

**Exhibiting Provence:  
Regionalism, Art, and the Nation, 1890-1914**

by

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**A thesis submitted to the Department of Art  
in conformity with the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy**

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## ***ABSTRACT***

This dissertation examines the role of visual culture in the creation of a Provençal identity that resisted national identity, itself contested, in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century France. Regional groups that resented the nation's homogenization of diverse cultures attempted to dislodge the hegemony of the Parisian cultural system using museums, international expositions, and tourist posters. This discourse had an impact on Neo-Impressionist Paul Signac, who left Paris to live in Provence, and on Fauvists such as Henri Matisse.

I examine how Provençal identity was affirmed in the creation of local, independent museums, such as Frédéric Mistral's Museon Arlaten, which embodied a rejection of the national museum system and its attendant version of French history. The second chapter examines the differing uses of regional stereotypes at the Paris 1900 Exposition Universelle, where the regions were constructed as timeless, pre-modern, and closer to the primitive, and the 1906 Exposition Coloniale de Marseille, where these same stereotypes indicated the unique history of the region. The third chapter examines posters promoting tourism to Provence that fulfilled contradictory aims: they accorded with the central government's goal of encouraging knowledge of the entire nation, while also promoting a distinct local identity. The final chapter considers how Signac and his followers adapted images of Provence to their own notions of anarchist decentralization, influenced by anarchist and regionalist theorist Elisée Reclus. In contrast to historians who see the modernist retreat to the south of France as aligned with right-wing nationalism, I demonstrate that Neo-Impressionist and Fauvist interpretations of the Mediterranean coast had a socially conscious, left-wing dimension informed by the

**regionalist debate. My study reveals a new understanding of the impact of the nation's cultural geography on modernism and situates the avant-garde turn to the south of France within the larger discourse defining nation/region, center/periphery, and tourist/toured.**

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## INTRODUCTION

Arriving in Avignon, it seemed to me that I had just left France. Getting out of the steamboat, I had not been prepared by a gradual transition for the novelty of the spectacle before me; language, clothing, the look of the country, all seemed strange compared to central France. I felt as though I were in the middle of a Spanish town.

Prosper Mérimée,

*Notes d'un Voyage dans le Midi de la France*, 1835.<sup>1</sup>

French, Italian, Spanish, yes, the Provençal is all of these, he shares something of the nature of these three peoples whose contact and domination he has been subjected to. The Italian and Spanish are disappearing every day, the French remains. In today's intellectual climate, the Provençal is nevertheless called upon to exert a strong influence; he adds to the mix of national unity that sure vision, that active intelligence, that quick decisiveness in significant times that are natural to the children of the Midi. The importance of the Provençal has been great in all periods of history, now he can give up his individuality. His personal existence hangs on nothing but a rail. Once a train is able to transport Paris in a few hours to every corner of France, Provençals will not tarry at becoming Parisians. All these traits, of which we've attempted to sketch the principal outlines, will no longer exist; the standard of the century will have levelled this noble land.

Taxile Delord, *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, 1841.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Prosper Mérimée, *Notes d'un Voyage dans le Midi de la France* (Brussels: Hauman, 1835), 123: "En arrivant à Avignon, il me sembla que je venais de quitter la France. Sortant du bateau à vapeur, je n'avais pas été préparé par une transition graduée à la nouveauté du spectacle qui s'offrait à moi: langage, costumes, aspect du pays, tout paraît étrange à qui vient du centre de la France. Je me croyais au milieu d'une ville espagnole." I would like to thank Kathleen McDougall for her help with these translations, which are mine unless otherwise noted.

<sup>2</sup> Taxile Delord, "Le Provençal," in *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes: Encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle*, vol. 7 (Paris: L. Curmer, 1841), 88: "Français, Italien, Espagnol, le Provençal est tout cela en effet, il participe de ces trois peuples dont il a subi le contact et la domination. L'Italien et l'Espagnol s'en vont tous les jours, le Français reste. Dans le mouvement actuel des esprits, le Provençal est néanmoins appelé à exercer une grande influence; il ajoutera au faisceau de l'unité nationale cette sûreté de coup d'œil, cette activité d'intelligence, cette promptitude de décision dans les grandes circonstances qui sont naturelles aux enfants du Midi. L'importance du Provençal a été grande à toutes les époques de l'histoire, maintenant il peut abdiquer son individualité. Son existence personnelle ne tient plus qu'à un

These two pictures of the south of France—one by a government official surveying the nation's architecture in 1834, the other from the popular series *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* in 1842--map cultural identity in nineteenth-century France. The disappearance of cultures seen as distinct, even foreign, in the far reaches of the nation was believed to be unavoidable. The entire country would inevitably, it was assumed, become Parisian with the arrival of the railroad, in a construct that equated modern France with Paris. The popular account purports to sketch the diversity of France and its various peoples; however, it actually supports the ideology of national unity promoted by central governments throughout the nineteenth century by portraying the absorption of France's diverse regions as unavoidable.

In my dissertation, I study the role of visual culture in the creation of a Provençal identity that resisted national identity, which was itself contested and in the process of development. Until very recently, historians studying the centralizing myth of national unity largely ignored cases in which the dominant discourse emanating from the Parisian capital met with resistance. In the fields of history and post-colonial studies, historians are currently re-evaluating nationalist discourse in light of regional patterns of resistance, and my own work examines the role of art and the exhibitionary complex in that debate. I show that there were significant attempts to dislodge the hegemony of the Parisian cultural system from within the French nation by groups that resented the nation's homogenization of diverse cultures; museums, international expositions, and tourism

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rail. Lorsqu'une locomotive pourra transporter Paris en quelques heures dans toutes les extrémités de la France, les Provençaux ne tarderont pas à devenir Parisiens. Toutes ces physionomies dont nous avons essayé de résumer les principales surfaces n'existeront plus; le niveau du siècle aura passé sur cette noble terre."



were all significant arenas for the negotiation of these competing identities. At the national level, the regions were constructed as timeless, pre-modern, and closer to the primitive, in contrast to Paris, which was portrayed as the exemplar of modernity. In Provence, however, many sought to reclaim what was perceived as the region's distinct heritage through the creation of folk museums and exhibitions of Provençal art emphasizing the unique history of the region.

This local discourse had an impact on such key modernists as the Neo-Impressionist Paul Signac, who left Paris to live in Provence, and on Fauvists such as Henri Matisse, who visited Signac during periodic sojourns to the south of France. Under the influence of the anarchist and regionalist theorist Elisée Reclus, Signac and his followers adapted the regional image of Provence to their own notions of anarchist decentralization and related primitivist myths. Thus, in contradistinction to historians who would see the modernist retreat to the south as part of an embrace of Paris-based, right-wing nationalist organizations, such as L'Action française, I demonstrate that Neo-Impressionist and Fauvist interpretations of the Mediterranean coast had a socially conscious, left-wing dimension that refuted such essentializing dichotomies as centre/periphery, Paris/province, modern/timeless.

### ***Picturing the Nation in the Nineteenth Century***

Ernest Renan was in a distinct minority when he answered his famous question, what is a nation? His was a voluntarist conception of a group not defined by race, language or religion, but rather by consensus.<sup>3</sup> In contrast, most histories, especially those of the

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<sup>3</sup> Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation? et autres essais politiques*, ed. Joël Roman (Paris: Presses Pocket, 1992).

nineteenth century, posit a nation stretching back into the distant past.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, histories of the nation invariably applied the term 'France' to the geographic area long before the state was constituted, an ideological act that generally goes unrecognized as such.<sup>5</sup> The ideology supporting this faith in the nation, one and indivisible, had to be invented, and for a national consciousness to take hold, an idea of the shape of the nation had to be available.<sup>6</sup>

The idea of national patrimony—a heritage all citizens of the nation share as a birthright—was a product of the Revolution, and it shaped French museum policy.<sup>7</sup> As early as 1793, a museum dedicated to *monuments français* was created, and attempts were made to survey and classify the nation's architectural heritage, thought to be falling into disrepair in the far reaches of the nation.<sup>8</sup> However, it was not until the July Monarchy that a systematic study of the regions was undertaken. In 1834, the position of inspector of historic monuments was created, and, in 1837, a more expansive Commission of Historic Monuments was created to survey historically or artistically important sites, collect data on their state of preservation, and begin the process of

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<sup>4</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1-14; and idem, "Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914," 263-307, especially 267-271.

