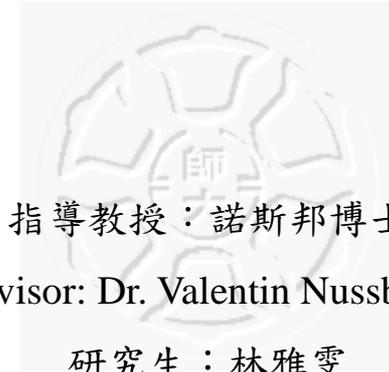


國立臺灣師範大學藝術史研究所

碩士論文

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A Fellowship of Pictorial Dialogue: Maurice Denis' Hommage à
Cézanne



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ABSTRACT

Hommage à Cézanne painted by French artist Maurice Denis (1870-1943) in 1900 is a painting that combines a self-portrait, a group portrait and a gallery depiction. The dominant tendency amongst scholars has viewed *Hommage à Cézanne* as a document of Cézanne's rising reputation rather than as a painting with its own formal tensions and interests. Cézanne's significance for the early twentieth-century modernism has led scholars to extract this painting out of its complicated context in which it was appreciated.

In my study, I analyse Maurice Denis' renewed strategy on group portraiture and homage painting, pointing out that he not only adopts the tradition of group portrait to pay homage to Cézanne, but also transforms its composition into an ideology of reconciliation. Denis' personal intention for staging significant personalities reveals a deeper intention than his title "Homage to Cézanne" might announce. By positioning the figures of the Nabis, Cézanne, Redon, Gauguin, Renoir, and Vollard, Denis constitutes interpersonal relations on his painting. He wove a social connection between his companions and advisors in artistic association.

This thesis is divided into three chapters, each centering on a single topic about Denis' strategy. Chapter one examines the development of group portraiture and homage painting during the nineteenth-century in France. By examining previous important group portraits and homage paintings, such as by Louis-Léopold Boilly, Gustave Courbet, Henri Fantin-Latour, and Félix Vallotton, I analyse the formal tradition of group portraiture and renewed strategy Denis has taken in *Hommage à Cézanne*.

Chapter two investigates the relations and pictorial dialogue in the Nabi group which mainly focus on Cézanne's still life *Compotier, verre et pommes*. Positioned in

the center of Denis' work, Cézanne's still life *Compotier, verre et pommes* actually plays an important role in the Nabi circle, since it was appropriated by one after another. By making several examples in contrast with the prototype of Cézanne, including the still life of Denis, Gauguin, Sérusier, and Bernard, it is obvious to find that the Nabi circle and their artistic allegiances overlapped a similar cast of characters for Cézanne's still life. These connections demonstrate an interest in collective painting that was itself formed collectively, shaped and reshaped in a network of artists and writers, colleagues and friends.

Chapter three explores the relationship between artists, writers, dealers and others; they are directly involved in the group and their portraits in *Hommage à Cézanne*. The representative figures in *Hommage à Cézanne* such as Gauguin, Redon, Vollard and the Nabis group weaved a complicated relationship in their circle at the end of the nineteenth-century. Examining their relationship and attitude toward *Hommage à Cézanne* helps to interpret another dimension of the painting.

My research argues *Hommage à Cézanne* is not only a painting that pays homage to Cézanne, but it also pays homage to Redon. This painting also celebrates a moment that the Nabi members were getting together after their generation was reaching an end. It is a pictorial statement of a group of artists as well as a group portrait that memorializes the Nabi group, their guides, and the prospect of avant-garde. Denis even attempted to reconcile his devout Catholicism with the practice of this painting. By forging Symbolism into a new synthesis between sensation and imagination, the individual and the collectivity, as well as between modernity and tradition, Denis presented *Hommage à Cézanne* as a model reconciliation of intellectual and the Nabi collective aspects.

Keywords: Maurice Denis, *Hommage à Cézanne*, group portrait, homage painting,

Paul Cézanne, Nabis, Odilon Redon, pictorial dialogue, reconciliation



中文摘要

本論文主要探討法國十九世紀末那比派(Les Nabis)畫家莫里斯·德尼(Maurice Denis)於1900年所繪製的一幅群像畫《向塞尚致敬》(*Hommage à Cézanne*)。

德尼在此幅作品中，描繪了一群那比派青年藝術聚集在畫商沃拉(Ambroise Vollard)的畫廊內，圍繞在塞尚的靜物畫旁。德尼在這幅群像畫中，不僅描繪了自己與一群那比派藝術家，同時也描繪了畫商沃拉、評論家梅勒西歐(André Mellerio)、象徵主義畫家魯東(Odilon Redon)與自己的妻子瑪莎(Maurice Marthe)在內共十位對象。

關於此作品的討論，目前研究一般認為此張群像畫為提升十九世紀末後印象派藝術家塞尚名聲的主要證據。¹近年來研究則傾向於將此幅作品作為德尼本人的藝術轉向或是政治上的表態。²目前學界並沒有學者針對此張作品專書討論，³大部分關於此幅作品的討論多為研究那比派的專書所零星提及。⁴

1 一般認為，塞尚逐漸地從鮮為人知的孤僻藝術家而成為足以代表富有現代性的藝術家，與德尼在此畫對塞尚的大力推崇、與其中終身不斷寫文頌揚塞尚有關。關於此部分之研究，可參閱 Theodore Reff, "Cézanne and Poussin", in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, Vol. 23, No. 1/2 (Jan. – Jun., 1960), pp. 150-174; Richard W. Murphy, *The world of Cézanne 1839-1906*, New York: Time-Life Books, 1968; Felix A. Baumann, Walter Feilchenfeldt, Hubertus Gassner (ed.), *Cézanne and the dawn of modern art*, Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2004

² 關於藝術轉向部分可參閱 Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), Josephine Bacon, Caroline Newman, and Shena Wilson (trans.), *Maurice Denis: earthly paradise*, Paris: Musée Nationaux, 2006; 政治上的表態則可參閱 Katherine Marie Kuenzli, "Aesthetics and cultural politics in the age of Dreyfus: Maurice Denis's Homage to Cézanne", in *Art History*, Vol. 30, No. 5, 2007, pp. 683-771

³ 主要專文討論可看 Jürgen Schultze, "Maurice Denis Hommage à Cézanne; Meterialeu zu einer Neuerwerbung de Kunsthalle Bremen", in *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 12, Bd. 12, 1973, pp. 69-78; Udo Kultermann, "Hommage à Cézanne by Maurice Denis", in *Journal of Art History*, Vol. 52, No. 2, 1983, pp. 83-87; Katherine Marie Kuenzli, "Aesthetics and cultural politics in the age of Dreyfus: Maurice Denis's Homage to Cézanne", in *Art History*, Vol. 30, No. 5, 2007, pp. 683-771

⁴ 此部分以 Robert Jensen, Gloria Groom 與 Claire Frèches-Thory 為主要代表，他們各自從不同的角度切入，如十九世紀末至二十世紀初的藝術市場發展、那比派的歷史與建立等，討論德尼此張作品的意義。相關著作可參閱 Robert Jensen, *Marketing modernism in fin de siècle Europe*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994; Gloria Groom, *Beyond the easel: decorative painting by Bonnard, Vuillard, Denis, and Roussel, 1890-1930*, New Haven: Yale University, 2001; Claire Frèches-Thory and Antoine Terrasse, *The Nabis: Bonnard, Vuillard and their circle*, Paris: Flammarion, 2002; 其博士論文 Katherine Marie Kuenzli, *The anti-heroism of modern life symbolist decoration and the problem of privacy in fin-de-siècle modernist painting*, Ph. D dissertation, Berkeley University of California, 2002。其次，作為法國著名的天主教畫家，大部分關於德尼的專門研究多集中在美術館針對展覽所出版的目錄上，其中法國學者 Jean-Paul Bouillon 是目前研究德尼的重要學者，而美國學者 Katherine Marie Kuenzli 由其博士論文發展出對於那比派的研究，對於德尼同樣也有詳

然而，文獻中亦指出，⁵德尼在構想此幅群像畫之前，並沒有提及塞尚，而是將魯東作為那比派藝術家的圍繞的對象；更甚者，德尼同時也將此作品連結十六世紀西班牙藝術家葛雷科 (El Greco) 的作品《歐貴茲伯爵的葬禮》(*The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*)。由於德尼的原始構想與結果相差甚遠，與宗教繪畫的連結更是顯示出其特定而不甚明確的傾向，因此本論文極力欲釐清造成德尼改變初衷的原因、以及其對於何以將此作品與宗教連結的態度。同時，塞尚的靜物畫《高腳盤、玻璃與蘋果》(*Comptoir, verre et pommes*) 作為德尼此幅作品的主要焦點，不僅取代了群像畫中將被致敬者的肖像作為致意的傳統，同時無疑地也扮演了重要的角色，因此本論文亦著重於探討塞尚靜物畫對於德尼本人的意義與重要性。

本論文分為三章。第一章首先探討法國十九世紀群像畫的傳統與發展。此部分希望藉由比較藝術家群像畫的傳統與類型，指出德尼《向塞尚致敬》在構圖與形式上所採取的不同策略，討論此幅作品的獨特性與創新概念。第二章則討論塞尚靜物畫對於德尼的意義，並以塞尚的靜物畫作為一種特殊指涉性的符號角度，揭櫫其如何扮演了德尼與他的同儕們在圖像對話(pictorial dialogue)上的媒介。身為那比派藝術家的精神導師，高更(Paul Gauguin)的肖像畫作品《瑪利亞·黛西昂在塞尚的靜物畫前》(*Maria Derrien à la nature morte de Cézanne*) 為將塞尚的靜物畫挪用至個人作品中的首例，其後那比派理論家塞呂西葉(Paul Sérusier)與塞尚追隨者貝納(Émile Bernard)也同樣地利用了塞尚的《高腳盤、玻璃與蘋果》作為各自的呼應與對比。本章藉由研究此一現象，探討圖像作為一種對話方式，如何應用在那比派的藝術理念表達之上，尤其如何影響了德尼對於選擇塞尚的靜物畫

細討論。可參閱 Katherine Marie Kuenzli, *The Nabis and intimate Modernism: painting and decorative at the fin-de-siècle*, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010

⁵ 此部分的材料主要是參考德尼的日記、友人書信與其出版的藝術理論書籍中。詳可參閱 Maurice Denis, Pierre Masson, Carina Schäfer (ed.), *Correspondance: 1892-1945 / André Gide, Maurice Denis*, Paris: Gallimard, 2006; Maurice Denis, *Théories, 1890-1910 du symbolisme et de Gauguin vers un nouvel ordre classique*, 1st and 2nd ed, Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Occident, 1912; 3rd ed, Paris: Rouart et Watelin, 1913; 4th ed, ibid, 1920; Maurice Denis, J. Watelin (ed.), *Nouvelles théories sur l'art moderne, sur l'art sacré, 1914-1921*, Paris, 1922; Denis, Maurice, *Journal I, II, III (1884-1904, 1905-1920, 1921-1943)*, La Colombe, Paris, 1957-1959; Maurice Denis, Jean-Paul Bouillon P. M. Doran (ed.), *Conversations avec Cézanne*, Paris: Macula, 1978 (ed.), *Le ciel et l'arcadie*, Paris: Hermann, éditeurs des sciences et des arts, 1993

作為代表向塞尚本人的致敬。第三章則探討在德尼作品中出現的十位對象的連結關係，包括德尼的妻子瑪莎(Maurice Marthe)、那比派藝術家們、畫商沃拉、評論家梅勒西歐(André Mellerio)、與象徵主義畫家魯東(Odilon Redon)。藉由探討他們之間在藝術上彼此緊密而相連的關係，本章意在剖析德尼在選擇上所流露出的個人的態度與藝術傾向（包括德尼如何結合天主教的概念），同時也分析德尼從對魯東致敬而轉向對塞尚致敬的深層原因，並藉由此探討德尼在藝術表現上的連貫性。

透過對此張作品在題材上、內容上、與特定對象的描繪與分析，本論文的研究顯示，德尼的《向塞尚致敬》不僅僅只是對塞尚致敬，同時也表達了對魯東致敬的意涵；德尼也藉由塞尚的靜物畫《高腳盤、玻璃與蘋果》企圖達到與那比派的同儕們進行關係聯結與圖像對話的方式；同時德尼更具體而微地將他與他的同儕們表現在一個特定而小眾的團體之中，藉以緬懷那比派、並宣示其個人在藝術主張上的轉向與發展（從前衛到追求以文藝復興為藍本的古典樣式）。正是由於這些多重涵意的宣示，德尼的《向塞尚致敬》因此不能一概論定為單純地向塞尚致敬。

目前臺灣針對德尼相關所撰寫的論文不多，⁶對於此幅作品討論的篇幅甚少，希望本論文的研究與討論有助於建構德尼藝術表現更為全面性的觀點。

關鍵字：莫理斯·德尼，《向塞尚致敬》，群像畫，致敬畫，塞尚，那比派，魯東，圖像對話，調和

⁶ 依年份排序為吳嘉瑄，《莫理斯·德尼早期繪畫中的宗教特質（1889-1895）》(The religious characteristic in Maurice Denis' early painting, 1889-1895)，中壢：中央大學藝術學研究所碩士論文，2002；游欣雅，《歐迪隆·荷東晚期裝飾繪畫與當代潮流贊助之研究》，台北：台灣師範大學美術研究所碩士論文，2003；趙玲華，《莫理斯·德尼繪畫中的十九世紀末法國精神表現研究》(Painting of Maurice Denis: presentation of the French spirit in the end of the 19th century)，台北：台灣師範大學美術研究所西洋美術史組碩士論文，2010。

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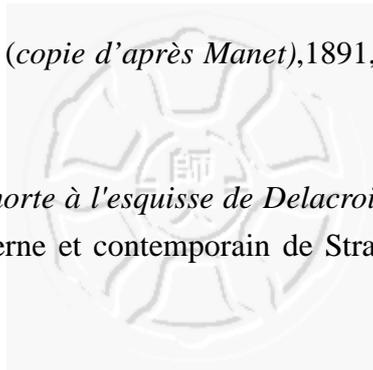
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CHAPTER 3

37. Odilon Redon, *Maurice Denis*, 1903, lithograph, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris

38. Odilon Redon, *Paul Sérusier*, 1903, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris

39. Odilon Redon, *Pierre Bonnard*, 1902, litho on chine-collé, 14.5 x 12 cm, signed and dated in pencil on the right, under the image

40. Odilon Redon, *Edouard Vuillard*, 1900, lithograph, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris

41. Odilon Redon, *Black Profile (Gauguin)*, c. 1906, oil on canvas, 66 x 55 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris

42. Paul Cézanne, *Portrait d'Ambroise Vollard*, 1899, oil on canvas, 100.3 x 81.3 cm, Musée de la ville de Paris, Petit Palais, Paris, photo: P. Pierrain

43. Ker-Xavier Roussel, Vuillard, Romain Coolus, and Félix Vallotton at Villeneuve-sur-Yonne, at the home of Misia and Thadée Natanson in 1899, collection Annette Vaillant, France / archives Charmet / The Bridgeman Art Library

INTRODUCTION

My research presents a case study of the nineteenth-century French artist Maurice Denis' (1870-1943) work *Hommage à Cézanne* (Fig. 1).

In this work, Denis depicts a group of Nabi artists congregating in Ambroise Vollard's gallery, standing around a still life painted by the Post-Impressionist artist Cézanne. Aside from his Nabi colleagues, Denis also depicts his wife Marthe, the dealer Vollard, the critic Mellerio and the Symbolist painter Redon. This painting combines a self-portrait, a group portrait and a gallery depiction.

Most scholars discuss this painting by mainly mentioning the study of the Nabis and their development.⁷ Currently, most art historians conclude *Hommage à Cézanne* is designed to emphasize Cézanne's rising reputation at the end of the nineteenth-century.⁸ Recent studies tend to view this painting as Denis' personal transformation into an artistic and political state of mind.⁹

Although the current study has viewed *Hommage à Cézanne* as evidence of Cézanne's early reputation, in his diary Denis mentioned that he initially planned to put Redon's painting as the centerpiece in the painting. He did not think of Cézanne or

⁷ See Jürgen Schultze, "Maurice Denis *Hommage à Cézanne*; Materialien zu einer Neuerwerbung der Kunsthalle Bremen", in *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 12, Bd. 12, 1973, pp. 69-78; Udo Kultermann, "Hommage à Cézanne by Maurice Denis", in *Journal of Art History*, Vol. 52, No. 2, 1983, pp. 83-87; Robert Jensen, *Marketing modernism in fin de siècle Europe*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994; Gloria Groom, *Beyond the easel: decorative painting by Bonnard, Vuillard, Denis, and Roussel, 1890-1930*, New Haven: Yale University, 2001; Claire Frèches-Thory and Antoine Terrasse, *The Nabis: Bonnard, Vuillard and their circle*, Paris: Flammarion, 2002. In the forward studies, Gloria Groom and Claire Frèches-Thory have given a comprehensive history of the Nabi movement during the 1890-1900.

⁸ See Theodore Reff, "Cézanne and Poussion", in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, Vol. 23, No. 1/2 (Jan. – Jun., 1960), pp. 150-174; Richard W. Murphy, *The world of Cézanne 1839-1906*, New York: Time-Life Books, 1968; Felix A. Baumann, Walter Feilchenfeldt, Hubertus Gassner (ed.), *Cézanne and the dawn of modern art*, Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2004

⁹ The French scholar Jean-Paul Bouillon and the American scholar Katherine Marie Kuenzli are the representative researchers on Denis. Their detailed discussions have expanded a new vision and interpretation on Denis' art. In Denis' artistic state, see Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), Josephine Bacon, Caroline Newman, and Shena Wilson (trans.), *Maurice Denis: earthly paradise*, Paris: Musée Nationaux, 2006. In his political state, see Katherine Marie Kuenzli, "Aesthetics and cultural politics in the age of Dreyfus: Maurice Denis's Homage to Cézanne", in *Art History*, Vol. 30, No. 5, 2007, pp. 683-771

Cézanne's painting in his first draft.¹⁰ Moreover, Denis also connected this group portrait of his to the sixteenth-century Spanish artist El Greco's *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz* (Fig. 4). Considering the difference between his original project and the result, as well as his relationship to religious painting, my study attempts to analyze and reveal what caused Denis change his mind and to connect his work to Christianity. Also, as a focal point in Denis' painting, Cézanne's still life *Comptoir, verre et pommes* (Fig. 5) not only transforms the tradition of group portraiture and homage painting, but also plays a crucial role in *Hommage à Cézanne*. Hence my study also accentuates the importance of Cézanne's still life for Denis, while trying to analyze this painting from a different aspect.

This thesis is divided into three chapters, each centering on a single topic related to Denis' strategy, including the strategy of arranging a group, the significance of Cézanne's still life and the relationships between the figures chosen for Denis' group.

First, to understand the renewed strategy Denis has taken in his group portrait of the genre, I examine the development of group portraiture and homage painting during the nineteenth-century in France.¹¹ To begin with, Boilly's group was the first example of the genre showing a group of artists assembled in the center of an atelier. His painting developed into a model for other artist's group portraits at end of the

¹⁰ See Maurice Denis, Pierre Masson, Carina Schäfer (ed.), *Correspondance: 1892-1945 / André Gide, Maurice Denis*, Paris: Gallimard, 2006; Maurice Denis, *Théories, 1890-1910 du symbolisme et de Gauguin vers un nouvel ordre classique*, 1st and 2nd ed, Paris: Bibliothèque de l'Occident, 1912; 3rd ed, Paris: Rouart et Watelin, 1913; 4th ed, *ibid*, 1920; Maurice Denis, J. Watelin (ed.), *Nouvelles théories sur l'art moderne, sur l'art sacré, 1914-1921*, Paris, 1922; Denis, Maurice, *Journal I, II, III* (1884-1904, 1905-1920, 1921-1943), La Colombe, Paris, 1957-1959; Maurice Denis, Jean-Paul Bouillon P. M. Doran (ed.), *Conversations avec Cezanne*, Paris: Macula, 1978 (ed.), *Le ciel et l'arcadie*, Paris: Hermann, éditeurs des sciences et des arts, 1993

¹¹ The subject of French group portraiture in the nineteenth-century has been the focus of a good deal of innovative analysis in Bridget Alsdorf, and I have greatly profited from the work of scholars who have opened and extended this area of research. Alsdorf gives a clear distinction and direction of group portraiture in the end of nineteen-century France. My chapter one is based on her definition on group portrait and its development. See Bridget Abigail Alsdorf, *The art of association: Fantin-Latour and the modern group portrait*, Ph. D dissertation, Berkeley University of California, 2008

nineteenth-century. So, I start my comparisons with Boilly. Also, critics compared Courbet and Fantin-Latour with Denis when *Hommage à Cézanne* was exhibited. In particular, Fantin-Latour's eminent series of five group portraits used a formula that included his colleagues and friends and had an impact on young artists of the next generation. Most importantly, his *Hommage à Delacroix* (Fig. 6) has been viewed as a main predecessor of Denis' painting. Therefore, I compare Courbet and Fantin-Latour with Denis in the next step, while trying to figure out the renewed strategy Denis has taken and used to transform the genre. Lastly, in contrast to Denis' intimate and enclosed group, his companion Félix Vallotton's group portrait of the Nabis provides a contemporary example that adopts a total different strategy and atmosphere. Thus I conclude by using Vallotton's example to analyze and compare the different attitudes and intentions of presenting their circle and artistic allegiance. Comparing the tradition and development of group portraiture and homage painting painted by the above artists helps one understand the renewed strategy Denis has taken in this type of group portrait and its formal composition.

Second, Cézanne's still life *Compotier, verre et pommes* represents Cézanne himself in Denis' depiction and occupies a dominant position in the center of the work. Unlike his direct predecessor Fantin-Latour, Denis' arrangement presents a still life instead of Cézanne himself uses a different strategy. However, since this painting was not in Vollard's collection, why did Denis choose it to represent his respectable master? What resulted in his decision? Also, what is the meaning and importance of Cézanne's still life for Denis? To understand the above questions, I analyze the importance and meaning of Cézanne's still life for Denis, indicating that Cézanne's still life plays a crucial role in the pictorial dialogue between Denis and his circle, especially in the case of Gauguin, Sérusier and Bernnard. Actually, the pictorial dialogue begins with Gauguin's imitation of *Compotier, verre et pommes* in his female portrait *Maria*

Derrien à la nature morte de Cézanne. After Gauguin, his followers appropriated Cézanne's still life in their paintings. By installing Cézanne's still life as a mediator of pictorial dialogue in their artistic association, their circle and artistic allegiances overlapped and a similar cast of characters appeared in multiple works. These connections demonstrate an interest in collective painting that was itself formed collectively, then shaped and reshaped in a network of their group. The pictorial dialogue in Denis' circle is also a crucial factor for him as he attempts to present his ideal master. Apparently Denis' selection of Cézanne's still life was influenced by his companions' decisions.

Third, aside from the genre and topic of his painting, Denis' choice to stage his ideal group in a dealer's gallery also raises the question of his strategy in painting *Hommage à Cézanne*. In his project Denis originally mentioned that he planned to position his Nabi companions in a setting with Redon's painting in Vollard's gallery. In his final version, Denis placed the Nabís with his wife Marthe, the dealer Vollard, the critic Mellerio and the Symbolist painter Redon in a setting which surrounds Cézanne's still life in Vollard's gallery; in the rear wall of his group portrait, he also positioned the style of Gauguin and Renoir's paintings. Denis seems to imply at least thirteen representative members make up his group. We may wonder why he placed these figures in such a way to pay homage to Cézanne, since not all the members admired the isolated master in Aix. Also, why did he choose to place his group in Vollard's gallery? Apparently the figures present here weave a complicated series of relationships in their circle. Hence I examine the social connections within this group and their attitudes toward Cézanne, analyzing how Gauguin and Redon played a role of leader at the beginning of the establishment of the Nabi group, how Vollard and Mellerio patronized Cézanne and organized important exhibitions of Cézanne's one man show starting in 1895, and how Denis' attitude toward Redon and Cézanne led

him to change his original project, resulting in placement of Cézanne's painting at the center.

My investigation led me to assert Denis' painting is a moderate reconciliation between personality and interiority, homage and self-promotion, classic conformity and avant-garde rebellion. The visualization of these conflicts in pictorial form reveals the delicate boundaries of artistic identity. Examining several dimensions in Denis' group portrait helps to prove that Denis' work is not only a group portrait that pays tribute to the Post-Impressionist artist, but it also shows Denis' work dedicates itself to his circle as a pictorial dialogue that emphasizes group identity in a moment of crisis and in an attempt to synthesize opposing aesthetic factions. Also, my study not only proposes a different aspect of *Hommage à Cézanne*, but it underscores the centrality of the pictorial dialogue among the Nabis. The strategy of the pictorial dialogue shapes their connected network, reinforcing their relationship by instilling their dialogue into their paintings.

Hommage à Cézanne is not only a painting that pays homage to Cézanne, but it also pays tribute to Redon. It's a pictorial statement of a group of artists as well as a group portrait. Denis also attempted to reconcile his devotion to Catholicism with the practice of this painting. This painting is a nostalgic group portrait that memorializes the Nabi group, their guides, and the prospect of an avant-garde approach when their circle was reaching an end. By forging Symbolism into a new synthesis between sensation and imagination, the individual and the collective as well as between modernity and tradition, Denis created *Hommage à Cézanne* as a model reconciliation of intellectual and Nabi collective aspects.

CHAPTER ONE: Maurice Denis' group portrait, the group portraiture and homage painting as subject matter in nineteenth-century France

1. Introduction

The painting *Hommage à Cézanne* combines a self-portrait, a group portrait and a gallery depiction.

In the composition of this painting, ten figures including nine men and a woman are depicted in full length and dark clothes in a gallery.¹² These figures, surrounded at least by four paintings,¹³ form an isocephalic arrangement as well as an intensive semi-circle.¹⁴ They stand around a still life carefully positioned on an easel, staring at a singular, isolated bald man holding both his handkerchief and glasses; supposedly this man had put his hat on the windowsill moments ago. From the window, we can see a small part of the street depicting a horse pulling an omnibus. These figures seem to be deeply involved in conversation, especially the bald man who is talking to another standing in front of him. At the same time, one of the bourgeois-like men holds the rear leg of the easel with a strange gesture and distorted body, and he climbs up on the H-frame of the easel, shepherding his watchful eyes to the other figures. We also notice a woman standing at the edge of the composition, smiling and watching as a spectator. She looks different from the other nine figures, not only because she is a woman, but also because she wears a hint of color in an otherwise black and dark

¹² The figures from left to right in *Hommage à Cézanne* can be identified with their facial features. The first figure who holds a handkerchief is Odilon Redon, he is shown in profile in the foreground on the far left and most of the figures are looking at him; next to Redon, the second figure with a cigarette is Edouard Vuillard; behind Vuillard, the critic André Mellerio is wearing a top hat and looking at the opposite direction of Redon; the dealer Ambroise Vollard is climbing an easel and looking at others with watchful eyes; next to Vollard, Maurice Denis himself is hiding behind the easel; Paul Sérusier is speaking and standing in front of Redon in profile; behind Sérusier, Paul Ranson is wearing a chapeau and a pair of glasses; Ker-Xavier Roussel is standing in *contrapposto*; next to Roussel, Pierre Bonnard is wearing a chapeau, carrying a stick and smoking a pipe; the last one who is at the edge of the frame is Marthe Denis, the painter's wife.

¹³ The subject of these four paintings are a still life, two female portraits, and a genre scene.

¹⁴ *Isokephalie* (from the Greek *isos* ἴσος, "same" and *κέφαλος* Cephalus, "head"), also known as direct head height is a pictorial stylistic device.

group.

This complex painting is inscribed in a tradition of group portraiture that took place at the beginning of the nineteenth-century in France. Denis' work installs a pictorial dialogue with the tradition of group portraiture which corresponds with its predecessors and contemporaries. By examining previous important group portraits and homage paintings, in this chapter I would like to analyse the tradition of group portraiture and the way Denis renewed the genre through *Hommage à Cézanne*.

2. Background

2-1. To search for an ideal composition

In March 1898, French artist Maurice Denis (1870-1943) mentioned in his diary the project of painting a group portrait. He wanted to “*create a Redon picture in Vollard's shop, surrounded by Vuillard, Bonnard, etc.*”¹⁵ Later, Denis changed his original project into a new idea. He eventually staged a group of Nabi artists and a critic in Ambroise Vollard's gallery assembled around Paul Cézanne's still life and replacing Redon's painting. Denis then gave an explicit title named *Hommage à Cézanne* (Fig. 1) to his final composition.

Based on the artists such as Vuillard and Bonnard which Denis mentioned in his diary, he originally planned to depict the nucleus of the Nabis who gathered together in the shop of the art dealer Ambroise Vollard (1866-1939),¹⁶ with Redon's painting

¹⁵ “*Faire un tableau de Redon dans la boutique de Vollard, entouré de Vuillard, Bonnard, et.*”, quoted from Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), Josephine Bacon, Caroline Newman, and Shena Wilson (trans.), *Maurice Denis: earthly paradise*, Paris: Musees Nationaux, 2006, pp. 208-209

¹⁶ Ambroise Vollard was an important art dealer that had promoted avant-garde constantly. He was enthusiastic about helping young artists, and the significance of his role in promoting their art cannot be underestimated. Opened in 1893 at 39 Rue Lafitte, Vollard's gallery was one of the liveliest centers for modern art, attracting leading Parisian intellectual and artist. For instance, he showed drawings by Edouard Manet in 1893, works by Gauguin from his Breton period as well as paintings by Vincent van Gogh in 1895. His gallery displayed lots of works by Degas, Renoir, Matisse and Picasso.

as the focal position in his group portrait.¹⁷ In the first preparatory sketch (Fig. 2) Denis made in 1898, we can only see five figures who gather together in a gallery-like interior. Denis then confirmed Redon's importance to the Symbolist movement toward the young generation, "*It is Redon's thought, manifested in his lithograph and admirable charcoals, which determined the spiritualist evolution of art in 1890.*"¹⁸ In 1900, Denis' second preparatory sketch (Fig. 3) changed his previous arrangement. Aside from turning the direction of the composition, he added five figures, and enlarged the canvas. Denis put Cézanne's still life in the dominant place. The second preparatory sketch was much closer to the final composition and was undoubtedly his final sketch.

As a result, *Hommage à Cézanne* is a painting that pays tribute to Post-Impressionist artist Paul Cézanne.

Though Denis changed his original project to present Cézanne's painting, he still put Odilon Redon in an important position. In *Hommage à Cézanne*, Odilon Redon takes a conspicuous place in the left side — he stands in a distant position under the scrutiny of the other artists. Redon faces Paul Sérusier in profile, and he seems to listen to him, while the other men are looking and waiting for his reaction. As mentioned previously, Denis originally wanted to put Redon's painting at the center of his composition, and he did not think of Cézanne in his first draft. We can thus infer that in the beginning Denis probably intended to entitle his project *Hommage à Redon*, but he ultimately changed his project. We may wonder, however, why Denis wanted

¹⁷ However, the French term *tableau* can be interpreted in two meanings here: Redon's painting or Redon's portrait. If Denis planned his original project as the final one, it could be possible that he intended to stage Redon's painting in the beginning. Otherwise Denis could use the term *portrait* in his journal. Hence I intend to believe that Denis planned to put Redon's painting in the beginning of his project.

