has long been recognised, but has been overshadowed by the concern to articulate his relationship to Modernism.[23] Interpretations of his work at L'Estaque have focused on his stylistic development, despite the problems that beset the dating of his work, particularly during the time he worked there.[24] By concentrating on formal stylistic features of his work to the exclusion of Cézanne's engagement with the particular site of depiction, these interpretations have overstated the degree to which compositional traits of his painting were independent of the task of depicting regional characteristics of the views he selected. Many of what are seen as typical attributes of his abstraction, such as lack of detail, indefinite contours, even lighting and an intricate synthesis of luminosity and vivid colour, had correspondences in the reflections of other painters who had worked in the south.[25] During a brief collaboration with Cézanne in 1882, Renoir for instance wrote to Madame Charpentier, one of his patrons, that in L'Estaque he had avoided detail in favour of large harmonies in order to emphasise the dominance of the sunlight. Derain would later write to Vlaminck of his struggles to convey adequately the blonde golden light which suppressed shadows.[26] Though initial impressions of Provence often emphasised the intensity of the colours in the landscape, the light of the south was generally understood to have a harmonising effect that softened contours and neutralised harsh colour juxtapositions.[27] Furthermore, many of the traits that defined Cézanne's notion of unity, such as lack of detail, interwoven relationships between objects, harmony of colour relationships and strong form were characteristics associated with general perceptions of the southern landscape in the nineteenth century. As this suggests, though the determination to bring a greater order, variety and organisation were undoubtedly general concerns within his painting, these aims were not arbitrarily imposed on his landscapes but were consistent with his attempts to express and draw out natural features associated with Provence. This recognition throws light on why, despite his growing self-consciousness about representation and his rejection of a mimetic conception of art, Cézanne continued to insist to his

interlocutors that his ideas about unity and harmony ultimately derived from the study of nature.[28] Compositional choices were therefore formulated in relation to qualities the artist believed were appropriate to the motif he was painting.

In a revealing letter written to Pissarro from L'Estaque in early July of 1876, clearly attempting to tempt him south, Cézanne recommended the suitability of the region for his Impressionist colleague:

> I have begun two little motifs with the sea, for Monsieur Chocquet, who had spoken to me about them...It's like a playing-card. Red roofs over the blue sea. If the weather becomes favourable I may perhaps carry them through to the end. Up to now I have done nothing. But there are motifs which would need three or four months' work, which would be possible, as the vegetation doesn't change here. The olive and pine trees always keep their leaves. The sun here is so tremendous that it seems to me as if objects were silhouetted not only in black and white, but in blue, red, brown and violet. I may be mistaken, but this seems to me the opposite of modelling. How happy our gentle landscapists of Auvers would be here … [29]

As Cézanne makes plain, the climate of L'Estaque offered him the possibility of working on motifs over a sustained period and thereby adopting a more reflective and considered way of working than in his painting prior to the mid 1870s. In the same letter he made reference to the possibility of undertaking ambitious canvases '*de deux mètres au moins*'.[30] The strong contrasts Cézanne regarded as inherent within the landscape of L'Estaque, combined with the 'flattening' and 'silhouetting' effect of the sun and atmosphere, appeared to confirm the appropriateness of colour modulation, the abandonment of modelling for tonal painting that he and Pissarro had employed during their collaboration.[31] As in Pontoise Cézanne adopted a far vantage point from which to view his motifs, thereby suppressing details to the overall effect, characteristics enhanced by his 'naive' manner of representing colour *sensations*.[32] In approaching the landscape as a mass of colour and tone he sought to bracket any conscious pre-conceptions that might pre-determine his *sensations*.

Despite these affinities with his painting in Pontoise and Auvers, Cézanne began to modify other characteristics of his work in relation to the very different environmental conditions of the south; his palette became more brilliant and broadened in terms both of its range and pitch of hue in response to the varied effects arising from the intense sunlight and atmosphere of the region. However, the most significant difference from his earlier work was the alternative criteria that informed his selection of motifs. Customary divisions between northern and southern landscape traditions had conditioned his choice and treatment of motif from the time of his earliest exercises in the genre. During the mid to late 1860s his *paysages* included both northern and southern settings and made explicit reference to types of landscape painting associated with these sites. While his northern landscapes, by their choice of discreet informal subjects, reflected his interest in the Barbizon school, his southern motifs were often more dramatic, exploring volatile climatic effects and vantage points that emphasised the spectacular qualities of the landscape. There is also a more picturesque quality to much of his initial imagery of Provence, the painter often selecting motifs with strong architectural features. In these respects he was drawing on a distinctive regional landscape tradition that had emerged in the eighteenth century and was continued in the work of nineteenth-century Provençal painters such as Granet, Constantin and Loubon.[33]

The favouring of dramatic and expansive vistas for his southern motifs is a salient feature of much of his painting at L'Estaque. But while his representations of the region in the

mid-1870s retain something of the breadth and breathtaking quality of his earlier landscapes, they are devoid of the melodrama and sensationalism of his first pictures of L'Estaque such as *La Neige fondue à L'Estaque*, 1870, which provides a startling and timely vision of a turbulent world on the point of dissolution. *La Mer à L'Estaque*, 1876 (figure 2), one of Chocquet's commissions referred to in the aforementioned letter to Pissarro, and a picture exhibited at the Impressionist exhibition of 1877, demonstrates the new emphasis he placed on achieving pictorial unity through the restriction of the range of his brushstrokes and the interweaving of features within the visual field in a way which compressed the pictorial space. Cézanne chose an expansive viewpoint across the bay with the Frioul islands in the far distance, framing the relatively uniform and broadly painted mass of sea and sky by the foreground trees and houses which are by contrast rendered with short diagonal brushstrokes. In order to create a strong sense of pictorial cohesion between foreground and background, he abandoned conventional perspective and largely eliminated neutralising transitional tones that assured the orderly passage from light to dark and from one hue or value to another. This manner of visualising his motifs, ad hoc out of a relatively restricted range of brushstrokes, enhances pictorial unity but invariably results in ambiguities of spatial articulation, occluding clear distinctions between foreground, middle ground and background, setting up an interplay of two and three dimensionality within the picture space.[34] Hence the chimneys of the houses and the factories in the picture's foreground seem to reach across into background planes as though they spanned the other side of the bay. The adoption of a far viewpoint from which to view his motifs removed from contiguous elements of the composition their sense of being spatially distinct objects and

Figure 2 P Cézanne, *La Mer à l'Estaque*, 1876, 42 x 59 cm, Fondation Rau pour le Tiers-Monde, Zurich

obscured the particular tactile qualities associated with those objects in favour of emphasising the interrelatedness of the motif as a field of colour relationships.[35] The result is a paradoxical suggestion of both the breadth and compactness of the landscape in a single image.