<sup>5</sup> See Suzanne Citron, *Le Mythe National: L'Histoire de France en question*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: Editions ouvrières, and Etudes et Documentation internationales, 1991) for an interrogation of how the nineteenth-century conception of the mythic national history continues to inform French thought.

<sup>6</sup> For an interesting discussion of the much vaguer understanding of the contours and limits of the nation in earlier times, see Eugen Weber, "L'Hexagone," in *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, vol. 2, *La Nation*, book 2, ed. Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), 100-104, which states that not until 1804 did a precise map of the nation get made.

<sup>7</sup> See Chapter One for a discussion of this concept vis-à-vis the founding of the national museums, in which works consecrated by Parisian taste were shipped to the provinces, in an inversion of the idea of national monuments, in which images of the provinces were sent to Paris.

<sup>8</sup> Jean-Pierre Bady, *Les Monuments Historiques en France, Que Sais-je? 2205* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), 7-13 gives an overview; for more analysis see Dominique Poulot, "Alexandre Lenoir et les musées des monuments français," in Nora, ed., vol. 2, book 2, 497-531.

preservation.<sup>9</sup> Prosper Mérimée's account of his voyages as inspector general, from which the epigraph is taken, indicates much about the Parisian perspective on the provinces.<sup>10</sup> Mérimée's likening of Avignon to a Spanish village indicates that he defined Paris as normative, and he registered difference from the traditions of central France as foreign.

In 1851, the Commission hired artists to record the historic monuments of France systematically through photographs.<sup>11</sup> Due to the aims of the restoration project, the photographs typically record general and detailed views of famous architectural sites, such as the Roman Arena at Arles, photographed by Edouard-Denis Baldus on the Commission's first journey around France in 1851, or the *Ramparts at Carcassonne*, photographed by Gustave Le Gray and O. Mestral (Figure 1).<sup>12</sup> The photographs reveal much about what was considered significant: the official Commission's interests ran toward Celtic or Gaulish prehistoric ruins, Roman ruins, and especially structures dating from the Middle Ages.<sup>13</sup> The Commission's photographic inventory did not indicate any interest in characteristic vernacular architecture of the provinces, for example, but focused on the unifying elements of the nation's history. Moreover, the photographs tend

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<sup>9</sup> The position of Inspector General was created in 1830, and Ludovic Vitet was the first inspector. In 1834, however, Mérimée was named to the position; in 1837 he became the head of the newly formed Commission des Monuments Historiques. This Commission was preceded by at least 2 earlier efforts: the Comité des Lettres, Philosophie, Sciences et Arts in 1835 with Vitet, Mérimée, Hugo and others involved; and the 1837 Comité Spécial des Arts et Monuments in 1837; see André Jammes and Eugenia Parry Janis, *The Art of French Calotype* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), 52.

<sup>10</sup> See André Fermigier, "Mérimée et l'Inspection des Monuments Historiques," in Nora, ed., vol. 2, book 2, 593-611.

<sup>11</sup> See Joel A. Herschman and William W. Clark, *Un voyage héliographique à faire: The Mission of 1851: The First Photographic Survey of Historical Monuments in France* (Flushing, NY: Queen's College, 1981); see also Jammes and Janis, 52-6. An 1853 report by the journalist Francis Wey says Bayard used glass negatives, Baldus, the calotype, and Le Gray, waxed-paper negatives. It is assumed that Le Gray's students Le Secq and Mestral also used waxed-paper negatives, Herschman and Clark, 9, 19. The modern images are generally reproduced from prints dating from the 1880s.

<sup>12</sup> Herschman and Clark, 15.

<sup>13</sup> Fermigier, 604-05.

to include neither taxonomic images of inhabitants, as was often the case in earlier representations of the south, nor picturesque views, as would be the focus of later representations of the region.

Charles Nègre was a genre painter and student of Paul Delaroche from Provence who took up photography. He was spurred to create a photographic album of the south of France when he was not hired for the government mission, and as a popular, unofficial portrait, his *Le Midi de la France* provides a useful contrast.<sup>14</sup> Like other popular volumes, such as *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* and Baron Isidore-Séverin-Justin Taylor's lithographic project *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France* begun in 1820,<sup>15</sup> Nègre focused more on the picturesque.<sup>16</sup> Although Nègre's unpublished introduction to the album detailed his concern for architectural accuracy, he admitted: "wherever I could dispense with architectural precision, I have indulged in the picturesque."<sup>17</sup> Indeed, James Borcoman points out that the attempt to show the fabric of the countryside was the "first such venture of its kind."<sup>18</sup> Like the officially commissioned photographers, Nègre concentrated on places with recognized historical monuments, in contrast to later generations of painters, such as the Impressionists, who

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<sup>14</sup> James Borcoman, *Charles Nègre, 1820-1880* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1976) gives a good overview of Nègre's work, and of the *Midi de la France*, 32-4. He states that as a publishing venture, the project was only moderately successful; Nègre only published two installments of five prints; see also Herschman and Clark, 8.

<sup>15</sup> Baron Isidore-Séverin-Justin Taylor, ed., *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France* 20 vols. (Paris: Firmin frères, 1820-1878). Published in 20 volumes from 1820, this series of lithographs pictured important moments in French history, with heroes in appropriate architectural settings; on this project, see Michael Twyman, *Lithography 1800-1850* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 226-253; for an overview of related issues, Bonnie L. Grad and Timothy A. Riggs, *Visions of City and Country: Prints and Photographs of Nineteenth-Century France* (Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 1982).

<sup>16</sup> See Jammes and Janis, 224. A first volume was published in 1854, but projected later volumes were not published.

<sup>17</sup> Nègre, "Midi de la France Photographed," manuscript c. 1852, Archives Nationales, Paris; quoted in Borcoman, 7.

<sup>18</sup> Borcoman, 32.

largely avoided historical subject matter.<sup>19</sup> As Nègre said, the sites “provided me with archeological riches that are little known: the precious remains of Christian art of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. It is to the reproduction of these works of national art that I have paid special heed.”<sup>20</sup> His reference to the nation’s art tradition alerts us to many of the issues at stake in defining the nation; unlike the Commission, which surveyed the whole of France, Nègre only focused on his native south, yet he saw it as contributing to the national tradition.<sup>21</sup>

In works focusing on architectural ruins, such as *Arles: Roman Ramparts* (Figure 2), Nègre’s work is very similar to the official Commission’s works, such as Le Gray and Mestral’s *Ramparts of Carcassonne* (Figure 1). The overall effect, however, includes much more local colour. Nègre exhibited genre paintings annually in the salon, and his photographic works prominently include *types*, that is, figures thought to capture the essence of the region or their occupation. Nègre’s *Oil Presses at Grasse* and *Grasse: A Miller at Work* (figures 3 and 4) both include figures, who are identifiably regional, at work in traditional land-based employment.

Nègre’s subject matter was complemented by his choice of technique. He used the calotype, an early photographic process using paper saturated in light sensitive salts for both the negative and the positive, called a salted paper print. This embedding of the salts in the paper fibres produced results that lacked the detail of the daguerreotype, instead generalizing form and softening contrasts of light and dark. The calotype was

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<sup>19</sup> Richard Brettell, “The Impressionist Landscape and the Image of France,” in *A Day in the Country: Impressionism and the French Landscape* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1984), 34 discusses the Impressionists avoidance of historical subject matter.

<sup>20</sup> Nègre; quoted in Borcoman, 7.