¹⁸ "*C'est la pensée de Redon, par ses séries de lithographies et ses admirables fusains, qui déterminera dans un sens spiritualiste l'évolution d'art en 1890.*" Maurice Denis, *La Vie*, 30 November 1912, quoted from Katherine Marie Kuenzli, "Aesthetics and Cultural Politics in the age of Dreyfus: Maurice Denis's Homage to Cézanne", in *Art History*, Vol. 30, No. 5, 2007, p. 710

to stage Redon's painting in the focal position? And why did he eventually change his project to pay homage to Cézanne? What caused him to change?

In March 1899, a group exhibition of Post and Neo-Impressionists entitled *Les Symbolistes et les Néo-impressionnistes: Hommage à Redon* was held at the Durand-Ruel gallery.¹⁹ Many of the Nabi artists such as Bonnard, Denis, Sérusier, Félix Vallotton and Vuillard gathered together to celebrate Redon's influential fantasy on the young generation.²⁰ In the following year, Redon held a solo exhibition in the same gallery,²¹ the same year when *Hommage à Cézanne* was completed. Moreover, in December of the same year, Cézanne's second exhibition was held at Ambroise Vollard's gallery.²² All these related events might have influenced Denis.

Redon and Cézanne were both admired by Denis. In 1907, Denis clearly expressed his thoughts when considering both Redon and Cézanne, pointing out that Cézanne's art represents a sensation of nature which makes an ideal model of classic style: "Yes, Redon is at the origin of Symbolism, in what concerns the plastic expression of the ideal; and on the other hand, Cézanne's example taught us to transpose sensation into elements of the work of art. Redon's subject is more subjective; Cézanne's is more objective, but both create by means of a method which has its goal the creation of a concrete object that is both beautiful and represents a

¹⁹ The nine Nabi artists including Bonnard, Sérusier, Vuillard, Vallotton, Ker-Xavier Roussel, Denis, René Georges Hermann-Paul, Ibels, Ranson took part in this exhibition. Besides, Paul Durand-Ruel was known as the art dealer of the Impressionists, and organized group and one-man exhibitions. In Paris, he arranged exhibitions of Paul Gauguin, Odilon Redon, and the first exhibition of Bonnard. He was also the first one to import the impressionists to New York, where he opened a branch of his gallery in 1886. See Claire Frèches-Thory, Antoine Terrasse, Mary Pordoe (trans.), *The Nabis: Bonnard, Vuillard and their circle*, Paris: Flammarion, 2002, pp. 301-302

²⁰ These artists are Charles Angrand, Henri-Edmond Cross, Maximilien Luce, Hippolyte Petitjean, Paul Signac, Théo Van Rysselberghe, Albert André, Georges Daniel de Monfreid, Louis Valtat, Émile Bernard and Charles Filiger, and so on. Claire Frèches-Thory, Antoine Terrasse, Mary Pordoe (trans.), *The Nabis: Bonnard, Vuillard and their circle*, Paris: Flammarion, 2002, pp. 287+299

²¹ Actually, Redon began to display his works in Durand-Ruel gallery through Mallarmé since 1886. Later on, he had his one-man show in Durand-Ruel's gallery since 1889.

²² Although the depiction of *Hommage à Cézanne* is not a real-happened event — Denis and his Nabis friends have never exhibited with Cézanne in Vollard's gallery, but the Nabis have two exhibitions in Ambroise Vollard's gallery earlier in 1897 and 1899. See Claire Frèches-Thory and Antoine Terrasse, *The Nabis: Bonnard, Vuillard and their circle*, Paris: Flammarion, 2002, p. 27

sensibility.”²³ The main reason for Denis to choose Cézanne to replace Redon in his painting is because Cézanne “has shown the possibility of a classic Renaissance and given works of such nobility of style at a time”.²⁴

In Denis’ final version, Redon’s painting is missing and Redon is only represented by his figure standing on the left side. Also, although Denis chose Cézanne to replace Redon, it was only through his work that he decided to refer to the master. Thus we cannot see Cézanne’s individual portrait; instead, Cézanne’s portrait is replaced by his still life *Compotier, Verre et Pommes* (Fig. 5).

Aside from the consideration of Cézanne’s importance, Denis wrote a mock conversation with Ingres whom he admired greatly in his *Journal*,²⁵ mentioning his inspiration for his group portrait.²⁶ In his fictional dialogue, Denis related *Hommage à Cézanne* to El Greco’s *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz* (Fig. 4).²⁷ If we compare the two works we can see that Greco’s composition leaves a trace in Denis’ painting.

²³ “Oui, Redon est à l’origine du Symbolisme, en tant qu’expression plastique de l’idéal, et d’autre part l’exemple de Cézanne nous enseignait à transposer les données de la sensation en éléments d’oeuvre d’art. Le sujet de Redon est plus subjectif, le sujet de Cézanne plus objectif, mais tous deux s’expriment au moyen d’une méthode qui a pour but de créer un objet concret, à la fois beau et représentatif d’une sensibilité.” Quoted from Maurice Denis, Roger Fry (trans.), “Cézanne-II”, In *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 16, No. 83 (Feb., 1910), p. 275, French version from Maurice Denis, Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), *Le ciel et l’arcadie*, Paris : Hermann, éditeurs des sciences et des arts, 1993, p. 140

²⁴ “Cézanne nous ait fait entrevoir la possibilité d’une Renaissance classique et donnée des oeuvres d’une telle supériorité de style.” Quoted from Maurice Denis, Roger Fry (trans.), “Cézanne-II”, In *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 16, No. 83 (Feb., 1910), p. 276, French version from Maurice Denis, Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), *Le ciel et l’arcadie*, Paris : Hermann, éditeurs des sciences et des arts, 1993, p. 143

²⁵ Actually, in 1901, Denis wrote an essay “Les Elèves d’Ingres” to praise Ingres the academician and to renounce Impressionism. See Katherine Marie Kuenzli, *The Nabis and intimate Modernism: painting and decorative at the fin-de-siècle*, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010, p. 139

²⁶ During the fictional conversation, Ingres says: “This young man (Maurice Denis), who by pretending his homage to Cézanne, groups half a dozen avant-garde painters around a still life in an arrangement which is reminiscent of Greco’s Funeral of Count Orgaz in Toledo...” Quoted from Udo Kultermann, “Hommage à Cézanne by Maurice Denis”, in *Journal of Art History*, Vol. 52, No. 2, 1983, p. 86. The same opinion can see Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), Josephine Bacon, Caroline Newman, and Shena Wilson (trans.), *Maurice Denis: Earthly Paradise*, Paris: Musée Nationaux, 2006, p. 208

²⁷ In one of his articles, Denis also mentioned that Greco’s painting inspired him: “Sous prétexte d’Hommage à Cézanne, autour d’une nature morte, dans un arrangement qui rappelle l’Enterrement du comte d’Orgaz du Gréco à Tolède, une demi-douzaine de peintres d’avant-garde.” Quoted from Maurice Denis, “Le Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts”, in *Théories, 1890-1910 du symbolisme et de Gauguin vers un nouvel ordre classique*, 1st and 2nd ed, Paris: Bibliothèque de l’Occident, 1912; 3rd ed, Paris: Rouart et Watelin, 1913; 4th ed, *ibid*, 1920, p. 60

Greco's painting was dedicated to the benefactor of the Church of Santo Tomé and the miracle of its entombment in Toledo; this religious painting combines sacred and profane elements in a contemporary group. If we focus on the local mourners in Orgaz's funeral, it is interesting to find similarities between Denis' *Hommage à Cézanne* and Greco's painting. In Greco's depiction, the twenty-four men are all dressed in black and stand around the burial site, observing the funeral of the Count of Orgaz. We may notice the gesture performed by Odilon Redon corresponds to that of the gesture of a Dominican priest in the foreground of El Greco's painting. A particular point worthy of notice is that Redon holds a handkerchief and stands at the left side in profile, reminding us Greco's Dominican priest at the left side, bowing his head in deep contemplation. Yet the mock conversations mentioned above in relation to both *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz* and *Hommage à Cézanne* did not occur simply because Denis was inspired by the former's composition, but also by its character — Denis was known to be a devout Catholic. Although his group portrait was not dedicated to Christianity, Denis' relationship to Greco's religious painting reveals his choice of combining religious and profane dimensions in *Hommage à Cézanne*, since Greco was recognized as a great master of naturalistic representation and of spiritual expression at the beginning of the twentieth-century.²⁸

Denis' attitude toward religion in *Hommage à Cézanne* can be seen in his career and his fellow colleagues. In fact, as a huge group portrait, *Hommage à Cézanne* is an unusual work in Denis' career. He was one of the most important members of the Nabis, and his artistic expression was greatly inspired by his fellow colleagues and his devout religion during this period.²⁹ The word "Nabis" chosen by the group of young

²⁸ Charles H. Caffin, "The art and influence of El Greco", in *Art and Progress*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (Jan., 1911), p. 80

²⁹ In 1889, a young group entitled themselves as "Nabis" to make further distinctions from the Post-Impressionism. The members of Nabis included such diverse artists as Pierre Bonnard, Maurice Denis, Henri-Gabriel Ibels, Charles Lacombe, Artistide Maillol, Paul Ranson, Rippl-Rónai, Ker-Xavier

artists means prophets or enlightened ones in Hebrew (from the Hebrew word *nebiim*), and points to the artists' interest in art as a form of spiritual enlightenment, stressing the group's self-designated role as prophets of modern art. As a pure colorist and religious Catholic, Denis was called *le Nabis aux belles icônes* by his colleagues because he was familiar and fascinated by religious painting that he created many beautiful Christian icons. He once said that through his painting he wanted to convey his goal of sacrificing all of his life to religion. Already in 1885, at the age of 15, Denis wrote in his diary: "*I swear to be faithful to the holy Christian religion*", and "*Yes, I must become a Christian artist and eulogize all the wonders of Christianity; I feel that this is necessary.*"³⁰ He then reconfirmed his belief in 1889: "*I believe that Art must sanctify nature; I believe that Vision without the Spirit is in vain; and that it is the vocation of the aesthete to turn beautiful things into undying icons.*"³¹ In 1890, to claim his personal aesthetic value, he defined a famous manifesto on the definition on Néo-traditionnisme in the magazine *Art et Critique*: "*Remember that a painting, before being a battle horse, a nude, an anecdote or another, is essentially a flat surface covered with colors assembled in a certain order.*"³² In contrast to the above

Roussel, Paul Sérusier, Félix Vallotton, Jan Verkade, Ambroise Vuillard, and so on. They considered themselves prophets of a new art. See Margret Stuffmann and Max Hollein (eds.), Melissa Thorson Hause and Allison Plath-Moseley, etc (trans.), *As in a dream: Odilon Redon*, Frankfurt: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2007, p. 104. Besides, the history of the Nabis is part of the more comprehensive and multicoated history of Symbolism. From 1890 to 1900, the Nabis appeared in exhibitions as symbolists. And the group's early years were marked by simultaneous interests in Dominican theology and Theosophy, which Denis and Paul Sérusier respectively promoted. The contact with Dominican priests marked the beginnings of the Nabi movement. In this aspect, Denis probably tends to make a correspondence with his ideal religious painting and Dominican theory in his group portrait. Katherine M. Kuenzli, *The Nabis and intimate Modernism: painting and decorative at the fin-de-siècle*, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010, pp. 108-136

³⁰ "*Je jure d'être toujours fidèle à la sainte religion chrétienne.*", "*Oui, il faut que je sois peintre chrétien, que je célèbre tous ces miracles du Christianisme, je sens qu'il le faut.*" Denis, *Journal I*, on May 4, 1885, p.57, quoted from Albert Kostenevich, *The Nabis*, New York: Parkstone Press International, 2009, p. 178

³¹ "*Je crois que l'Art doit sanctifier la nature; je crois que la Vision sans l'Esprit est vaine; et que c'est la mission de l'esthète d'ériger les choses belles en immarcescibles icônes.*" Denis, *Journal*, Vol. 1, p. 73, quoted from Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), Josephine Bacon, Caroline Newman, and Shena Wilson (trans.), *Maurice Denis: earthly paradise*, Paris: Musée National, 2006, p. 34.

³² "*Se rappeler qu'un tableau- avant d'être un cheval de bataille, une femme nue, ou une quelconque anecdote- est essentiellement une surface plane recouverte de couleurs en un certain ordre*

declarations and his usual paintings during this period which often show a group of women strolling around a field with religious and allegorical titles,³³ *Hommage à Cézanne* is much more profane and explicit in its aim, composition, and objects than we might think at first sight. Since Denis connected Greco's *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz* with his work, it may be possible that he intended to involve a spiritual aspect in *Hommage à Cézanne*.

2-2. Receptions and critics

Hommage à Cézanne was completed in 1900. The Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts (SNBA) accepted and exhibited the painting in 1901,³⁴ and it was considered an important watershed work at the start of the twentieth-century,³⁵ not because of the eminent respect and elevation toward Paul Cézanne as his reputation began to develop, but because of the positioning the Nabi group gathering together. Denis' homage had touched Cézanne deeply. In response to Denis, Cézanne wrote to him with happiness: "*I (Cézanne) learned through the press of the manifestation of your artistic sympathy for me exhibited at the Salon de la "Société Natinale des Beaux-Arts". Please accept my warmest gratitude and give it also to the*

assemblées." Maurice Denis, Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), *Le ciel et l'arcadie*, Paris: Hermann, éditeurs des sciences et des arts, 1993, p. 5

³³ Such as *Procession Pascale sous les Arbres* in 1892, *Femmes au Tombeau* in 1894, *Figures dans un Paysage de Printemps* in 1897, and *Viginal Printemps* in 1899.

³⁴ In 1890, the *Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts* was re-vitalised under the rule of Ernest Meissonier, Puvis de Chavannes, Jules Dalou, Auguste Rodin, Carolus-Duran, Bracquemond and Albert-Ernest Carrier-Belleuse. Since then its annual exhibition was reviewed as the *Salon de Champ-de-Mars*, traditionally opening a fortnight later than the official *Salon de Champs-Élysées*.

³⁵ For example, the American journalist James Huneker commented the relationship between *Hommage à Cézanne* and Cézanne: "*Slow grew his [Cézanne] fame as a sober, sincere, unaffected workman of art. Disciples rallied around him. He accepted changing fortunes with his accustomed equanimity. Maurice Denis painted for the Champs de Mars Salon of 1901 a picture entitled Hommage à Cézanne...this homage had its uses. The disciples became a swelling, noisy chorus, and in 1904 Cézanne's room was thronged by overheated enthusiasts who would have offered violence to the first critical dissent...*" Anonymous [James G. Huneker], "Paul Cèzanne", in *New York Sun*, Dec. 20, 1906, quoted from John Rewald, (ed.), *Cézanne and America: dealers, collectors, artists and critics, 1891-1921*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989, p. 99

artists who have joined you in this matter.”³⁶ A week later, Denis replied to Cézanne: “Perhaps you will now have some idea of the place you occupy in the painting of our time, of the admiration you inspire, and of the enlightened enthusiasm of a few young people, myself included, who can rightly call themselves your students.”³⁷

Although *Hommage à Cézanne* had been exhibited in public, the reaction of the audience was indifferent and distant as it was an unpopular and unsuccessful painting at that time.

Despite the audience’s indifference, Denis believed that *Hommage à Cézanne* was welcomed by the young generation. In a letter he wrote to his close friend André Gide who was also the buyer of the work in 1901,³⁸ Denis poured out his heart, stating: “I can’t express you how I congratulate myself to have exhibited this painting. I appreciate this experience and I’m really satisfied to see it, for which the audience is still laughing at, but defended by very young people.”³⁹

After the exhibition at the Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in 1901, critics placed *Hommage à Cézanne* in a tradition of group portraiture and

³⁶ “J’ai appris par la voix de la presse la manifestation de votre sympathie artistique à mon égard, exposée au salon de la Société Nationale de Beaux-Arts. Je viens vous prier de agréer l’expression de ma plus vive reconnaissance et de vouloir bien en faire part aux artistes qui se sont groupés autour de vous en cette circonstance.” 5 June, 1901, letter from Cézanne to Denis, quoted from John Rewald (ed.), Marguerite Kay (trans.), *Paul Cézanne Letters*, Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1946, p. 216. In fact, it seems that the sympathy from the young generation can always touch Cézanne deeply. After a visit of Denis and Roussel in 1906, Cézanne wrote to Roussel who had shared the understanding of his art: “I thank you very much for your kind sympathy, which is for me a precious proof of the fact that my efforts toward the realization of art — to which I have always devoted myself — are not altogether in vain since the young show me an approbation that is as disinterested as it is flattering.” Letter from Cézanne to Ker-Xavier Roussel, 22 Feb., 1906, unpublished document, courtesy Antoine Salomon, Paris. Quoted from John Rewald (ed.), *Cézanne and America: dealers, collectors, artists and critics, 1891-1921*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989, p. 107

³⁷ On 13 June, 1901, Paris. Quoted from Joseph J. Rishel and Katherine Sachs (ed.), *Cézanne and beyond*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009, p. 21

³⁸ André Gide was a famous writer in France. Maurice Denis and he had maintained an intimate friendship during their life. Gide bought *Hommage à Cézanne* after the Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in 1901.

³⁹ “... Je ne puis vous exprimer en quel sens je me félicite le plus de l’avoir exposé. J’en profite comme d’une expérience et d’autre part j’ai la satisfaction de voir que ce tableau devant lequel le public rit encore, est défendu par de très jeunes gens.” On 23, April, 1901, in Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Maurice Denis, Pierre Masson, Carina Schäfer (ed.), *Correspondance: 1892-1945 / André Gide, Maurice Denis*, Paris: Gallimard, 2006, p. 160; English version was translated by Amy Chia-Hua Lu.

commented explicitly on its unorthodox relationship to tradition. The famous critic Gustave Geffroy remarked on its indebtedness to the realist tradition and related *Hommage à Cézanne* to Courbet and Fantin-Latour's group portrait and studio painting.⁴⁰ Another critic Arsène Alexander compared *Hommage à Cézanne* unfavorably to Fantin-Latour's *L'atelier des Batignolles*.⁴¹ Also, the American journalist James Huneker later recalled this painting, which he also compared to Fantin-Latour's famous group portrait *Hommage à Delacroix* (Fig. 6, even though he misattributed the source to Manet).⁴² Despite unfavorable comments and critical responses, all the critics mentioned the similarities in form and composition between

⁴⁰ "(In this painting) Cézanne is one of the representatives of this fugitive and eternal vision, and I commend Mr Maurice Denis for having made visible his admiration and that of the group of artists to which he belongs. Denis did it in a very simple way, in a manner employed by previous artists. To mention only the modern precedents with which this work shares idea and sentiment, there is Courbet's *Studio*, in which one could say that the franc-comtois artist paid homage to himself [...] Fantin-Latour also made two masterpieces of this order: *An Atelier in the Batignolles* [...] and *Homage to Delacroix* [...]" The original French version: "Cézanne est un des représentants de cette vision fugitive et éternelle, et je loue M. Maurice Denis pour avoir rendu visible son admiration et celle du groupe d'artistes auquel il appartient. Il l'a fait d'une façon très simple, d'une manière déjà employée. Pour rappeler des oeuvres modernes, il y a eu, dans cet ordre d'idées et de sentiments, l'Atelier de Courbet, où l'on pourrait observer que le maître franc-comtois s'est rendu hommage à lui-même [...]. Fantin-Latour a fait, lui aussi, deux chefs-d'oeuvre de cet ordre: l'Atelier des Batignolles [...] et l'Homage à Delacroix [...]" Quoted from Katherine Marie Kuenzli, "Aesthetics and cultural politics in the age of Dreyfus: Maurice Denis's Homage to Cézanne", in *Art History*, Vol. 30, No. 5, 2007, p. 692

⁴¹ "...for those of us who know and follow with great interest the evolution of this meritorious artist, this canvas is as one failing: apparently realist, it is executed by means wholly discordant with those of realism. To paint such a work, one has to be Fantin and capable of painting *An Atelier in the Batignolles*. For this painting of a group of friends, painters or those curious of the new school...gathered around at Cézanne's still life is neither completely decoration nor portraiture. This uncertainty will not fail to disconcert the majority of views. However, this painting is nevertheless of noble intention." The original French version: "Pour nous- qui connaissons et suivons avec un grand intérêt l'évolution de ce méritoire artiste- le défaut que nous trouvons à cette toile c'est que, réaliste de fait, elle est exécutée par des moyens absolument discordants d'avec ceux du réalisme. Pour faire un pareil tableau, il faut être Fantin et être capable de peindre *L'Atelier de Batignolles*. Ce groupe d'amis, peintres ou curieux d'art de la nouvelle école, - MM. Odilon Redon, Vuillard, Sérusier, Ranson, Bonnard, Roussel, etc. -réunis autour d'une nature morte de Cézanne, n'est ni tout à fait de la décoration, ni tout à fait du portrait. Cette oeuvre n'en demeure pas moins d'intentions très nobles." Ibid., p. 694

⁴² "In 1901 I saw at the Champs de Mars Salon a picture by Maurice Denis entitled *Homage to Cézanne*, the idea of which was manifestly inspired by Manet's *Homage to Fantin-Latour*. The canvas depicted a still life by Cézanne on a chevalet (easel) and surrounded by Bonnard, Denis, Redon, Roussel, Sérusier, Vuillard, Mellerio, and Vollard. Himself [Denis] is shown standing and apparently unhappy, embarrassed." James G. Huneker, in *Unicorns*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1917, p. 101; article reprinted from the *New York Sun*, march II, 1917, quoted from John Rewald, (ed.), *Cézanne and America: dealers, collectors, artists and critics, 1891-1921*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989, p. 40

Denis', Gustave Courbet's and Henri Fantin-Latour's work. They inferred *Hommage à Cézanne* contributed in a tradition of group portraiture.

3. Group portraiture in the nineteenth-century France

In a period spanning from the 1850s to the 1880s, a number of French painters adapted the Dutch model to re-imagine the group as a subject for art, representing friends and colleagues as communities sharing the same artistic aims. Composing artist' group portraiture had been a tradition in France since the end of the eighteenth-century. Bridget Alsdorf in her study on this topic defines the genre as “*a representation of distinct, recognizable individuals whose association with each other, as it is represented in the picture, is a statement of solidarity, collective interest, or purpose*”.⁴³ Specifically, a group portrait represents both an individual and a collective vision of the group at a particular time, place, and social milieu.⁴⁴ As the most vigorous enthusiast to experiment with a series of group portraits, Fantin-Latour's career and the tradition of group portrait he revived in the nineteenth-century have long held a peripheral position in the history of modern painting. In this respect, Denis might have been influenced by Fantin-Latour's rediscovery of the group portraiture when he decided to pay homage to Cézanne.

⁴³ Bridget Abigail Alsdorf, *The art of association: Fantin-Latour and the modern group portrait*, Ph. D. dissertation, Berkeley University of California, 2008, p. 16

⁴⁴ Also, Bridget Abigail Alsdorf indicates that Alain Bonnet's *Artists en groupe: La représentation de la communauté des artistes dans la peinture du XIXe siècle* published in 2007 examines the proliferation of artist group portraits in the nineteenth-century painting. Bonnet covered a remarkable range of genres: art-historical pantheon paintings representing artists from the ancient to modern period, such as Paul Delaroche's *Hémicycle* in the École des Beaux-Arts (1837-41); the studio group portraits, such as Boilly's *Une Réunion d'artistes*; modern life scenes in which the artists used other artists as models, as in Renoir's *Moulin de la Galette* (1876); paintings showing artists at official, ceremonial functions such as François-Joseph Heim's *Charles X distribuant des récompenses aux artistes à la fin du Salon de 1824* (1824); the dispersion of community in avant-garde painting of the twentieth-century; group portraits conceived as homages or manifestos, such as Fantin-Latour's *Hommage à Delacroix* (1864), Paul Cézanne's *Apothéose de Delacroix* (c. 1894), William Orpen's *Hommage à Manet* (1909), Paul Girieud's *Hommage à Gauguin* (1906), and Maurice Denis' *Hommage à Cézanne* (1900). Quoted from Bridget Abigail Alsdorf, *The art of association: Fantin-Latour and the modern group portrait*, Ph. D. dissertation, Berkeley University of California, 2008, pp. 20-26

If we trace back to the origins of the genre of group portraiture, especially artists forming in a group in an interior, we can see the first painting of this genre began with the nineteenth-century French artist Louis-Léopold Boilly.⁴⁵ Boilly's painting sets an important precedent for the studio group portraits genre and his strategy to shape artists as an association in a group can be seen as an ethos of artist's social character and their privileged place in a community.⁴⁶

3-1. Louis-Léopold Boilly

The painting of the French Revolution and Napoleonic empire painter Louis-Léopold Boilly *Réunion d'artistes dans l'atelier d'Isabey* (Fig. 7) exhibited in the Salon of 1798 constitutes one of the first examples of the genre of group portraiture.⁴⁷ It presents thirty one fashionable artists congregating under the gaze of Minerva in an open studio. Boilly show them engaging themselves in conversation, study and mediation, which implies the formation of a new type of élite among artists.⁴⁸ Most important of all, this painting might be the first to envision the studio as a public space, rather than simply present it as a private place.

Being an outsider of the Salon, Boilly extended the eighteenth-century tradition of *les grands hommes* to the modern art world by depicting a group of artists gathering around another outsider artist Jean-Baptiste Isabey's studio,⁴⁹ with the

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 6

⁴⁶ Bridget Abigail Alsdorf, *Fellow men: Fantin-Latour and the problem of the group in Nineteenth-century French painting*, Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013, p. 12

⁴⁷ There is another situation that artist depicts a group of dead artists getting together, giving their cult to the dead artists to conjure up the past. The two famous examples are Ingres' *L'Apothéose d'Homère* in 1827 and Paul Delaroche's *L'Hémicycle des Beaux-Arts* (1841). However, *Hommage à Cézanne* was not modeled on both of them. See Oskar Bätschmann, Eileen Martin (trans.), *The artist in the modern world: a conflict between Market and self-expression*, Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1997, pp.

112-113

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ As the nominative subject in Boilly's painting, Jean-Baptiste Isabey was an especially important figure because he represented the expanding ambitions of previously marginalized artists in the 1790s.

portraits of old masters in roundels running along the ceiling.⁵⁰ In contrast to the juxtaposition of old masters and contemporary artists, Boilly placed the sculpture of Minerva and Isabey painting on an easel to indicate the studio's artistic character. To underscore this aspect, he also depicted two females at work on the right and left wall in the background: the feminine allegories of painting and sculpture.

According to Susan L. Siegfried, this complicated painting is a protest against the French Royal Academy.⁵¹ As a contestant against the Academicians and the Salon, Boilly combined the idea of a conversation piece with a connoisseur's club or a pantheon of thirty one non-Academy figures belonging to a variety genres and artistic fields such as painters, writers, architects, sculptors, actors and musicians.⁵² He staked a claim for the studio as a public social sphere and constituted a declaration of the independence of French artists standing against the academic system — since the Salon was regarded as the imperial institution and its appearance became a matter of official concern.⁵³ These groups of identifiable individuals had turned the portrait into a painting of modern life that presented contemporary artists as a new kind of liberal men in an atelier.⁵⁴ This painting tried to compose the studio as a public space, as well as a place for self-promotion, affiliation, and defining a lineage. *Une Réunion d'Artistes dans l'Atelier d'Isabey* established the viability of such subjects in France,

⁵⁰ Apparently Boilly employed a symbolism of artistic lineage. See Susan L. Siegfried, *The art of Louis-Léopold Boilly: modern life in Napoleonic France*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995, pp. 96-97

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² These thirty one figures included eighteen painters, three sculptors, three architects, two engravers, one composer, one tragedian, one actor, one singer. See Alexandra K. Wettlaufer, "Hands off: gender, anxiety, and artistic identity in the atelier in Boilly, Mayer and Balzac", in *Society of Dix-Neuviémistes*, Vol. 10, no. 1 (April 2008), p. 4

⁵³ Bridget Abigail Alsdorf, *The art of association: Fantin-Latour and the modern group portrait*, Ph. D. dissertation, Berkeley University of California, 2008, p. 7

⁵⁴ According to Susan L. Siegfried, the representation of the public face of society was the most important and new development in Boilly's art after the Revolution in France. Boilly's interest in staging a portrait was thoroughly consistent with the eighteenth-century understanding of the word "character", which emphasized the social nature and construction of identity. See Annie Scottez-De Wambrechies, *Boilly: un grand peintre français de la Révolution à la Restauration*, Lille: Musée des Beaux-Arts, 1988, p. 95

which celebrated and contributed to the modern artists in subject choice, exhibition, and professional association, made a grand statement about the artists as a public figure with an intimate community.⁵⁵ Boilly developed a model constituting the artist's group portrait that transformed the uncertainty of the studio's status as private or public, and played a significant role in establishing artists' social identity of the group during the post-revolutionary period.

3-2. Gustave Courbet

However, though Boilly's work was the first example presenting a group of artists assembled in a studio, he has never been mentioned by critics when *Hommage à Cézanne* exhibited. The first example mentioned and related to Denis' group by the critics is Courbet's *L'Atelier du peintre*, subtitled *allégorie réelle déterminant une phase de sept années de ma vie artistique* (Fig. 8) exhibited in his one-man show in 1855. Courbet's work combines the theme of a painter involved in the act of creating, along with a group of people in his studio.⁵⁶ Courbet puts himself in profile in the center of his studio. He is painting a landscape on an easel in front of him with a naked woman standing beside him.⁵⁷ Judging from his letter, Courbet separated his

⁵⁵ However, Boilly's painting entered to the Louvre in 1911, so Denis and his circle probably did not know it before he finished *Hommage à Cézanne*.

⁵⁶ Originally, Courbet had hoped to exhibit this painting in the Exposition Universelle des Beaux-Arts held in Paris in 1855, but the official jury rejected his paintings.