La Mer à L'Estaque is typical of the kind of motifs Cézanne habitually sought in L'Estaque during the 1870s. However, over the next decade his paintings of the region encompassed a number of locations and the range of subjects chosen is quite diverse. There are groups of works on a particular motif and single works which seem to have offered no further development. During his campaigns in L'Estaque he explored various sites from the outlying villages to the bay overlooking the Frioul islands, the old port, the railway viaduct and even on a few occasions the town itself. However, unlike Monticelli whose contemporaneous views included images of the street life and the life of the fishermen, with few exceptions Cézanne avoided representing figures within his landscapes whose presence might dilute the contemplation of the spectacle of 'pure nature' and imply alternative ways of experiencing and viewing that site. Even when painting the village or local houses, they are rendered devoid of the social life which inhabits them and it is telling that, in one of the few images in which he depicted an artist in the act of painting a landscape, *Une peintre au travail*, 1874–75, he portrayed the painter absorbed in solitary contemplation of nature.

Despite the diversity of his work in L'Estaque most of the surviving works explore several vantage points centred around his principal motif, the visually striking view of the bay over to Marseille, flanked by its hills. Cézanne chose a secluded vantage point overlooking the coast from high up in the pinewoods above the village, which assured privacy and provided a dramatic vista down on to the sea. In a letter to Zola in May 1883 he made plain that it was this spectacular panoramic view of the bay that most satisfied his criteria for motifs in the region:

> I have rented a little house and garden at L'Estaque just above the station and at the foot of the hill, where behind me rise the rocks and the pines. I am still busy painting. I have some beautiful views but they do not quite make motifs. Nevertheless climbing the hills when the sun goes down one has a glorious view of Marseille in the background and the islands, all enveloped towards the evening to very decorative effect. [36]

In another letter to Zola he wrote of the many beautiful panoramas to be seen from the hills.[37] The bay of L'Estaque had long been a favoured motif for Provençal painters, but during the last quarter of the century it attracted growing attention from tourists and travellers as a scenic bathing resort, creating a rapidly growing tourist industry that catered for the new influx of visitors.[38] Among these were also a growing number of intrepid painters from the north who headed south with a view to exploiting the impressive natural resources of the landscape and encountering exotic motifs and very different lighting and atmospheric conditions than those to which they were accustomed. Toward the end of the century, though less trammelled than the Channel coast, Provence was to become a key reference point in the debates about modern landscape painting.

Visitors to Marseille commented on the vistas and breathtaking scenery of the region, the sea view, the luminous brilliance of the atmosphere, the enthralling view from the hills to the bay, and over to the massif de Marseillevyre, as well as the sheer immensity of the landscape. As with much of Provence varied topography and dramatic contrasts were the focal points of literary and artistic representations of the region; the blood red earth and white rocks, the landscape that was mountainous and maritime at

the same time, the shifting climate that moved quickly from sunlight to storm, were features constantly remarked on. Descriptions of the terrain also dwelt on the primordial character of the region; the 'massive' and 'arid' rocks, the gorges hollowed out between the hills, the slopes dotted with pines, the paths full of brambles and impenetrable thickets, the twisted forms of the almond trees and 'sickly' pale olive groves bleached by the sun. In addition there was the spectacle of the town itself, the tapestry of red roofs and the geometrical suggestion of the houses huddled together to maximise shade, and the thin masts of the vessels lined up along the port.[39] Yet, the recorded comments of visitors and local historians of the region also make reference to the impact of industrialisation and its concomitant effects on the region.

The signs of industry in L'Estaque were growing in prominence, the pleasurable resort was also one of the most rapidly growing centres of economic development in Provence, regional trade gathering pace considerably after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 which enabled traders in Marseille to expand commercial profits with French colonies in North Africa and elsewhere. In his description of the region Zola had commented on the way the coastline was bordered with factories spouting high plumes of smoke, and the large holes and unsettled ground caused by the excavations to extract clay to feed the tile works, the dominant industry in L'Estaque. By the 1870s some 200,000 tons were being exported from local factories.[40] The expansion of mining activity was a notable feature of economic development, attracting conglomerates like Rio Tinto which set up a large facility in L'Estaque in 1884. Taine, an ambivalent traveller of the region, had qualified his reveries about the primordial remains of ancient Rome in the outlying hillsides with observations about the proliferation of building and excavation; the levelling of hillsides and the increasing number of docks seemed to him to suggest and even exceed the comparable transformations of Paris.[41] The building of two new roads, one along the coast to serve the restaurants along the seafront (eventually completed in 1900), the other inland to facilitate economic traffic and the extension of the steam tram service along the littoral, would see the gradual absorption of L'Estaque into the conurbation.

From the point of view of the local inhabitants these changes were not merely visible in the landscape. As early as 1851 the Marseille poet and historian Victor Gelu was lamenting the processes of urbanisation and industrialisation that were in his eyes eroding the social fabric of the *Marseillais* and turning the locality of Marseille into an industrial slum full of '*Étrangers', 'Gavots', 'Piedmontais*', '*Auvergnats*' and other '*Franciots*'. Such terms were directed as much to the transient presence of vacationing Parisians as to the permanent communities of north Africans that settled in the region.[42] The receding of green spaces at the hands of real estate speculators, the noise and pollution, the overcrowding arising from immigration into Marseille of workers from the outer lying regions who came in search of employment, the increasing volume of traffic in and out of the ports, the arrival of the railway itself, where the 11 am train from Marseille stopped to take on cases of fish destined for Avignon and Paris, these were the signs Gelu read as symptoms that pointed to the transitional nature of the landscape and the supposed 'decay' of traditional local customs.