<sup>21</sup> Indeed, Nègre’s interest in national recognition is signaled by his donation of a series of prints from the south to the Commission in 1852, despite having been overlooked; Herschman and Clark, 9.

thus seen as more painterly and suited to atmospheric renderings. The Commission photographers also used calotypes for the most part; however, Le Gray's development of the dry waxed-paper negative technique, which suppressed some of the textural qualities of the paper, indicates his desire to reduce the atmospheric and generalizing effects paper negatives conveyed. In contrast, in *Grasse: A Miller at Work* (Figure 4) the characteristics of the medium are used to expressive ends: the blurred periphery focuses attention on the central figure. These images convey more than just architectural heritage; they emphasize the living traditions of the photographer's native region.

In addition to the photographic records of the nation's monuments and picturesque folk, there were also more painterly precedents to the representations of the Mediterranean coast in the 1890s.<sup>22</sup> Local painters generally focused on the landscape rather than its historic sites and monuments, consonant with broad trends in landscape painting in the nineteenth century.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the trend toward natural landscapes often excluded the native resident and focused instead on the beauty of place, as was increasingly the case with Monet in the 1880s, for example.<sup>24</sup> The role of landscape painting in naturalizing constructions of nationhood has been the subject of much recent

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<sup>22</sup> The painterly conventions for representing the south and recent historical interpretations of them are discussed at greater length in Chapter Four, as are the dominant art historical treatments of the issue with respect to Fauvism.

<sup>23</sup> John House, "Framing the Landscape," in *Impressions of France: Monet, Renoir, Pissarro, and their Rivals*, ed. John House (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1995), 14-15. Recent important analyses of late nineteenth-century French landscape painting include *A Day in the Country: Impressionism and the French Landscape* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1984); Richard Thomson, *Monet to Matisse: Landscape Painting in France, 1874-1914* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1994); and the attendant volume of collected essays, *Framing France: The Representation of Landscape in France, 1870-1914*, ed. Richard Thomson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); and, focusing on the mid-century development of an ideology of the countryside, Nicholas Green, *The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and Bourgeois Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, Robert L. Herbert's analysis of Monet's work, which increasingly excluded both tourist and toured from depictions of Normandy, in *Monet on the Normandy Coast: Tourism and Painting, 1867-1886* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994).

investigation, although its role in the development of regional identity has remained less considered.<sup>25</sup>

The dominance of naturalism, associated with northern painterly traditions, throughout the latter half of the century may have contributed to the slow development of artistic tourism to France's Mediterranean coast.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, the conceptual division associating the north with naturalism and the south with the idealized, classical tradition certainly impacted the way the south was imagined in Salon and independent painting by both natives and northerners.<sup>27</sup> Out of vogue for most of the century (although not completely absent, of course), classicizing themes and forms would powerfully re-emerge in vanguard painting in the 1890s.<sup>28</sup> How this paradigm related to the burgeoning regionalism that was also constructing local identity is one of the subjects this dissertation will take up.

### ***Constructs of Difference***

Government missions and popular publications, such as these, mapped the distance between Paris and the so-called provinces in terms of a temporal regression from a

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<sup>25</sup> On nationalism in landscape in addition to the above citations, see especially Richard Brettell, "The Impressionist Landscape and the Image of France," in *Day in the Country*, 27-49.

<sup>26</sup> On artists on the southern coast see James Herbert, *Fauve Painting: The Making of Cultural Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Joachim Pissarro, *Monet and the Mediterranean* (New York and Fort Worth: Rizzoli and Kimbell Art Museum, 1997) which tends to isolate Monet's work as a "constant search for shatteringly new pictorial motifs," 15; a useful corrective is found in Kenneth Wayne, with essays by John House and Kenneth Silver, *Impressions of the Riviera* (Portland: Portland Museum of Art, 1998). On the rise of rural imagery in general see Robert L. Herbert's pioneering work, "City vs. Country: The Rural Image in French Painting from Millet to Gauguin," *Artforum* 8 (1970): 44-55. On other regions, studies are largely limited to Brittany, Normandy, and the Seine valley; see Fred Orton and Griselda Pollock, "Les Données Bretonnantes: La Prairie de Répresentation," *Art History* 3, no. 3 (September, 1980): 314-244; Michael Orwicz, "Criticism and Representations of Brittany in the Early Third Republic," *Art Journal* 64, no.4 (Winter 1987): 291-8; and Vojtěch Jirát-Wasiutyński, "Vincent van Gogh's Paintings of Olive Trees and Cypresses from St.-Rémy," *Art Bulletin* 75, no.4 (Dec. 1993): 647-70. and on the Seine, *A Day in the Country*.

<sup>27</sup> R. Herbert, *Monet on Normandy Coast*, 9-13.

<sup>28</sup> The re-emergence of classical elements in vanguard painting prior to the emergence of cubism are discussed in J. Herbert, 82-145, and especially Thomson, 22-5.

modern present to a timeless past.<sup>29</sup> For the government, ancient ruins and medieval architecture were to be preserved as evidence of the history of the nation. In more popular accounts, the provinces were inhabited by either peasants or historical figures, and exemplified the more 'authentic' life of times past.<sup>30</sup> This nostalgic desire for the supposedly authentic experiences of the pre-modern world resulted in a dichotomous way of categorizing the nation. These constructs of self and other inevitably essentialize the minority and, in so doing, exert the power of definition and categorization.<sup>31</sup>

The Paris-provinces construct was supported by a series of other dichotomies, now being deconstructed by historians.<sup>32</sup> Academic disagreements over the peasant-French dichotomy--with its narrative of a regional consciousness being replaced by a national consciousness--have not yet been settled, although most historians recognize the potency of the construct in the nineteenth century.<sup>33</sup> Indeed, Susan Carol Rogers suggests the term 'peasant' continues to have meaning since it is a highly manipulable

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<sup>29</sup> See Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983) on the use of temporal constructs.

<sup>30</sup> For nineteenth-century accounts of the south that particularly influenced Paul Signac, see Chapter Four.

<sup>31</sup> On essentializing dichotomies see James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988), 268 and passim.

<sup>32</sup> On Province as not-Paris see Alain Corbin, "Paris-Province," in Nora, ed., vol. 3, book 1, 776-823; also the articles in a special issue devoted to "Paris-Province 1900" in *Le Mouvement Social* 160 (July-Sept. 1992).

<sup>33</sup> See Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976) who argues that in the Third Republic previously isolated peasants came to see themselves as part of the nation. The timing has been critiqued by Maurice Agulhon who situates the shift in the Second Republic in "Conscience nationale et conscience régionale en France de 1815 à nos jours," *Histoire vagabonde*, vol. II, *Idéologies et politique dans la France du XIXe Siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1988), 144-174; see also Weber's replies in chapters 7 and 8 of *My France: Politics, Culture, Myth* (Cambridge: Belknap, 1991). The literature on the issue is extensive, but see also Christophe Charie, "Région et conscience régionale en France: questions à propos d'un colloque," *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales* 35 (Nov. 1980): 37-43; Brett C. Bowles, "La République régionale: stade occulté de la 'synthèse républicaine.'" *French Review* 69, no.1 (Oct. 1995): 103-117 argues that local identity and national identity co-existed until the First World War. More recent approaches that insist the categories are mutually constitutive can be found in Caroline Ford, *Creating the Nation in Provincial France* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); James R. Lehning, *Peasant and French: Cultural Contact in Rural France During the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); and focusing on



symbol that can resolve tension between unity and diversity.<sup>34</sup> This construct closely parallels folk-modern, which has been less critically interrogated in France than in North America.<sup>35</sup> In the nineteenth century, when the evident diversity of the nation confronted the myth of unity, the discord could be resolved by a temporally based conclusion: “Provençals will not tarry at becoming Parisian.”<sup>36</sup>

Difference was also marked in France in terms of a contrast between north and south, and this construct affected every field from ethnography to the fine arts.<sup>37</sup> The nineteenth-century historian Jules Michelet emphasized the importance of the division when he wrote of “la vraie France, la France du Nord.”<sup>38</sup> Although the historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie may not accept the term *la vraie France*, he argues that the north-south distinction still holds, concluding: “Whatever the imprecision or variability of the geographic borders, the South is other, and France is dual.”<sup>39</sup> An imaginary line running from Geneva to Saint-Malo was charted by nineteenth-century geographers and

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the twentieth century, Herman Lebovics, *True France: The Wars Over Cultural Identity 1900-1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

<sup>34</sup> Susan Carol Rogers, “Good to Think: The ‘Peasant’ in Contemporary France,” *Anthropological Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (April 1987): 56-63.