⁵⁷ In the letter Courbet wrote to his friend and supporter Champfleury, mentioning his idea of the composition of *L'Atelier du peintre*: "In it are the people who thrive on life and those who thrive on death; it is society at its best, its worst, and its average...the scene is laid in my studio in Paris, and the picture is divided into two parts. I am painting in the centre; on the right are the shareholders [,] that are my friends, the workers, [and] the art collectors. On the left the others are the world of trivialities; the common people, the destitute, the poor, the wealthy, the exploited, the exploiters...It is the moral and physical tale of my atelier...in a word, it is how I see society with its concerns and its passions; it is the world that comes to me to be painted...". The original version is: "C'est l'histoire morale et physique de mon atelier: première partie; ce sont les gens qui me servent, me soutiennent dans mon idée et participent à mon action. Ce sont les gens qui vivent de la vie...La scène se passe dans mon atelier à Paris; le tableau est divisé en deux parties; je suis au milieu, peignant, à droite sont les actionnaires, c'est-à-dire les amis, les travailleurs, les amateurs du monde de l'art. A gauche, l'autre monde de la vie triviale, le peuple, la misère, la pauvreté, la richesse, les exploités, les exploiters; les gens qui vivent de la mort. Dans le fond, contre la muraille, sont pendus les tableaux du Retour de la Foire, les Baigneuses, et le tableau que je peins..C'est l'histoire morale et physique de mon atelier..En

audience into two parts (as did Boilly) corresponding to various social classes. He portrays his patrons, friends, art dealers and collectors⁵⁸ along with an audience standing for various contemporary social classes.⁵⁹ The composition of this painting is an allegory full of symbols rather than a reality in the painter's studio.⁶⁰ With its ambiguous title, this painting has allured numerous scholars trying to unlock its iconographic program.⁶¹ Also, from another viewpoint Courbet might have been influenced by the concept of the Netherlandish group portrait such as Rembrandt's *Night-watch*, *Christ preaching the remission of Sins*, and Joost van Craesbeeck's *The artist's studio*.⁶² *L'Atelier du peintre* established self-portraiture, group portraiture, and studio depictions as ambitious genres on the level of painting; it also set up the atelier as a privileged space of personal presentation.⁶³ This fusion of sources superimposing the format and the tripartite organization linked to the narrative

un mot, c'est ma manière de voir la société dans ses intérêts et ses passions. C'est le monde qu se fait peindre chez moi." Quoted from Benedict Nicolson, *Courbet: the studio of the painter*, London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1973, p. 13, and the French version see Clive Bell, "L'Atelier de Courbet", in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 36, No. 202 (Jan., 1920), p. 3

⁵⁸ The majority of these figures are painted from portraits already executed by Courbet himself. Among the figures can be identified are Alphonse Promayet, Alfred Bruyas, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Urbain Cuénot, Max Buchon, François Sabatier, Karoline Sabatier-Ungher, appolonie Sabatier and her lover Alfred Mosselmann, Champfleury and Charles Baudelaire. See Dominique de Font-Réaulx, Laurence des Cars, Michel Hilaire, Bruno Mottin, Bertrand Tillier, *Gustave Courbet*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2008, p. 221

⁵⁹ In a letter Courbet wrote to his friend Louis Français, expressing his equivocal attitude on *L'Atelier du peintre*: "Perhaps you would like to know the subject of my painting. It will take so long to explain that I want to let you guess when you see it. It is the story of my atelier, what goes on there morally and physically. It is fairly mysterious, it will keep people guessing." In Petra ten-Doesschate Chu (ed.), *Letters of Gustave Courbet*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992, p. 135

⁶⁰ Numerous attempts have been made by scholars to show that the skull on the newspaper symbolizes the death of journalism; guitar, dagger, buckled shoe and plumed hat at the huntsman's feet symbolize the death of romanticism. See Benedict Nicolson, *Courbet: the studio of the painter*, London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1973

⁶¹ For instance, the studio is in part a Fourierist allegory for Linda Nochlin; for Alan Bowness it is a modern artist's declaration of independence, and the absolute freedom to create what he wants to create; for Werner Hofmann considered the dense layering of fundamental themes such as the ages of man, the social tensions of the mid-nineteenth century, the metamorphosis of womanhood, and the conflict between the claims of higher truth and fidelity to objective fact; for James Henry Rubin it is a mainly Proudhonian meditation on work, nature, the artist, and the social question generally; for Toussaint it is a complex, possibly subversive political statement charged with Masonic symbolism, etc. See Michael Fried, *Courbet's Realism*, Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, Ltd., London, 1990, p. 157

⁶² Benedict Nicolson, *Courbet: the studio of the painter*, London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1973, pp. 70-73

⁶³ Bridget Abigail Alsdorf, *The art of association: Fantin-Latour and the modern group portrait*, Ph. D. dissertation, Berkeley University of California, 2008, p. 9

requirements of history painting, portraiture, and popular images resulted in a unique aesthetic of collage and transgressive quotation.⁶⁴ By depicting a particular intellectual or aesthetic group in favor of a political and artistic revolution, Courbet adopted a strategy similar to Boilly's group with more complicated groups of social classes and transformed the Bourgeois-like studio into a disordered studio to create "allegorical" dimensions of his artistic life. He nevertheless invented a way of painting that presented an artist within his creation and in the company of his fellow friends and supporters.⁶⁵

3-3. Henri Fantin-Latour

Another important artist who developed the genre of group portrait mentioned by the critics was Henri Fantin-Latour. Fantin-Latour's serial experiments using a group of artists, poets and musicians between the 1860s to the 1880s had influenced the development of the group portrait in France. His eminent group of five portraits usually combined half-length portraits with a painting-within-the-painting and a specific field of artistic allegiance (painting, poetry, and music).⁶⁶ Fantin-Latour's group portraits use a formula that included his fellow colleagues and friends dedicated to their artistic expression and interpersonal relationship. In *Hommage à Delacroix*, Fantin applied Delacroix's portrait and palette to indicate the artistic allegiance of the group. In *Un Coin de table*, he painted Ernest d'Hervilly reading a book to imply a literary context. In *Autour du Piano*, he set the piano in the center to express homage to music. In this aspect, Fantin-Latour's serial group portraits pay homage to painting,

⁶⁴ Dominique de Font-Réaulx, Laurence des Cars, Michel Hilaire, Bruno Mottin, Bertrand Tillier, *Gustave Courbet*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2008, p. 221

⁶⁵ Dominique de Font-Réaulx, Laurence des Cars, Michel Hilaire, Bruno Mottin, Bertrand Tillier, *Gustave Courbet*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2008, p. 220

⁶⁶ Fantin-Latour's five large-scale group portraits between 1864 and 1885 are *Hommage à Delacroix*, 1864; *Le Toast! Hommage à la Vérité*, 1865; *Un Atelier aux Batignolles*, 1870; *Un coin de table*, 1872; and *Autour du piano*, 1885. See Bridget Abigail Alsdorf, *The art of association: Fantin-Latour and the modern group portrait*, Ph. D. dissertation, Berkeley University of California, 2008, pp. 1-2

literature, and music.⁶⁷ He not only succeeded in interpreting the tradition of the group portrait but also initiated an untried formula of this type. Among his works, the most famous one was *Hommage à Delacroix* (Fig. 6). Painted in 1864, this painting definitely strongly influenced Denis' *Hommage à Cézanne*. Following Fantin-Latour, Denis presented a group of contemporary artists paying homage to their admired artists in a celebrated composition. In both cases Delacroix's self-portrait and Cézanne's still life are the center of gravity of the composition.

Hommage à Delacroix shows ten black suit-dressed painters, critics and writers assembled in a blurred interior. They form two rows around a self-portrait of Eugène Delacroix.⁶⁸ In this composition, Delacroix's portrait is displayed in the center and hung on the wall. His position makes him taller than his other admirers, revealing his status among these artists. Also, the arrangement of the figures might reflect the fact that Fantin-Latour, Whistler, and Legros had been close friends since the late 1850s; they form a triangle at the left side.⁶⁹ This arrangement also indicates that Fantin-Latour and Legros are the two leaders among the painters who had been so impressed by Manet's *Guitarrero* that they later formed a group in Manet's studio — the Batignolles school.

Hommage à Delacroix was completed after Delacroix passed away on August 13, 1863.⁷⁰ Its dark composition reminds us of the solemn funeral held after Delacroix's

⁶⁷ According to Udo Kultermann, Fantin-Latour was trying to give a new idea on homage painting to a specific person. See Udo Kultermann, "Fantin Latour's *Hommage à Delacroix* and the formation of homage painting", in *Journal of Art History*, Vol. 48, No. 1, 1979, p. 31.

⁶⁸ From left to right and front to back, these figures can be recognized as Louis Edmond Duranty, Henri Fantin-Latour wears a white shirt with a palette, James Whistler stands in the left of Delacroix's portrait and holds a bouquet, Jules Champfleury, Chales Baudelaire the critic, Louis Cordier, Alphonse Legros, Eugène Delacroix, Edouard Manet stands in the right side, Félix Bracquemond, and Albert de Balleroy.

⁶⁹ Fantin-Latour and Whistler met on October 8, 1858 in the Louvre, where Fantin was busy copying a work by Veronese. However, Whistler ended the friendship with Legros after 1864. Michael Fried, *Manet's Modernism, or, the face of painting in the 1860s*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996, p. 7

⁷⁰ Eugène Delacroix had died on August 13, 1863, a year just before this painting completed. As a leading person in the nineteenth-century France, only a few mourners honored him at his funeral on 17

death. Fantin-Latour referred to Delacroix's photograph as well as to his self-portrait from the Louvre (Fig. 9).⁷¹ By using Delacroix's portrait and a specific group of friends and admirers, this painting not only memorializes the death of the Romantic painter, but also asserts a relationship of affiliation between the Romanticism of the 1830s and the young artists,⁷² as defended by Duranty in 1867: "*Controversial artists pay homage to the memory of one of the greatest controversial artists of our time.*"⁷³

Meanwhile, like Courbet, Manet and Edgar Degas, Fantin-Latour was a great admirer of the seventeenth-century Dutch group portraits.⁷⁴ The study of group portraiture in Dutch painting as a genre was rediscovered by the nineteenth-century French artists and scholars, who reused and adjusted the formation of group

August 1863. In order to memorize him, Fantin-Latour took Delacroix as a very important figure on literature, critic, and art, having a tremendous influence on the young generation. Thus Fantin-Latour's selection for these ten figures represents the dimensions on literary (Baudelaire, Jules Champfleury), critic (Louis Edmond Duranty), and art (Whistler, Fantin-Latour, Manet, Louis Cordier, Alphonse Legros, Félix Bracquemond, Albert de Balleroy). Udo Kultermann, "Fantin Latour's Hommage à Delacroix and the formation of homage painting", in *Journal of Art History*, Vol. 48, No. 1, 1979, pp. 31-32

⁷¹ After modifying the drawings at least three times, in his final version Fantin-Latour established a new pictorial form by combining the *Autoportrait* by Delacroix in 1837 from the Louvre

⁷² Michael Fried, *Manet's Modernism, or, the face of painting in the 1860s*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996, p. 9. Besides, Fantin-Latour painted another allegory figure with homage painting entitled *Le Toast! Hommage à la Vérité*. This painting was exhibited in the Salon of 1865. *La Toast* was to be a manifesto of nearly the same group of painters whom had been assembled in honor of Delacroix. It included Whistler in the center, Manet, Rosetti, Fantin-Latour, Duranty, Bracquemond, Zacharie Astruc. However, Fantin-Latour destroyed this two painting after the Salon closed; only a few fragments survive. *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208

⁷³ "*Des artistes contestés rendant hommage à la mémoire de l'un des grands contestés de ce temps.*" Quoted from Oskar Bätschmann, Eileen Martin (trans.), *The artist in the modern world: a conflict between Market and self-expression*, Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1997, p. 262. In fact, the painters Fantin-Latour depicted in *Hommage à Delacroix* had all been rejected by the selection committee for the Salon of 1863, and had exhibited in the Salon des Refusés the same year. They were considered controversial artists.

⁷⁴ In the many eulogies of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish art, the Frenchman Théophile Thoré (or known as William Bürger) is best known for his rediscovery of the work of painter Frans Hals. The dramatic reversal of Frans Hal's posthumous fortunes as well as his historical role in the seventeenth-century Dutch school and the quality of his paintings were re-established in the mid of nineteenth-century France. It was in Bürger's writing that Hals was first given his historical review. See the detailed discussion Frances Suzman Jowell, "Thoré-Bürger and the revival of Frans Hals", in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (Mar., 1974), pp. 101-117 and his Ph. D. dissertation, *Thoré-Bürger and the art of the past*, Harvard University, 1971. In addition, the nineteenth-century French artists adapted Dutch model to their own cultural and historical moment. They reinvented group portrait to more personal, self-serving ends, and their painting succeeded in representing the special, fragile nature of their collective life.

portraiture to correspond to their social milieu.⁷⁵ According to Douglas Druick, Fantin-Latour may have been influenced by the seventeenth-century French artist Philippe de Champaigne's *Le Prévôt des marchands et les échevins de la ville de Paris* (Fig. 10) exhibited in 1860.⁷⁶ Its centralized composition might have inspired Fantin-Latour to stage Delacroix's portrait under the spotlight.

Another crucial figure appearing in *Hommage à Delacroix* is Édouard Manet. With the strong desire to be accepted in the Salon, Manet became the center of a group of young rebellious artists who caused the scandal of the Salon des Refusés in 1863. Manet's art and social position in fighting against a new relationship to modern reality stood higher in their esteem and was presented in Fantin-Latour's painting.⁷⁷ With this concept, one could conclude that Fantin-Latour painted *L'atelier des Batignolles* (Fig. 11) in 1870, and paid later homage to Édouard Manet and his colleagues.⁷⁸

L'atelier des Batignolles depicts Édouard Manet and his colleagues in his studio.⁷⁹ Fantin-Latour presents a group of artists along with Édouard Manet and

⁷⁵ The most famous study of the Dutch group portraiture is Austrian art historian Alois Riegl's *Das holländische Gruppenporträt in Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* in 1902. Since numerous studies of the Dutch painters were published, rediscovered and re-established that time, Fantin-Latour was familiar with Frans Hals and Rembrandt whom he painted in the Louvre for many years. He used the type of the group portrait from Frans Hals in *Hommage à Delacroix*. Frans Hals' *chiaroscuro* style, solemn atmosphere and serious attitude of figures all had inspired Fantin-Latour's composition.

⁷⁶ During the early 1860s, Manet, Fantin-Latour, Whistler, and Legros were all exhibited at Martinet's, where new and old works were often shown together. In this respect, it is possible that Fantin-Latour had seen Philippe de Champaigne's *Le Prévôt des marchands et les échevins de la ville de Paris*. Quoted from Michael Fried, *Manet's Modernism, or, the face of painting in the 1860s*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996, p. 458, notes 28 and 30. In addition, in Bächtmann's opinion, Fantin replaced the cross with the Delacroix's portrait, the altar with a table and a bouquet of flowers, see Oskar Bächtmann, Eileen Martin (trans.), *The artist in the modern world: a conflict between Market and self-expression*, Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1997, p. 111

⁷⁷ Udo Kultermann, "Fantin Latour's *Hommage à Delacroix* and the formation of homage painting", in *Journal of Art History*, Vol. 48, No. 1, 1979, p. 33

⁷⁸ Actually, in 1867, Fantin-Latour painted Manet in an attitude which was chosen by Manet himself, presenting him as a casual and bourgeois standing position, but not really looks like a painter.

⁷⁹ From left to right and foreground to background can be recognized as Edouard Manet paints in front of an easel in the center; Zacharie Astruc sits on the chair; Frédéric Bazille the painter stands in a *contrapposto* gesture; the German painter Otto Schölderer stands behind Manet; Auguste Renoir wears a chapeau; Emile Zola and the musician Edmond Maître stand next to Renoir, looking at the painter Frédéric Bazille. Finally, Claude Monet's abstract face is at the edge of the frame.

other future impressionists in a studio, watching Manet painting a work on an easel. Zacharie Astruc seems to be a model for Manet for his individual portrait, while Manet's painting is effectively masked by the angle of the easel.⁸⁰ This arrangement reminds us of Boilly's work which positions Isabey's painting in front of an easel by masking the content of his painting. Though Fantin-Latour probably had never seen Boilly's *Réunion d'artistes dans l'atelier d'Isabey*, he adopted that idea of the painter at work. *L'atelier des Batignolles* combines a reunion of artists, with an artist at work and the other artists having a discussion.

L'atelier des Batignolles was painted to pay homage to Édouard Manet and was exhibited in the Salon of 1870. Unlike *Hommage à Delacroix*, this painting became a successful work when it was displayed.⁸¹ Also, this painting may be regarded as an ideal image of a desired continuity between artistic generations after *Hommage à Delacroix*.⁸² Fantin-Latour formed a series of artists' group portraits to identify his ideal artistic generations. By composing the position of each figure, he not only re-established their circle, but also revealed their interpersonal relationships.

One such example which combined the interpersonal relationships and pictorial dialogue of Fantin-Latour and his circle is Frédéric Bazille's *L'Atelier de la rue La*

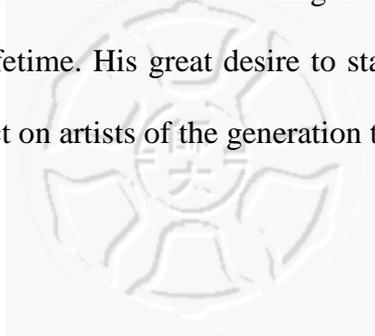
⁸⁰ The art critic Zacharie Astruc had kept close friendship with Manet for many years. In 1863, he wrote the critique on Salon. He praised Manet as the greatest artistic personality of the time, possessing brilliance, inspiration, and strong influence on art. Moreover, Zacharie Astruc had long been a supporter of Courbet. He associated with Fantin-Latour and Manet ever since the late 1850s before he played an important role in the formation of the Batignolles group. Besides, it was Zacharie Astruc who noticed Manet's *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* was inspired by Giorgione in 1863. See John Goodman (trans.), *Frédéric Bazille: prophet of Impressionism*, New York: The Booklyn Museum, 1993, p. 55-56

⁸¹ Udo Kultermann, "Fantin Latour's *Hommage à Delacroix* and the formation of homage painting", in *Journal of Art History*, Vol. 48, No. 1, 1979, pp. 36; however, one of a most derisory reaction to this painting came from Bertall in *Le Journal Amusant*: Manet was awarded the most ludicrous distinction, a halo, while the caption mockingly described the group as Jesus and his disciples. From Oskar Bätschmann, Eileen Martin (trans.), *The artist in the modern world : a conflict between Market and self-expression*, Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1997, p. 138

⁸² As in Théodore Duret's opinion: "*This painting represented Manet and his group in a studio in the Batignolles quarter, and offered the public and journalists the qualifying tag they'd been waiting for, one that was perfectly consistent with their ideas. Thus did Manet and his friends come to be generally designated, in this moment and several years after, as the Batignolles School. There never was any Batignolles School.*" John Goodman (trans.), *Frédéric Bazille: Prophet of Impressionism*, New York: The Booklyn Museum, 1993, p. 46

Condamine (Fig. 12) in 1870.⁸³ In his painting, Bazille represented himself with Édouard Manet, Claude Monet and Edmond Maître (they all appeared in Fantin's *L'atelier des Batignolles*), and he almost posed with the same *contrapposto* gesture as in *L'atelier des Batignolles*,⁸⁴ as if he wanted to introduce a pictorial dialogue and connection with Fantin-Latour and Manet. The strategy of pictorial dialogue not only revealed the personal opinions of the artists themselves, but also presented a self-consciousness to relate to their artistic circle.

Fantin-Latour's two other group portraits, *Un Coin de table* (fig. 13) and *Autour du Piano* (Fig. 14), depict a poets' society of the Parnassian circle and a group of musicians gathering together indoors. By composing a group of artists in an identity of allegiance, Fantin-Latour was no doubt looking for the ideal representation of artistic association in his lifetime. His great desire to stage artists in his serial group portraits had made an impact on artists of the generation to come.



3-4. Félix Vallotton

One of the contemporary examples which can be compared with Denis' work is that of his fellow Nabi colleague Félix Vallotton. Vallotton painted *Les Cinq Peintres* (Fig.15) around 1902 and 1903 in a way that corresponds to Denis' group portrait. But *Les Cinq Peintres* raised numerous questions related to its composition. As we know, Vallotton rarely portrayed his fellow Nabis, but in this painting five Nabi artists are in an interior-like space with distant facial expressions and body gestures⁸⁵ — Vallotton

⁸³ Frédéric Bazille had painted at least three studio paintings around 1865-1870.

⁸⁴ Bazille was known to pose for *L'atelier des Batignolles*'s preparatory drawing. On 24 January, 1870, Bazille wrote to his parents: "...I was unable to attend the burial of Victor Noir, because of the pouring rain that fell that day and because I was posing for the painting by Fantin, one of my friends..." Quoted from John Goodman (trans.), *Frédéric Bazille: prophet of Impressionism*, New York: The Booklyn Museum, 1993, p. 166. Furthermore, Bazille was killed during the Franco-Prussian War at the battle of Beaune-la-Rolande on 28 November, 1870.

⁸⁵ The figures from left to right and foreground to background can be identified as Pierre Bonnard sits on a chair in profile, Charles Cottet scowls and sits on a chair, Ker-Xavier Roussel in another side of

emphasized the different gestures of hands and facial expressions of his colleagues, but he did not portray his fellow colleagues as a conversation group as in Denis' case. In *Hommage à Cézanne*, the Nabis are positioned closely to each other, they have an interaction with each other in their group, and especially Sérusier and Redon are carrying on a dialogue. But in Vallotton's painting, the five Nabis are staged in a blurred interior, frowning or meditating; these five figures have no contact with each other. Their empty and rhetorical hands express the alienation of each other. It seems that *Les Cinq Peintres* is not merely a group portrait of the Nabis, but contains five autonomous portraits focusing on their individuality and singularity.⁸⁶

As one of his largest easel paintings, Vallotton's work represents a statement of manifesto-like dimensions.⁸⁷ Called "*le Nabi étranger*" by his colleagues, Vallotton's strange and acerbic vision hindered him from having an intimate relationship with most of the Nabis. His isolated status toward his colleagues probably caused him to paint a distant group in a reaction countering Denis' ideal representation.⁸⁸ His interest in face might explain why he focused much more on the particularity of each figure in *Les Cinq Peintres*.⁸⁹ The reasons above make it possible to explain the composition of *Les Cinq Peintres*. In particular, Ker-Xavier Roussel and Pierre Bonnard's gestures in *Les Cinq Peintres* almost refer to the gesture and profile. Sérusier and Redon are performing in *Hommage à Cézanne*: in Vallotton's case,

the profile, Félix Vallotton hands on hip, Edouard Vuillard intersects his hands with a worried frown.

⁸⁶ This also reminds us of a similar painting painted by the Danish artist Vilhelm Hammershøi's *Five Portraits* in 1901. Its dramatic lighting and distant atmosphere also caused the individuality and singularity of the five autonomous figures.

⁸⁷ Sasha M. Newman; with essays by Marina Ducrey (ed.), *Félix Vallotton: a retrospective*, New Haven: Yale University, 1991, p. 108

⁸⁸ In 1898 Vallotton wrote to his brother, revealing his status of being a stranger in the Nabi group: "*My official status here is becoming unbearable...so much that I intend to apply for citizenship. I think that I am acting correctly, because in my present situation I feel dependent on everyone and helpless. It is paralyzing me in my work, and my position as a foreigner is beginning to depress me.*" Quoted from Natalia Brodskaya, *Félix Vallotton: the Nabi from Switzerland*, Parkstone, Bournemouth, England: Aurora Art Publishers, 1996, p. 118

⁸⁹ Vallotton had painted several self-portraits, including drawings, oil paintings and engravings. He always began with himself as a model.

Roussel is depicted in profile, and he stands with the same gesture as Sérusier in *Hommage à Cézanne*. It may be assumed that *Les Cinq Peintres* probably tried to respond to *Hommage à Cézanne*. In his painting, Denis painted almost all the members of the Nabis, except Vallotton.⁹⁰ Little had been known about why Denis chose the arrangement of the members, but Denis had recognized that Vallotton was one of the few artists of his generation who was not influenced by Cézanne,⁹¹ and since *Hommage à Cézanne* was a painting where the young Nabi generation gave tribute to him, it didn't seem necessary to present an independent and isolated artist like Vallotton.

From the date and subject matter as well as the close relationship of the same circle, *Hommage à Cézanne* could have inspired *Les Cinq Peintres*. Moreover, they both had held exhibitions in the Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts.⁹² Another possible reason Vallotton composed this painting might be much more purposeful: before 1900, the Nabis had effectively disbanded their group,⁹³ Vallotton nevertheless chose to be cold, abstract, and confrontational on his paintings, depicting himself as slightly removed from the group, looking out to the viewer, hands on his lips — as if knowingly distancing himself from their communications.⁹⁴ In John Klein's opinion, the painting *Les Cinq Peintres* was a self-consciously created anti-Nabi statement which implied the individuality of Vallotton himself and his

⁹⁰ This opinion was mentioned by John Klein. In his opinion, Vallotton used *Les Cinq Peintres* to against Denis' *Hommage à Cézanne*. Although Vallotton kept in contact with Bonnard, Roussel, and Denis over the years, he only maintained a close friendship with Vuillard. See Sasha M. Newman; with essays by Marina Ducrey (ed.), *Félix Vallotton: a retrospective*, New Haven: Yale University, 1991, p. 108

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 181

⁹² The former had exhibited in 1901. The latter had exhibited in 1903 under the neutral title *Group of Portraits*.

⁹³ During the ten years after the group was formed, each member had developed according to his own particular beliefs, and eventually left to go his separate way. Claire Frèches-Thory and Antoine Terrasse, *The Nabis: Bonnard, Vuillard and their circle*, Paris: Flammarion, 2002, p. 27

⁹⁴ Bridget Abigail Alsdorf, *The art of association: Fantin-Latour and the modern group portrait*, Ph. D. dissertation, Berkeley University of California, 2008, p. 342

colleagues, as well as their aloof friendship.⁹⁵ Thus Vallotton paid more attention to physiognomy, bearing and presentation than to psychological exploration as well as the complexity of human relationships.⁹⁶ This opinion explains why the gesture of Ker-Xavier Roussel and Pierre Bonnard in *Les Cinq Peintres* almost refers to the same gesture and profile as Paul Sérusier and Odilon Redon in *Hommage à Cézanne*; it was a pictorial reaction as well as a refutation for Vallotton to coordinate his artwork with Denis' *Hommage à Cézanne*.⁹⁷

4. Conclusion

In comparison to Boilly, Courbet, and Fantin-Latour's group portraits, Denis chose a gallery depiction instead of setting an atelier scene.⁹⁸ *Hommage à Cézanne* depicts a group of Nabi artists who are all dressed in black and gather together around Paul Cézanne's still life. It is an imaginary event, not a reality; it happens in a gallery, not in a studio. The studio used to be a private place of individual creation, but in Boilly and Courbet's paintings, they had transformed the space of creation into a half-public space open to spectators,⁹⁹ and it was no longer merely a lonely private place to create art. Also, the gallery used to be an open public space used as an aesthetic forum and exhibition, but Denis seems to enclose his group of artists forming a semi-circle in an intimate conversation. Denis turned a public gallery into a

⁹⁵ See John Klein, "Portraiture and assimilation of the 'very singular Vallotton'", in Sasha M. Newman, *Félix Vallotton: a retrospective*, New Haven: Yale University, 1991, pp. 108-110

⁹⁶ Marina Ducrey (ed.), *Félix Vallotton: a retrospective*, New Haven: Yale University, 1991,

⁹⁷ Oskar Bätschmann, Eileen Martin (trans.), *The artist in the modern world: a conflict between Market and self-expression*, Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1997, pp. 150-151

⁹⁸ Actually, in the end of nineteenth-century, art gallery has become a forum for contemporary art to meet its public, and that is also the reason why Vollard appeared in Denis' painting. See Marci Regan, *Paul Durand-Ruel and the market for early Modernism*, Master Thesis, Louisiana State University, 1997, p. 14

⁹⁹ Albeit it was only about 1820 that the artist's studio in France became a secluded place of lonely creativity to which only the privileged had access. In the eighteenth-century, the studio was in most cases a workshop where a number of people were engaged in craft or artistic work. While in Boilly and Courbet's case, they combined the political intention and self-wish in a studio. See Oskar Bätschmann, Eileen Martin (trans.), *The artist in the modern world : a conflict between Market and self-expression*, Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1997, pp. 94-95

half-private space. The uncertainty surrounding the studio and gallery's status as private or public was dramatized by these artists. This contradictory situation reveals the different arrangements of group portraiture and their social context— although they are all composed by contemporary artists (Boilly, Courbet, Fantin-Latour, and Denis who always chose their fellow colleagues and friends as a main group). Apparently Denis' choice to set *Hommage à Cézanne* in a dealer's gallery raised another intention to indicate the importance of the dealer — Ambroise Vollard.

Hommage à Delacroix has been seen as the direct predecessor to *Hommage à Cézanne*.¹⁰⁰ In many ways, Denis' work is also a tribute to Fantin-Latour, with its similar title, tightly grouped figures, compressed interior space, sober bourgeois decorum, and painting-within-a-painting motifs.¹⁰¹ These two paintings both belong to the tradition of the *Hommage* and the *Artistes en groupe*, but they contain different features. In Fantin-Latour's work, all the participants are not looking directly at the portrait of Delacroix; instead, almost all of them are facing outward from the painting looking at the viewers. In addition, Denis' group reacts with Redon and Cézanne's still life. They are not facing the spectators, nor does Delacroix's "self-portrait" which faces the spectators directly in Fantin-Latour's work. While we can see that a group of artists in *Hommage à Cézanne* form an enclosed conversation shape, having no contact with the beholder, only Marthe near the edge of the frame is the only one who has visual contact with the audience. Compared with Fantin-Latour, Denis' group breaks its masculine mold by including a woman.¹⁰² Marthe's knowing look toward

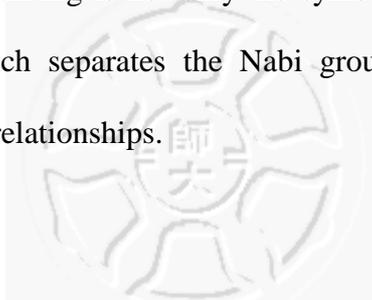
¹⁰⁰ However, according to Oskar Bätschmann, the only possible predecessor for *Hommage à Cézanne* could be Adolphe Menzels' *Posthumous Fame*, which concludes the bitter depiction of the career of an artist in *Künstlers Erdenwallen* in 1834. See Oskar Bätschmann, Eileen Martin (trans.), *The artist in the modern world: a conflict between Market and self-expression*, Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1997, p. 113

¹⁰¹ Bridget Abigail Alsdorf, *Fellow men: Fantin-Latour and the problem of the group in Nineteenth-century French painting*, Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013, P. 238

¹⁰² From the opinion of Bridget Alsdorf, the corrosive force of masculine anxiety impelled the artists in the end of the nineteenth-century to struggle with their belief in collectivity as a viable social and

the viewer confirms her outsider status in the group.¹⁰³ Furthermore, Denis' choice to apply full-length figures did not adopt artistic group portraiture such as Fantin's usual half-length composition. It seems that Denis intended to adopt El Greco's arrangement in *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*. We tend to recognize that Denis combines Fantin-Latour and El Greco's composition in his arranged group portraiture, a centralized composition and full-length group figures in a dark and solemn background.