The degree to which the region was perceived as having been entirely remade by industry or the burgeoning trade in tourism was however by no means a straightforward matter. To attempt to assess this on the basis of contemporary commentaries and imagery would be to fall back on a discredited form of historical empiricism. Portrayals of the region varied sharply according to how the viewer

was positioned to the landscape and what they chose to observe or ignore. When Renoir joined Cézanne at L'Estaque in 1882, he wrote that here at last was the true countryside. His impressions were as much mediated by ideas of the south as a place of wild grandeur, as an unchanging and backward land dominated by rural agriculture, as those of southern commentators were tinged with a reified image and false nostalgia for a mythical past in which Provence was socially and culturally harmonised.[43] Depictions of the locality made by painters and writers offered a comparably diverse array of ways of viewing and representing the general region. Emile Loubon's *Marseille vu du Aygalades sur le jour de marché*, 1853, and Paul Guigou's *Les Collines d'Allauch, environs de Marseille*, 1863 (figures 3 and 4), provide panoramic views of the region that offer an instructive point of comparison. Both pictures highlight the towering and majestic presence of the craggy hills, enveloped by a hazy blue atmosphere in the distant horizon set against the open plain and sea of the port. Each painter emphasised the coarse parched earth, effulgent blue sky, the long shadows cast by the brilliant sun and the fauna and the flora of the region. But while Guigou presented a pastoral view of the region as relatively untouched by industry, Loubon depicted Marseille as a place of new and old economic conjunctions. This was imprinted on the landscape itself, in the discreet juxtaposition of the chimneys of the tile works and the windmill silhouetted against the shoreline, the picturesque ruin of the Château d'If perched on the crest of the hills of the harbour island and the intruding figures of the peasants themselves. These details point to the landscape's historical density setting out a set of referents which together map out the space where city and country intersect.

But how do Cézanne's representations of L'Estaque relate to these alternative ways of picturing the region? The evidence of the paintings is equivocal, reflecting his varied approaches to depicting the landscape. In his first impressions of the area, during his initial visits to Marseille, he had forcefully registered the presence of industry.[44] In 1869 in a small sombre watercolour, Cézanne represented a landscape dominated by factories billowing black smoke into the clouds.[45] On his return to Marseille in the 1870s, however, Cézanne depicted

Figure 3 E Loubon, *Marseille vu du Aygalades sur le jour de marché*, 1853, 140 x 240 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille

Figure 4 P Guigou, *Les Collines d'Allauch, environs de Marseille*, 1863, 108 x 199 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille

L'Estaque as a place where nature still revealed itself in undiluted form. This is not to say that signs of industry had no place within his portrayal of the region. On the contrary, the factories and the industry of pleasure at L'Estaque, that vista with its boathouses and villas, its yachts, and chimneystacks, were exactly what he did depict more often than not. Though Cézanne never confronted the industry of the port of L'Estaque as immediately as Guillaumin had in his *Seine à Bercy*, the signs of industry could be represented, it would appear, in so far as they could be naively objectified or unified within the landscape, as long as they did not display the signs of labour or seem to deface the landscape. Factory chimneystacks towering in front of the horizon could even add a touch of geometric form, a vertical accent to offset the array of horizontal rectangular forms of the compactly arranged rooftops of the local houses. The harmonies Cézanne sought in nature, harmonies which were integral to his conception of nature and the value he placed on landscape painting as a genre, were still evident to the painter in L'Estaque. They were inherent in the landscape itself in the way the houses were set into the hillside as though a part of it, their silhouettes echoing the irregular geometry of the mountains and the hills, or the way in which the bay spread out and enveloped the coastline in a hazy blue wave. Viewed from the right perspective, the landscape could be represented in all its glory and its traditional and modern elements resolved in a harmonious fusion of colour *sensations*. Accordingly, we see Cézanne shifting his vantage point from higher to lower ground and slightly eastward and westward according to which of the two shorelines constituted his principal motif.[46]

The questions the depiction of L'Estaque posed for the painter were not, however, simply about the choice of the right viewpoint, the one which showed the landscape to full advantage, but of finding a way to order the landscape in such a way that the signs of industry did not disrupt the visual pleasure of its topography, an order that would give expression to the principle of formality and freedom that he sought in nature and attempted to mirror in his own painting. The paintings that result show the artist deliberating on how to picture traditional and modern

elements of the landscape in relation to each other, how closely to stick to what could actually be seen from a particular vantage point or adjust the scene to obtain a more satisfactory *effet*. This was always a question of judgment, of balance, a matter of deciding how much contradiction between the signs of modernity and the rural the landscape could hold.[47] The possibility always existed that the landscape would come to seem irreconcilably divided, even sullied by modernisation. There is evidence that Cézanne eventually abandoned L'Estaque as a site for his painting on precisely such grounds.