<sup>35</sup> Robin D. G. Kelley, “Notes on Deconstructing ‘The Folk,’” *American Historical Review* 97, no. 5 (December 1992): 1400-1408; Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997); Giuseppe Cocchiara, *The History of Folklore in Europe*, trans. John N. McDaniel (Turin: Editore Boringhieri, 1952; reprint, Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1981); Daniel Fabre, *La Tradition orale du conte occitan* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), a study of Occitan folklore, has been critiqued for maintaining the ideal of an authentic Folk culture by Vera Mark, “In Search of the Occitan Village: Regionalist Ideologies and the Ethnography of Southern France,” *Anthropological Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (April 1987): 64-9.

<sup>36</sup> Delord, 88: “les Provençaux ne tarderont pas à devenir Parisiens.”

<sup>37</sup> The most important contributions to the debate over north-south in France are: Christian Amalvi, “France du Nord et France du Midi: les bases d’une opposition historique,” *Sources: Travaux Historiques* 12 (1987): 67-71; Roger Chartier, “The Two Frances: the History of a Geographical Idea,” in *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representation*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), 172-200; Mona Ozouf, “La Révolution française et la perception de l’espace national: fédérations, fédéralismes et stéréotypes régionaux,” *L’Ecole de la France: Essais sur la Révolution, l’utopie et l’enseignement* (Paris: Gallimard, 1984), 27-54; Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, “Nord-Sud,” in Nora, ed., vol. 2, book 2, 117-140.

<sup>38</sup> Jules Michelet, *Tableau de France*, 1831; quoted in Agulhon, 156.

statisticians who noted the unequal development of north and south; indeed, Roger Chartier argues that, due to these statistics, north-south replaced Paris-province as the dominant paradigm for conceptualizing difference within the nation.<sup>40</sup> In the nineteenth century, however, interpretations of the disparity differed according to one's attitude toward modernity: those who favoured industrialization and 'progress' called for the same kinds of progress to be made in the south, whereas traditionalists used the statistics to decry the loss of a supposedly time-honoured way of life.<sup>41</sup>

The difference was often ascribed to supposedly scientific causes. The effect of climate was a common explanation early in the century.<sup>42</sup> Later, however, the difference was often attributed to race. Weber suggests that "less well known than antisemitism but more revealing of fin-de-siècle problems was the way in which the historical conflict of races was shifted to the regional level and made to reflect the rising tensions and antagonism between northern and southern France."<sup>43</sup> He argues that Mistral linked the long-standing myth of racial conflict between France's founding races, the Franks of the north and the Gauls of the south, to the regional tension between north and south; Weber concludes, however, that "arguments of race were turned against meridionals who were denounced as alien and unFrench, less the Latins they liked to pretend than mixed breeds."<sup>44</sup> All these dichotomies differentiate Paris from Provence: temporally, geographically, and racially. Although their power may seem entirely on the side of

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<sup>39</sup> Ladurie, 139: "Quelle que soit l'imprécision ou la variabilité des limites géographiques, le Sud est autre, et la France est duelle."

<sup>40</sup> Chartier, "Two Frances," 175-86; idem "La Ligne Saint-Malo-Genève," in Nora, ed., vol. 3, book 1, 740-52.

<sup>41</sup> Chartier, "Two Frances," 182-5.

<sup>42</sup> On climate see Pierre Bourdieu, "Le Nord et le Midi: Contribution à une analyse de l'effet Montesquieu," *Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales* 35 (November 1980): 21-5.

<sup>43</sup> Weber, "Nos ancêtres les gaulois," in *My France*, 35.

<sup>44</sup> Weber, "Nos ancêtres," 35.

Paris, the same dichotomies were reclaimed by regional figures to support the continuation of their unique identities.

### ***Regional History***

In Provence, local elites sought to refute the homogenizing effects of the modern nation by reclaiming the region's distinct cultural history as well as its political autonomy in earlier periods. Using the same nation-building strategies as the central government, provincial leaders used the legitimating power of 'tradition'—especially indigenous art traditions, which are often taken as the strongest evidence of 'civilization' in modern Western culture<sup>45</sup>--to support their position. Thus, the power of history and 'tradition' to legitimate positions was embraced by local elites and popularized in exhibitions defining a mythic Provence as the cradle of the best of French culture.

Local history often looked to the founding of Greek trading posts along the Mediterranean, especially in Massalia (now Marseilles) in 600 B.C.E., as the origin of Provence. The term "Provincia," which may be used to define the beginning of a recognizable entity corresponding to latter-day Provence, was not put into use until much later, when the Romans unified the region in 51 B.C.E. This Greek and Roman heritage was important to local writers, partly because of its artistic legacy, but more because of the ideal of local autonomy that was often ascribed to it. Under Roman control indigenous groups retained some independence, so long as it did not interfere with Roman administration.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, under Augustus, Roman rule allowed cities the rights of independent colonies; self-ruled cities, such as Arles, administered their own

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<sup>45</sup> See Sally Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: history, theory, politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 95-8 and passim.

<sup>46</sup> Maurice Agulhon and Noël Coulet, *Histoire de la Provence, Que sais-je*, 149, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1993), 10.

affairs.<sup>47</sup> As I will show in my discussion of the Museon Arlaten in Chapter One, many regionalists found the synchronicity of political autonomy and the flowering of classical art highly significant.

Between the decline of the Roman Empire and the founding of the Kingdom of Provence in 855, there were numerous invasions by Arabs from the south and Franks from the north.<sup>48</sup> The kingdom, comprising the area around the Rhône basin, was eventually ruled by the counts of Burgundy. In 1125, Provence passed to the counts of Barcelona and Toulouse, who divided up the region. The Catalan Count Raymond Béranger V instituted a capital at Aix, giving strength to the area, and there were consulates with limited powers at Avignon, Arles, and Marseilles. Provence was united in 1246 by the marriage of Charles of Anjou to Beatrice of Provence, the Count of Barcelona's daughter, although its borders still changed regularly, for example, when the Comtat Venaissin was ceded to the papacy in 1274. This period was lauded for its independence, which cradled the birth of troubadour poetry. The Félibre Paul Mariéton, for example, wrote that this civilization

gave a poetic spirit to democratized chivalry, giving voice to the enthusiasm, the 'joy' of a race that through its municipal franchises, its literature, its customs, reacted against all the oppressions to which the Barbarians subjected the world, against the very harshness of the feudal customs of the north.<sup>49</sup>

It was this interpretation of the Provençal literary tradition that Mistral promoted.

The most notorious event in Provençal mythology was the union of Provence and France in 1487. Parisian and Provençal histories of this event differed greatly. For

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<sup>47</sup> Agulhon and Coulet, 12.

<sup>48</sup> See Citron, 48-50, on how the triumph of the Franks over the Arabs is portrayed as a defence of French culture.

<sup>49</sup> Paul Mariéton, *La Terre Provençale* (Paris: Ollendorff, 1903), 427: "donnait une âme poétique à la chevalerie démocratisée, exprimant l'enthousiasme, la 'joie' d'une race qui par ses franchises municipales,

Mistral and other regionalists, Provence joined France as a confederation of equals. As Mistral put it: "Our country freely joined France, not as an accessory to a principal, but as a principal to another principal."<sup>50</sup> Moreover, he emphasized to the people of Provence that "our ancestors freely but with dignity joined themselves to generous France: with dignity, that is to say, reserving all rights to their language, their customs, and their national name."<sup>51</sup> In contrast to this emphasis on the joining of equals, the history written by Ernest Lavisse and taught to generations of French students showed a historical map of the regions of France "non encore réunies" and concluded: "It is in uniting in this way the lands that belonged to their great vassals that the kings created France. They were like landlords who buy a field then another, then another again, and so round out their property."<sup>52</sup> Here, there is no mention of a union of equals; instead, the kings of France acquire property like landlords. The land thus becomes what it was always destined to be: French. Regardless of the original terms of the agreement, provincial powers were progressively decreased by laws such as the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts of 1539, which stated that all law had to be in French. During the Third Republic, reforms such as that of education (discussed in Chapter One) made the union of equals but a memory.