Denis follows Fantin's centralized composition by arranging the Nabi as a group in *Hommage à Cézanne*. Nevertheless, he separates eight of the Nabi artists into two rows — the Latin taste and Semetic taste to stand around Cézanne's still life.¹⁰⁴ Hence Cézanne's painting is not only the symbol of Cézanne himself, but a distinctive recognition which separates the Nabi group from Denis' intention to indicate their interpersonal relationships.



pictorial project. The pride became one of the identities for men, and resulted in the artist to paint the appearance of bourgeois-like men in their painting. Bridget Abigail Alsdorf in her study focuses on the case of Henri Fantin-Latour, especially for his major group portraits. She claims that the absence of women and the representation of modern life (fragmentation, contingency, and scenes of bourgeois leisure) are the two topics for Fantin-Latour to express his anxiety. Denis' case is completely different. Denis seldom represents the scenes of modern life, and women are the main figures in his painting oftentimes, especially his wife Marthe. In this point of view, Denis might be chiefly influenced by Fantin-Latour's formation, rather than his masculine atmosphere. See Bridget Abigail Alsdorf, *The art of association: Fantin-Latour and the modern group portrait*, Ph. D. dissertation, Berkeley University of California, 2008

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 342

¹⁰⁴ In his diary, Denis classified the Nabis into two parts, the Latin group (Ranson, Sérusier, Denis) and the Semitic (Vuillard, Bonnard, Redon, Vallotton) group. Denis characterized the Latin taste as (1) big paintings; (2) painted with pure colors more or less dark; (3) symbolic; (4) dependent upon documentary sources, geometric proportions, or models; (5) great importance given to the human figures; (6) have to be made in studios; (7) very simple, unified technique. He characterized the Jewish taste as (1) small pictures; (2) dark; (3) from nature; (4) made from memory, without models; (5) little importance given to figures, and consequently to drawing; (6) better off in a small, poorly lit room than in a studio or an exhibition; (7) complicated technique. This opinion indicates that Denis has his selection in preference to arrange his taste in *Hommage à Cézanne*, therefore he put the preferred Latin taste in the closed position: Paul Sérusier, Paul Ranson, and Denis himself. See Guillermo Solana, Richard Shiff, Guy Cogeval, Maria Dolores Jiménez-Blanco (ed.), *Gauguin and the origins of Symbolism*, London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2004, pp. 61-64 and Douglas W. Druick, Gloria Groom, Fred Leeman, Maryanne Stevens (ed.), *Odilon Redon: prince of dreams 1840-1906*, Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1994, p. 202

The comparison helps to explain the similarities and differences among these paintings. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to notice that *Hommage à Cézanne* substitutes a still life for Paul Cézanne's portrait. This substitution is different from the previous works. As we know, Denis always wished to play a prominent part in the artistic life in Paris. He always wanted to take on the role of not only a painter, but also of an art critic, a theorist, an instructor, and even a preacher.¹⁰⁵

Also, Denis' painting belongs to a pictorial dialogue with the tradition of group portraiture that corresponds with his contemporaries. This installation demonstrates an interest in collective painting that was itself formed collectively, shaped and reshaped in a network of artists and writers, colleagues and friends, as well as weaved into their artistic association and solidarity.

In this painting, the dominant tendency among scholars has been to view it as a document of Cézanne's rising reputation in the beginning of the twentieth-century, rather than as a painting with its own formal tensions and interests. Cézanne's significance for the early twentieth-century modernism has led scholars to take the appearance of *Compotier, verre et pommes* for granted, extracting it out of the complicated context in which it was appreciated.¹⁰⁶ Obviously not only does *Hommage à Cézanne* adopt the tradition of the group portraiture, but it also operates in a more complicated dimension in its transformed formula, especially the dominant position of Cézanne's *Compotier, verre et pommes* and the presentation of the chosen Nabis. In the following chapter, I will discuss the importance of Cézanne's still life for Denis and his colleagues. Furthermore, I will analyze how Cézanne's still life shapes the Nabis circle in a pictorial dialogue.

¹⁰⁵ Albert Kostenevich, *The Nabis*, New York: Parkstone Press International, 2009, p. 178

¹⁰⁶ Katherine Marie Kuenzli, "Aesthetics and cultural politics in the age of Dreyfus: Maurice Denis's *Homage to Cézanne*", in *Art History*, Vol. 30, No. 5, 2007, p. 688

CHAPER TWO: Cézanne's still life *Compotier, verre et pommes*

1. Introduction

In his painting, Denis chose Vollard's gallery as his assumed location, putting Cézanne's still life surrounded by a group of artists in the center. Cézanne's still life became an emblem of Denis' admired artist. This installation arouses an interesting strategy. Unlike his predecessor such as Fantin-Latour had done, he did not present an individual portrait positioned in a studio as a centerpiece to pay his homage. Denis' decision to place a painting as a representation of an admired master in a dealer's gallery is kind of a renewed strategy. However, since Cézanne's *Compotier, verre et pommes* (Fig. 5) was not in Vollard's collection, why did Denis choose this painting to represent his respectable master? What resulted in his decision? And what is the meaning and importance of Cézanne's still life for Denis? In order to understand this issue, it is necessary to analyze the importance and meaning of the presence of Cézanne's still life for Denis, and try to understand that Cézanne's still life actually plays a crucial role as a collective interest in the pictorial dialogue between Denis and his community, especially in the case of Gauguin, Sérusier and Bernard.

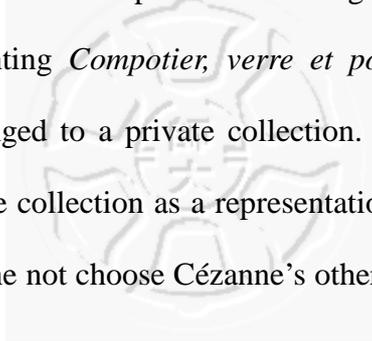
Hence this chapter accentuates the importance and meaning of Cézanne's still life *Compotier, verre et pommes*. I underscore how the pictorial dialogue works among the Nabi generation, as well as their leader and friends. Furthermore, I especially analyze the attitude of Denis and Gauguin and the way they appropriated from Cézanne.

2. A theoretical circumstance in a dealer's gallery

In his work, Denis stages the members of the Nabi group as well as their friends and supporters gathering in Vollard's gallery around a still life painting. In the background of this group, there are at least four paintings visible. In the center is a

still life entitled *Comptoir, verre et pommes* (Fig. 5) painted by Cézanne in the 1880s. The other three paintings hung on the rear wall are not easy to recognize, but they might be painted by Paul Gauguin, Auguste Renoir and Edouard Vuillard. It seems that Denis painted recognizable traits rather than quoting specific canvases.¹⁰⁷ Denis' strategy to cite his group on a dealer's premises gives a direct tribute to Vollard's patronage.¹⁰⁸

As I mentioned before, the focus of Denis' painting, Cézanne's still life occupies a dominant place in the composition, which he chose to position in a centerpiece of a gallery to represent his respectable master rather than staging Cézanne's individual portrait. However, if the paintings displayed in Vollard's gallery may document Vollard's taste,¹⁰⁹ and the painters he patronized during this period,¹¹⁰ it appears that the only recognizable painting *Comptoir, verre et pommes* was not in Vollard's collection. Instead, it belonged to a private collection. We may wonder why Denis chose a work from a private collection as a representation of his admirable master in Vollard's gallery. Why did he not choose Cézanne's other available works in Vollard's



¹⁰⁷ Although fragmentary of the canvases are partly hidden by the figures. But scholars have identified the two paintings hanging on the wall from left to right respectively painted in the style of Gauguin and Renoir. See Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), Josephine Bacon, Caroline Newman, and Shena Wilson (trans.), *Maurice Denis: earthly paradise*, Paris: Musée Nationaux, 2006, p. 208; Katherine Marie Kuenzli, "Aesthetics and cultural politics in the age of Dreyfus: Maurice Denis's Homage to Cézanne", in *Art History*, Vol. 30, No. 5, 2007, p. 687

¹⁰⁸ The Nabi artist's progress during their first ten years or so was followed closely by their first supporter Le Barc de Boutteville from 1891 to 1896 and Ambroise Vollard. Vollard moved his shop into rue Laffitte in about 1895, supporting Bonnard, Cézanne, Denis, Redon, Renoir, Sisley, Toulouse-Lautrec, and Vuillard for their artistic careers. See Claire Frèches-Thory and Antoine Terrasse, *The Nabis: Bonnard, Vuillard and their circle*, Paris: Flammarion, 2002, p. 354. On the other hand, placing a group of artists assembled in a dealer's gallery reveals Denis' different arrangement from a tradition of group portrait. This strategy demonstrates the transformation of the site for artist to stage their group in cabinet of curiosity, the salon, the studio and the gallery.

¹⁰⁹ Based on the study of Victor Stoichita, the painting-within-the-painting is a strategy that presents a certain view point from the artist. In Denis' case, he especially assumes his group in a dealer's gallery, which coincides with Stoichita's discussion that he concludes the-painting-within-the-painting originates from the idea of cabinet of curiosity (*cabinets de curiosités*) or *kunstkammer* in the seventeenth-century. Victor I. Stoichita, Anne-Galsheen (trans.), *The self-aware image: an insight into early modern meta-painting*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997

¹¹⁰ Ambroise Vollard opened his first gallery at 37, rue Laffitte in 1893 and within a decade had introduced to the public many artists of the avant-garde. Vollard had played an important role in promoting the avant-garde in the end of nineteenth-century and twentieth-century.

collection?

3. Cézanne's still life

3-1. Cézanne's importance

Apparently Cézanne's *Compotier, verre et pommes* meant a lot to Denis. He selected this painting rather than any of those Vollard might have put at his disposition, and copied it in George Viau's private Parisian collection in 1899 (Fig. 16).¹¹¹ Later, he even executed a lithograph of Cézanne's composition in 1914 (Fig. 17).¹¹²

There are at least three reasons that may explain Denis' motivation. First of all, Denis' growing fascination with Cézanne in 1898 and 1899 accounted for his decision to revise the subject of his homage from Redon to Cézanne. However, he did not meet Cézanne until 1906. After achieving his group portrait six years later, Denis made a trip to visit Cézanne in Aix-en-Provence (Fig. 18).¹¹³ This account explains why Denis put Cézanne's still life instead of an individual portrait of the painter, since he did not know Cézanne's appearance before they met.¹¹⁴

Secondly, in 1899, Denis and Vollard mentioned in a conversation that Cézanne's *Compotier, verre et pommes* might bring Redon and Sérusier to resolve their methodological differences.¹¹⁵ For Denis, the importance of Cézanne's still life was not only related to its form, technique, and composition, but also to the spirit of

¹¹¹ Denis, *Journal*, I: 157, quoted from Katherine Marie Kuenzli, "Aesthetics and cultural politics in the age of Dreyfus: Maurice Denis's Homage to Cézanne", in *Art History*, Vol. 30, No. 5, 2007, p. 710, note 69

¹¹² Bernheim-Jeune's *Cézanne* published in 1914, which was a masterly black-and-white lithographic transcription of Cézanne's still life.

¹¹³ In January 26 to February 9, 1906, Denis traveled to Provence with Ker-Xavier Roussel, visiting Paul Cézanne, Henri-Edmond Cross, Paul Signac and Auguste Renoir.

¹¹⁴ Although Cézanne was interested in his self-portrait, and painted dozens of this subject matter, but he had lived far away from Paris, keeping the distance from the artistic circle. Hence his self-portrait was not familiar with other young artists. Besides, although Denis could use photograph to replace Cézanne's portrait, the photograph probably cannot not express the "sensation" and spirituality of Cézanne.

¹¹⁵ Katherine Marie Kuenzli, "Aesthetics and cultural politics in the age of Dreyfus: Maurice Denis's Homage to Cézanne", in *Art History*, Vol. 30, No. 5, 2007, p. 701

the artist himself. This still life embodied Cézanne's spiritual expression in sensation, and became one of the main reasons why Denis chose it as the representation of Cézanne. As Denis wrote down later to point out the importance of *Compotier, verre et pommes* standing for Cézanne himself and his spirit: "... [This painting] constitutes a work of art, it's not the artist's taste, it's his willpower, life, and also his life that he puts into it. This effort must not be brought to bear solely on the totality of the painting, on the general arrangement, the game of brushworks, the distribution, etc., but on each parts (details furnished by nature, in general) must be the same, one and exactly realized."¹¹⁶ For Denis, *Compotier, verre et pommes* is like a personification of Cézanne.

Moreover, *Compotier, verre et pommes* was exhibited at the Centennale in Paris in 1900,¹¹⁷ gaining great success from critics, such as André Mellerio (he is also one of the figures in *Hommage à Cézanne*). In 1900, Mellerio repeated his praise of Cézanne in his Vollard review, complimenting Cézanne was a true painter and his art was "original and pure".¹¹⁸

Thirdly, in the 1890s, Symbolist artists and critics emphasized the way Cézanne broke with the principles of narrative and painterly illusionism, treating the canvas as an expressive surface. Cézanne was considered a representative of the early history of Symbolism and praised as a decorator who created subtle harmonies through spatial

¹¹⁶ Quoted from John Rewald, in collaboration with Walter Feilchenfeldt and Jayne Warman, *The paintings of Paul Cézanne: a catalogue raisonné Volume I*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996, p. 278

¹¹⁷ The Centennale exhibition of 1900 in Paris had exhibited three works of Cézanne, including *Compotier, verre et pommes*, *Paysage*, and *Mon jardin*. See Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Cézanne and Provence: the painter in his culture*, Chicago & London: The university of Chicago, 2003, pp. 247-248. The Centennale was organized by Roger Marx, the modernist and the skilled mediator between the divergent worlds of official culture and the independent avant-garde. He had interceded with Antonin Proust, the minister of fine arts, who in favor of Cézanne. See Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Cézanne and Provence: the painter in his culture*, Chicago & London: The university of Chicago, 2003, p. 297. No. 4

¹¹⁸ "Cézanne, temperament original mais inégalement réalisé. Peintre integral, d'une peinture pure et largement établie." André Mellerio, *L'Exposition de 1900 et l'Impressionisme* (Paris : Flour, 1900, p.8), quoted from Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Cézanne and Provence: the painter in his culture*, Chicago & London: The university of Chicago, 2003, pp. 248+303

flattening and rhythmic deployments of line and color.¹¹⁹ This connection relates to the early development of the Nabi group and their follower — Gauguin and Sérusier. In Gauguin and Sérusier's cases, they both quoted Cézanne's still life as their early experiment to search an ideal expression and collective interest. Their tribute to Cézanne had influenced Denis' selection to carry on a dialogue with his companions.

3-2. Cézanne's painting as a prototype

As we mentioned, Denis' selection and appropriation of Cézanne's still life was not his own idea. He was influenced by his fellow colleagues. In fact, Cézanne's paintings played an important role in Gauguin's and Sérusier's formulation of a Symbolist aesthetic during the late 1880s and early 1890s.¹²⁰ Gauguin's female portrait *Maria Derrien à la nature morte de Cézanne* painted in 1890 (Fig. 19) was the first painting to quote Cézanne's still life. As the owner and admirer of *Compotier, verre et pommes* in 1880s, Gauguin used it in his female portrait's background, and even copied its original size as well as Cézanne's constructive style.¹²¹ Meanwhile, Gauguin also painted *Oranges et citrons avec vue sur Pont-Aven* (Fig. 20) in direct response to Cézanne. Later on, in 1891, Paul Sérusier, one of the leaders of the Nabis followed Gauguin's lead, painted his own series of still life after Cézanne entitled *Nature morte: l'atelier de l'artiste* (Fig. 21). It was evident that Gauguin's *Oranges et citrons avec vue sur Pont-Aven* influenced Sérusier's work. These two close friends both painted the still life on a table with a compotier and white tablecloth, as well as a window opened in the background, dominating an exterior city view. Moreover,

¹¹⁹ Katherine Marie Kuenzli, "Aesthetics and cultural politics in the age of Dreyfus: Maurice Denis's Homage to Cézanne", in *Art History*, Vol. 30, No. 5, 2007, p. 703

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 702

¹²¹ Actually, Gauguin initially owned Cézanne's *Compotier, verre et pommes* in the 1880s, and based a number of compositions on it, he painted two paintings *Maria Derrien à la nature morte de Cézanne* (1890) and *Nature morte avec pommes, poires et cruche Portrait Céramique* (1890) to imitate Cézanne's style.

Cézanne's follower Émile Bernard's *Nature morte aux pommes d'après Cézanne* (Fig. 22) painted in 1904 also attempted to appropriate the form of *Compotier, verre et pommes*.¹²² But Bernard's still life is different from Gauguin, and he did not intend to make an imitation from Cézanne. Unlike Gauguin, Bernard used a pointillist technique instead of the constructive strokes in composing his work, and replaced Gauguin's lively colors with darker ones. Nevertheless, he chose the composition of Cézanne's still life as his self study, since he also regarded Cézanne as a great master.¹²³

As we can see, more than four paintings painted by three different artists of the same circle used the composition of Cézanne's famous still life. It seems that the work became a kind of icon for these artists. It was no longer a pure still life. By quoting the same painting from Cézanne, the collective interest of this circle formed a dialectic conversation for expressing their interest on their respectable master, sharing their common enthusiasm and sympathy on the subject, as well as relating the fellowship of their group.¹²⁴ It is clear that the great affection Gauguin and Sérusier had toward Cézanne inspired Denis' choice in his group portrait, since they once

¹²² Bernard was a precocious man of twenty when he began to work with Gauguin in 1888. His great enthusiasm for new ideas served him well in the early years of Synthetism. These two close friends worked closely together only in 1889 and 1890. Latter, in 1891, Bernard accused that Gauguin plagiarized the idea and the original style of Synthetism. They broke up their friendship since this event. On the other hand, Bernard had a close contact with Cézanne, they wrote to each other very often. In this respect, Bernard's *Nature morte aux pommes d'après Cezanne* may solely influenced by Cézanne, or gave a direct respect to Cézanne.

¹²³ Bernard had a close relationship with Cézanne after he broke up with Gauguin. Like Gauguin, he also admired Cézanne, and both Bernard and Cézanne had kept up regular correspondence with each other. The same year of the painting *Nature morte aux pommes d'après Cezanne*, Bernard visited Cézanne in Aix-en-Provence. Actually, as a diligent young student, Bernard adopted several of Cézanne's advice on painting. The most famous one was that Cézanne told Bernard that he should "treat nature by the cylinder, the sphere, the cone, everything in proper perspective so that each side of an object or a plane is directed towards a central plane." See John Rewald (ed.), Marguerite Kay (trans.), *Paul Cézanne letters*, Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1946, p. 234

¹²⁴ However, Cézanne's reaction expressed extreme attitudes to them. He was delighted to write to Denis, using his "warmest gratitude" toward Denis and other young Nabi artists, and he wrote in 15 April 1901 that "he was touched by the expressions of artistic sympathy expressed by Bernard" the same years that Bernard appropriated his still life. On the other hand, he became angry about Gauguin's female portrait, complaining that Gauguin was a kind of thief to steal his art. One can interpret that despite Denis' appropriation of *Compotier, Verre et Pommes*, he did not ultimately mean to imitate Cézanne so much as to use this painting as a means rallying the group of artists.

maintained a very close relationship and artistic allegiance for several years. All in all, since Gauguin was the first person to quote Cézanne's *Compotier, verre et pommes*, and he was also regarded as a influential leader to the Nabi group, then the mutual quotations from Sérusier, Denis and Bernard demonstrate the collective interest they adopted from Gauguin as their pictorial dialogue. In this aspect, *Compotier, verre et pommes* became a medium among these artists to carry on a confidential conversation.

The reasons above explain the importance of Cézanne's *Compotier, verre et pommes* for Denis. They also explain why Denis chose to position his circle as a group of "students" rather than a group of professional artists gathered around Cézanne's still life as a presence of his fellow master.¹²⁵ For Denis, *Compotier, verre et pommes* is an ideal model in many aspects. It not only stands for Cézanne's spirit, but it also operates a pictorial connection to their fellowship. At the same time, we can observe that the pictorial dialogue between the different members in the group obey the similar strategy of sharing their collectivity. Before breaking up their friendship in 1891, both Bernard and Gauguin painted their self-portrait with each other in the background of their paintings in 1888. At Vincent van Gogh's request,¹²⁶ Bernard painted his *Autoportrait avec portrait de Gauguin* (Fig. 23) in Brittany, sending the painting to Arles when it was finished. Bernard painted his self-portrait at the left side in three-quarter profile with a hat, and in the background of the right side put a scrawl with Gauguin's portrait and part of a seascape from a Japanese *Ukiyo-e* in an enclosed

¹²⁵ Denis wrote to Cézanne: "Perhaps you will now have some idea of the place you occupy in the painting of our time, of the admiration you inspire, and of the enlightened enthusiasm of a few young people, myself included, who can rightly call themselves your students." See chapter one

¹²⁶ Vincent van Gogh had written to Gauguin and Bernard requesting that the two artists paint portraits of each other and send the finished canvases to him in Arles. In a letter to his brother Theo in September 1888, he mentioned this idea: "...I would very much like to have here the portrait of Bernard by Gauguin and that of Gauguin by Bernard." However, Bernard replied that he did not feel confident enough to paint Gauguin's portrait; therefore, he painted the painting to him instead, inscribing with the text "à mon copain Vincent". See Debora Silverman, *Van Gogh and Gauguin: the search for sacred art*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000, pp. 27-35

interior. Although Bernard is looking at the spectator, the two intimate friends seem to face each other, as if they are carrying on a dialogue. Gauguin's *Autoportrait avec portrait de Bernard* (*Les Misérables*, Fig. 24) finished in the same year used a similar strategy and responded to Bernard's painting. Like Bernard, Gauguin painted his self-portrait at the left side in three-quarter profile, looking at the spectator with melancholy. In the floral background is a scrawl with Bernard's profile (interestingly, Bernard's portrait is holding a palette, and this arrangement may intend to indicate his profession). Even though Gauguin is looking at the audience, Bernard and he are still facing each other. Vincent van Gogh's request for the portraits expressed the ethos of fellowship and interdependence he projected for the group, prefiguring the goals of complementarities and interchange to be practiced by the community of artist-brothers.¹²⁷ The case of Bernard and Gauguin's self portrait explain the strategy of a pictorial dialogue installed and executed in their artistic community.¹²⁸

4. Gauguin's appropriation of Cézanne

In appropriating other artists' works,¹²⁹ Gauguin was looking for a synthetic

¹²⁷ "Only by associating thus, each of us will be more himself, and union is strength." Vincent van Gogh had dreamed of associating many artists in his Yellow House, believing that only in a dependent situation where the singularities of artists would cede to solidarity and each artist would realize his best nature and art through collaboration. Debora Silverman, *Van Gogh and Gauguin: the search for sacred art*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2000, p. 29

¹²⁸ In fact, Vincent van Gogh also participated in this artistic dialogue; he sent Gauguin his painting *Self-portrait dedicated to Gauguin* painted in the same year as the exchange for the self-portrait. In addition, Vincent told Theo that he wished to have a portrait of Seurat by Seurat himself in October 1888. In the end of September or the beginning of October 1888, Vincent wrote to his brother Theo, mentioning about these two paintings, "...I have just received the portrait of Gauguin by himself and the portrait of Bernard by Bernard and in the background of the portrait of Gauguin there is Bernard's on the wall, and vice versa...the Gauguin is of course remarkable, but I very much like Bernard's picture. It is just the inner vision of a painter, a few abrupt tones, a few dark lines, but it has the distinction of a real, real Manet." Quoted from Vincent van Gogh, Johanna van Gogh-Bonger, Elfreda Powell (ed.), *The letters of Vincent van Gogh to his brother and others, 1872-1890*, London: Constable & Robinson Ltd, 2003, p. 238

¹²⁹ According to the Oxford Art dictionary, the definition of "appropriation" is "to refer to a tendency in contemporary art in which artists adopt imagery, ideas or materials from pre-existing works of art or culture. The act of appropriation is usually an acknowledged component within the works, and it is typically deployed to call attention either to the source material or to the act of borrowing itself." The definition of "Appropriation art" in *Oxford Art Online*,

expression about his experimental period. For the young Nabis, he represented the archetypal symbolist prophet-leader whose superhuman powers would revitalize an exhausted modernism.¹³⁰ For this reason, the young generation had been profoundly inspired by Gauguin. Since Gauguin first appropriated Cézanne's still life on his paintings, Sérusier, Denis and Bernard had followed his path to appropriate *Comptoir, verre et pommes* as the prototype in their search for an ideal representation.¹³¹

Gauguin's appropriation of Cézanne was based on several of his collections in the 1890s. Actually, his artistic assertion as well as his ideas regarding the new version in the old means of images was influenced by the attitudes of his contemporaries.

Camille Pissarro was Gauguin's principal mentor from the late 1870s to the mid 1880s.¹³² Gauguin met Pissarro in 1874 when he was 26 years old, and had taken part in four of the Impressionist's exhibitions, including the final one in 1886. They maintained their intimate relationship, until artistic and personal disagreement began to drive them apart around 1885 and 1886.¹³³ Before breaking up, Gauguin took a keen interest in Cézanne's technical progress through Pissarro. He met Cézanne in the summer of 1881 in Pontoise along with Pissarro and the landscape painter Victor Vignon. A letter to Pissarro during the same year expressed Gauguin's imitative

http://0-www.oxfordartonline.com.opac.lib.ntnu.edu.tw/subscriber/article/grove/art/T2086713?q=appropriation&source=oao_gao&source=oao_t118&source=oao_t234&source=oao_t4&search=quick&hbutton_search.x=43&hbutton_search.y=9&pos=2&start=1#firsthit, accessed 28 March, 2012

¹³⁰ Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Cézanne and Provence: the painter in his culture*, Chicago & London: The university of Chicago, 2003, p. 236

¹³¹ However, it might be different for Bernard to quote Cézanne's still life. Bernard is known to have a close contact with Gauguin before they ended up their friendship in the 1890s. After that, he tended to take Cézanne as his new model and admired master. He wrote many eulogistic essays to praise Cézanne's art. In this aspect, Bernard's choice to quote Cézanne's still life was not under the influence of Gauguin; instead, it is more likely a negative response to Gauguin's female portrait.

¹³² Caroline Boyle-Turner, *Gauguin and the school of Pont-Aven: prints and paintings*, London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1986, p. 14

¹³³ Belinda Thomson, *Gauguin*, London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1987, p. 16

attitude toward Cézanne: “*Has Mr Cézanne discovered the exact formula for a work that would be accepted by everyone? If he should find the recipe for concentrating the full expression of all his sensations into a single and unique procedure, try, I beg you, to get him to talk about it in his sleep by administering to him one of those mysterious homeopathic drugs and come directly to Paris to share with us.*”¹³⁴ As a royal follower in the beginning of the 1880s, Gauguin collected six works by Cézanne when he was a wealthy stockbroker and patron of the arts,¹³⁵ including *Compotier, verre et pommes* which he got from Julien Tanguy’s shop in Rue Clauzel in Paris.¹³⁶ Cézanne’s paintings played a crucial part in Gauguin’s artistic development. When Denis achieved *Hommage à Cézanne* in 1900, Gauguin still owned no less than twelve paintings by Cézanne.¹³⁷

¹³⁴ “*Mr Césanne a-t-il trouvé la formule exacte d’un oeuvre admise par tout le monde? S’il trouvait la recette pour comprimer l’expression outrée de toutes ses sensations dans un seul et unique procédé je vous en prie tâchez de la faire causer.*” Letter from Gauguin to Camille Pissarro, on July 1881, quoted from *Ibid.*, p. 20, French version from P. M. Doran (ed.), *Conversations avec Cézanne*, Paris: Macula, 1978, p. 183

¹³⁵ In works dealing with Gauguin reference is frequently made to the important collection of Impressionists purchased by him during the 1880s, but it was not clear which works Gauguin collected. The names usually mentioned can be traced back to the information given by Jean de Rotonchamp in his biography (1906), and the letters Gauguin wrote to Schuffenecker. Rotonchamp was Gauguin’s first biographer, he once noted that Gauguin’s Impressionist collection was remarkable: “*Non content de peindre, Gauguin acheta pour une quinzaine de mille francs d’oeuvres de maîtres modernes et en composa une remarquable collection, dans laquelle prirent place une toile de Manet, Plusieurs Renoir, des toiles de Claude Monet, de Cézanne, de Pissarro, de Guillaumin et de Sisley, un Jongkind, un Lewis Brown et deux dessins de Daumier.*” More information can be seen in Merete Bodelsen, “Gauguin’s Cézannes”, in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 104, No. 710 (May, 1962), pp. 204+206-209+211

¹³⁶ Julien Tanguy (1825-1894) was a paint grinder; he sold art supplies and was also an art dealer in Paris. His jovial demeanor and enthusiasm for artistry and artists made his shop one of the most favored art supply shops in Paris, and he was nicknamed Père Tanguy by the artists. His famous portrait painted by Vincent van Gogh entitled *Portrait of Père Tanguy* in 1887 indicated the close friendship between Tanguy and Vincent van Gogh. Richard W. Murphy, *The world of Cézanne 1839-1906*, New York: Time-Life Books, 1968, pp. 96-97; Gauguin owned *Compotier, verre et pommes* from the 1880s to 1897, and he always carried this canvas with him. By 1879 Gauguin had begun to follow his guardian’s example of investing in contemporary works of art, partly because he firmly believed these paintings were important and unvalued, and partly because he needed constant access to examples of Impressionism from which to learn. See Belinda Thomson, *Gauguin*, London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1987, p. 15. Also, it was documented that on 8 July, 1883, Gauguin bought two Cézanne’s pictures from Julien Tanguy.

¹³⁷ In July 1900, a letter to Bibesco Gauguin mentioned: “*J’ai eu d’ailleurs une collection de tous les impressionistes que j’ai acheté à très bon prix. Elle est au Danemark chez mon beau frère le célèbre Brandès qui ne vent la céder à aucun prix. Douze Cézanne parmi eux.*” However, what Gauguin wrote about his collections of Cézanne could be doubtful, for the reason that only five paintings of Cézanne were noted, inclusive of *Midi. L’Estaque, Maison de Zola, L’allée d’Arbres, Femme nue*, and

Before establishing his personal style, Gauguin had tried many ways to extend the forms on painting. He had a strong personality full of burning contrasts, a belief in the universality of myth and religion, and tried to find a style of painting which could express the concealed world of ideas.¹³⁸ In order to get the key to a spiritual and sensational expression as well as a solid structure, he began to imitate some works in his collection and from his friends. Most of his imitations were from his contemporaries, such as Puvis de Chavannes, Eugène Delacroix, Edouard Manet, Claude Monet, Paul Cézanne, Edgar Degas and Japanese art.¹³⁹ With the help of Cézanne's works, Gauguin explored the expressive possibilities of line, color and composition. In a letter to his friend Émile Schuffenecker in 1885, Gauguin confirmed Cézanne's importance to him: *"Look at Cézanne, that misunderstood man, whose nature is essentially mystical and Oriental (his face is like an old Levantine's). His form has all the mystery and oppressive tranquility of a man lying down to dream, his color has the gravity of the Oriental character. He is a man of the Midi and spends whole days on the top of mountains reading Virgil and gazing at the sky; his horizons are lofty, his blues very intense and his reds have an astonishing vibrancy....let's go and make Cézanne."*¹⁴⁰

Gauguin carefully studied Cézanne's method of constructing in color planes, and served as a translator for the young Nabi artists. However, Cézanne on his side

Comptoir, verre et pommes. Quoted from Merete Bodelsen, "Gauguin's Cézannes", in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 104, No. 710 (May, 1962), p. 207

¹³⁸ Claire Frèches-Thory and Antoine Terrasse, *The Nabis: Bonnard, Vuillard and their circle*, Paris: Flammarion, 2002, p. 10

¹³⁹ Delacroix's posthumous reputation was just then in the process of being salvaged, somewhat tardily, in a major retrospective exhibition at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. As a great admirer, Gauguin was furious at having to miss this event, and was avid for report of it, even asking a friend to purchase on the photograph of Delacroix's painting.