Initially the majority of Cézanne paintings present a tranquil image of the port, the painter exploring the correspondences between the natural topography and man-made features of the landscape. In his choice of viewpoints he selected those in which the interplay of the different angles of planes of houses was at a premium, treating the architectural features of the terrain as if they constituted a landscape within a landscape, and suggesting through formal echoes of shape, contour, rhythm and vantage point a unity between the natural landscape and the indigenous architecture within it, all set against the broad expanse of sea and sky beyond. But, sometimes this imagery veers violently away from this vision of harmonious nature and is replaced by an imagery altogether more uneasily poised between charting the signs of modernity and rural idyll. This is evident in a number of pictures executed toward the end of his time at L'Estaque. In these it becomes evident how problematic the representation of Marseille could become for Cézanne and how the signs of industry and the meanings associated with the presence of those signs were perceived as reframing the landscape. Early views of the bay overlooking the village of Sainte-Henri had struck a fragile and tentative equivalence between the prominence of the church on the horizon and the chimney stacks in the village; the smoke ushering from columns of the chimneys is largely absorbed into the mass of the clouds, its ascending plumes echoing the tones of the hills beyond. The columns of factory chimneys themselves rhyme visually with the spire of a church or are hidden by the trees. Cézanne's broad and synoptic brushwork interweaves and fuses the various components of the landscape into a unison. In later views such as *Saint-Henri et le golfe de Marseille*, circa 1883–85 (figure 5), however, the billowing smoky factory chimneys and steamboats offer more uncompromising signs of transformation. There is a provisional look about the landscape whose most immediate point of reference is a towering chimneystack with its black smoke dominating the church and the surrounding architecture. Compared with the strong geometrical form of most of the views of the port, the painting is fractured and formless; the foreground trees with their tentatively drawn tentacular branches become absorbed into the mass of hills, shrubbery and houses in the middle ground, while the background seems densely crowded and the brushwork by turns overly taut and overly loose. The picture is at once tangible and insubstantial, forms emerge but only to collapse simultaneously in on themselves. Not surprisingly the painting was abandoned at an early stage.

In one of the last paintings Cézanne made of L'Estaque, *Vue sur L'Estaque et le Château d'If*, circa 1883–1885 (figure 6), his imagery takes a new turn that anticipates a new more traditional pictorial rhetoric that emerges in his landscape painting in the mid-1880s and which corresponded with a redefinition of his choice of motifs. The introduction of the decorative enframing trees brings an arcadian classicising quality to the view of the bay that prevails upon the signs of the industry so neatly tucked into the landscape. In the expanse of sea, however, a few dabbed brushstrokes suggest a barely visible large steamboat, of a kind more confidently portrayed in earlier views of the bay. The brushstrokes that are made to

harmonise with the mountain in the background and cuboidal forms of the houses in the foreground diminish the specificity of the referent. The return to the screen of trees motif prevalent in his work at Pontoise in *L'Estaque vu à travers les pins*, 1882–83, seems significant within this context. Such arrangements returned the motif more resolutely to a field of naive *sensation*, rendering the presence of the signs of modernity oblique.

Cézanne's ambivalence is thrown into relief by comparing his last views of the port of L'Estaque to Alfred Casile's austere *La Rade de Marseille*, 1887, (figure 7) which portrays the docks of the outer part of the port at Marseille, which had recently been extended eastwards along the coast. Ignoring the old picturesque port, the focus of most topographical representations of the area, Casile provided a very modern commentary on the economic development of Marseille. Traditional depictions of the port as pioneered by Joseph Vernet, celebrated its commercial life in a way which looked back to the seascapes of Claude and Dutch marines. Casile, on the other hand, focused on the modern ships, the wide-open vacant spaces and unadorned regular buildings, using as his compositional and thematic pivot the white lighthouse in the distance. Casile's view is uncompromisingly spare, both technically and formally. The quiet desolate seascape animated by only a couple of small-seated figures, is enhanced by his economical technique, attentive to different elements of the scene without being assertive.[48]

Cézanne made his last recorded visit to L'Estaque in 1885 and his abandonment of this site appears indicative of the growing

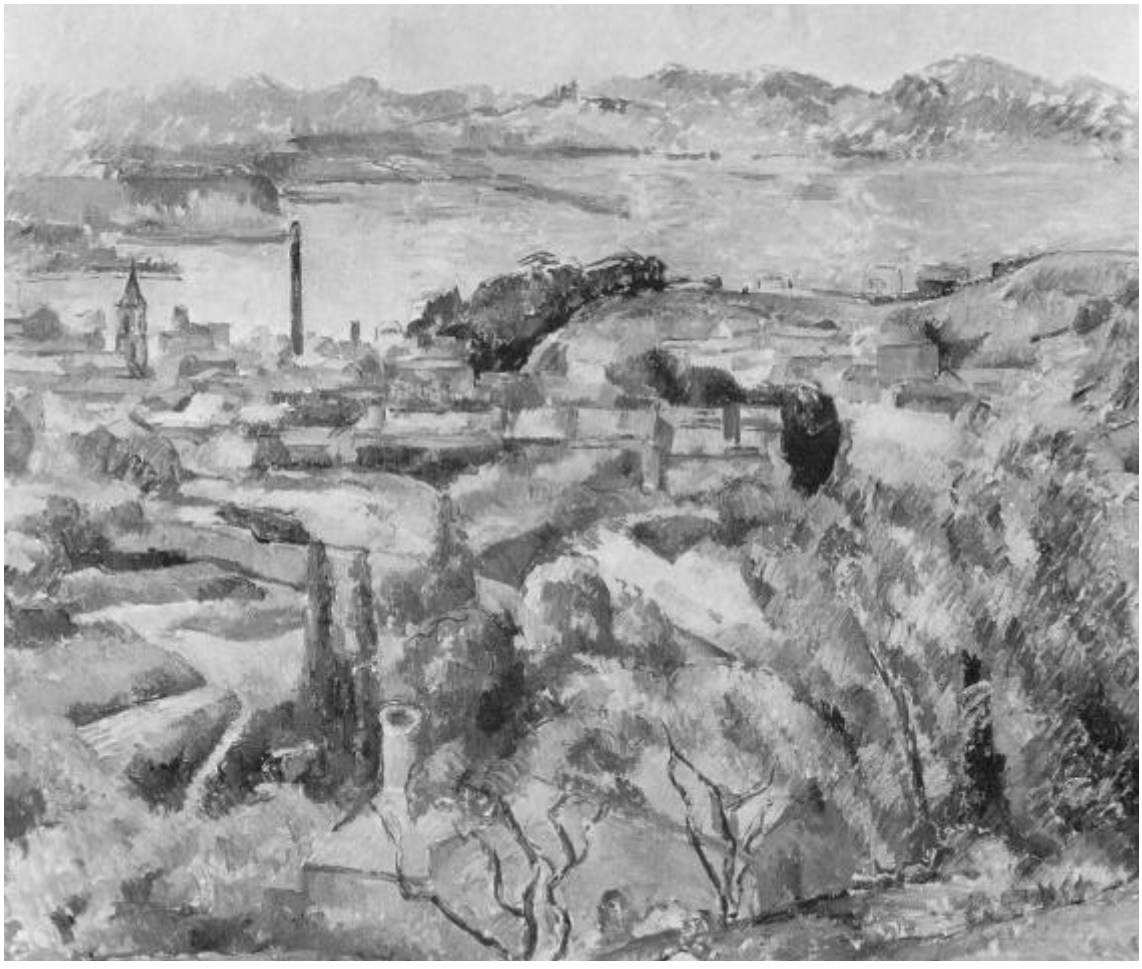

Figure 5 P Cézanne, *Saint-Henri et le golfe de Marseille*, c1883-85, 65 x 81 cm, Philadelphia Museum of Art