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sa littérature, ses coutumes, réagissait contre toutes les oppressions que les Barbares avaient fait peser sur le monde, contre la dureté même des mœurs féodales du Nord."

<sup>50</sup> Mistral in letter; quoted in Claude Mesliand, "Le Félibrige, la République et l'Idée de Décentralisation (1870-1892)," *La Décentralisation* 6<sup>e</sup> colloque d'histoire organisé, (Aix-en-Provence: Publications des Annales de la Faculté de Lettres, éditions Ophrys, 1964), 122: "notre patrie s'annexa librement à la France, non comme un accessoire à un principal, mais comme un principal à un autre principal."

<sup>51</sup> Mistral, 1868; quoted in Mesliand, 124: "nos ancêtres se sont annexés librement mais dignement à la généreuse France: dignement, c'est-à-dire en réservant tous les droits de leur langue, de leurs coutumes, de leurs usages, de leur nom national."

<sup>52</sup> Ernest Lavisse, *Histoire de France, cours moyen* (Paris: A. Colin, 1924), 54-5; quoted in Citron, 34: "C'est en réunissant ainsi les pays qui appartenaient à leurs grands vassaux que les rois ont créé la France. Ils ont fait comme les propriétaires qui achètent un champ puis un autre, puis un autre encore, et arrondissent ainsi leur propriété."

### ***Provençal Regionalism and Political Theory***

The theory of regionalism developed in France around 1875, but it did not become a widespread movement until the turn of the century.<sup>53</sup> As Davidson and Davidson have shown, regionalism generally “does not emerge as a theory of culture and government until the modern nation-state, using economics as a tool of power, achieves the capability to enforce upon all its citizens, regardless of their inclinations, whatever degree of cultural uniformity is deemed necessary to the national welfare.”<sup>54</sup> Their analysis also shows that regionalism is essentially a response to conflict between ideals of unity and diversity, rather than merely an administrative issue. As a political theory of culture, it should be contrasted with federalism and decentralization, which have more exclusively political goals. Federalism implies the equal union of administrative units that may agree to grant certain areas of authority to an overarching body.<sup>55</sup> In contrast, decentralization implies a central power grants authority to a smaller unit. That is, the flow of power moves in opposite directions in the two systems. Regionalism is generally more associated with decentralization, and is less radical and threatening to the French system than federalism. All these terms implied an opposition to the Jacobin state instituted after 1793, although motivations and goals varied greatly.

Regionalism’s complexity as a theory of state and cultural relations is complicated by its particular history in France, where the issue of creating a uniform

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<sup>53</sup> Philippe Vigier, “Régions et régionalisme en France au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle,” in *Régions et régionalisme en France du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à nos jours*, ed. Christian Gras and Georges Livet (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1977), 162.

<sup>54</sup> Donald Davidson and Theresa Sherrer Davidson, “Regionalism,” *Modern Age* 37, no. 2 (Winter 1995): 104.

<sup>55</sup> On federalism in France see the essays in François Furet and Mona Ozouf, ed., *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1989) which details the importance of concepts such as federalism and unification to various factions within the revolution; also

culture has swung back and forth between left and right of the political spectrum numerous times.<sup>56</sup> During the French Revolution, revolutionaries saw uniformity of language and culture as a necessary feature of republicanism that would ensure all citizens had access to the language of power; moreover, the persistence of other languages and cultures was sometimes seen as a threat to the Republic.<sup>57</sup> Under the Second Empire, support for regionalism was associated with opposition of both stripes; the 1865 Programme of Nancy, which called for decentralization, was endorsed by legitimists as well as such republicans as Jules Ferry.<sup>58</sup> While these may have supported the theory largely to guard against the threat of a radical revolution in Paris, the far left also supported the Programme, which was allied with republican or even Proudhonian values.<sup>59</sup> By the end of the Second Empire, some sort of decentralizing reform seemed imminent, and a parliamentary inquest into the issue noted that in the south, “led by republicans in Marseilles and Lyons, it [the regionalist movement] took a resolutely federalist character, and worried the *Défense nationale* government.”<sup>60</sup> The Paris Commune supported an anarchist version of federalism in which there would be no

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Bernard Voyenne, *Histoire de l'idée fédéraliste*, 3 vols. (Paris: Presses d'Europe, 1973-81), especially the third volume devoted to the lineage of Proudhon.

<sup>56</sup> Robert Gildea, “Regionalism,” chap. 4 in *The Past in French History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 166-213 provides a very useful overview of regionalism in nineteenth-century France; the more political account of Pierre Deyon in *Paris et Ses Provinces: le Défi de la décentralisation* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1992) is invaluable for correcting the common misperception that decentralization was exclusively associated with the political right, see especially 72-86 on liberal tradition favouring decentralization in nineteenth century; Thiébaud Flory, *Le mouvement régionaliste français: sources et développements* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966) remains extremely useful; see also William Brustein, *The Social Origins of Political Regionalism: France, 1849-1981* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) which is more concerned with regional voting patterns; Agulhon, “Conscience nationale,” is also useful for showing how nationalism also shifted positions.

<sup>57</sup> Gildea, 166-173.

<sup>58</sup> Gildea, 175.

<sup>59</sup> See Voyenne on the Proudhonian line.

<sup>60</sup> Deyon, 88: “Mené par des républicains à Marseille et à Lyon, il [the regionalist movement] a pris un aspect résolument fédéraliste et inquiété le gouvernement de *Défense nationale*.”

centrally imposed national unity, but a voluntary union.<sup>61</sup> This revolution, supported in Marseilles, was seen as evidence that decentralization or regionalism was a threat to the nation, and the Assembly passed laws decreasing departmental powers.

In the Third Republic, support for regionalism and decentralization shifted ground far more quickly. In the first decade of the Third Republic, when republicanism was not yet solidly entrenched, many liberals believed it necessary to restrict provincial powers to solidify the government's position. In 1881, as the Republic strengthened, the government repealed laws that had restricted the election of mayors for all cities except Paris, but it did not carry decentralization any further.<sup>62</sup> In the 1890s republicans like Ferry, who had called for decentralization under earlier regimes, supported rigorous centralization to consolidate the Republic.<sup>63</sup> Thus, when parties ascended to power, they often avoided instituting any significant decentralization of power, however much they may have previously called for it.

In the 1890s several different factions represented the regionalist movement at the national level. Probably the best known was Maurice Barrès, deputy from Lorraine until 1893, who argued that the French Revolution began as a federalist revolution but was taken over by the Jacobins in 1793. In the mid-1890s Barrès promoted a republican federalism that he saw as the opposite of separatism; indeed, he believed republican federalism would revive the nation.<sup>64</sup> However, he subsequently moved toward the nationalist right with an increasing emphasis on 'blood and soil.' Charles Maurras,

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<sup>61</sup> Gildea, 176.

<sup>62</sup> Deyon, 91. Broglie's law of 1871 had abolished the election of mayors, who were henceforth appointed by the state. In 1876, this law had been lifted for towns smaller than 20,000, which were not perceived as threatening, and in 1881 the ban was finally lifted for all cities but Paris.

<sup>63</sup> Deyon, 92; on Ferry supporting decentralization in 1866, see Deyon, 77.

<sup>64</sup> Gildea, 179.