¹⁴⁰ *"Voyez Cézanne l'incompris, la nature essentiellement mystique de l'Orient (son visage ressemble à un ancien du Levant) il affectionne dans la forme un mystère et une tranquillité lourde de l'homme couché pour rêver, sa couleur est grave comme le caractère des Orientaux; homme du Midi, il passé des journées entières au sommet des montagnes à lire Virgile et à regarder le ciel, aussi ses horizons sont élevés, ses bleus très intenses et le rouge chez lui est d'une vibration étonnante. Allons faire un Cézanne"* Quoted from Richard W. Murphy, *The world of Cézanne 1839-1906*, New York: Time-Life Books, 1968, pp. 96-97

did not like Gauguin, and he even called him a “thief”,¹⁴¹ accusing him of plagiarizing his technique and “*trailing the poor thing about in ships..., across fields of sugarcane and grapefruit...to the land of negroes and I don’t know what else.*”¹⁴² For Cézanne, Gauguin was “just a Chinese images maker”,¹⁴³ or an amateur without discipline.¹⁴⁴ In a letter to encourage Émile Bernard, Cézanne urged his young admirer to paint according to his own temperament. Cézanne referred disparagingly to his contemporary: “*You (Bernard) have the understanding of what must be done and you will soon turn your back on the Gauguins and [van] Goghs!*”¹⁴⁵ Actually, Cézanne was not the only one that dislikes Gauguin, since artists such as Monet and Paul Signac looked him with suspicion and dismissed him as a charlatan, opportunist and plagiarist.¹⁴⁶ In November 1894, Cézanne complained to Monet about Gauguin who plagiarized his art: “*I only had a little sensation, just a little, little sensation, but it was mine. One day this guy Gauguin, he took it from me.*”¹⁴⁷

The female portrait *Maria Derrien à la nature morte de Cézanne* (Fig. 19) painted in 1890 can explain Cézanne’s status for Gauguin.¹⁴⁸ In his painting, Gauguin

¹⁴¹ John Rewald, *Cézanne: a biography*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1986, pp. 131-132

¹⁴² Gauguin painted *Maria Derrien à la nature morte de Cézanne* after he returned from Tahiti, and during the little stay in France, he painted this painting. This explains why Cézanne described him as a barbarian in his displeased comments. Richard W. Murphy, *The world of Cézanne 1839-1906*, New York: Time-Life Books, 1968, p. 176

¹⁴³ When Bernard told Cézanne that Gauguin admired him and imitated his paintings, Cézanne responded arrogantly: “*Eh bien! il ne m'a pas compris; jamais je n'ai voulu et je n'accepterai jamais le manque de modelé ou de graduation; c'est un non-sens. Gauguin n'était pas peintre, il n'a fait que des images chinoises.*” P. M. Doran (ed.), *Conversations avec Cézanne*, Paris: Macula, 1978, pp. 62-63

¹⁴⁴ Richard W. Murphy, *The world of Cézanne 1839-1906*, New York: Time-Life Books, 1968, p. 75

¹⁴⁵ Cézanne to Émile Bernard, 15 April, 1904. John Rewald (ed.), Marguerite Kay (trans.), *Paul Cézanne letters*, Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1946, p. 234

¹⁴⁶ Belinda Thomson, *Gauguin*, London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1987, p. 8

¹⁴⁷ “*Je n'avais qu'une petite sensation, Monsieur Gauguin me l'a volée! Il a volé ma petite sensation!*” Quoted from Joseph J. Rishel and Katherine Sachs (ed.), *Cézanne and beyond*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009, p. 87, French version from P. M. Doran (ed.), *Conversations avec Cézanne*, Paris: Macula, 1978, p. 4; Denis also describe this event through Octave Mirbeau: “*Ah! Ce Gauguin, J'avais une petite sensation, et il me l'a prise. Il l'a menée en Bretagne, à la Martinique, à Tahiti, oui, dans tous les paquebots! Ce Gauguin!*” P. M. Doran (ed.), *Conversations avec Cézanne*, Paris: Macula, 1978, p. 183, no. 10

¹⁴⁸ There are several names of this lady, such as Marie Henry, Marie Lagadu, and Marie Derrien. I chose the title from Richard W. Murphy. Moreover, 1890 was the year Gauguin stayed in Le Pouldu, where he met the leading lady of this painting.

described a Breton woman who is set against the background of Cézanne's *Compotier, verre et pommes* which he still owned in 1890.¹⁴⁹ After he used *Compotier, verre et pommes* as his floral background in his female portrait in Brittany, he then hung this painting in the place of honor in his studio. Gauguin was known to have shown it to the young artists of his entourage while holding on Cézanne's work.¹⁵⁰ In 1903, Gauguin particularly remembered this painting: "(In this painting) ripe grapes overflow the edge of a fruit bowl: on the linen the apple-green apples and the plum-red ones are linked to each other. The whites are blue and blues are white. A holy painter is this Cézanne."¹⁵¹

Besides his use of Cézanne's still life, Gauguin reused the gesture of Cézanne's *La Dame à l'éventail* (*Portrait de Madame Cézanne*, Fig. 25) as the inspiration of his Breton woman as well. Both ladies are sitting on a chair in three-quarter profile, putting their right hands on the armrest with the same hairdo. The floral background of Cézanne's female portrait also reminds us that Gauguin might have adopted it into his painting, for the background of *Compotier, verre et pomme* is also flowery. Besides, Gauguin's *Rêverie* (*La Femme à la robe rouge*, Fig. 26) painted in 1891 seems to have been inspired by the composition of Cézanne's *La Dame à l'éventail* (*Portrait de Madame Cézanne*). Both of these paintings depict a three-quarter portrait of a woman looking to the left, sitting on a chair in contemplation.

¹⁴⁹ In 1887, Gauguin's close friend Schuffenecker conveted to buy *Compotier, verre et pommes* when Gauguin was in financial straits, but Gauguin refused to sell it. He wrote to Schuffenecker in June 1888: "Le Cézanne que vous me demandez une perle exceptionnelle et j'en ai déjà refusé 300 Frs; j'y tiens comme à la prunelle de mes yeux et à moins de nécessité absolue je m'en déferai après ma dernière chemise...." In 1897, Gauguin conceded to sell this painting for 600 francs when he became ill and in dire need of funds. It was George Viau who bought this painting (from 1897 to 1907) from Gauguin through the Paris art dealer Chaudet. See P. M. Doran (ed.), *Conversations avec Cezanne*, Paris: Macula, 1978, pp. 121-122; Merete Bodelsen, "Gauguin's Cézannes", in *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 104, No. 710 (May, 1962), p. 208

¹⁵⁰ John Rewald, in collaboration with Walter Feilchenfeldt and Jayne Warman, *The paintings of Paul Cézanne: a catalogue raisonné Volume I*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996, p. 277

¹⁵¹ *Avant et Après*, 1903, quoted from John Rewald, in collaboration with Walter Feilchenfeldt and Jayne Warman, *The paintings of Paul Cézanne: a catalogue raisonné Volume I*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996, p. 278

Although there are some similarities between appropriation and plagiarism, the most different part is the attitude of followers who make quotations from paintings they appreciate. If they meant to duplicate all the details with dishonest intention, and tried to deceive the spectator or the buyer, it is definitely called plagiarism. That is, plagiarists steal the work of others, taking for themselves the credit of ownership and thereby depriving the original authors of this benefit.¹⁵²

Whether it was a homage or a plagiarism, Gauguin's behavior made Cézanne furious. Cézanne disliked Gauguin not only because of Gauguin's forceful personality, but his great talent for imitation; having a fear of losing his unique sensation on painting is the important reason why Cézanne disliked Gauguin, as he complained to Monet that "he had just a little sensation and Gauguin took it from him".¹⁵³ This is the major reason why Cézanne flew into a rage. In my opinion, Gauguin's method is merely like a rude appropriation as well as a tricky plagiarism from Cézanne. He admired Cézanne deeply, and he also wanted to get Cézanne's "magical principle" on painting. His paradoxical situation urged him to paint *Maria Derrien à la nature morte de Cézanne*. In his female portrait, Gauguin clearly used the composition and the constructive stroke of Cézanne's painting as the background. His deliberate attitude to imitate the Cézannesque still life as well as the size from the master is truly like a plagiarism. It indicates that Gauguin probably took the original work of his collection while painting his Breton woman as a reference. Obviously he took good care of the details in the background of his female portrait. On the other hand, he did

¹⁵² The definition of "appropriation art" in *Oxford Art Online*, http://0-www.oxfordartonline.com.opac.lib.ntnu.edu.tw/subscriber/article/grove/art/T2086713?q=appropriation&source=oao_gao&source=oao_t118&source=oao_t234&source=oao_t4&search=quick&hbutton_search.x=43&hbutton_search.y=9&pos=2&_start=1#firsthit, accessed in 28 March; the definition of "plagiarism" in *Credo Reference*, <http://0-www.xreferplus.com.opac.lib.ntnu.edu.tw/entry/routethics/plagiarism>, accessed 28 March, 2012

¹⁵³ "Je n'avais qu'une petite sensation, Monsieur Gauguin me l'a volée! Il a volé ma petite sensation!" P. M. Doran (ed.), *Conversations avec Cézanne*, Paris: Macula, 1978, p. 4

not just copy Cézanne's *Compotier, verre et pomme*. Gauguin used the still life in the background of his female portrait. *Compotier, verre et pomme* here is like a huge decoration such as wallpaper on the rear wall. In a certain way, his behavior was like a synthesis that contained his own style and Cézannesque feature. For this part I refer to it as a rude appropriation. In this aspect, Gauguin's painting both appropriated and plagiarized Cézanne's work and indeed his intentional and ungracious attitude irritated the honorable master.

Gauguin not only appropriated Cézanne's paintings but also appropriated several of the contemporaries he admired, such as Degas, Manet and Delacroix. The most notorious example is the copy he made of Manet's *Olympia* (Fig. 27) in 1891.¹⁵⁴ Gauguin's *Olympia (copie d'après Manet, Fig. 28)* was painted almost during the same period he "appropriated" Cézanne's still life. Motivated by a great admiration to Manet's *Olympia*, Gauguin imitated all the details and patterns to parallel the extraordinary richness and drama of Manet's blacks and whites, except the proportion of Olympia's face and the contrast of the folds. He then exaggerated the brutality and angularity of Olympia's face, distorting a little bit her lineament. He also reinforced the folds of the bedcover and the pillow, contrasting the co-ordination of the colors. It seems that the drawing and the composition chiefly interested Gauguin and he did not really want to reproduce the original perfectly; perhaps he was not good at imitating a perfect copy.¹⁵⁵ In fact, not only had Gauguin copied *Olympia* in Paris, but he also took a photograph of Manet's painting to Tahiti during his first visit to the south sea.

Besides, Gauguin's great admiration to Delacroix urged him to paint some

¹⁵⁴ Gauguin saw *Olympia* in 1889 at the centennial of French art at the universal Exposition. His copy commemorated the furor at the induction of this scandalous painting into the Musée du Luxembourg in February 1890, when it was bought by a subscription organized by Monet. After that, Degas bought this painting and hung it along with the artists whom Gauguin deeply admired, such as Ingres, Manet and Delacroix.

¹⁵⁵ According to Gauguin's first biographer Jean de Rotonchamp, Gauguin spent one week working in front of a photograph of Manet to "reproduce" *Olympia*. Belinda Thomson, *Gauguin*, London: Thames and Hudson Ltd, 1987, p. 122

canvases that partly quoted the Romantic painter. He bought some photos of Delacroix's work as well as lithographs as his model.¹⁵⁶ An example of a borrowing from Delacroix's work is his *Nature morte à l'esquisse de Delacroix* (Fig. 29) in 1887. Gauguin used a part of the print of Delacroix (fig. 30) as the background of his still life.¹⁵⁷ Compared with the original work, the print of Delacroix in *Nature morte à l'esquisse de Delacroix* seems to play the role of a decorative object.¹⁵⁸

It should be also noted that Gauguin carried on dialogues with other artists in several paintings.¹⁵⁹ An example is *La vision du sermon* (Fig. 31) painted in 1888, describing Breton women witnessing the mysterious struggle between Jacob and the angel. Gauguin used a huge trunk to contrast with his composition diagonally, putting the Breton women in a red foreground, and their mysterious vision on the rare ground. In *La vision du sermon*, the Japanese allusions were more extensive than ever.¹⁶⁰ It combines not only a pair of wrestlers of Hokusai's *Manga*, but also Utagawa Hiroshige's *Plum Estate, Kameido* (Fig. 32). As is generally recognized, Vincent van Gogh had copied Hiroshige's work the previous autumn in his *Plum trees in Blossom* (Fig. 33), and he might probably have shown his pastiche to Gauguin while they were in an intensive contact in the same period. Both Gauguin and Vincent van Gogh used flat stroke, red color and diagonal composition from the Japanese print, but Gauguin had transformed the Japanese element into his cultural language. As a result, he

¹⁵⁶ Gauguin had two years to make ceramics with a view to supplement his income, and in 1888, Vincent wrote to Theo for asking him to obtain some of the lithographs based on works by Delacroix that had been published decades earlier in the serial publication *Les artistes anciens et moderne* (1850-1862).

¹⁵⁷ Gauguin used the catalogue of Delacroix's work entitled *Delacroix: fac-similés de dessins et croquis originaux*, a collection published in 1864 and 1865 as his reference.

¹⁵⁸ Interestingly, according to the Musée de Strasbourg, this painting was bought from 'Schauffenhozer' by Raymond Koechlin in 1906. Could this be a misleading of 'Schuffenecker'? See Daniel Wildenstein, Chris Miller (trans.), *Gauguin, a salvage in a making: catalogue raisonnée of the paintings (1873-1888)*, Milan: Skira; Paris: Wildenstein Institute, 2002, p. 350

¹⁵⁹ For example, the oil painting *Bonjour Monsiuer Gauguin* painted in 1889 was the response to Gustave Courbet's *Bonjour Monsieur Courbet (La rencontre)* in 1854. He also used Egyptian and Southern-American patterns as his inspiration during his Tahiti's period.

¹⁶⁰ Daniel Wildenstein, Chris Miller (trans.), *Gauguin, a salvage in a making: catalogue raisonnée of the paintings (1873-1888)*, Milan: Skira; Paris: Wildenstein Institute, 2002, p. 456

composed a Biblical narration in the everyday life of Breton women. Moreover, in the composition of the Breton women's profile, Gauguin might have appropriated the foreground of Degas' painting *Musiciens à l'orchestre* (Fig. 34) as his prototype, since both compositions put the audience in the foreground.¹⁶¹

Breton motifs as symbols of the region's ancient cultural origins had emerged in Gauguin's painting during his stay in Pont-Aven in 1889.¹⁶² His *La Belle Angèle* (Fig. 35) painted in 1889 describes a Breton woman wearing a medieval-looking costume as well as her stylistic features resembling those of the primitive ceramic beside her, standing before a *fleur-de-lis* background. The gesture and costume of this Breton woman reminds us the *Portrait of Anne of Cleves* (Fig. 36) painted by Hans Holbein the younger in 1539. It seems that Gauguin had appropriated Holbein's elegant aristocrat into his appreciative Breton angel in an associative combination.

5. Conclusion

Denis' renewed strategy executes his idea of promoting the dealer's status (he also put himself subtly in the middle axle of the painting). From the private collection to the public gallery, the presence of Denis' group portrait can be seen as a transition to the displayed representation as a strategy to open up a pictorial dialogue with his companions. On the other hand, Cézanne's *Compotier, verre et pommes* not only replaced Cézanne himself, but it played a crucial role both for Denis and his circle. Their collective interest was demonstrated through quoting the same painting. It is obvious that Denis had transformed Cézanne's still life as an object of a conversation with his artistic circle in displaying it in an art shop.

¹⁶¹ Gauguin was known to admire Degas very much, and they also kept a close relationship before he left France. Thus the strategy Gauguin used to appropriate Degas's composition and figure to make a reaction to Degas was reasonable.

¹⁶² Eric M. Zafran (ed.), *Gauguin's Nirvana: painters at Le Pouldu 1889-1890*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001, p. 34

Besides, several observations in the last few paragraphs have shown that Gauguin was thoroughly under the influence of an artistic circle whose avowed aims were to be more inventive and individual in the years 1888 to 1891.¹⁶³ By achieving his goal, it is clear that Gauguin had taken the compositions from several paintings. He had imitated several paintings from his collections and from photos, sometimes as decorations, sometimes by admiration, and sometimes as a key to learn the style of other artists. Gauguin imitated and appropriated several of his contemporaries as well as the Old Masters he admired deeply. He eventually developed his personal decorative and exotic style. Under the influence of Gauguin, followers such as Sérusier, Denis and Bernard all used Cézanne's *Compotier, verre et pommes* as their artistic model. By quoting the same subject matter from the master of Aix-en-Provence, their circle and artistic allegiances overlapped a similar cast of characters from Cézanne's still life. These connections demonstrate an interest in collective painting that was itself formed collectively, weaving a network of connected relationships.

Although Denis was influenced by Gauguin and his other colleagues, his use of Cézanne's still life in his group portrait indicates a different dimension. He did not imitate all the details of Cézanne's outstanding still life. Instead, he even ignored Cézanne's stylistic and constructive strokes. By quoting the trait of Cézanne's still life, his intention was to underscore the spirituality and will power of the master. More importantly, Cézanne was sincere and happy of the result.¹⁶⁴ For Denis, while the lay public knew very little about the artist from Aix at the beginning of the

¹⁶³ Ingo F. Walther, Michael Hulse (trans.), *Paul Gauguin, 1848-1903: the primitive sophisticate*, Köln: Benedikt Taschen Verlag GmbH, 1992, p. 32

¹⁶⁴ In March 1902, Cézanne wrote to Vollard to express his happiness again: "*I have received from Maurice Denis a letter which describes as a desertion my not taking part in the exhibition of the Indépendants...it seems to me that I find it difficult to dissociate myself from the young people who have shown themselves to be so much in sympathy with me, and I do not think that I shall in any way harm the course of my studies by exhibiting.*" On 17 March, 1902, Cézanne to Vollard, John Rewald (ed.), Marguerite Kay (trans.), *Paul Cézanne letters*, Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1946, pp. 222-223

twentieth-century, Cézanne was to be considered a visionary by the next generation of avant-garde artists, a master worthy of study and emulation. It was really a respectable strategy for Denis to pay homage to Cézanne. On the contrary, Gauguin's *Maria Derrien à la nature morte de Cézanne* was merely like a real imitation of Cézanne. He not only imitated the constructive strokes and composition, but also copied its size. Although Gauguin had a great admiration for Cézanne, and even took good care of Cézanne's work when he had to move,¹⁶⁵ he was just trying to get the principles and sensations on painting to fulfill his desire as a successful artist. Hence Cézanne's reaction was predictable: his intense emotion and anger triggered him to break up with Gauguin and criticize him severely for the rest of his life.



¹⁶⁵ Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Cézanne and Provence: the painter in his culture*, Chicago & London: The university of Chicago, 2003, P. 303, note 118

CHAPTER THREE: The relationship of the chosen figures in Denis' group

“Is there anything else to say about Cézanne? Everyone knows him...still he is a difficult artist...Maybe instead of considering him has an unique phenomenon in history,it is better to consider him in his own time, and even attach him to the past.”

— Maurice Denis, 1937¹⁶⁶

1. Introduction

In Denis' work, he depicted his Nabi colleagues, the Symbolist painter Redon, the dealer Vollard, the critic Mellerio and his wife Marthe in his group. Besides these figures, he also depicted the style of Gauguin and Renoir on the paintings in the background.

As we can see, Denis depicted at least thirteenth representative figures involved to celebrate Cézanne. However, we may wonder, why Denis depicted these figures to give their respect to Cézanne, and why he included other figures who seem not to be directly related to this group, such as his wife Marthe and the critic Mellerio? Since Denis substituted Redon's painting for Cézanne's still life, why he still involved the Symbolist painter Redon in his group, and why he integrated paintings of Renoir and Gauguin, the two representative figures of Impressionism and Post-Impressionism in the background? In this aspect, we have to see whether the choices made by Denis are related to a complex arrangement of issues based on friendship, artistic statement and allegiance. Denis' complicated composition and arrangement seems to demonstrate that *Hommage à Cézanne* is not only a group portrait and a homage painting to Cézanne.

Hence this chapter investigates the relationships between artists, writers, dealers

¹⁶⁶ “Y a-t-il encore quelque chose à dire sur Cézanne? Tout le monde connaît...et malgré tout, Cézanne reste un auteur difficile... Peut-être qu'au lieu de le considérer comme un phénomène unique dans l'histoire, il est possible de le mieux situer dans son temps, et même de le rattacher au passé.” Maurice Denis, “L'Aventure posthume de Cézanne”, in *Prométhée (L'Amour de l'Art, Nouvelle Série)* VI, 1939, quoted from Kurt Badt, Sheila Ann Ogilvie (trans.), *The art of Cézanne*, New York: Hacker Art Books, 1985, p. 229. English version was translated by José.

and personalities directly involved in Denis' work. Examining their relationships and attitude toward *Hommage à Cézanne* will help to understand another dimension of this painting.

2. Paul Gauguin, Synthetism and the foundation of the Nabis

Although Denis did not mention Gauguin and his painting in his journal, the recognizable style of Gauguin's Tahitian woman hung on the back wall in *Hommage à Cézanne* reveals the clues of their relationship.

As it has been mentioned in my previous chapter, Gauguin, Sérusier, Denis and Bernard used one after another Cézanne's still life *Compotier, verre et pommes* as a pictorial dialogue. Their collective interest shaped their circle as well as their collectivity. Gauguin's choice to appropriate Cézanne's still life indeed had influenced and inspired Denis. His important status toward the young generation had determined the development of their early period.

However, the relationship between Gauguin and the Nabis was likewise mixed. Called "*Le Nabis en mission à Tahiti*" by Paul Ranson,¹⁶⁷ Gauguin was not merely an influential leader to the young group, but he was considered one of its members. He had played an important role for the Nabi generation in their early development,¹⁶⁸ and his theories as well as his contact with Sérusier at the end of the 1880s determined the direction of the Nabis' philosophy and practice,¹⁶⁹ helping the young generation

¹⁶⁷ Letter from Ranson to Verkade, October- November, 1892, quoted from Guillermo Solana, Richard Shiff, Guy Cogeval, Maria Dolores Jiménez-Blanco (ed.), *Gauguin and the origins of Symbolism*, London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2004, no. 117, p. 63

¹⁶⁸ In June 1886, a group of young artists such as Charles Laval, Ernest Chamaillard, Henry Moret, Émile Jourdan, Paul Sérusier and young Émile Bernard all gathered around Gauguin in Pont-Aven when he first went to the village in Brittany. They were influenced by Gauguin's claim on art. Later, when Paul Sérusier went back to Paris with his famous *Talisman* which was under the instruction from Gauguin, the Nabi group was founded in the summer, 1888.

¹⁶⁹ Patricia Eckert Boyer (ed.), *The Nabis and the Parisian avant-garde*, New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University press, 1988, p. 83; as the organizer of the Nabi group, Sérusier mattered most to the Nabis as a theorist. He wrote to Denis with his passion of their group in 1888: "*Welcome! I am dreaming of a pure brotherhood in the future, consisting entirely of artists who are confirmed devotees*

to realize that a picture should not really be a faithful description of nature.¹⁷⁰ For Gauguin, a picture should be created mainly by imagining and abstracting from life. Actually, Gauguin had played a crucial position in Sérusier's expression and theorization on art. As Sérusier commented his famous *Talisman* which was under the guild of Gauguin's idea:¹⁷¹ "...the impression of nature must be wedded to the esthetic sentiment which chooses, arranges, simplifies, and synthesizes. The painter ought not to rest until he has given birth to the child of his imagination...begotten by the union of his mind with reality...Gauguin insisted on a logical construction of composition, on a harmonious apportionment of light and dark colors, the simplification of forms and proportions, so as to endow the outlines of forms with a powerful and eloquent expression..."¹⁷² As one of the original founders of the Nabis, Sérusier had promoted Gauguin's artistic ideas to his colleagues constantly.¹⁷³ As a result, most of the Nabi members were influenced by Gauguin directly and indirectly. Despite of the diversity of national, political, philosophical, and religious

of the beautiful and the good, taking as the foundation of their creative work and their conduct that quality which is hard to define, and which I call by the word Nabi." Quoted from Natalia Brodskaya, *Félix Vallotton: the Nabi from Switzerland*, Parkstone, Bournemouth, England: Aurora Art Publishers, 1996, p. 64

¹⁷⁰ As one of the Nabis members René Piot once memorialized: "When we were students at Julian, Sérusier invited Maurice Denis and me to lunch with Gauguin. During dessert, the latter, irritated because we innocent students were too slow in grasping new ideas, lost his temper. He [Gauguin] dipped his finger in the ink-pot and, on the clean white tablecloth — to the despair of the waiter — he drew a circle and, pointing to a dish of apples, shouted: "For goodness' sake, that's not an apple, it's a circle!" He wanted to impress on us for once and for all the battle between the object as a plastic entity and as a narrative entity." René Piot, "Les cubistes", in *Bulletin du Salon d'Automne*, no. 5, 1917, quoted from Claire Frèches-Thory and Antoine Terrasse, *The Nabis: Bonnard, Vuillard and Their Circle*, Paris: Flammarion, 2002, pp. 66-67

¹⁷¹ In 1888, Sérusier met Gauguin at Pont-Aven and, under his direction and guidance, used pure and strong colors applied in flat areas for landscape. Sérusier painted a small landscape in an entirely Synthetist technique. After that, he bore off this little picture to Paris, where it was promptly baptized *Talisman*, and started preaching the new doctrine to a circle of friends.

¹⁷² Patricia Eckert Boyer (ed.), *The Nabis and the Parisian avant-garde*, New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University press, 1988, p. 85

¹⁷³ Denis latter remarked Sérusier's coherent influence from Gauguin toward the Nabis: "Il(Sérusier) s'attache alors à découvrir le lien des différentes formules que vivifient la parole et l'art de Gauguin. Il y met de l'ordre, li les systématise, il entiere une doctrine qui d'abord se distingue mal de l'impressionnisme, avant d'en devenir l'antithèse; et cela se passe précisément à l'époque où de la réunion des peintres et des poètes naît le Symbolisme." Quoted from Maurice Denis, "Le peintre Paul Sérusier", in Maurice Denis, Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), *Le ciel et l'arcadie*, Paris: Hermann, éditeurs des sciences et des arts, 1993, p. 152

backgrounds, the Nabis group found with Gauguin a denominator at the beginning of their foundation.¹⁷⁴

Later, Denis corroborated Gauguin's influence toward their group: "*And so we were introduced, in a paradoxical and unforgettable form, to the fertile concept of the flat surface covered with colors assembled in a certain order. And so we learned that any work of art was a transposition, a caricature, the impassioned equivalent of a sensation experienced. This was the origin of an evolution in which H. G. Ibels, P. Bonnard, Ranson, M. Denis participated without delay.*"¹⁷⁵

Not only influenced by Gauguin, the Nabis had also been profoundly inspired by contemporary Symbolist theories. In 1891, Gauguin was related to Symbolist art by the critic Albert Aurier.¹⁷⁶ As we have already mentioned before, Gauguin was considered as the archetypal symbolist prophet-leader whose superhuman powers would revitalize modernism.¹⁷⁷ Since he was considered to be a part of Symbolism, the young Nabis intended to move their courage to logical conclusions in developing

¹⁷⁴ The members of the Nabis included Maurice Denis, Pierre Bonnard, Paul Sérusier, Paul Ranson, Edouard Vuillard, Ker-Xavier Roussel, Henri-Gabriel Ibels, René Piot, Georges Lacombe, Maxime Pierre Dethomas, the Swiss Félix Vallotton, the Dutch Jan Verkade and Meyer de Haan, Ariside Maillol, and the Hungarian József Rippl-Rónai. As Octave Mirbeau wrote: "...[The Nabis] they are quite different in their own inclinations, their own temperaments and their own education, and have a very respectful attitude to the efforts of their predecessors." In fact, Denis was a fervent Catholic all along, while Verkade and Ballin converted to Catholicism: Verkade from Protestantism, becoming a monk and departing to join monastic life in Beuron in 1895, and Bellin from orthodox Judaism. The anticlerical Ranson was a theosophist and a devotee of the occult. Lacombe was also anticlerical and Sérusier managed to be both Catholic and theosophist at the same time. Roussel, Ibels, and Vallotton were sympathetic to the anarchist cause, while most of the Nabis, including Bonnard and Vuillard, were less obvious in their expression of political sympathies. See Patricia Eckert Boyer (ed.), *The Nabis and the Parisian avant-garde*, New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University press, 1988, p. 4

¹⁷⁵ "Ainsi nous fut présenté, pour la première fois, sous une forme paradoxale, inoubliable, le fertile concept de la surface plane recouverte de couleurs en un certain ordre assemblées. Ainsi nous connûmes que toute oeuvre d'art était une transposition, une caricature, l'équivalent passionné d'une sensation reçue. Ce fut l'origine d'une évolution à laquelle participèrent immédiatement H. G. Ibels, P. Bonnard, Ranson, M. Denis." Patricia Eckert Boyer (ed.), *The Nabis and the Parisian avant-garde*, New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University press, 1988, p. 83; French version from Maurice Denis, Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), "L'influence de Paul Gauguin", in *Le ciel et l'arcadie, Paris* : Hermann, éditeurs des sciences et des arts, 1993

¹⁷⁶ Albert Aurier's famous article "Le Symbolisme en peinture — Paul Gauguin" in *Mercur de France* had exemplified the aims of the Symbolist aesthetic. See G. —Albert Aurier, "Les peintres symbolistes", in *Revue encyclopédique* 2, no. 32 (1 April 1892), pp. 474-86

¹⁷⁷ See my chapter two. Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Cézanne and Provence: the painter in his culture*, Chicago & London: The university of Chicago, 2003, p. 236

a new visual language that can convey Symbolist concepts. In short, the Nabi group was founded expressly to develop means that can express visually subjective sensations of the natural world.¹⁷⁸

Hence in the pursuit of the ideal symbolist model, the young generation took Redon's fantastic expression as their objective. Especially Albert Aurier related Gauguin, Redon, Symbolism and the Nabis in a connected circle. In his famous essay, Aurier predicted that the Nabi artists would fall under the spell of Redon's symbolism much as they already had with the synthetism of Gauguin.¹⁷⁹ Albeit Aurier's transition between Gauguin and Redon, he identified five distinguishing features of the new "pictorial Symbolism" which was derived from his study of Gauguin's work.¹⁸⁰ Aurier's claim made further efforts to nominate Gauguin and Redon as the

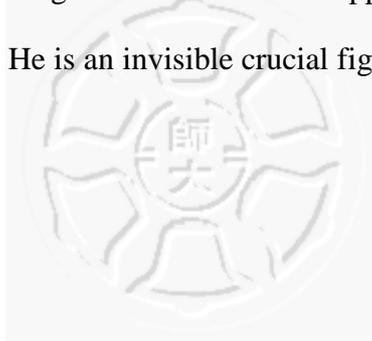
¹⁷⁸ Patricia Eckert Boyer (ed.), *The Nabis and the Parisian avant-garde*, New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University press, 1988, p. 81. For their artistic communication, the Nabis even employed a ritualistic jargon in their correspondence, and signed letters with the initials "D. T. P. M. V. E. M. P.", meaning "Dans ta paume mon verbe et ma pensée".