Figure 6 P Cézanne, *Vue sur l'Estaque et le Château d'If*, c1883-1885, 71 x 57.7 cm, private collection

gulf between his perceptions of the characteristics of the region and the view of nature he sought to portray in his painting. In a letter to his niece some years later reflecting on his time in Marseille he retrospectively recalled his reasons for abandoning it:

I recall perfectly well the Establon and the once so picturesque banks of L'Estaque. Unfortunately what we call progress is nothing but the invasion of bipeds who do not rest until they have transformed everything into hideous quais with gas lamps – and, what is still worse – electric illumination. What times we live in![49]

These perceptions were not new and the 'progress' he laments was substantially in place during the 1870s. What this statement suggests is the way in which during the 1880s Cézanne began to see the modernity of L'Estaque as an incompatible subject for his painting. By the early 1880s Cézanne began to re-think the criteria for his choice of motifs and by the middle of the decade his landscape subjects more readily conform to the traditional view of Provence as a land apart, a primordial paradise untouched by the hand of progress.[50] In this respect his work became more closely aligned to the Félibrige, the regional movement which sought to found a renaissance of Provençal arts and letters based on a *retour aux vraies valeurs* of traditional Provençal rural society.[51] In 1896 Cézanne began a close friendship with Joachim Gasquet, a leading Provençal poet and a luminary within the Félibrige.

In the works that followed Cézanne 'cleansed' his landscapes of any overt references to industrialisation. In 1885 he concentrated on the ancient village of Gardanne, perched on a hilltop, a few miles south of Aix, selecting views of the village itself, the plains and the environs as well as of the familiar and reassuring grounds of his childhood home, the *Jas du Bouffan*. In contrast to L'Estaque, Aix and the villages within its vicinity were not so vividly annexed to the processes of modernisation and unlike his time spent in Marseille, Cézanne showed little interest in picturing the links that bound Aix to modernisation. The pictures that emerge from this encounter with Gardanne and motifs around Aix over the next few years have often been regarded as no more than a transitional point in the evolution of his painting or even as an aberration provoked by a set of crises in his personal circumstances. Cézanne's choice of motifs seems increasingly architectonic at this point and have been characterised as arid.[52] However, the choice of firm and traditional architectural motifs in the Gardanne seems significant when set against the transitional nature of the landscape of L'Estaque. These works bring into focus an important shift in artistic and intellectual aims evident in his selection

Figure 7 A Casile, *La Rade de Marseille*, 1887, 123 x 191 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Béziers

of motifs and the way he now described his landscape painting.[53]

Previously his landscapes had as often included northern motifs as those of the south and depictions of the Aixois countryside had comprised a relatively modest body of work in comparison with those of Pontoise, Auvers or L'Estaque. From the mid 1880s Cézanne began to refer to his landscape painting as a project of interpreting his native Aix rather than simply as an interpretation of nature.[54] In an unusually florid letter to Chocquet in May 1886 he wrote:

> I am still occupied with my painting and that there are treasures to be taken away from this country, which has not yet found an interpreter equal to the abundance of riches which it displays.[55]

He went on to indicate the importance of the countryside around Aix in maintaining his sense of purpose, pleasure and equilibrium.[56] As the letter to Chocquet makes clear, by this time Cézanne regarded the rural Aixois landscape as providing the most appropriate subject for his painting. Though Cézanne made short excursions to other regions, these were by his own admission secondary to the main concerns of his landscape painting.[57] His motifs now focused on Aix, reflecting the fact that on the death of his father he had a stake in that landscape, not merely as a resident, but as a landowner. As his representations turned back toward the rural ideal present in his pictures of Pontoise, so he also began a series of paintings of the local rural peasantry, most notably his ambitious *Joueurs de Cartes* series.

It is during this period that we also see the emergence of the Montagne Sainte-Victoire as a central motif in his landscapes, a motif that had a prominent place in the imagery of Provençal painting. It was at the foot of the Montagne Sainte-Victoire that Marius defeated the Teutons, a hundred years before the birth of Christ. According to legend the reddish earth of the fields had resulted from the blood spilled on the battlefield. The site had an important place in the repertory of the *méridional* tradition. Prosper Grésy, Justinien Gaut, Jean Antoine Constantin and François Marius Granet, among others had all been attracted to the Sainte-Victoire as a motif.[58] As Gasquet stated, Cézanne's persistent favouring of this motif was a way of inscribing himself within a specific *méridional* tradition. In the seminal *La Montagne Sainte-Victoire au Grand Pin*, 1887 (figure 8), a rare painting that Cézanne seems to have considered resolved and gave to Gasquet, there is a new decorativeness, delicacy and lyricism, quite distinct from his work at L'Estaque. Though by traditional criteria the painting is still very freely worked, the interplay of studied form and free handling creates a counterpoint between restlessness and tranquillity, flux and monumentality. The *repoussoir* tree, in the foreground, a convention associated with the landscapes of Claude, provides a view overlooking the fields in the Arc valley. Though Cézanne had often used trees as a way of framing the motif, here they are used in a more stylised and dramatic fashion, animating the sky in a way that suggests the mistral blowing through the valley, and framing the majestic mountain bathed in what Gasquet described as Virgilian sunlight in the distance.[59] The discreet signs of modernity within the landscape such as the ancient viaduct along which the railway ran, are given the appearance of timeworn elements, their rhythms discreetly picked up in the shapes of the mountain and the fields in the valley. In paintings like this Cézanne presented a more 'classical' view of the south, representing a monumental landmark that had strong traditional associations of regional identity.