Félibre and later leader of the Action française, similarly supported a republican version of departmental political autonomy in 1892, and also became monarchist, albeit still regionalist, by 1900. The Parisian Félibres manifesto of 1892, which Maurras co-authored, was strongly decentralist and federalist. It stated:

We are fed up with keeping quiet about our federalist intentions. We can no longer confine ourselves to demanding the rights and duties of freedom for our language and writers; that freedom will not achieve political autonomy, but will flow from it. . . . We demand liberty from our communes. . . . We want to release from their departmental cages the souls of the provinces whose names are still used everywhere by everyone: Gascons, Auvergnats, Limousins, Béarnais, Dauphinois, Roussillonnais, Provençaux, and Languedociens. We are autonomists, we are federalists, and if somewhere in northern France a people wants to march with us, our hand is outstretched. . . . We want sovereign assemblies in Bordeaux, in Toulouse, in Montpellier, in either Marseille or Aix. These assemblies will run our administration, our courts, our schools, our universities, our public works.<sup>65</sup>

Maurras came to see centralization as an effect of the French Revolution and the institution of a republic; consequently, he rejected this tradition in support of the *ancien régime* provincial system, which he believed required a monarch.

Regionalism was embraced by Jean Charles-Brun, who organized the Fédération régionaliste française (FRF) in 1900, and chose the term because it was non-sectarian.<sup>66</sup> The association's goal was the revival of regional life through more 'natural' or 'organic' forms of administration.<sup>67</sup> Indicative of its appeal across a wide political spectrum, the FRF included in its committee of honour the left-wing Paul Boncour, the right-wing

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<sup>65</sup> Charles Maurras, *L'Etang de Berre* (Paris: Champion, 1915), 196; quoted in Gildea, 180.

<sup>66</sup> Jean Charles-Brun, *Le Régionalisme* (Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1911), 2-3 is explicit about the reason for the term; see also Gildea, 179, who says the word was chosen to avoid any association with the terminology of the *ancien régime* and the *départements*.

<sup>67</sup> Charles-Brun, 5, on organic forms of administrations. On the broader context of the term see Davidson and Davidson; on the French context see Gildea, 166-213; Vigier, *passim*; and Guy Rossi-Landi, "La Région," in *Histoire des droits en France*, ed. Jean-François Sirinelli, vol. 3, *Sensibilités* (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 71-100.

Maurice Barrès, and among its founding members the socialist Charles Longuet.<sup>68</sup>

Nevertheless, Charles-Brun was a long-time secretary of the Société Proudhon, and he repeatedly called Proudhon the most lucid exponent of regionalism (although in fact Charles-Brun seemed to accept a somewhat reduced scale of regionalism than the federalism Proudhon envisaged.)<sup>69</sup> As Gildea concludes:

As during the French Revolution, the champions of the centralised, unitary Republic were keen to discredit any projects of decentralisation as counter-revolutionary and separatist. For their part decentralisers strove to throw off these accusations by placing themselves in the republican and federal tradition, which was legitimate for some of them, but more questionable for others.<sup>70</sup>

The political and cultural effects of the regionalist movement have consequences for its study. As Vera Mark has shown, the concept of a unified culture of southern France continues to exert strong ideological pressure on those who, often coming from the region, study it.<sup>71</sup> She notes that, in the 1960s and 1970s, *Annales* school historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie rejected the idea of a unified Occitan consciousness existing through the centuries, yet in his later work he perpetuates the myth and minimizes diversity within the region itself.<sup>72</sup> Pierre Bourdieu's analysis acts as a corrective; he emphasizes that naming or categorizing a region is ideological since there are no naturally defined regions, only socially constructed ones, and the categorizing necessarily

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<sup>68</sup> This complex history has often been oversimplified, especially by art historians. See, for example, Romy Golan, *Modernity and Nostalgia: art and politics in France between the wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 24, who says that by the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was "almost exclusively in the ultra-conservative Right."

<sup>69</sup> Flory, 21.

<sup>70</sup> Gildea, 178.

<sup>71</sup> Mark, *passim*.

<sup>72</sup> Mark, 66; and 64-5 on the term Occitan, which is derived from *langue d'Oc*; Mark describes how it implies a unified consciousness in Southern France, including Provence, Languedoc and Gascony, that derives from language; the term was revived and supported by the political left after 1968 in a wave of support for decentralization.

affects the object of study.<sup>73</sup> In light of the recognition that such categories are socially constructed, we can conclude that Provence exists and existed in 1900 although no administrative unit went by that name. We must recognize, however, that it exists in a discourse rooted in larger issues of power and authority. As an imagined community, replete with invented traditions, Provence played an important counterpoint to the definition of France.

### *Chapters*

Images of Provence were used to reconfigure the discourse defined by the constellation of centre, periphery, and colony in which 'national' heritage subsumed regional identities. In the first half of my dissertation, I examine the explosion of regionalist sentiment in the Third Republic and the ways in which visual culture was used to support Provençal identity, focusing on institutional sites where the negotiation between nation and region was particularly contested. I begin with an analysis of the discourse concerning the national museum system. At the national level, there was desire for increased control over departmental museums, and I examine various ways this was resisted. Focusing on Provence, I explore the ways in which the departmental Musée des Beaux-Arts attempted to tell both national and regional narratives. This negotiation of identities was unsatisfactory to regionalists who developed, in significant numbers, their own independent museums. I then analyze the most prominent of these, the Museon Arlaten, paying particular attention to the creation of the Arlésienne, the definitive woman of Arles, who became a symbol of Provençal tradition serving the regionalist community's goals. The essentializing tendencies of such ethnographic displays are now

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<sup>73</sup> Bourdieu, "L'Identité et la représentation," 66.

clear. As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has pointed out, in folk festivals accompanying ethnographic displays, such as the Fêsto Vierginenco that I examine, people are presented as “living signs of themselves.”<sup>74</sup> There is an attendant danger of “depoliticizing what we present by valorizing an aesthetics of marginalization.”<sup>75</sup> This late-twentieth century warning would likely have gone unheeded in Arles since a wide range of people from the region actively promoted this essentializing identity; my work suggests they used this tactic to assert a unique cultural identity within the French nation.

Another key site where national and regional identities played mutually constructing roles was the Exposition Universelle. My second chapter examines the Paris 1900 exposition and shows that here the image of the Parisienne--defined as quintessentially modern--came to stand for the nation. This construct relied on difference from other parts of France: the provinces were represented as timeless and unchanging, closer to the colonies than to the modern capital. The retrospective art exhibition was also used to support a narrative of national unity, and it reinforced the association between Paris and modernity. The exposition stimulated a response, the Exposition Coloniale de Marseille, which attempted to reconfigure the cultural geography of the nation. In Marseilles, the symbol of the Arlésienne was also put to use, but here she signified the Provençal literary tradition that stretched back to the troubadours, and so refused the national identity conferred upon the region. At the same time, this reference to a distinguished literary tradition signaled difference from the colonies on display, as did the Provençal art exhibits.

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<sup>74</sup> Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “Objects of Ethnography,” in *Exhibiting Cultures: the Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 388; the phrase eerily echoes Frédéric Mistral’s tribute to the women of Arles discussed at the end of chapter one.

In the third chapter, my study moves outside official sites to examine the role of posters promoting tourism in Provence and the Côte d'Azur. These posters significantly affected the ways in which the region was imagined. Posters advertising traditional spa towns initially appealed to older paradigms of aristocratic long stays but, by the 1890s, they usually depicted a bourgeois tourist, surveying a 'natural' landscape. I link these tourist views to the government's promotion of French landscape as evidence of the nation's glory. As the regionalist movement gathered force, locally produced advertisements began focusing on the object of the tourist gaze--the landscape and its 'folk' inhabitants--rather than the tourist. Indeed, local citizens, and enthusiastic members of the regionalist movement, promoted this seemingly stereotypical cultural identity. Despite the power imbalance between centre and periphery, the 'toured' were not silent; they played an active part in the imaginings of Provence. I show that their embrace of this stereotype fulfills two contradictory aims: it accords with the central government's goal of encouraging knowledge of the entire nation, while also promoting local identity, which resisted national uniformity.