¹⁷⁹ Aurier published his famous article "Le Symbolisme en peinture — Paul Gauguin" in *Mercure de France* in 1891. His prediction clearly indicates that Redon will dominate the young generation: "Among the bearer of the good word that the young love to evoke, another artist, as original, as profoundly idealist, even stranger and more terrifying, who, through his love of dreaming and spirituality, had to effect, if not as immediately as the preceding [artists], at least by rebound, the orientation of the new souls of today's artists: Odilon Redon." Quoted from Annette Leduc Beaulieu, Brooks Beaulieu, "The Thadée Natanson panels: a Vuillard decoration for S. Bing's maison de l'Art Nouveau", in *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Autumn, 2002, <http://19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/autumn02/260-the-thadee-natanson-panels-a-vuillard-decorati-on-for-s-bings-maison-de-lart-nouveau> accessed in 12 March, 2012; French version "Parmi les annonceurs de la bonne parole, qu'aime à invoquer les jeunes, un autre artiste aussi original, aussi profondément idéaliste, encore plus étrange et plus terrifiant, qui, par son hautain mépris de l'imitation matérielle, par son amour du rêve et de la spiritualité dut agir, sinon aussi immédiatement que les précédents, du moins par contre-coup, sur l'orientation des neuves âmes d'artistes d'aujourd'hui: Odilon Redon.", G. —Albert Aurier, "Les peintres symbolistes", in *Revue encyclopédique* 2, no. 32 (1 April 1892), pp. 474-86

¹⁸⁰ "A work of art... must be (1) idéiste, since its unique aim is to express the idea; (2) symbolist, since it expresses this idea by means of forms; (3) synthetic, since it arranges these forms or signs in order to facilitate general comprehension; (4) subjective, since the object is not considered as a thing in itself but as a sign of an idea apprehended by the subject; and (5) it follows that it must be decorative — for what is decorative painting but a manifestation of art that is subjective, synthetic, Symbolistic, and idéiste." French version is "Donc, pour enfin se résumer et conclure, l'oeuvre d'art telle qu'il m'a plu la logiquement évoquer sera: (1) Idéiste, puise son idéal unique sera l'expression de l'Idée; (2) Symboliste, puisqu'elle exprimera cette Idée par des formes; (3) Synthétique, puisqu'elle écrira ces formes, ces signes, selon un mode de compréhension générale; (4) Subjective, puisque l'objet n'y sera jamais considéré en tant qu'objet, mais en tant que signe d'idée perçu par le sujet; (5) (C'est une conséquence) décorative— car la peinture décorative proprement dite, telle que l'ont comprise les Egyptiens, très proprement les Grecs et les Primitifs, n'est rien autre chose qu'une manifestation d'art à la fois subjectif, synthétique, symboliste et idéiste." Quoted from Albert Aurier, "Le Symbolisme en

prime exponents of the new school of the coming age.¹⁸¹

From the above discussion, it seems that the close relationship between the Nabis and Gauguin, as well as Denis' engagement with the French Symbolist discourse led him to seek out the strategy in putting Gauguin's painting in *Hommage à Cézanne*. Since Denis had planned to put Redon as one of the major figures in his work, Gauguin's painting positioned in the background seems to imply their early relationship with Symbolism and their intimate friendship. A convincing explanation of their connected relations is demonstrated by the strategy of pictorial dialogue they adjusted within two decades.¹⁸² In this point of view, as an early Symbolist prospector and a leading master for the Nabis, Gauguin's importance is insinuated through the style of his painting and his innovative appropriation of Cézanne's still life in Denis' group portrait. He is an invisible crucial figure that can not be ignored in *Hommage à Cézanne*.



3. Odilon Redon

3-1. Redon and Symbolism

Gauguin and Redon dominated the idea of the Nabis successively. The deaths of van Gogh and Seurat as well as Gauguin's departure created a gap in the leadership of the pictorial avant-garde.¹⁸³ Redon finally filled the gap and played a role of mentor from 1891 onwards.¹⁸⁴

peinture: Paul Gauguin", *Mercure de France*, March 1891, pp. 162-163

¹⁸¹ Douglas W. Druick, Gloria Groom, Fred Leeman, Maryanne Stevens (ed.), *Odilon Redon: prince of dreams 1840-1906*, Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1994, p. 199

¹⁸² See my chapter two "Cézanne's still life *Compotier, verre et pommes*".

¹⁸³ Douglas W. Druick, Gloria Groom, Fred Leeman, Maryanne Stevens (ed.), *Odilon Redon: prince of dreams 1840-1906*, Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1994, p. 203

¹⁸⁴ In an article on Sérusier published in 1908, Denis remarked that with the departure of Gauguin for Tahiti in 1891, literary Symbolism along with the desire to renew the art of theater decor had become the dominant influence on the young generation. Denis wrote: "...Gauguin était parti pour Tahiti, et ce qui dominait maintenant les préoccupations des peintres c'était plutôt le symbolisme littéraire."

Quoted from Maurice Denis, Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), *Le ciel et l'arcadie*, Paris: Hermann, éditeurs des sciences et des arts, 1993, p. 152

Redon was introduced to the young group in 1889 through the writer André Mellerio.¹⁸⁵ Expressing a deeper meaning underlying the surface for the exoticism, and mysticism in the content of his work, Redon's art was considered as having no rules. Open-ended in its meanings, it was deriving its inspiration from both nature and the imagination.¹⁸⁶ As the famous critic Thadée Natanson puts, the art of the "Prince of Dreams" was crossing beyond the boundary between reality and illusion.¹⁸⁷

Redon treasured the attention drawn by the Nabis after suffering many years in isolation.¹⁸⁸ He had followed his younger friend's innovation, attending regularly their exhibition at Le Barc de Boutteville since 1892. In this respect, Denis' choice to present Redon's painting at the beginning of his project was merely like a step to draw the respectable master out of his isolation and set him in the context of the art of his time.¹⁸⁹ The dominant evidence of their mutual friendship can be seen in the series of portraits Redon painted of the Nabi group, such as the profile of Denis (Fig. 37), Sérusier (Fig. 38), Bonnard (Fig. 39), Vuillard (Fig. 40), and Gauguin's portrait entitled *Black Profile (Gauguin)*, (Fig. 41).

In fact, in contrast to Denis's group portrait, Redon's charcoals have astonishing similarities with *Hommage à Cézanne*. The profiles of Sérusier and Bonnard painted in 1903 seem to refer to Denis' depictions. In this point of view, the pictorial dialogue

¹⁸⁵ Mellerio first introduced the Nabis to Redon in 1889 and became an advocate and publisher of their print. His Catalogue of Redon's prints first appeared in 1913 under the auspices of La Société pour L'Etude de la Gravure Française.

¹⁸⁶ Douglas W. Druick, Gloria Groom, Fred Leeman, Maryanne Stevens (ed.), *Odilon Redon: prince of dreams 1840-1906*, Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1994, p. 200

¹⁸⁷ Thadée Natanson, "Exposition Odilon Redon", in *Revue Blanche*, June 1894, quoted from Stephen F. Eisenman, *The temptation of Saint Redon: biography, ideology, and style in the Noirs of Odilon Redon*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992, p. 230

¹⁸⁸ In 1898, Redon even intended to found an artistic association along with Maurice Denis, critic André Mellerio, musician Ricardo Viñes, and Vuillard. They planned to call "L'Art ternaire" to denote the connection they desired between literature, music, and art. In 1901, Redon wrote to his close patron Andries Bonger, expressing his friendship with the young Nabi, "*Le nouveau bateau des jeunes, qui sont mes amis, et qui m'entourent si affectueusement, vouge bien, aussi.*" See Margret Stuffmann and Max Hollein (ed.), Melissa Thorson Hause and Allison Plath-Moseley, etc (trans.), *As in a Dream: Odilon Redon*, Frankfurt: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2007, p. 103

¹⁸⁹ Udo Kultermann, "Hommage à Cézanne by Maurice Denis", in *Journal of Art History*, Vol. 52, No. 2, 1983, p. 84

these artists undertook can be seen through the portraits painted by the different members of their circle.

In his entire life, Denis had promoted Redon's status vigorously: "*Odilon Redon was one of my youth friendship and master. Very erudite, musical, welcoming and kind, both an "honest man" and an "art lover" from old time, he was the ideal for the young symbolist generation, our Mallarmé.*"¹⁹⁰ Denis also referred to Redon's importance for Symbolism: "*Redon stands at the beginning of Symbolism, as a visual expression of the ideal.*"¹⁹¹

Among the Nabi group, Bonnard and Vuillard were especially important to Redon. They maintained a close relationship with him. As Bonnard once said, "*I have the utmost respect and admiration for Odilon Redon. What strikes me the most in his work is the meeting of two qualities almost opposed: the very pure plastic material and the very mysterious expression.*"¹⁹² Vuillard was also convinced that "*the meaning of mystery is to be always in ambiguity, with double, triple aspects; in the hints of aspect (images in images), forms which will be, or which become according to the state of mind of the beholder. All things become more than suggestive because they appear.*"¹⁹³ Except Bonnard and Vuillard, Sérusier praised Redon's artistic

¹⁹⁰ "*Odilon Redon a été un des maîtres et une des amitiés de ma jeunesse. Très cultivé, très musicien, accueillant et bon, à la fois "l'honnête homme" d'autrefois et "l'amoureux d'art" de naguère, il était l'idéal de la jeune génération symboliste, - notre Mallarmé.*" Maurice Denis, "Hommage à Odilon Redon", in *La Vie* (30 November 1912), p. 129; English version was translated by Xavier Capelli. Stéphane Mallarmé (1842-1898) sought to recreate the sensations, ideas, or objects in which he was interested, not by direct description but by indirect evocation, by the creation of a poem that would be kind of metonymic equivalent. In addition, he intentionally obscured the connection between subject matter and its realization by allowing a single word or poetic construction to signify many meanings and interpretations. The Nabis were profoundly influenced by his idea, Denis in particular.

¹⁹¹ "*La leçon de Redon, c'est son impuissance à rien peindre qui ne soit représentatif d'un état d'âme, qui n'exprime quelque profondeur d'émotion, qui ne traduise une vision intérieure.*" Maurice Denis, "Hommage à Odilon Redon", in *La Vie* (30 November 1912), p. 129, quoted from Margret Stuffmann and Max Hollein (ed.), Melissa Thorson Hause and Allison Plath-Moseley, etc (trans.), *As in a Dream: Odilon Redon*, Frankfurt: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2007, p. 103, note 2

¹⁹² "*J'ai la plus grande admiration pour Odilon Redon. Ce qui me frappe le plus dans son oeuvre, c'est la réunion de deux qualités presque opposées: la matière plastique très pure et l'expression très mystérieuse.*" Quoted from Bonnard, "Hommage à Odilon Redon", in *La Vie* (30 November 1912), p. 129; English version was translated by Xavier Capelli.

¹⁹³ Quoted from Margret Stuffmann and Max Hollein (ed.), Melissa Thorson Hause and Allison

uniqueness: “*Odilon Redon is the finest figure of an artist I have ever known. It is not for me to speak about the private man that I always found admirable. As for the artist, his long evolution has been continuous and normal. When I had the good fortune to be presented by Paul Gauguin, he was already the author of these beautiful suites of lithographs which revealed him to the world artist. His works became rare, jealously kept by the amateurs.*”¹⁹⁴

As one of the strong supporters to Redon as well as a figure in *Hommage à Cézanne*, the art critic André Mellerio also explained Redon’s important status and unique individuality, “*You ask me what I admire in Redon. Above all: a sincere and complete originality. [...] the artist meets the intimate deepness of our human being. It is not without relevancy that he invokes dream, and that this word is going back continually whenever someone speaks or writes about him. Yet, dream is made of involuntary suggestions, as well as underlying inspirations towards a luminous and imprecise goal, so called ideal? [...] Redon has also the power to make a living, if we could say, the newly thrill literally expressed by Edgar Poe, Baudelaire, Flaubert in his Saint Antoine temptation.*”¹⁹⁵ In his review, Mellerio justified that Cézanne, Gauguin, Vincent van Gogh, and Redon were the principal inspirations for the young

Plath-Moseley, etc (trans.), *As in a Dream: Odilon Redon*, Frankfurt: Hatje Cantz Verlag, 2007, pp. 106-108, no. 11

¹⁹⁴ “*Odilon Redon est la plus belle figure d’artiste que j’aie connue. Il ne m’appartient pas de parler de l’homme privé que j’ai toujours trouvé admirable. Quant à l’artiste, sa longue évolution a été normale et continue. Quand j’ai eu le bonheur de lui être présenté par Paul Gauguin, il était déjà l’auteur de ces belles suites de lithographies qui l’ont révélé au monde artiste. Elles sont devenues rares, jalousement gardées par les amateurs éclairés.*” Quoted from Sérusier, “Hommage à Odilon Redon”, in *La Vie* (30 November 1912), p. 133

¹⁹⁵ “*Vous me demandez ce que j’admire en Redon. Avant tout : une originalité vraie et entière. [...] L’artiste touche à d’intimes profondeurs de notre être. Ce n’est point sans justesse qu’il se réclame du Rêve, et que le mot revient sans cesse quand on parle ou qu’on écrit de lui. Or, le Rêve n’est-il point fait de suggestions involontaires, aussi d’aspirations latentes vers un but lumineux et imprécis qu’on appelle l’Idéal ? [...] Redon eut aussi le pouvoir de faire vivre, si l’on peut dire, pour les yeux, ce frisson nouveau qu’exprimait avec des mots la littérature étrange d’un Edgar Poë, d’un Baudelaire, de Flaubert en sa tentation de Saint Antoine.*” Quoted from André Mellerio , “Hommage à Odilon Redon”, in *La Vie* (30 November 1912), p. 132; English version was translated by Xavier Capelli.

Nabi generation.¹⁹⁶ Mellerio not only praised Redon, he also eulogized Cézanne in 1892.¹⁹⁷ Later, he published his survey of non-naturalist art *Le Mouvement idéaliste en peinture* in 1896, listing Redon with Cézanne, Gauguin, Vincent van Gogh, Puvis de Chavannes, and the Nabis (such as Bonnard, Denis, Ranson, Roussel, Sérusier, and Vuillard) as part of the group of artists seeking to escape the quotidian through inspiration and expressive form.¹⁹⁸ Mellerio's classification related to the chosen figures in Denis' work such as Gauguin, Redon, Cézanne and his fellow colleagues in a connected group. This could be the first inspiration for Denis' decision in his group portrait.

However, the Nabis such as Vuillard, Bonnard and Denis rejected the stringent demands of pictorial Symbolism and returned to a more direct confrontation with nature.¹⁹⁹ They were concerned about the position of Redon's work after 1900 in relation to the balance between external nature and the world of imagination which were subsequently to be conducted.²⁰⁰ The balance between sensation and imagination became their main goal to achieve their art in their last period.

3-2. Redon and Cézanne

Although Denis did not mention clearly the reason why he substituted Redon's painting with Cézanne's in his group portrait, he made a clear distinction between these two masters. For Denis, Redon brought to the younger artists "a mystical or esoteric element", especially a "*certain formal innovation that encouraged a reduction in the aspect of painting and an increase in purely decorative and*

¹⁹⁶ Douglas W. Druick, Gloria Groom, Fred Leeman, Maryanne Stevens (ed.), *Odilon Redon: prince of dreams 1840-1906*, Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1994, pp. 201-202

¹⁹⁷ Quoted from Richard W. Murphy, *The World of Cézanne 1839-1906*, New York: Time-Life Books, 1968, p. 161

¹⁹⁸ Douglas W. Druick, Gloria Groom, Fred Leeman, Maryanne Stevens (ed.), *Odilon Redon: prince of dreams 1840-1906*, Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1994, p. 200

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 214

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*.

expressive experiments".²⁰¹ Whereas Cézanne's still life was an ideal reconciliation of the objective and the subjective that varied intentionally the lines and the masses, disposing his draperies according to pre-mediated rhythms, seeking plastic beauty.²⁰² In 1907, Denis reasserted his position between Redon and Cézanne clearly: "Yes, Redon is at the origin of Symbolism, in what concerns the plastic expression of the ideal; and on the other hand, Cézanne's example taught us to transpose sensation into elements of the work of art. Redon's subject is more subjective; Cézanne's is more objective, but both create by means of a method which has its goal the creation of a concrete object that is both beautiful and represents a sensibility."²⁰³ As I have already mentioned in chapter one, the reason for Denis to choose Cézanne's painting instead of Redon's was because Cézanne "has shown the possibility of a classic Renaissance and given works of such nobility of style at a time".²⁰⁴ Denis presented classicism as the "just equilibrium between nature and style". He admired Cézanne as a master and discerned the classical qualities of Cézanne's art, promoting Cézanne's status as the Poussin of Impressionism who rejuvenated respectively modern art and

²⁰¹ Denis once wrote: "*Le Symbolisme est l'art de traduire et de provoquer des états d'âme au moyen de rapports de couleurs et de formes. Ces rapports, inventés ou empruntés à la nature, deviennent les signes ou symboles de ces états d'âme: ils ont le pouvoir de les suggérer.*" Maurice Denis, "Le Symbolisme et l'art religieux moderne", in *Le ciel et l'arcadie*, Paris : Hermann, éditeurs des sciences et des arts, 1993, p. 182

²⁰² "*Il composa ses natures-mortes, variant à dessein les lignes et les masses, disposant les draperies selon des rythmes prémédités, évitant les accidents du hasard, cherchant la beauté plastique*", quoted from Maurice Denis, Roger Fry (trans.), "Cézanne-I", In *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 16, No. 82 (Jan., 1910), pp. 213-214

²⁰³ "*Oui, Redon est à l'origine du Symbolisme, en tant qu'expression plastique de l'idéal, et d'autre part l'exemple de Cézanne nous enseignait à transposer les données de la sensation en éléments d'oeuvre d'art. Le sujet de Redon est plus subjectif, le sujet de Cézanne plus objectif, mais tous deux s'expriment au moyen d'une méthode qui a pour but de créer un objet concret, à la fois beau et représentatif d'une sensibilité.*" Quoted from Maurice Denis, Roger Fry (trans.), "Cézanne-II", In *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 16, No. 83 (Feb., 1910), p. 275, French version from Maurice Denis, Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), *Le ciel et l'arcadie*, Paris : Hermann, éditeurs des sciences et des arts, 1993, p. 140

²⁰⁴ "*Cézanne nous fait entrevoir la possibilité d'une Renaissance classique et donné des oeuvres d'une telle supériorité de style.*" Quoted from Maurice Denis, Roger Fry (trans.), "Cézanne-II", In *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 16, No. 83 (Feb., 1910), p. 276, French version from Maurice Denis, Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), *Le ciel et l'arcadie*, Paris : Hermann, éditeurs des sciences et des arts, 1993, p. 143

the young generation.²⁰⁵ For Denis, Cézanne was a sort of classic, material and a representative of classicism.²⁰⁶ Cézanne's still life not only carries on a pictorial dialogue among the Nabi circle, but his paradoxical status as modern and classic, made even Denis relate him with El Greco. Since El Greco was known to have imposed Catholic doctrine to counter the rising influence of the Protestants,²⁰⁷ and his posthumous fame was reinvented and reevaluated in the nineteenth-century and the twentieth-century, his art was recognized as classical and Catholic for his spiritual expression.²⁰⁸ Denis' interest in the pursuit of sensation and his combination of classic element and Catholicism made his decision obviously reinforce his strong faith toward Christianity. If Denis' group refers to Greco's group in *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, he does not keep the typical structure of the Counter Reformation religious

²⁰⁵ "Cézanne est à la fois l'aboutissement de la tradition classique et le résultat de la grande crise de liberté et de lumière qui a rajeuni l'art moderne. C'est le Poussin de l'impressionnisme." Quoted from Maurice Denis, Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), *Le ciel et l'arcadie*, Paris: Hermann, éditeurs des sciences et des arts, 1993, p. 148. As a matter of fact, Denis was not the first one to claim Cézanne's duality between tradition and modern; Bernard was the first one to discuss Cézanne's painting with Giotto that casted him in the dual role of both old master and "homme d'aujourd'hui". The more discussion can see Theodore Reff, "Cézanne and Poussin", in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, Vol. 23, No. 1/2 (Jan. – Jun., 1960), pp. 150-174; even though in this essay Reff doubted the typical demonstration that "Cézanne has overcome the shortcomings of Impressionism, especially its loss of structure, and yet has here come as close to nature as ever in his work. It may be said that space, volume, rhythmic tension, and color are built up as concisely in the 'Grandes baigneuses' as they are in the 'Triumph of Flora', and it is hardly an exaggeration to assert that over a distance of three centuries the same type of painting has come back", and he investigated the origin of this statement which was came from Bernard, Vollard, Denis, Gasquet and Languier, examining the texts and influence of them. Last, Reff concluded the image of Cézanne as reformer of impressionism and reviver of Poussin, first suggested by Bernard and Denis, was already established in the decade following his death, and their statement of Cézanne had influenced the attitude of latter critic for Cézanne. However, despite Reff's brilliant essay indicates the contradictions for the statement of Poussin and Cézanne, the assertion of Denis to infer the relationship between Poussin and Cézanne is the main issue here for us to realize the reason why Denis chose Cézanne as his admirer.

²⁰⁶ "Cézanne est une sorte de classique et que la jeunesse le tient pour un représentant du classicisme." Maurice Denis, Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), *Le ciel et l'arcadie*, Paris: Hermann, éditeurs des sciences et des arts, 1993, p. 131

²⁰⁷ Xavier Bray, *El Greco*, London: National Gallery Company, 2004, p. 26. In their essays, Katherine Kuenzli and Michael Marlais both conclude that Denis's Catholic intention had made him to address religious and political dimension in his paintings. See Katherine Marie Kuenzli, "Aesthetics and Cultural Politics in the age of Dreyfus: Maurice Denis's Homage to Cézanne", in *Art History*, Vol. 30, No. 5, 2007, pp. 683-771, and Michael Marlais, "Conservative style/ Conservative politics: Maurice Denis in Le Vésinet", in *Art History*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (March 1993), pp. 125-146

²⁰⁸ Athena S. Leoussi, "Civic to ethnic classicism: the cult of the Greek body in late nineteenth century French society and art", in *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, Vol. 16, No. 3/4 (Sep. – Dec., 2009), pp. 393-442

image. In this point of view, Denis has not only adopted Greco's group in his composition, but he also related the relationship between the religious and profane world. For Denis, *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz* was an ideal reconciliation that contains both elements;²⁰⁹ he indulged in refinement of naturalism and imagination.²¹⁰ Moreover, after the 1860s France, *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz's* mystery, ecstasy, and devoutness make serious and enlightening attempts to hold El Greco up to the mirror of modern art.²¹¹ In the above point of view, it seems reasonable to refer to Denis' intention to classify Cézanne as a representation of Catholic art for spiritual expression or counting him as a member of the group.²¹² Besides the religious intention, Cézanne's reputation became linked to the symbolist avant-garde. As a special figure of modernism, he was the best applicant to replace Gauguin and Redon in Denis' apotheosis of a great artist.²¹³

Although Denis had changed his original project into his homage to Cézanne,

²⁰⁹ In his latter essay that discussed the influence of Cézanne, Denis regarded that “...*tout le monde est d'accord pour reconnaître son indéniable parenté avec le Greco, génie singulier, fiévreux et décadent, né de la vieillesse d'une grande époque.*” Quoted from Maurice Denis, Watelin (ed.), “L'influence de Cézanne”, in *Nouvelles théories sur l'art moderne, sur l'art sacré, 1914-1921*, Paris, 1922, p. 120; also he concluded “[Cézanne] *c'est le Poussin de l'impressionnisme. Il a la finesse de perception d'un Parisien et il est fastueux et abondant comme un décorateur italien. Il est ordonné comme un Français et fiévreux comme un Espagnol. C'est un Chardin de décadence, et parfois il dépasse Chardin. Il y a du Greco en lui, et souvent il a santé de Véronèse. Mais ce qu'il est, il l'est naturellement, et tous les scrupules de sa volonté, tout l'assiduité de son effort n'ont fait que servir et exalter ses dons naturels.*” Quoted in P. M. Doran (ed.), *Conversations avec Cezanne*, Paris: Macula, 1978, p. 179

²¹⁰ Maurice Denis, Roger Fry (trans.), “Cézanne-I”, In *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, Vol. 16, No. 82 (Jan., 1910), p. 213

²¹¹ In the 1860s advanced artists and writers were seeking ways to renovate and rejuvenate the art of painting, and they took El Greco as a model. After that, the English scholar Roger Fry went on to explain how El Greco had come to be revered, together with Poussin, as an inspiration for modern artists: “*In part this is due to Cézanne's influence...for Cézanne consciously studied both, taking from Poussin his discretion and the subtlety of his rhythm, and from El Greco his great discovery of the permeation of every part of the design with a uniform and continuous plastic theme.*” See Jonathan Brown, William B. Jordan, Richard L. Kagan, and Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez (ed.), *El Greco of Toledo*, New York & Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1982, pp. 20-26

²¹² In Leoussi's opinion, Cézanne's desire to revive the classical world in Provence as well as to express the classical qualities of the religion, order and reason, led him to Poussin. See Athena S. Leoussi, “Civic to ethnic classicism: the cult of the Greek body in late nineteenth century French society and art”, in *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, Vol. 16, No. 3/4 (Sep. – Dec., 2009), p. 415; the similar opinion see Kurt Badt, Sheila Ann Ogilvie (trans.), *The art of Cézanne*, New York: Hacker Art Books, 1985, p. 31

²¹³ Emile Bernard, Félix Fénéon and Gustave Geffroy also published their essays for the review of Cézanne in 1890s. They praised Cézanne had influenced the Nabis.

he nevertheless affirmed Redon's influence and importance to the Nabis. He confirmed Redon's position in 1912: "*Before the influence of Cézanne, through Gauguin and Bernard, it was the thoughts of Redon's series of lithographs and his admirable charcoal drawings, determined in a spiritual sense the evolution of art in 1890. He is at the beginning of all the aesthetic innovations or renovations, of all the revolutions in taste that we have experienced since that time.*"²¹⁴ Despite Denis substituting Cézanne to Redon, the latter was still occupying an important place for the Nabis. In *Hommage à Cézanne*, Redon is holding a handkerchief and a pair of eye glasses, as if he is ready to wipe them and look at Cézanne's still life more closely. This gesture seems to be a connection between Denis' two different artistic ideologies, and it also explains Denis' idea of reconciliation between imagination and sensation. Moreover, the idea of reconciliation is also revealed in Sérusier's rhetorical gesture and Redon's sensational qualities of being material and spiritual. As Denis explained in his journal the reason he decided to substitute Cézanne's still life for Redon's in his group portrait — "*to reconcile the use of major decorative resources and the direct emotions of nature*".²¹⁵ This subtle intention explains why Denis staged Redon and Cézanne's still life in a focal position in his group portrait to represent the two different characters.

4. The dealer-critic system²¹⁶ — Durand-Ruel, Vollard and Mellerio

²¹⁴ "Avant l'influence de Cézanne, à travers Gauguin et Bernard, c'est la pensée de Redon, par ses séries de lithographies et ses admirables fusains qui détermina dans un sens spiritualiste l'évolution de l'art en 1890. Il est à l'origine de toutes les innovations ou renovations esthétiques, de toutes les révolutions du goût auxquelles nous avons depuis lors assisté." Denis, "Hommage à Odilon Redon", quoted from Thadée Natanson, "Une date de l'histoire de la peinture française: Mars 1899," *La revue blanche* 19, no. 148 (1 Aug. 1899), pp. 505-506

²¹⁵ Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), Josephine Bacon, Caroline Newman, and Shena Wilson (trans.), *Maurice Denis: earthly paradise*, Paris: Musée National, 2006, p. 208

²¹⁶ The institution of the "dealer-critic system" described in Cynthia and Harrison White's landmark study in 1965. By using the expressionists as their chief example, the Whites attributed the creation of this independent institution primarily to a matter of default, a failure of the academic system to take care of its own. See Cynthia White, Harrison White, *Canvases and careers: institutional change in*

The dealer Ambroise Vollard and the critic Mellerio are the other important figures in *Hommage à Cézanne*. Climbing up on the H-frame of the easel, Vollard poses his slanting eyes to the others; he stands in a top stage of the group, and coolly surveys the artists below,²¹⁷ his tabby cat under the easel.²¹⁸ At the same time, Mellerio positioned next to Vollard also indicates their close relationship. It seems clear that the art dealer constitutes a dominant figure in *Hommage à Cézanne*. His position represents his important role in the artist's career and life, just like Cézanne's early reputation was mainly built by Vollard's investment in the 1890s.²¹⁹

As we have already mentioned, Denis' assumption to position his group in Vollard's gallery as well as the title of his work both recall us a group exhibition of Post and Neo-Impressionists entitled *Les Symbolistes et les Néo-impressionnistes: Hommage à Redon* at Durand-Ruel gallery in 1899.²²⁰ This exhibition was dedicated

French painting world with a new foreword and a new afterword, New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965, pp. 94-98+150-152

²¹⁷ Quoted from Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Cézanne and Provence: the painter in his culture*, Chicago & London: The university of Chicago, 2003, p. 249

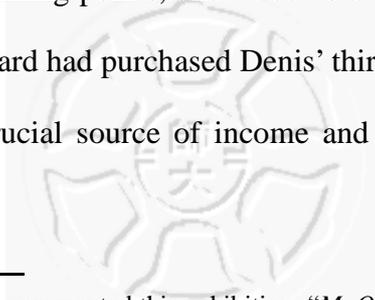
²¹⁸ There are different opinions for the role of pets in paintings, such as cat is a symbol of artistic independence or it is associated with female lovers. I tend to recognize that the spotted cat in Denis' painting not only refers to Vollard's cat and his ownership (especially Vollard was portrayed by Bonnard, Renoir and Picasso with the same pattern cat in 1917, 1924, and 1960), but also refers to Vollard's independent status in his avant-garde gallery. See James H. Robin, *Impressionist cats & dogs: pets in the painting of Modern life*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003

²¹⁹ In 1895, Cézanne's first one-person exhibition held at Vollard's Parisian gallery, which consisted of about 150 canvases. After that, Vollard held Cézanne's works in 1896, 1898, 1899, 1901, 1902, 1905, and 1906 during his lifetime. By these exhibitions, Cézanne was gradually recognized and considered as an eccentric master into the idolized father of modern art during the latter part of his life. Late in his life Vollard recalled his first Cézanne exhibition in 1895: "An innovator like Cézanne was considered a madman or an imposter, and even the avant-grade dealers like Durand-Ruel and Bernheim regarded him with contempt... On the spot, I managed to buy 150 canvases from him, almost his entire output... I risked a great deal of money by doing that- everything I owned, my entire fortune went into it. And I anxiously wondered whether my audacity might not turn out to be the ruin of me." Brassai, Richard Miller (trans.), *The artists of my life*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1982, p. 212, quoted from Gail Stavitsky, Katherine Rothkopf (ed.), *Cézanne, Paul, 1839-1906*, Catalog exhibition by Montclair Art Museum and The Baltimore Museum of Art, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009, p. 87

²²⁰ The accurate date of this exhibition was 3 to 31 March, 1899; Redon provided eleven works, inclusive of seven pastels, three charcoal drawings, and one oil painting in this exhibition. Actually, from his initial, small, solo exhibition at the offices of *La Vie moderne* in 1881, Redon had gone on present charcoal drawings and lithographs in group exhibitions such as the Salon des Indépendants and the eighth and final Impressionist exhibition in Paris, and at Les Vingt in Brussels.

to Redon for his growing influence on the young artists.²²¹ Many of Nabi artists took part in this exhibition in respect of their admirable master as well as concentrated the group of contemporary tendencies of art.²²² However, if Denis was inspired by the group exhibition at Durand-Ruel gallery the year before he achieved his work,²²³ what influenced him to set up his group in Vollard's gallery?