By shifting critical attention on to the motifs Cézanne painted and the associations of those motifs, a more complex view of the development of his landscape painting emerges. It is one which reveals how his landscape painting was reworked in relation

Figure 8 P Cézanne, La Montagne Sainte-Victoire au Grand Pin, 1887, 66 x 90 cm, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London

to distinctive kinds of landscape motifs and specific traditions of landscape associated with particular regions, responses which in turn were inflected by cultural ideologies that conditioned his perception of those motifs. Changes in Cézanne's choice of motifs in the mid-1880s present important discontinuities in his way of representing Provence, discontinuities which shaped the terms in which his landscape painting developed in his later career both in respect of his choice of subject matter but also the way he painted his motifs. Stylistic changes in his painting were closely linked to the motif in question and the underlying conception of nature it was perceived as relaying. In abandoning L'Estaque as a subject for his landscapes, Cézanne was also leaving behind one particular vision of Provence and returning to a more traditional rural-based understanding of the region, and it is this more rural vision of Provence that was to become dominant in orienting his later landscape painting.

1 For a typical account of Cézanne's approach to landscape see Rewald, J, *Cézanne's Landscapes*, New York: Tudor Publishing Co, 1958, Verdi, R, *Cézanne*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1992 and Machotka, P, *Cézanne: Landscape into Art*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996.

2 While Cézanne seems to have generally preferred to work in solitude (the reminiscences of those who modelled for his portraits indicate he was intolerant of any conversation when painting them) this was not true for his landscape painting where he often worked with other artists. He had first experimented with *plein airisme* in the 1860s, painting alongside Antoine Guillemet in the *banlieus* of Paris and with Antoine-Fortuné Marion and Anthony Valabrègue in Provence, such collaborations were to continue to the end his career. On the collaboration between Pissarro and Cézanne, see Pissarro's letter to his son, 21 November 1895, in Rewald, J, (ed), *Camille Pissarro, Lettres à son fils Lucien*, Paris: Flammarion, 1943: 275–76. See also Patin, S, in Gowing, L (ed), *Cézanne, The Early Years*, exhibition catalogue, Royal Academy of Art, London, 1988: 55–56 and Lindsay, J, *Paul Cézanne*, London: Adams and Mackay, 1969: 159–172 and Adler, K, 'Camille Pissarro and Paul Cézanne: A study of their

artistic relationship between 1872 and 1885', *De Arte*, April 1973: 19–25 and Isaacson, J, 'Constable, Duranty, Mallarmé, Impressionism, *plein air*, and forgetting', *Art Bulletin*, September 1994: 427–450. On Cézanne's collaboration with Guillaumin see Rewald, J, *Studies in Impressionism*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1985: 103–120.

3 Photographs dating from the mid 1870s back this up showing Cézanne, Pissarro and other artists on painting trips. A drawing by Pissarro's son Georges dated 1881 shows Cézanne painting alongside a party of artists that includes his father Camille, Guillaumin, and Gauguin.

4 Cézanne undoubtedly had other motives for being based in Auvers than simply to work with Pissarro. Dr Gachet, who was to become one of his patrons and a close friend, was living in Auvers and Cézanne painted a view of his house in 1873. See Rewald, 1985: 105.

5 Cézanne retrospectively acknowledged the important influence of Pissarro on his painting and, as he put it, in developing his taste for work, by exhibiting paintings at the Société des Amis des Arts in Aix on two occasions as a pupil of Pissarro. See Rewald, J, *Cézanne*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1986: 216. During the 1870s he also made a copy of Pissarro's *Vue de Louveciennes*. See Rewald, J, *The Paintings of Paul Cézanne: A Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 vols, London: Thames and Hudson, 1996: 144, R. 184.

6 On the role of *plein air* painting in the nineteenth century see Isaacson 1994: 427–450. For an influential contemporary account of its significance see Mallarmé, S, in Moffett, S, *The New Painting: Impressionism 1874–1886*, San Francisco: The Fine Art Museums of San Francisco, 1986:33. On the conception of *sensation* in Impressionism see Mallarmé, S, in Moffett, S, 31, 34. Castagnary as early as 1874 made the distinction between naturalists who seek to provide an 'objective' account of the world and Impressionists who do not render the landscape but the *sensation* produced by the landscape. Castagnary, J-A, 'L'Exposition du boulevard des Capucines; les impressionnistes', *Le Siècle*, 1874, np.

7 See Green, N, *The Spectacle of Nature*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990: 10–11.

8 On the issue of the different kinds of temporality associated with the urban and the rural see Schapiro, M, *Modern Art: the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, *Selected papers*, New York: George Braziliar, 1994 (original edition 1978): 192–193 and 1936: 31–37. See also House, J, *Landscapes of France*, exhibition catalogue, Hayward Gallery, London, 1995: 23.

9 Boime, A, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986, (original edition 1971): 47 and Radisich, P, 'Eighteenth century *plein-air* painting and the sketches of Pierre Henri de Valenciennes', *Art Bulletin*, March 1982: 98–104.

10 On this issue see Gowing, 1988 166–67 and also Rewald, J, *Paul Cézanne: a Biography*, New York:, Simon and Shuster, 1939: 19.

11 Cézanne not only copied Guillaumin's *Seine à Bercy*, but also drew three copies of the shoveling man in the foreground. It seems likely that Cézanne's *La Moisson*, a large scale work painted in 1877 was in one respect a response to Guillaumin's picture, with which it shares certain compositional similarities, Cézanne substituting an imaginary rural scene for the urban one Guillaumin depicted.

12 See Cézanne's *La Baie de Marseille vue du village de Saint-Henri*, 1877–79 in Rewald 1996, R 281, which, like Guillaumin's *Soleil couchant à Ivry*, is pictured from an oblique diagonal shoreline looking on to a row of factory chimneys in the background.