In the final chapter, I move from the wider exhibitionary complex to examine the visual arts more closely, looking at how avant-garde artists, mainly from outside Provence, reacted to the mythology of Provence being created in the region, and consider how they negotiated the different constructs being put forward. Here I argue against the traditional art historical picture of a right-wing tradition of the south, revealing the long-standing, left-wing association the region also had, and show how this manifested itself as visions of arcadia in Neo-Impressionist and Fauvist work.

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<sup>75</sup> Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 432.

My study situates avant-garde depictions of the south of France within the larger discourse that was defining nation and region, centre and periphery, tourist and toured. It contributes a new appreciation of the role regional culture played in the formation of national culture, and shows their mutually reliant natures. Despite the dominant cultural geography that situated Provence and Provençals as peripheral, the local population did, in fact, negotiate a space for itself within the national identity. My examination of this discourse reveals a new understanding of the impact that the nation's cultural geography had on modernism and the role visual culture played in shaping it.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **DEFINING PROVENCE: MUSEUMS AND IDENTITY**

*Les Provinciaux sont des Français comme les Parisiens.*  
Edouard Aynard, 1908.<sup>1</sup>

#### **INTRODUCTION**

At the Roman Theatre in Arles in the spring of 1904 three hundred and twenty young women took part in the second annual Fêsto Vierginenco by pledging to wear the 'traditional' costume of Arles and to uphold Provençal 'tradition' throughout the next year.<sup>2</sup> Likened to classical antiquity by Frédéric Mistral, a famous Provençal poet and the event's organizer, the Fêsto Vierginenco stands as an excellent example of what Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger have called the "invention of tradition."<sup>3</sup> Thirty thousand people were reported to have attended the event, and a postcard (Figure 5) records its enormous popularity; the theatre overflows its capacity, and spectators perch on the walls of the ruin to catch a glimpse of the spectacle. Why was this event so hugely popular? What did the 'traditional' costume of Arles signify and, moreover, what did they mean by Provençal 'tradition'? To answer these questions, it is necessary to examine the museum Mistral created for the purpose of defining this tradition. However, an examination of the museum alone is not enough: the private creation of this museum

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<sup>1</sup> Edouard Aynard quoted in Henry Lapauze, *Les Musées de Province. Rapport – Enquête – Législation* (Paris: Plon, Nourrit et Cie, 1908), 247.

<sup>2</sup> Jean Pélissier, *Frédéric Mistral: Au jour le jour* (Aix-en-Provence: Editions Ophrys, 1967), 136.

<sup>3</sup> Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); see especially Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," 1-13.

took place within the context of a national debate on the role of the museum in the nation, and the right of the nation-state to control its *patrimoine*.<sup>4</sup> It also occurred at a time when there was a growing sense of nostalgia for times past and an interest in the 'Folk' and 'Tradition' as sources of 'authentic' experience, which the people of Arles seem to have embraced.<sup>5</sup>

This chapter examines the role of the regional museum in the formation of local identity, and the role these museums played in the national discourse on museums and their function from 1890 to 1914. While it is generally recognized that museums played an important role in the dissemination of national French culture in the nineteenth century, their role in understanding the development of local, regional identities remains less recognized. Indeed, while the creation of a national identity has been much examined, the creation of regional identity remains less so. It is often left unexamined and unproblematized, implying that it arises naturally out of the soil rather than being itself a product of culture.<sup>6</sup> Departmental museums, which were overseen by the central government and had been founded as a result of the French Revolution, were struggling to retain local autonomy in a system designed to reinforce national, not provincial,

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<sup>4</sup> On the idea of patrimony see André Chastel, "La notion de patrimoine," in *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, vol. II, *La Nation*, book 2, ed. Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), 425-450; and Edouard Pommier, "Naissance des Musées de Province," in Nora, ed., vol. 2, book 2, 451-95.

<sup>5</sup> T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon, 1981), 5; on the idea of 'folk' see Robin D.G. Kelley, "Notes on Deconstructing 'The Folk'," *American Historical Review* 97, no. 5 (December 1992): 1400-1408; Charles Keil, "Who Needs 'the Folk'?" *Journal of the Folklore Institute* 15 (September-December 1985): 263-5; and on creation of 'the Folk' in Canada see Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

<sup>6</sup> On contemporary acceptance on the unique identity of southern France, see Vera Mark, "In Search of the Occitan Village: Regionalist Ideologies and the Ethnography of Southern France," *Anthropological Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (April 1987): 64-69. As an example of a critical historian who nevertheless occasionally promotes the nostalgic view of the folk as having natural identity, see Maurice Agulhon, "Le centre et la périphérie," in Nora, ed., vol. 3, book 1, 827 which states that during the *ancien régime*, "Tout le monde était particulariste et régionaliste mais de façon naturelle, à peine réfléchi."



affiliation. At the end of the nineteenth century, however, they became increasingly interested in representing local culture. At the same time, numerous small museums focusing on the *petite patrie* were privately founded, and these can be seen as a response to the perceived inadequacies of the national museum representations. These privately funded museums were often extremely influential in crystallizing regional identities. A central problem is whether the local museums indicate resistance to centralization by the peripheries, or whether they ultimately contain that resistance by diffusing and refocusing political energy.<sup>7</sup>

To answer these questions, this chapter begins with an analysis of the national debate over the government's wish to increase its control over provincial museums. I then examine Provençal museums created in several different contexts: the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Marseille, which had been created in 1804 by government decree; the ethnographic Museon Arlaten created by the Provençal poet Frédéric Mistral, which became a focal point for the imagining of Provençal culture; and the profusion of smaller museums that were initiated, if not completed. Most significant in this project of creating a regional identity was the fashioning of the definitive Arlésienne, who came to stand as a symbol of the entire region.

### ***Provençal Regional Movements***

In the 1850s, Mistral began to rekindle interest in the regional culture of Provence by writing poetry in the local dialect, Provençal, which celebrated the simple life of the peasant and the Provençal 'race.' He and others formed the Félibrige, a group of poets who looked back to the Middle Ages to recreate Provençal literary tradition. As Thomas

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<sup>7</sup> Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: history, theory, politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 148-9.

Hart has argued, the Félibrige did not seek to revive the troubadour tradition, but rather to justify an epic, heroic poetry written in contemporary patois.<sup>8</sup> Mistral's most famous poem, *Mireio*, was in fact modelled on Virgil, and as Mistral looked to Provence's Roman heritage in his poetry, so he would in his museum.

The Félibrige has often been broadly painted as a reactionary movement of conservative traditionalists, but this categorization is too simple. Officially, the movement did not engage in politics; however, its members displayed a wide range of political allegiances. Of the three founders in the 1850s, Joseph Roumanille was a legitimist, Théodore Aubanel was a fervent Catholic, and Mistral was a *quarante-huitard*, who would for a time embrace Proudhonian federalism.

The Félibrige quickly moved beyond the merely literary, however, and became concerned with preserving, even reinvigorating the traditional life of Provence: its language, poetry, art, folk customs, and dress. Philip Martel argues that for Mistral and the Félibrige "la valeur phare qui apparaît, lancinante, dans tous les discours, celle qui conditionne tout, c'est la langue. C'est elle qui définit le territoire du 'Midi.' C'est elle qui exprime son âme. Sa mort serait celle du Midi."<sup>9</sup> Yet, as I will show, an exclusive emphasis on Mistral's interest in language can result in overlooking his most enduring creations, the Museon Arlaten and the definitive Arlésienne.

The Félibrige had a political counterpart in the regionalist movement, which has similarly been characterized as right wing and nationalist, but this grossly oversimplifies the complexity of the situation.<sup>10</sup> Like the Félibrige, the Fédération Régionaliste Française attracted members of both the left and the right, and many members of the two

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<sup>8</sup> Thomas R. Hart, "La Renaissance felibrenco," *Journal of European Studies* 25, no. 4 (1995): 399-411.