Actually, Vollard had organized a series of group exhibits devoted to Symbolist and Nabi paintings in his gallery in 1896 and 1897.²²⁴ Moreover, he also organized a series of lithographs by Redon, Vuillard, Bonnard and Denis in his gallery in 1899,²²⁵ which seems more close to Denis' idea. Most importantly, Vollard had in particular been a pivotal figure in promoting the Nabis from 1896 to 1900. He helped to shape their careers at important turning points, and acted as a catalyst for their work. For a personal consideration, Vollard had purchased Denis' thirty-four paintings dating from 1893 to 1899; he was a crucial source of income and supporter of Denis' graphic



²²¹ As the critic Thadée Natanson commented this exhibition: “*M. Odilon Redon has taught the young who surround him what liberties talent authorizes; he has made it possible for them to deepen the resources of their profession through the use of lithography. He possesses to the highest degree those primordial plastic gifts for which they have the very greatest concern and respect. That's what gives profound meaning to his presence.*” French version: “*M. Odilon Redon a appris aux jeunes qui l'entourent quelles libertés autorise le don, permis d'approfondir les ressources de leur métier par l'usage de la lithographie. Il a au plus haut point ces dons plastiques primordiaux dont ils ont avant tout le souci et le respect. Voilà qui donne un sens profond à sa présence.*” Quoted from Thadée Natanson, “Une date de l'histoire de la peinture française: Mars 1899”, in *La revue blanche* 19, no. 148 (1 Aug. 1899), pp. 505-506

²²² The list of artists for this exhibition were Bonnard, Denis, Ibels, Hermann-Paul, Ranson, Rippl-Ronai, Roussel, Sérusier, Vallotton, Vuillard, Angrand, Cross, Luce, Petitjean, Signac, van Rysselberghe, André, d'Espagnat, de Monfreid, Roussel-Massure, Valtat, Bernard, Filiger, la Rochefoucauld, Charpentier, Lacombe, and Minne

²²³ Paul Durand-Ruel was widely credited as the important art dealer who dominated the professional careers of Impressionists. His supports to the avant-garde artists such as Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Edgas Degas, Édouard Manet, Claude Monet, Alfred Sisley, Camille Pissarro, Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, and other artists in the end of the nineteenth-century made his art shop as famous as possible. In 1893 Durand-Ruel was stepping into the more risky territory of symbolist art, with an exhibition of Gauguin's Tahitian paintings. By 1900, Durand-Ruel gallery had dominated the international market for Impressionism. Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Cézanne and Provence: the painter in his culture*, Chicago & London: The university of Chicago, 2003, p. 236

²²⁴ Katherine Marie Kuenzli, *The Nabis and intimate Modernism: painting and decorative at the fin-de-siècle*, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010, P. 220

²²⁵ Claire Frèches-Thory and Antoine Terrasse, *The Nabis: Bonnard, Vuillard and Their Circle*, Paris: Flammarion, 2002, p. 288

work.²²⁶ Denis' close relationship to individual patrons and Vollard's connected economic relationship with the young generation make him to place Vollard as well as his gallery in a crucial position in his work.

On the other hand, if Redon's figure refers to Denis' strategy of artistic reconciliation, then the figures of Vollard and Mellerio may refer to the important supports the dealer and the critic for artists, especially to Cézanne. Being an avant-garde supporter as well as Cézanne's important dealer,²²⁷ Vollard had held several one-man exhibitions of the artist since 1895.²²⁸ Cézanne's reputation was built upon several of his arranged exhibitions within few years. His appearance indicates the relationship between Cézanne, himself and the Nabis. As the most important supporter to the Master of Aix-en-Provence, Vollard was even portrayed by Cézanne in 1899 (Fig. 42).²²⁹ Since Denis decided to turn his tribute from Redon to Cézanne, then to set up his group in a more influential dealer's gallery both for Cézanne and him was reasonable.

Besides, the critic Mellerio also played a crucial role for the young generation. He introduced the Symbolist painter to them in 1889, he wrote a review for Cézanne's

²²⁶ They had contacted with each other since 1893. Vollard served Denis financial help for his works. For example, in September 1895 Vollard purchased 300 francs worth of paintings and drawings by Denis, and many of them were sold shortly thereafter when Vollard showed some of the artist's works at his gallery. See Gloria Groom, "Vollard, the Nabis, and Redon", in Rebecca A. Rabinow (ed.), *Cézanne and Picasso: Ambroise Vollard, patron of the avant-garde*, New York : Metropolitan Museum of Art ; New Haven : Yale University Press, 2006, pp. 83-84

²²⁷ Vollard had exhibited several of impressionists, post-impressionists, the Nabis, and Symbolists: Alfred Jarry, Octave Mirbeau, Ker-Xavier Roussel, Félix Fénéon, Pissarro, Forain, Bonnard, Vuillard, Vlaminck, Denis, Bernard, Degas, Renoir, and Redon. See Nina Maria Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, *Cézanne and Provence: the painter in his culture*, Chicago & London: The university of Chicago, 2003, p. 236

²²⁸ The painting of Renoir's trait on the rear wall may indicate that he is an important figure both for Vollard and Cézanne. As Vollard's close friend, he encouraged Vollard to mount the first exhibition to be devoted to Cézanne in 1895.

²²⁹ In fact, it was Vollard who asked Cézanne to paint his portrait, and he documented the complaint Cézanne had when painting several of the drawings for the preparatory: "*Unfortunate man! You have disturbed the pose! Really, you must be as quiet as an apple, an apple that never moves.*" Quoted from Ambroise Vollard, "Cézanne's Studio", in *The Soil*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (March., 1917), p. 102; in addition, he also wrote an essay to cherish the memory of the studio scene of Cézanne during the creation of his portrait, see Ambroise Vollard, "Cézanne's studio", in *The Soil*, vol. 1, No. 3 (Mar., 1917), pp. 102-111; and Ambroise Vollard, Harold L. van Doren (trans.), *Cézanne*, New York: Dover Publication, 1984, pp. 76-88

one-man show in 1895, related Denis' ideal group previously in 1896,²³⁰ commented the 1899 group exhibition,²³¹ and wrote an essay in praise of Redon's importance in 1912. Mellerio's participation around the avant-garde made him involved with Denis' circle closely and continuously. If Denis intended to compose his group portrait of the dealer-critic system to weave a multiple dimension for Cézanne, setting a companionable critic like Mellerio seems to be a proper strategy.

In fact, as art dealers stepped into the vacuum created by an inflexible, inadequate system of public patronage, so was an art critic enlisted by dealers to help create an ideology and an organization that would jibe with the accepted painter role while allowing an alliance with painters who needed the financial framework dealers could provide.²³² The presence of Vollard and Mellerio does not only indicate the dealer-critic system operated in a public gallery, but also affirms the artist-patron association in elevating Cézanne's art and his rising reputation.

5. Conclusion

*"After Manet, he [Gauguin] is the French painter who has been [the] most influential. What Manet was to the generation of 1870, Gauguin was to that of 1890."*²³³ For ten years or so, the Nabis followed the step of Gauguin and Redon to a

²³⁰ In his pamphlet *Le Mouvement idéaliste en peinture* in 1896, Mellerio grouped his discussion around four main figures: Puvis de Chavannes, Moreau, Redon, and Gauguin, and included as a subset within their ranks the still largely unknown Cézanne and van Gogh. Robert Jensen, *Marketing modernism in fin de siècle Europe*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994, p. 268

²³¹ In his preface to the 1899 group exhibition catalogue, Mellerio applauded the show: "A certain number of painters, having exhibited separately or in groups, these last years, at the Salon des Indépendants, at the Barc de Boutteville gallery, etc., have gathered here. Their exhibition...aims at bringing out the sum of all contemporary trends." Gloria Groom, *Beyond the easel: decorative painting by Bonnard, Vuillard, Denis, and Roussel, 1890-1930*, New Haven: Yale University, 2001, p. 31

²³² Critics provide the ideological justification; dealers provide the market. Robert Jensen, *Marketing modernism in fin de siècle Europe*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994, p. 50

²³³ "Depuis Manet, il [Gauguin] est le peintre français qui eut la plus grande influence. Ce que fut Manet, pour la génération de 1870, Gauguin le fut pour celle de 1890." Maurice Denis, "La peinture", in *Le Ciel et l'Arcadie*, p. 85, quoted from Guillermo Solana, Richard Shiff, Guy Cogeval, Maria Dolores Jiménez-Blanco (ed.), *Gauguin and the origins of Symbolism*, London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2004, p. 58

symbolic expression. These two masters dominated the tendency of the Nabis successively. By putting Redon's figure and the style of Gauguin's painting in his work, Denis underscored these two important leaders toward his circle. Besides, in order to reinforce Gauguin's dominant status, he chose to stage Cézanne's still life as a pictorial dialogue with Gauguin and his circle, implying their connected relationship in the 1880s and the 1890s.²³⁴

In the consideration of the Nabi circle, Denis' religion and his friendship with Sérusier shaped his vision of the Nabi group identity, which depended on a collaborative and collective approach to art-making. He cared about the group identity beyond question.²³⁵ Although these radical members worked and exhibited together,²³⁶ they broke apart to develop as individuals around 1898 and 1899.²³⁷ After their period of true collaboration they moved to express themselves in different ways, the work of each of them adding to the prestige of the group as a whole.²³⁸ When Denis planned to paint *Hommage à Cézanne*, it was almost the end of the Nabis, and this painting could also be a testament in memory of their radical artistic period. After that, these young artists went all on different roads.²³⁹

²³⁴ Cézanne's still life *Compotier, verre et pommes* plays a multiple role in Denis work, and there are at least three reasons for Denis to choose this painting. See my chapter two "Cézanne's still life *Compotier, verre et pommes*"

²³⁵ The critic Octave Mirbeau commented the paradoxical characteristic of the Nabi group: "*Their friendship was a joy. A joy, but at the same time it was beneficial. They opened up a whole new world which until then had been virtually inaccessible to me. I had always enjoyed life and was content with that enjoyment, but they gave me better, healthier, loftier reasons.*" Octave Mirbeau, preface to the catalogue of the exhibition Félix Vallotton, Galerie Druet, January 1911, quoted from Claire Frèches-Thory and Antoine Terrasse, *The Nabis: Bonnard, Vuillard and Their Circle*, Paris: Flammarion, 2002, p. 24

²³⁶ These members exhibited together at the Barc de Boutteville until 1896 (entitled *Impressionist and Symbolist Painters*), then at Vollard's gallery in 1897 and 1898 (the latter published their finest lithographs), and at the Durand-Ruel gallery in 1899.

²³⁷ Claire Frèches-Thory and Antoine Terrasse, *The Nabis: Bonnard, Vuillard and Their Circle*, Paris: Flammarion, 2002, p. 27

²³⁸ Scholars concluded that the gap between the two halves of the Nabi group, between Catholic and Jewish members, religious and secular, archaic and modern, as well as speculative and observing types had been visible or as evident in the end of the group. See Guillermo Solana, Richard Shiff, Guy Cogeval, Maria Dolores Jiménez-Blanco (ed.), *Gauguin and the origins of Symbolism*, London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2004

²³⁹ For example, Paul Ranson even found *L'Académie Ranson* in Paris in 1908, and this academy soon

If we go back to the definition of the group portraiture given by Bridget Alsdorf in the beginning of my study, “*group portraiture is the representation of distinct, recognizable individuals whose association with each other, as it is represented in the picture, is a statement of solidarity, collective interest, or purpose*”,²⁴⁰ it helps to understand Denis’ intention expressed in collective interest of his work. Denis’ motivation was a desire to integrate the individual into collectivity. His crucial role in promoting the group within a circle urged him to paint the ideal group portrait at the end of the Nabis. Above all, this was the reason why Denis painted Redon, Gauguin, and his (preferred) fellows in a huge painting. It was not only in memory of the young generation, but also in memory of their circle as well as their relationship with the Symbolist masters. They were once related to a common artistic ideal, and they separated later for different artistic ideals. Denis paid homage to the masters he admired mostly with his intimate colleagues, as if they had gathered together years ago; he laid his view of solitary introspection as complementing and strengthening to a community engagement.²⁴¹ His sense of solidarity for his circle urged him to carry on a pictorial dialogue with them as well as to work tirelessly to promote through organizing group exhibitions and wrote probing essays defining the group’s aims and characteristics.²⁴²

But his personal selection and distinction in *Hommage à Cézanne* excluded

became one of the famous academies in French in the twentieth-century.

²⁴⁰ Bridget Abigail Alsdorf, *The art of association: Fantin-Latour and the modern group portrait*, Ph. D. dissertation, Berkeley University of California, 2008, p. 16, see chapter no. 3

²⁴¹ Katherine Marie Kuenzli, *The Nabis and intimate Modernism: painting and decorative at the fin-de-siècle*, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010, P. 134

²⁴² Katherine Marie Kuenzli, *The Nabis and intimate Modernism: painting and decorative at the fin-de-siècle*, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010, P. 24. His critical writing began in 1890 and continued well beyond the end of the movement in 1900, providing a framework for understanding the Nabi movement. All of his life, Denis had never stopped writing essays in praise of his colleagues and respectable masters. In his published book, he eulogizes Renoir in 1892 and 1920; Redon in 1903; Gauguin in 1903 and 1905; Roussel in 1903; Cézanne in 1907 and 1920; Sérusier in 1908; Ranson in 1909. See Maurice Denis, *Théories, 1890-1910 du symbolisme et de Gauguin vers un nouvel ordre classique*, 1st and 2nd ed, Paris: Bibliothèque de l’Occident, 1912; 3rd ed, Paris: Rouart et Watelin, 1913; 4th ed, *ibid*, 1920; Maurice Denis, J. Watelin (ed.), *Nouvelles théories sur l’art moderne, sur l’art sacré, 1914-1921*, Paris, 1922

some members of the Nabis.²⁴³ This choice resulting for example in the absence of Vallotton may explain why Vallotton decided at his turn to paint his own vision of the history of the group two years later. In order to distinguish the vexed relationship between the group and their individuals, Vallotton emphasized the differences between each individual, giving an answer to the disbanding of the Nabis. He therefore focused on the singularity and alienation in *Les Cinq Peintres*, being a comparison to the photograph (Fig. 43) they once had and assembled years ago.

Besides, the relationship between Gauguin and the Nabis had changed after Gauguin left France.²⁴⁴ After that, Gauguin suspected that Sérusier wished to replace him as the leading master and he decided to turn his back and renounced “*the whole Sérusier, Denis and company lot*”.²⁴⁵ Their unsteady and distrustful relationship might have precipitated Denis to transform his choices and promoted Cézanne as a new master. For Denis, Cézanne was a significant model for the synthesis of form and color, the objective and the subjective, matter and spirit, and abstraction and representation, as he had fused intuition and intellect to achieve “the logic of organized sensations.”²⁴⁶ In Denis’ opinion, Cézanne was a perfect model to balance classic tradition and modern art. Hence the choice of Cézanne’s still life is not only a pictorial dialogue with his fellows, but also an ideal representation of Cézanne’s willpower and spirit.

²⁴³ Denis commented in his journal to separate his group into two distinct factions: the Latin taste and the Semitic taste. See my chapter one.

²⁴⁴ Gauguin complained to Monfreid the disloyalty he felt from the Nabis group: “*Demain je deviendrai élève de Bernard et de Sérusier*”, letter to Monfreid, March 1897, quoted from Guillermo Solana, Richard Schiff, Guy Cogeval, Maria Dolores Jiménez-Blanco (ed.), *Gauguin and the origins of Symbolism*, London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2004, p. 64

²⁴⁵ “*Toute la bande Sérusier, Denis et cie*”, letter to Monfreid, July 1899. Despite all his suspicions at the end of his life, Gauguin valued his legacy as a teacher higher than his works. In his last letter from the Marquesas Islands, he said to Monfreid: “*Vous connaissez depuis longtemps ce que j’ai voulu établir: le droit de tout oser: mes capacités [...] n’ont pas donné un grand résultat, mais cependant la machine est lancée. Le public ne me doit rien puisque mon oeuvre picturale n’est que relativement bonne, mais les peintres qui, aujourd’hui, profitent de cette liberté, me doivent quelque chose.*” Letter to Monfreid, October 1902. Quoted from Ibid.

²⁴⁶ Gail Stavitsky, Katherine Rothkopf (ed.), *Cézanne and American Modernism*, New Haven and London: Montclair Art Museum, The Baltimore Museum of Art, Phoenix Art Museum, 2010, p. 22

Denis also wanted to revise his artistic direction with Cézanne's still life. In a letter he wrote to Vuillard, he felt the common goal of the Nabis used to strive: "*I believe that we were wrong to expect immediate pleasure, superficial entertainment from a work of art, and to accord too much importance to the appearance of our paintings — so many mediocre, transitory, futile works entertain, but are totally lacking in intrinsic beauty.*"²⁴⁷ For Denis, Cézanne balances the sensation of nature and the demands of painted work.²⁴⁸ He felt that Cézanne's work was a synthesis of these two art tendencies.²⁴⁹ This may also explain why the principal theorist of the Nabis, Paul Sérusier is ahead of the group and conversing with Redon in a rhetorical gesture, as if he is introducing to him their new ideal "prophet".

Indicating his new ideal type helped Denis turn his assertion along with his fellows and supporters. The Nabis exhibited their works and propagated their artistic idea through the help of dealers and critics. Figures of Vollard and Mellerio both strengthen their circle; their mutual and connected relationship with Redon and Cézanne also help to constitute an artist-patron association. Therefore Denis put all the important and memorial figures related to his group in an enclosed interior, reconciling their various propositions with the help of his beloved wife Marthe as his witness.²⁵⁰ Hence we have to pay attention that if Redon's eye glasses indicate the

²⁴⁷ Quoted from Claire Frèches-Thory and Antoine Terrasse, *The Nabis: Bonnard, Vuillard and Their Circle*, Paris: Flammarion, 2002, p. 38. It is considered that the trip to Italy was the key to this transformation; the shock of seeing the paintings by Raphael in the Vatican prompted in Denis a real desire for change. His return to the Renaissance painting announces classicism quite at odds stylistically with Cézanne's project. Yet Denis combined his religion with the classical tradition, seeking to achieve harmony through the Old Master as well as the contemporary masters.

²⁴⁸ Jean-Paul Bouillon (ed.), Josephine Bacon, Caroline Newman, and Shena Wilson (trans.), *Maurice Denis: Earthly Paradise*, Paris: Musée Nationaux, 2006, p. 25

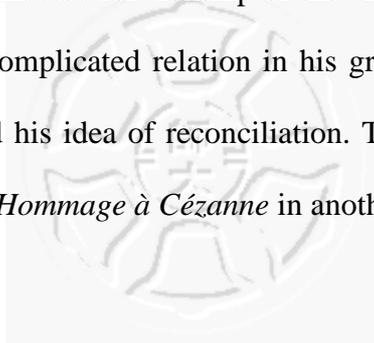
²⁴⁹ Kurt Badt, Sheila Ann Ogilvie (trans.), *The art of Cézanne*, New York: Hacker Art Books, 1985, p. 233

²⁵⁰ Marthe supported Denis' career, and she was his personal model oftentimes. For Denis, Marthe meant love, warm and royal wife; she was ever presented as Madonna in Denis' religious painting. For the more discussion of Denis' reconciliation, see Katherine Marie Kuenzli, "Intimate expressions, public intentions in Maurice Denis's *Frauenliebe und Leben*", in *The anti-heroism of modern life symbolist decoration and the problem of privacy in fin-de-siècle modernist painting*, Ph. D. dissertation, Berkeley University of California, 2002, Chapter two, pp. 102- 181

connection between imagination and sensation, then Marthe's glasses as well as her role as an outsider and witness may indicate that all the spectators must be cautious to look at this painting in details, not to be cheated by its title "Homage to Cézanne".

As Denis wrote, he would like to "*reconcile the use of major decorative resources and the emotions of nature*" in his final version, this painting tries to reconcile the synthesis of Gauguin and Redon, as well as the sensation of Cézanne. He proposed a new type of group portraiture between modernism and tradition, a painting that balances sensation and imagination, and in memory of the individual and the collective.²⁵¹ Besides, his belief of Catholicism serves to underline the contents of his group portrait both in religious and profane elements.²⁵²

By examining the connected relationship of the chosen figures in Denis' work, it is clear that he wove a complicated relation in his group portrait to indicate their embedded circle and turned his idea of reconciliation. This investigation helps us to understand Denis' idea and *Hommage à Cézanne* in another dimension.



²⁵¹ Katherine Marie Kuenzli, *The Nabis and intimate Modernism: painting and decorative at the fin-de-siècle*, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010, P. 105

²⁵² Denis' religion also shaped his vision of Nabi group identity. Therefore, he classified the Nabi group into two parts in his painting — the Latin taste and the Semitic taste.

CONCLUSION

Examining different aspects such as the group portraiture and homage painting as part of a formal tradition Denis adopted and renewed Cézanne's still life as a pictorial dialogue in the Nabi circle and the relationship of the chosen figures in Denis' painting all help us to understand *Hommage à Cézanne* as a more complicated painting than has been done in the dominant tendency in the past. As the American artist Maurice Sterne said, who was bewildered by Denis' work after he visited the Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, "*This painting is full of mysteries that I could not fathom.*"²⁵³ *Hommage à Cézanne* is a complex group portrait combined with Denis' various intentions.

For Denis, Cézanne's still life is a representation of his fellow master as well as a pictorial dialogue with his companions; the style of Gauguin's painting and his appropriation of Cézanne indicate that Gauguin had played an influential role to the Nabi group in their early development; Redon's figure indicates Denis' tribute that followed before. By putting their figures together, Denis apparently implies that Gauguin, Redon and Cézanne all influenced his companions and himself successively. These three figures play the important and crucial roles in *Hommage à Cézanne*. Besides, Denis put the selected Nabi group and their dealer to strengthen their tribute to the masters as well as their complicated social relation.

Nevertheless, Denis also attempted to reconcile his devout Catholicism with the practice of modern painting. For Denis, El Greco is a model that reconciled and connected religion and art. This made Denis connect and relate his painting to Greco's work, revealing his desire to contain these two elements. Actually, far from being traditional, Denis' Symbolism emerged out of distinct modernist concerns, not the

²⁵³ Maurice Sterne, "Cézanne Today", in *The American Scholar* 22 (Winter 1952-53), pp. 40-59; quoted from Gail Stavitsky, Katherine Rothkopf (ed.), *Cézanne, Paul, 1839-1906*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009, pp. 23+53

least of which was the forging of a new synthesis between sensation and imagination, the individual and the collectivity, as well as modernity and tradition.²⁵⁴ As he wrote in his Journal in 1900, “*Now for me, the work of situating a contingent, personal, and experienced emotion within a form that is as simple, clear and also as noble as possible represents the most passionate kind of work that exists. This task has become the traditional effort of the artist since the individual conscience became the center of everything. To make a particular emotion [is] the basis of a generalized expression.*”²⁵⁵

Motivating Denis’ search for method was a desire to integrate the individual into collectivity. His crucial role in promoting the group within a circle urged him to paint the ideal group portrait in the end of the Nabi story. To be sure, this painting is a pictorial statement of a group of artists combining with the young generation, their crucial guides, important patrons and the prospect of avant-garde. Denis interwove a complicated series of relationships into his group portrait to indicate their embedded circle and turned to his idea of reconciliation.

Hommage à Cézanne is a self-promotion and ideal reconciliation for Denis personally, as well as a milestone for the Nabi group. Denis’ complicated intentions and strategies make this painting more than just a simple documentation of Cézanne’s rising reputation in the beginning of the twentieth-century. On the contrary, it reveals individual-collective tensions in a relatively small space. My research helps one gain a better understanding of Denis’ subtle intentions in *Hommage à Cézanne*.

²⁵⁴ Katherine Marie Kuenzli, *The Nabis and intimate Modernism: painting and decorative at the fin-de-siècle*, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010, P. 138

²⁵⁵ “*Or pour moi, le travail de situer dans une forme aussi simple, aussi claire, et aussi noble que possible une émotion contingente, personnelle, vécue, ce travail est le plus passionnant qui soit. C’est l’effort traditionnel de l’artiste, depuis que la conscience de l’individu s’est faite le centre de tout. Arriver à une expression générale d’une émotion particulière.*” Maurice Denis, Journal, 1:159, quoted from Katherine Marie Kuenzli, *The Nabis and intimate Modernism: painting and decorative at the fin-de-siècle*, Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2010, P. 147

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FIGURES



Fig.1 Maurice Denis, *Hommage à Cézanne*, 1900, oil on canvas, 180 x 240 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris (RF1977-137)



Fig. 2 Maurice Denis, preparatory sketch for *Hommage à Cézanne*, c. 1898, chalk on paper, 16 x 10 cm, private collection, photo: ©2006 Artist Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris



Fig. 3 Maurice Denis, preparatory sketch for *Hommage à Cézanne*, c. 1900, distemper over chalk drawing on paper, glued onto a canvas support, 180 x 240 cm, Kunsthalle, Bremen, photo: ©2006 Artist Rights Society (ARS), New York / ADAGP, Paris

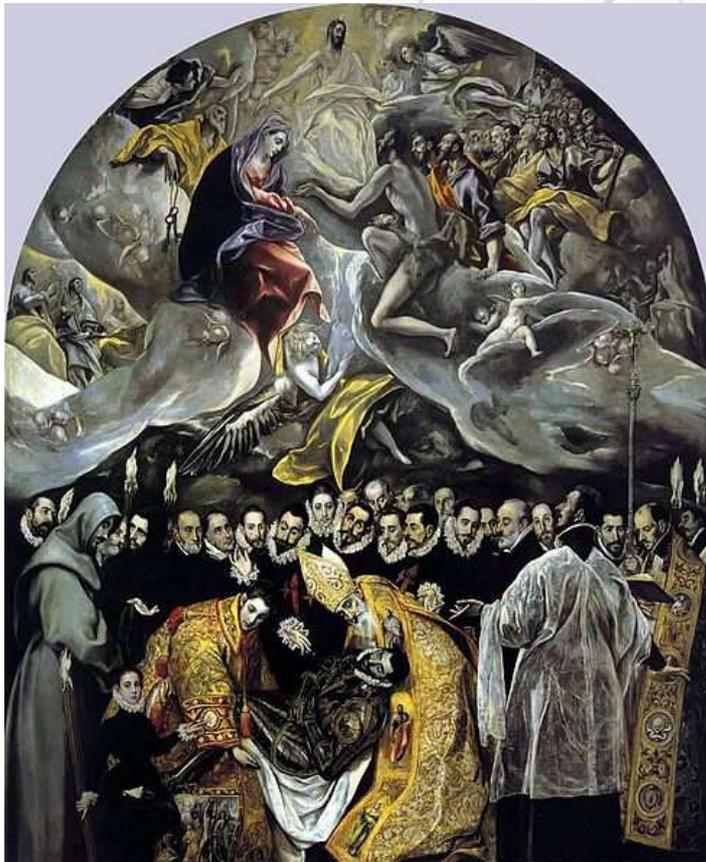


Fig. 4 El Greco (Doménikos Theotokópoulos), *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, 1586-1588, oil on canvas, 460 x 360cm, Church of Santo Tomé, Toledo, Spain



Fig. 5 Paul Cézanne, *Comptoir, verre et pommes*, 1879-1882, oil on canvas, 46 x 55 cm, V. 341; Lecomte collection, Paris, photo: The Museum of Modern Art/Licensed by SCALA/ART Resource, New York



Fig.6 Henri Fantin-Latour, *Hommage à Delacroix*, 1864, oil on canvas, 160 x 250 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York



Fig. 7 Louis-Léopold Boilly, *Une Réunion d'artistes dans l'atelier d'Isabey*, Salon of 1798, oil on canvas, 71.5 x 111 cm, Musée du Louvre, Département des peintures, Paris



Fig. 8 Gustave Courbet, *L'Atelier du peintre, une allégorie réelle déterminant une phase de sept années de ma vie artistique*, 1855, oil on canvas, 361 x 598 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris



Fig. 9 Eugène Delacroix, *Autoportrait*, c. 1837, oil on canvas, 65 x 54.5 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Fig. 10 Philippe de Champaigne, *Le Prévôt des marchands et les échevins de la ville de Paris*, 1647-48, oil on canvas, 211 x 271 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris



Fig.11 Henri Fantin-Latour, *L'Atelier des Batignolles*, 1870, oil on canvas, 204 x 273.5 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris



Fig. 12 Frédéric Bazille, *L'Atelier de la rue La Condamine*, 1870, oil on canvas, 97 x 127 cm, Musée d'Orsay, paris



Fig. 13 Henri Fantin-Latour, *Un Coin de Table*, 1872, oil on canvas, 160 x 225 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris



Fig. 14 Henry Fantin-Latour, *Autour du Piano*, 1885, oil on canvas, 160 x 222 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris



Fig. 15 Félix Vallotton, *Les Cinq Peintres*, 1902-1903, oil on canvas, 145 x 187 cm, Kunstmuseum Winterthur, Switzerland

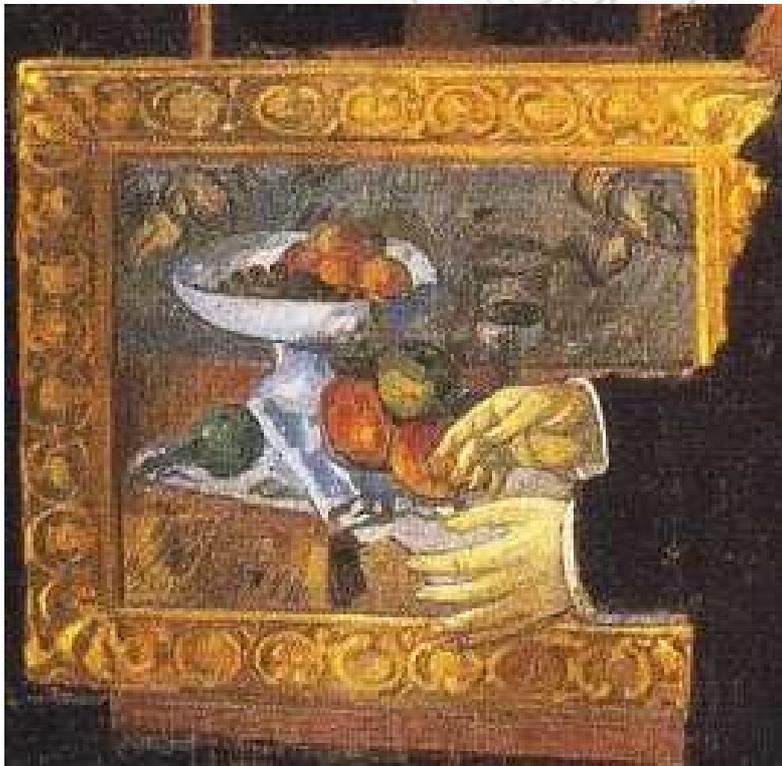


Fig. 16 Maurice Denis, detail of *Hommage a Cézanne*, 1900, oil on canvas, Musée d'Orsay, Paris

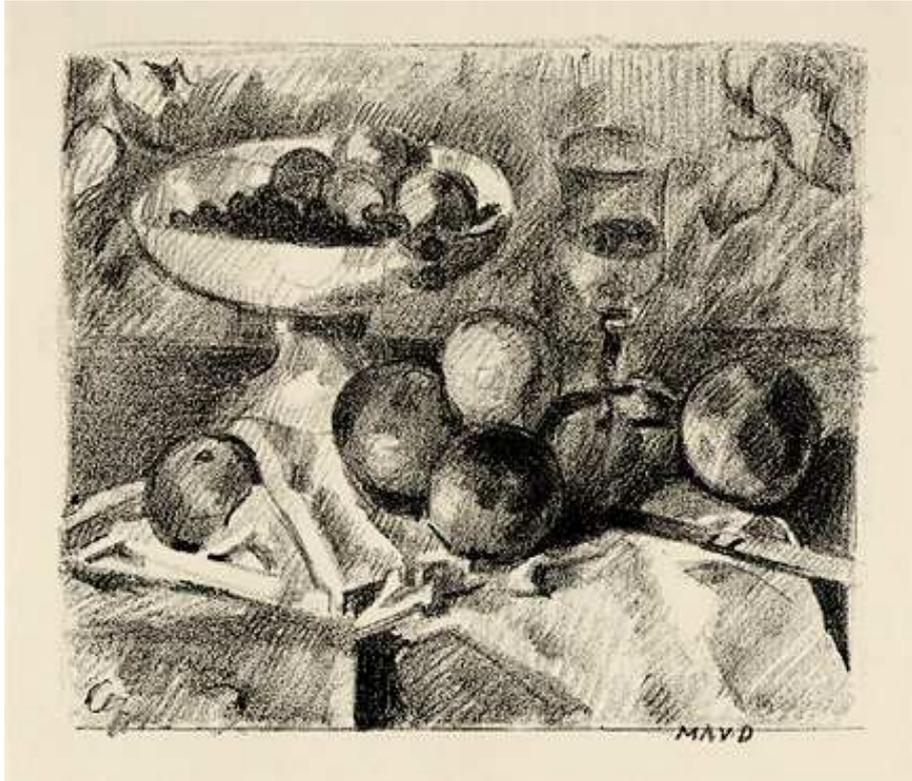


Fig. 17 Maurice Denis, *D'après une nature morte de Cézanne*, 1914, lithograph, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, Musée Départemental Maurice Denis, photo:



Fig. 18 Maurice Denis, *Visite à Cézanne*, 1906, oil on canvas, 51 x 64 cm, private collection

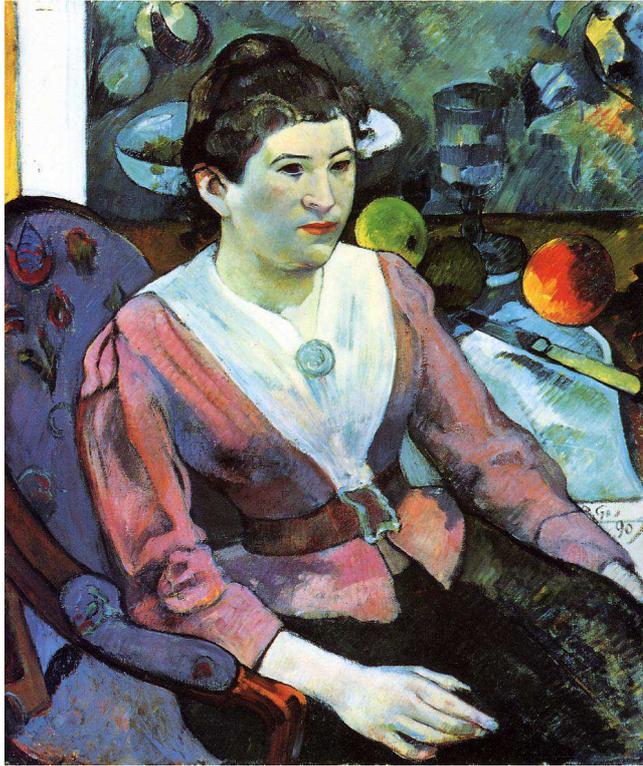


Fig. 19 Paul Gauguin, *Maria Derrien à la nature morte de Cézanne*, 1890, oil on canvas, 65 x 55 cm, Joseph Winterbotham Collection, The Art Institute of Chicago (Joseph Winterbotham collection, 1925.753)



Fig. 20 Paul Gauguin, *Oranges et citrons avec vue sur Pont-Aven*, 1889-1890, oil on canvas, Museum Langmatt, Baden, Switzerland



Fig. 21 Paul Sérusier, *Nature morte: l'atelier de l'artiste*, 1891, oil on canvas, 60 x 73 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, photo: RMN (Musée d'Orsay) / Hervé Lewandowski



Fig. 22 Émile Bernard, *Nature morte aux pommes d'après Cézanne*, 1904, oil on board, 41 x 52cm, Mme Bardot Bernard-Fort, Beaumont sur Oise, photo: Christie's



Fig. 23 Émile Bernard, *Autoportrait avec portrait de Gauguin*, 1888, oil on canvas, 46.5 x 55.5 cm, Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam

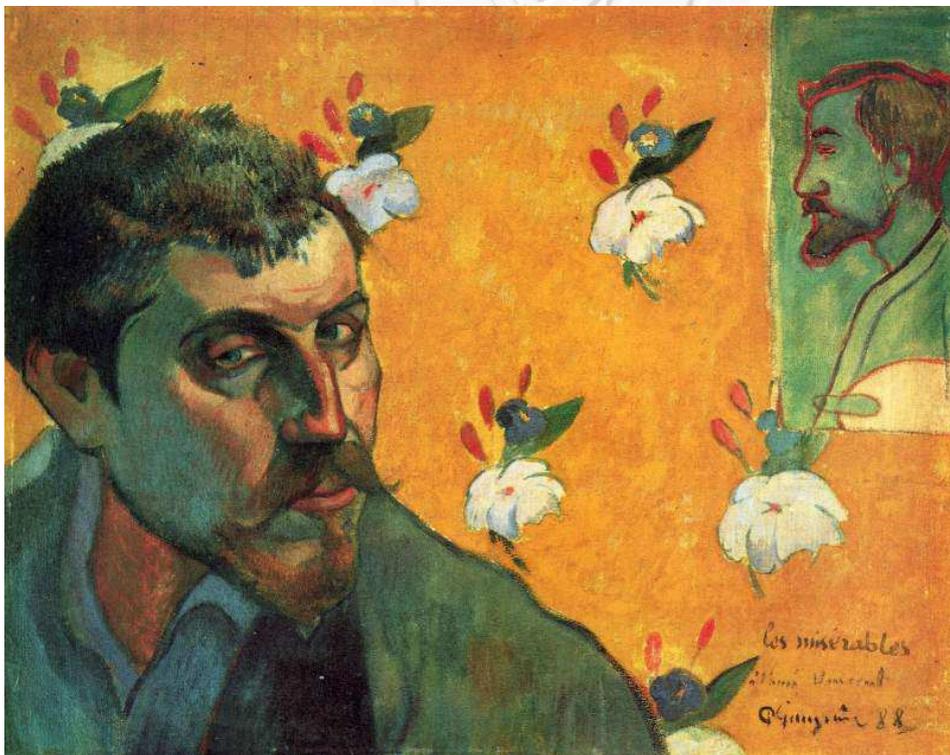


Fig. 24 Paul Gauguin, *Autoportrait avec portrait de Bernard (Les Misérables)*, 1888, oil on canvas, 45 x 55 cm, Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam

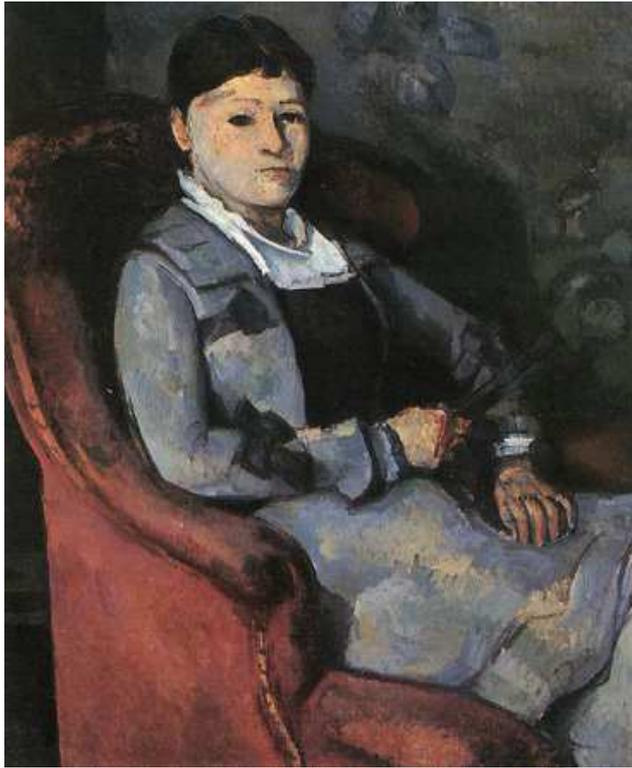


Fig. 25 Paul Cézanne, *La Dame à l'éventail* (*Portrait de Madame Cézanne*), 1879-82, 95.5 x 73.5 cm, Zürich, Collection de la Fondation E. G. Bührle

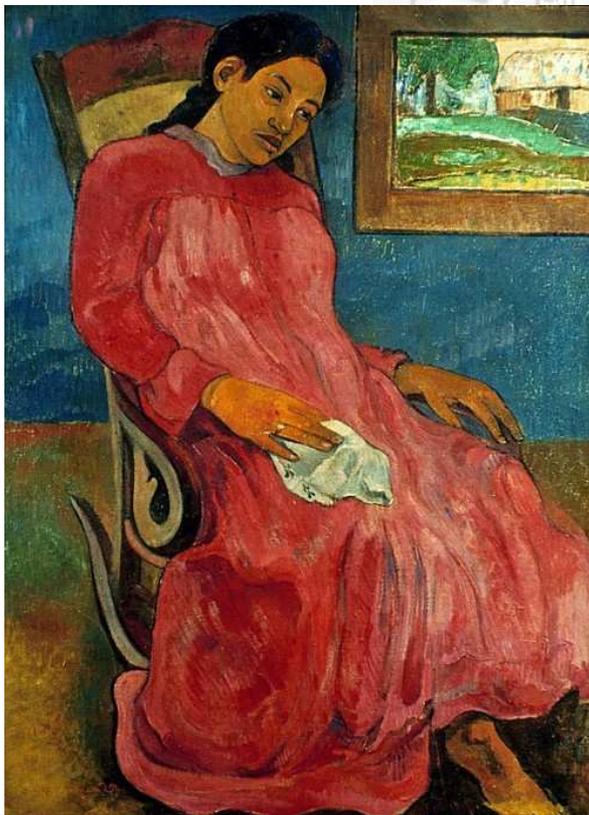


Fig. 26 Paul Gauguin, *Rêverie* (*La Femme à la robe rouge*), 1891, 95 x 68 cm, Nelson Gallery, Atkins Museum, Kansas City

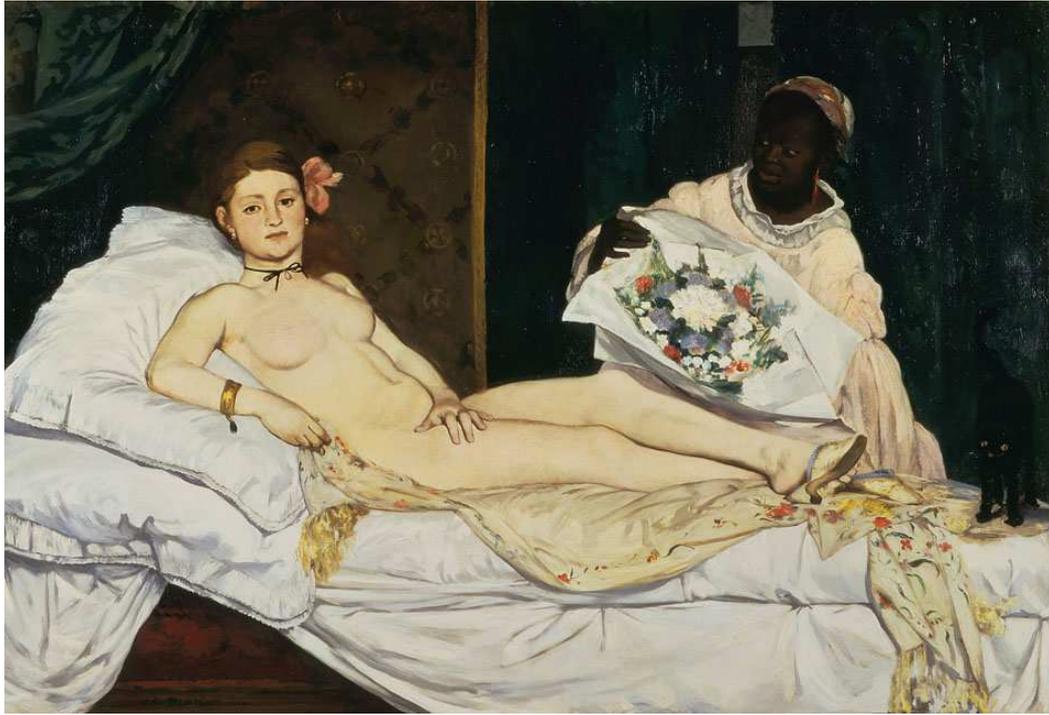


Fig. 27 Édouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1863, oil on canvas, 131 x 190 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris

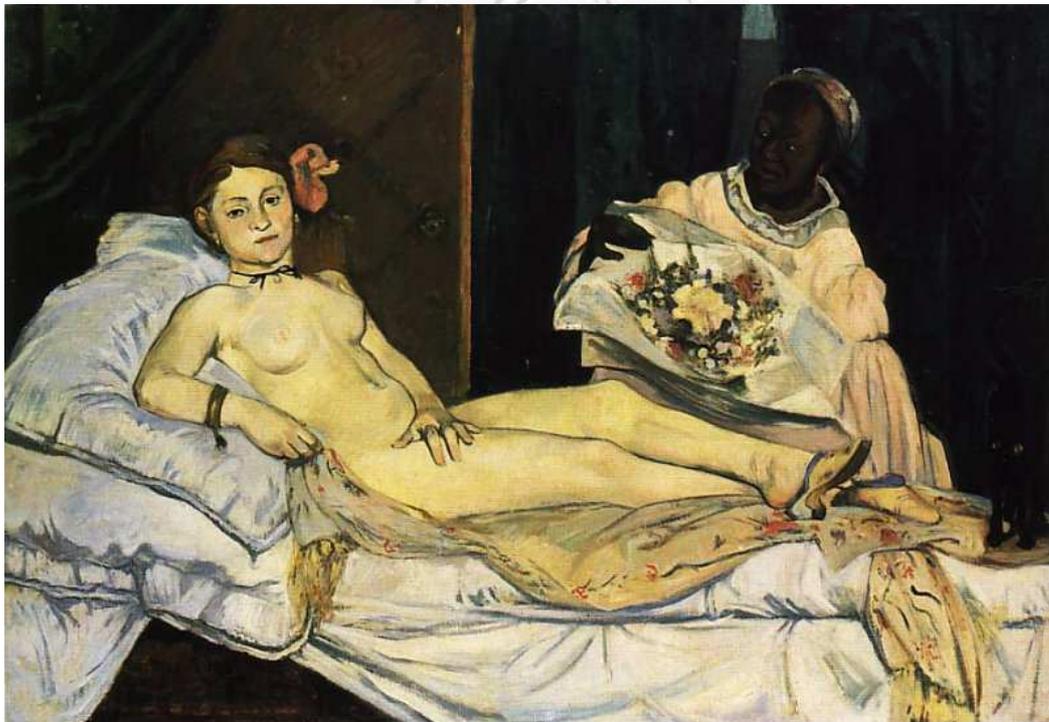


Fig. 28 Paul Gauguin, *Olympia (copie d'après Manet)*, 1891, oil on canvas, 89 x 130 cm, private collection

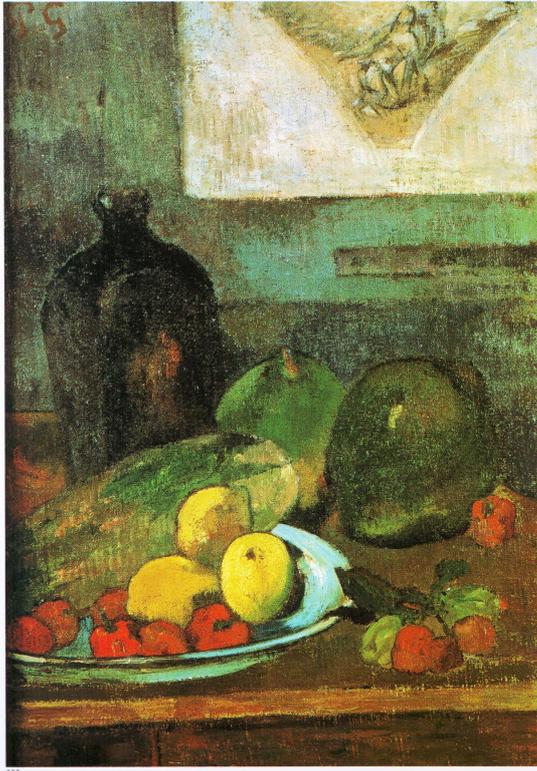


Fig. 29 Paul Gauguin, *Nature morte à l'esquisse de Delacroix*, 1887, Oil on Canvas, 45 x 30 cm, Musées d'Art moderne et contemporain de Strasbourg, Strasbourg (Inv. No. 55.974.0.662; 1316)



Fig. 30 Adam and Eve, plate 40 of Robaut: *Delacroix: fac-similés des dessins et croquis originaux*, 1864-1865, photo: BNF



Fig. 31 Paul Gauguin, *La vision du sermon*, 1888, oil on canvas, 73 x 92 cm, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh (Wildenstein 2001 no. 308)

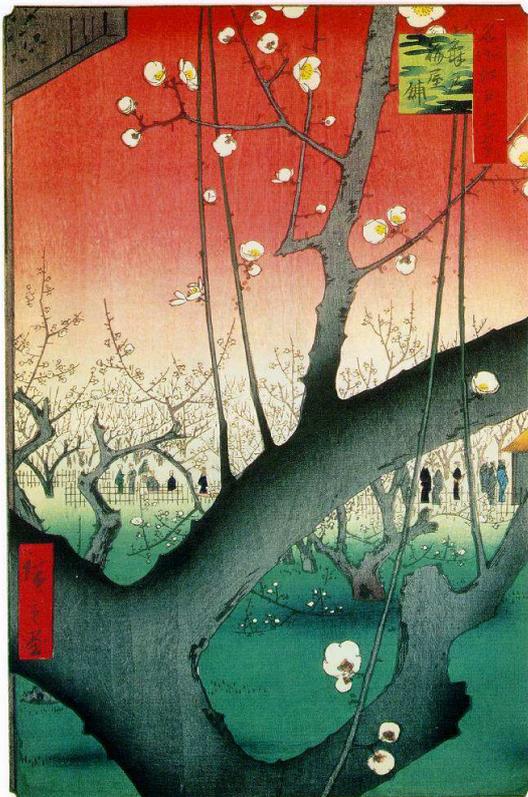


Fig. 32 Utagawa Hiroshige, *Plum Estate, Kameido*, 1857, No. 30 from 'One Hundred Famous Views of Edo', woodblock print, 36 x 23.5 cm, Brooklyn, The Brooklyn Museum of Art (gift of Anna Ferris 30, 1478. 30)



Fig. 33 Vincent van Gogh, *Plum trees in Blossom* (after a print by Hiroshige), 1887, oil on canvas, 55 x 46 cm, Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam

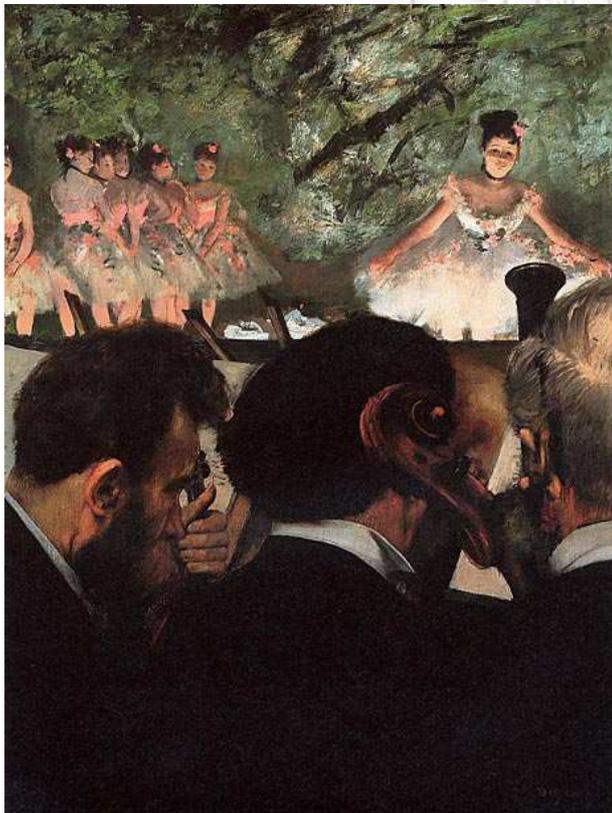


Fig. 34 Edgar Degas, *Musiciens à l'orchestre*, 1872, oil on canvas, 69 x 49 cm, Städesches Kunstinstitut und Städesches Galerie, Frankfurt

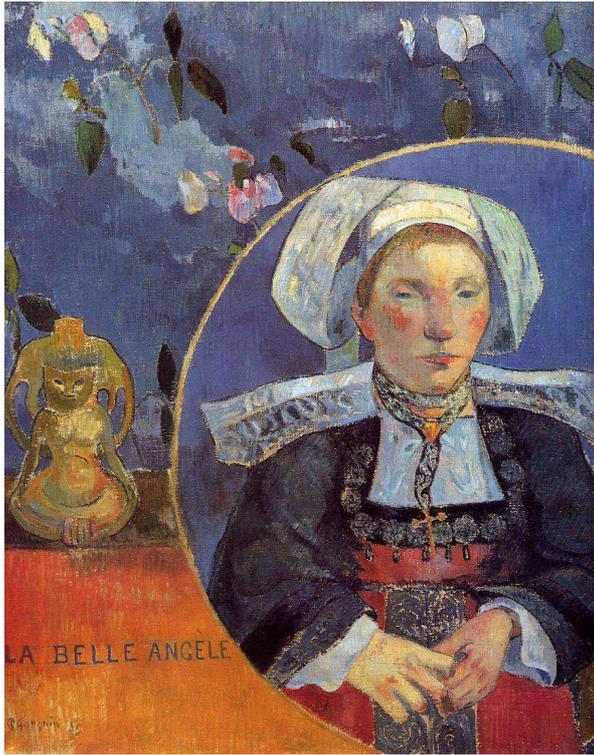


Fig. 35 Paul Gauguin, *La Belle Angèle*, 1889, oil on canvas, 92 x 73 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris



Fig. 36 Hans Holbein the younger, *Portrait of Anne of Cleves*, 1539, oil on canvas, 48 x 65 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris

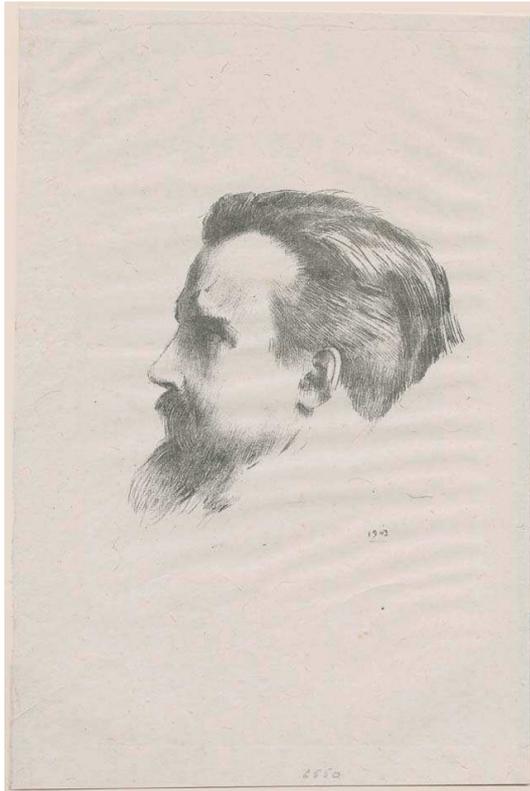


Fig. 37 Odilon Redon, *Maurice Denis*, 1903, lithograph, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris

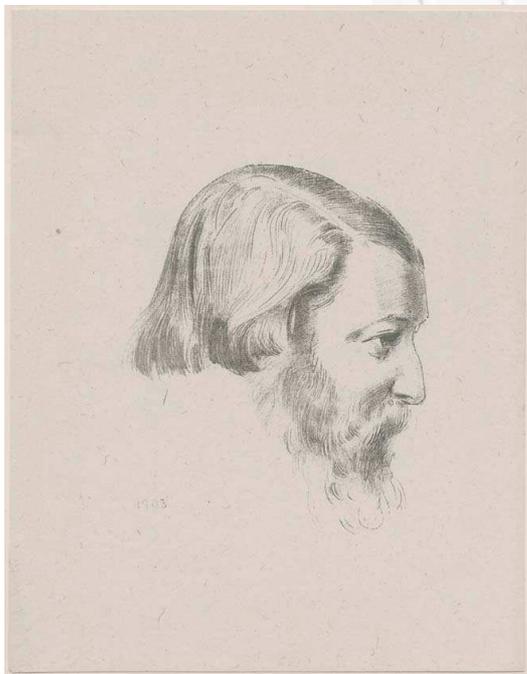


Fig. 38 Odilon Redon, *Paul Sérusier*, 1903, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris



Fig. 39 Odilon Redon, *Pierre Bonnard*, 1902, litho on chine-collé, 14.5 x 12 cm, signed and dated in pencil on the right, under the image

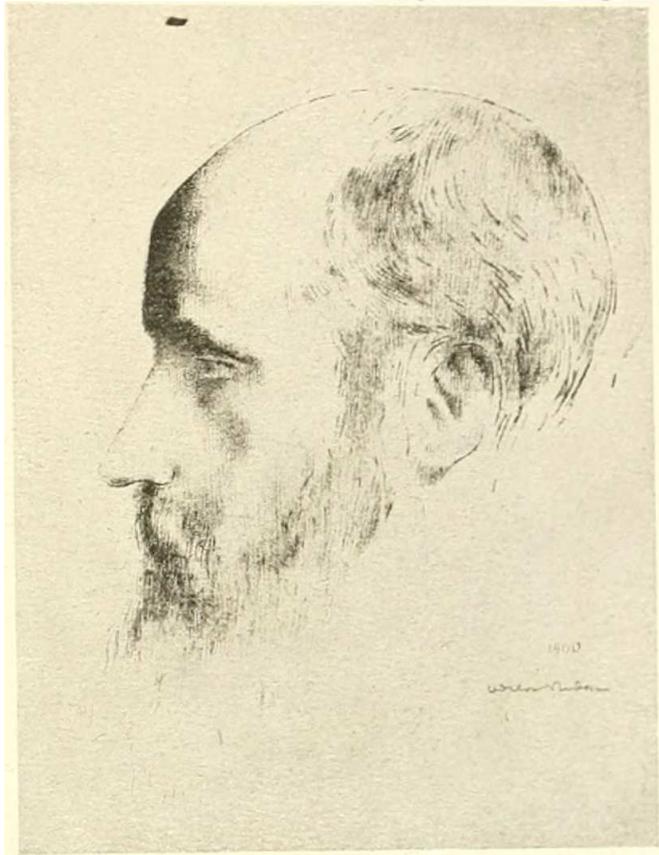


Fig. 40 Odilon Redon, *Edouard Vuillard*, 1900, lithograph, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, Paris



Fig. 41 Odilon Redon, *Black Profile (Gauguin)*, c. 1906, oil on canvas, 66 x 55 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris



Fig. 42 Paul Cézanne, *Portrait of Ambroise Vollard*, 1899, oil on canvas, 100.3 x 81.3 cm, Musée de la ville de Paris, Petit Palais, Paris, photo: P. Pierrain



Fig. 43 Ker-Xavier Roussel, Vuillard, Romain Coolus, and Félix Vallotton at Villeneuve-sur-Yonne, at the home of Misia and Thadée Natanson in 1899, collection Annette Vaillant, France / archives Charmet / The Bridgeman Art Library