13 Customarily Cézanne rented an apartment in the Maison Giraud in the Place de L'Église. He may well, on occasion, have used the summer home that his mother rented for two months every summer. During some periods he also rented a house in Marseille where Hortense and his son were stationed.

14 Cézanne is documented as having painting campaigns at L'Estaque in 1875–1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1882, and 1883–1885.

15 It is difficult to be precise here. It is known that in 1877 Cézanne spent the summer in L'Estaque, though in August he was in Paris. In a letter to Zola dated 24 August 1877, he writes of his intention to spend the winter in Marseille. See Rewald, J (ed), *Correspondance*, Paris: Grasset, 1978: 157–158. Mostly, he worked alone at L'Estaque, though in 1882 he was joined for a brief period by Renoir. During his time in Marseille he appears to have developed a friendship with fellow Provençal painter Monticelli with whom he may have also gone on painting excursions. See Rewald, J, *Paul Cézanne*, London: Harry N Abrams, 1965: 115.

16 A useful source for contemporary descriptions of the cultural and social milieu of Marseille in the latter part of the century are Bertin's three books on the subject. See Bertin, H, *Histoire anecdote des cafés de Marseille*, Marseille, 1869; *Les heures Marseillais*, Marseille, 1869 and *Les Marseillais, mouers et paysages*, Paris, 1888.

17 On the position of Marseille within Provence, its leftist traditions and its opposition to the centralisation of Paris see Greenberg, LM, *Sisters of Liberty: Marseille, Lyon, Paris and the Reaction to a Centralised State*, Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1971. See also Sewell, W, *Structure and Mobility: the Men and Women of Marseille* 1820–1870, California: University of California Press, 1985: 101–103.

18 Cézanne's responses to the Commune are unknown, as no correspondence is believed to have survived from these years.

19 On Loubon see Brahic-Guirai, P, *Emile Loubon: sa vie, son oeuvre*, Marseille: Skira, 1973. See also Sheeon, A, *Monticelli: His Contemporaries, His Influence*, exhibition catalogue, Pittsburgh Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, 1979: 29–32.

20 The Sociéte des Amis des Arts de Marseille was renamed The Sociéte Littéraire et Artistique des Bouches-du-Rhône in 1848.

21 These included Diaz, Troyon, Millet, Jongkind, Théodore and Phillipe Rousseau.

22 Sheeon, 1979: 31.

23 For the modernist interpretation of Cézanne see for instance Greenberg, C, Cézanne and the Unity of Modern Art, *The Partizan Review*, December 1951, 323–330 and Gowing, L, in Rubin, W (ed), *Cézanne: The Late Works*, exhi-

bition catalogue, Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1977: 55–72, who offer different variations on how Cézanne's modernism is to be construed.

24 See for instance Brion-Guerry, L, *Cézanne et l'expression de l'espace*, Paris: Albin Michel, 1966: 106 and Reff, T, 'Cézanne's Constructive Stroke', *Art Quarterly*, Autumn 1962: 214–227.

25 On the debates amongst landscape painters about light and colour in Provence see Thomson, R, *Monet to Matisse*, exhibition catalogue, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1994: 66–67.

26 See Renoir's letter to Madame Charpentier, 23 January 1882, reprinted in Thomson 1994: 68.

27 See for instance the descriptions of light and atmosphere in the south given by Ziem, Retté and Van Gogh. Ziem, F, *Souvenirs de voyage, Autographes et dessins français du XIX siècle*, Paris: Gallimard, 1992: 136; Retté, A, 'Notes de Voyage', *La Plume*, 1 September 1894: 352–353; Van Gogh, V, *The Complete Letters of Vincent Van Gogh*, Vol 3, London: Thames and Hudson, 1958: 346.

28 On Cézanne's late work see Reff, T in Rubin 1977: 13–54.

29 '*J'ai commencé deux petits motifs où il y a la mer, pour Monsieur Chocquet, qui m'en avait parlé..C'est comme une carte à jouer. Des toits rouges sur la mer bleue. Si le temps devient propice peut-être pourrais-je les pousser jusqu'au bout. En l'état je n'ai encore rien fait. Mais il y a des motifs qui demanderaient trois ou quatre mois de travail, qu'on pourrait trouver, car la végétation n'y change pas. Ce sont des oliviers et des pins qui gardent toujours leurs feuilles. Le soleil y est si effrayant qu'il me semble que les objets s'enlèvent en silhouette non pas seulement en blanc ou noir, mais en bleu, en rouge, en brun, en violet. Je puis me tromper, mais il me semble que c'est l'antipode du modelé. Que nos doux paysagistes d'Auvers seraient heureux ici* ...'. Letter to Pissarro dated 2 July 1876, in Rewald 1978: 152–53. Only one of the commissions in question is clearly identifiable, *La Mer à L'Estaque*, 1876, Rewald 1996: R 279, shown alongside the portrait bust of Chocquet at the Impressionist exhibition of 1877, the other may be *Le Mur d'enceinte*, 1875–76, in Rewald 1996: R 275.

30 Rewald 1978: 153.

31 '*Maintenant que je viens de revoir ce pays-ci, je crois qu'il vous satisferait totalement, car il rappelle étonnamment votre étude en plein soleil et en plein été de la Barrière du chemin de fer*'. Letter to Pissarro, 24 June 1874, in Rewald 1978: 146–47.

32 Shiff, R, Introduction in Gasquet, J, (trans Pemberton, C) *Cézanne,* London: Thames and Hudson,1991: 146–154, 155.

33 It is not always clear to what degree these early southern motifs are original studies made en plein air or imaginative re-workings of other artists' idioms. Cézanne's *Vue intérieur du Colysée d'après F-M. Granet* 1863–65, was based on Granet's *Vue intérieur du Colysée*, circa 1806. See Rewald 1996, vol 2, pl 27. Others, however, have no clearly identifiable source.

34 See Geffroy, G, *La Vie Artistique*, 6 vols, Paris: Floury, 1892–1903, 3: 259. The virtual or absolute eradication of gradient neutralising tones was a matter of some controversy not least because their manipulation was seen as a sign of professional competence and that it was customarily felt it was these demi-tones that allowed one to order and distinguish values hierarchically. See Fromentin, E, Les Maitres d'Autre Fois, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, III, 13, 1867: 237.

35 Shiff in Gasquet, 1991: 146–154, 155.

36 '*J'ai loué une petite maison avec jardin à L'Estaque juste au-dessus de la gare, et au pied de la colline où les rochers commencent derrière moi avec les pins. Je m'occupe toujours à la peinture. J'ai ici de beaux points de vue, mais ça ne fait pas tout à fait motif. Néanmoins au soleil couchant, en montant sur les hauteurs, on a le beau panorama du fond de Marseille et les îles, le tout enveloppé sur le soir d'un effet très decorative*'. Letter to Zola dated 24 May 1883, in Rewald 1978: 211.

37 Letter to Zola dated 11 March 1885, in Rewald 1978: 213.

38 Compare for instance the comments of the following: Dujardin, V, *Voyages aux Pyrénées: Souvenirs du Midi par un homme du nord; Le Roussillon Céret*, Paris, 1890: 51; G. Fontaines, *La Côte d'Azur en l'an 1897: Nice, Cannes, Monaco, Menton, Monte-Carlo, Lyon*, 1897: 43; de Maupassant, G, *Chroniques*, III, Paris, 1890: 10–11; Retté 1894: 352–53; Dauzat, A, *Pour qu'on Voyage: Essai sur l'art de le bien Voyager*, Toulouse and Paris, 1911: 121.

39 See for instance Taine, H, *Journeys Through France*, London: TF Unwin, 1897:171, 179, cf Zola's description of the region quoted in Rewald 1986: 93 and Sewell 1985: 101.

40 See Rewald 1986: 93. See Gelu's description of the way commerce was transforming the physical appearance of Marseille. Gelu, V, *Marseille aux XIXme siècle*, edited and annotated by Galliard, L, and Reboul, J, Paris: Plon, 1971: 336–337.

41 Taine 1897: 174, 179–180.

42 Gelu 1971: 336–337.

43 It was Frédérick Mistral and the writings of the poets and historians associated with the *Félibrige* that gave expression most forcefully to this view. See for instance Mistral, F, *Discours e dicho*, Paris: Plon, 1906, which includes a collection of his political speeches. On Mistral see Quigley, H, *The Land of the Rhone: Lyons and Provence*, Boston: Methuen and Co, 1927 and Edwards, T, *The Lion of Arles: A Portrait of Mistral and His Circle*, New York: Fordham University Press, 1927.

44 In a letter to Zola, 24 September 1878, Cézanne writes: '*Marseille est la capitale à l'huile de la France, comme Paris l'est au beurre: tu n'as pas l'idée de l'outrecuidance de cette féroce population, elle n'a qu'un instinct, c'est celui de l'argent; on dit qu'ils en gagnent beaucoup, mais ils sont bien laids,Ñles voies de communication effacent les côtés saillants des types, au point de vue extérieur. Dans quelques centaines d'années, il serait parfaitement inutile de vivre, tout sera aplati. Mais le peu qui reste est encore bien cher au couer et à la vue*.' in Rewald 1978: 173–74.

45 This modest work was mounted in the lid of Madame Zola's workbox. See Gowing 1988: 13–14.

46 See Rishel, J, *Cézanne in Philadelphia Collections*, Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1983, pp 18–21. On Cézanne's 'fidelity' to his motifs see Machotka.
47 See Clark, TJ, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers*, London and New Haven: Thames and Hudson, 1985: 189.
48 See House 1995: 166.
49 '*Je me souviens parfaitement de l'Establon et des bords autrefois si pittoresques du rivage de L'Estaque. Malheureusement ce qu'on appelle le progrès n'est que l'invasion des bipèdes, qui n'ont de cesse qu'ils n'aient tout transformé en odieux quais avec des becs de gaz et ce qui est pis encore avec éclairage électrique. En quel temps vivons-nous!*' Letter to Paule Conil dated 1 September 1902, in Rewald 1987: 290–291. Other commentators similarly report Cézanne's hostility to modernisation. See for instance Gasquet, J, *Cézanne*, Paris: Bernheim Jeune, 1921: 13 and Rilke, RM, *Letters on Cézanne*, Rilke, C (ed) trans., New York: J Agee, 1991 (original English edition 1985): 40.
50 The journal entries of travellers to Provence often imply the perspective of an explorer of a 'foreign' terrain and portray it as a wild and inhospitable place – '*fruste et sauvage*' as the travel writer Henri Boland put it. See for instance Gabriel Fauré's letter to his wife, 11 August 1900, in Jones, JB, *Gabriel Fauré: A life in Letters*, London: Batsford, 1988: 96. Mérimée, P, *Notes d'un voyage dans le midi*, Paris: Adam Brio, 1835: 181.
51 On the Félibres artists and writers see Rippert, E, *La Renaissance provençale*, Paris: Floury, 1917 and Amouretti, F, 'Autre Félibres: Les Provençaux', *Le Monde Illustré*, 22 October 1904.
52 See Machotka 1996: 70; Rewald 1986: 156–57, 269; Lindsay 1969: 215–221.
53 See for instance Machotka 1996: 70.
54 Gasquet also sees this period as a moment in which '*Cézanne revint reprendre foi à Aix*' see Gasquet 1921: 50. See also letter to Zola, 23 February 1884, in Rewald 1978, p 214.
55 '*Je m'occupe toujours de peinture et qu'il y aurait des trésors à emporter de ce pays-ci, qui n'a pas trouvé encore un interprète à la hauteur des richesses qu'il déploie*.' Letter to Chocquet, 11 May 1886, in Rewald 1978: 226–27.
56 In the letters from this period on Cézanne often talks of his health in relation to nature. See for instance letter to Zola, 11 March 1885, in Rewald 1978: 215.
57 See Gasquet 1921: 46.
58 On Cézanne's interest in Granet see Gasquet 1921: 46, 140 and Arrouye, J, *La Provence de Cézanne*, Aix-en-Provence: Edisud 1982: 91–94.
59 Gasquet 1921: 79.