<sup>9</sup> Philippe Martel, "Le Félibrige," in Nora, ed., vol. 3, book 2, 594.

groups overlapped. The movements shared the goal of the reinvigoration of regional life. Moreover, Mistral stated, on numerous occasions over a long period, that the logical corollary to his aim of a revival of the Provençal spirit was a federalist political system.<sup>11</sup> Many advocates of regionalism, and many followers of Mistral, were calling for more political power at the local level, that is, for a decentralized state, modelled on either Swiss or American federalism. Regionalists fervently believed more local power would halt what they saw as the tyranny of Paris, the 'uniformization' of the French nation they feared would obliterate a local, distinct society. Thus, the cultural and political movements blurred; indeed, culture was used as a weapon in this battle over the ideology of a uniform France.

It is in this context of a widespread Provençal regionalist movement opposing the centralized state, and the concomitant loss of local custom, costume, language, and identity that we can best understand Mistral's creation of a museum of Provençal life in the Museon Arlaten in 1896. Around the turn of the century, debate over local customs and rights to culture crystallized around the issue of museum reform, which was taking place on a national scale.

### ***Museum Literature Review***

In recent years, there has been an explosion of scholarly interest in the study of museums and how they function within a larger cultural discourse. Much of this interest has been

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<sup>10</sup> See the introduction for an overview of regionalism.

<sup>11</sup> See Bernard Voyenne, *Histoire de l'idée fédéraliste*, vol.3 *Les Lignées Proudhoniennes* (Paris: Presses d'Europe, 1981), 83-91 which discusses Mistral's early enthusiasm for Proudhon's version of federalism, as well as his later respect for tradition; Alphonse V. Roche, *Provençal Regionalism: A Study of the Movement in the Revue félibréenne, Le Feu and other Reviews of Southern France* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1954) for a general analysis of the movement; and Claude Mesliand, "Le Félibrige, La République et l'Idée de Décentralisation (1870-1892)," in *La Décentralisation: VIe colloque*

stimulated by the work of Michel Foucault on the importance of classification systems and institutions, and also by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu on the role art museums play in upholding class distinctions.<sup>12</sup> The collection of essays in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* edited by Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine was seminal in moving the debate from the realm of anthropology into art history.<sup>13</sup> Since the publication of that collection, the idea that museum displays can be neutral has been rejected. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill's excellent historical analysis of the changing role of museum-type collections illustrates that changes in classification systems accompanied changes in museum display. Conversely, the function of these museum collections also changed with the changing classifications.<sup>14</sup> More recently, Tony Bennett has argued for a new approach to museum study that situates the museum in relation to other kinds of cultural display, such as fairs and temporary exhibitions. His approach has greatly influenced my project. He convincingly argues that there is an 'exhibitionary complex,' that is, a field of cultural display in relation to which museum display makes its meaning.<sup>15</sup>

The role of museums in sustaining national discourse has been the focus of a number of studies. Annie E. Coombes has linked ethnographic museums and the colonial exhibitions to the formation of British national identity, arguing that although exhibitions

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*d'histoire organisé par la faculté des Lettres et des Sciences humaines d'Aix-en-Provence, 1-2 décembre, 1961* (Aix-en-Provence: Editions Ophrys, 1964), 119-164.

<sup>12</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York: Vintage, 1994); Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel with Dominique Schnapper, *The Love of Art: European Museums and their Public*, trans. Caroline Beattie and Nick Merriman (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990); Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).

<sup>13</sup> Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, eds., *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

<sup>14</sup> Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992), especially relevant is Chapter 7, "The Disciplinary Museum."

appear to be objective, they are part of a larger politicized discourse supporting imperialism and helping to create a unified British identity in the face of the colonial other.<sup>16</sup> The role of museums in France, since their founding in the Revolution, has long been recognized as essential to the mythology of the nation.<sup>17</sup>

As Dominique Poulot's recent bibliographic study makes clear, however, the historiography of French museums has lagged somewhat behind the studies in Britain, the United States, and Canada.<sup>18</sup> Chantal Georgel makes this same observation in the first pages of her seminal exhibition catalogue on French museums in the nineteenth century.<sup>19</sup> Much of the work has focused on national museums in the Revolutionary period, such as Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach's influential study of the Musée du Louvre as a 'universal survey museum' with an iconographic program promoting the ideological position that "France is the true heir of classical civilization."<sup>20</sup> More recently, Andrew McClellan considered the eighteenth-century roots of the Louvre and its flourishing under Napoléon.<sup>21</sup> Edouard Pommier detailed the ideological position

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<sup>15</sup> Bennett, Chapter 2, "The Exhibitionary Complex."

<sup>16</sup> Annie E. Coombes, "Ethnography and the formation of national and cultural identities," in *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art*, ed. Susan Hiller (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 189-214.

<sup>17</sup> The revolutionary leaders were well aware of the role museums could play in nation building, see Pommier, 470.

<sup>18</sup> Dominique Poulot, *Bibliographie de l'Histoire des Musées de France* (Paris: Editions du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques Mémoires de la Section d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, No.9, 1994), 19.

<sup>19</sup> Chantal Georgel, "Le musée et les musées, un projet pour le XIXe siècle," in *La Jeunesse des Musées: Les musées de France au XIXe siècle*, ed. Chantal Georgel (Paris: Editions de la réunion des musées nationaux, 1994), 15.

<sup>20</sup> Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach, "The Universal Survey Museum," *Art History* 3, no. 4 (Dec. 1980): 459.

<sup>21</sup> Andrew McClellan, *Inventing the Louvre: Art, Politics and the Origins of the Modern Museum in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

that art played in the Revolution and uses this to illuminate his history of the birth of provincial museums.<sup>22</sup>

The provincial museum system has recently begun to receive serious study. Pommier's excellent analysis of its founding alerts one to the ideology of the nation-state that continues to play such an important part in the French cultural field.<sup>23</sup> He suggests that the assertion of a local identity through the creation of a regional museum dates back to the seventeenth century as there are numerous examples of towns creating their own museums before the Revolution. He further argues that, during the Revolution, departments asserted their rights to create their own museum in contrast to the law of the central government. Daniel J. Sherman's study of the politics of provincial art museums throughout the nineteenth century first outlined the important role these neglected institutions continued to play within the national culture, in particular, how the Third Republic ideology of education reform was extended to museum discourse. He argues, however, that the reforms had little actual impact.<sup>24</sup> For Sherman, regional museums rely on the same set of values as national museums; he argues that, in both the national and regional spheres, culture is used by bourgeois elites to maintain hierarchies that support class distinctions.<sup>25</sup> My consideration of the founding of museums outside that system indicates that national and local goals were not identical, although local museums appropriated time-tested strategies for identity formation.

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<sup>22</sup> Pommier, 451-95, and Pommier, *L'Art de la Liberté: Doctrines et débats de la Révolution française* (Paris: Gallimard, 1991).

<sup>23</sup> Pommier, "Naissance," 471-8.

<sup>24</sup> Daniel J. Sherman, *Worthy Monuments: Art Museums and the Politics of Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).

<sup>25</sup> Sherman, 4-5.

Georgel focused more exclusively on the government's bid to increase its control over museums in the Third Republic.<sup>26</sup> A number of essays in Georgel's 1994 exhibition catalogue, *La Jeunesse des Musées: Les Musées de France au XIXe Siècle*, point to the importance of the struggle for power between the central state and the departmental authorities, but none make this issue their focus. Indeed, in "Le Musée, Lieu d'Identité" Georgel states that there are many reasons for the growth of regional museums, such as the rural exodus emptying the villages, the industrialization that menaced the rural world, the development of tourism bringing more tourists to these same places, as well as the development of anthropology and ethnography as academic disciplines. She states, however, that "la première d'entre elles reste partout et toujours le refus du centralisme parisien, qui suppose à la fois obéissance aux normes de la culture républicaine et uniformisation nationale."<sup>27</sup> Georgel's recognition of the importance of the decentralist movement begins to redress the balance of Sherman's position, which overstates the similarities between provincial and national museums and does not consider the multitude of smaller museums created in the period. This central feature of museum development in the nineteenth century has not previously received much scholarly attention and its importance will be shown here.

The rise of French ethnographic museums has mainly been considered with respect to Parisian institutions. Nélia Dias's study of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro gives an excellent overview of the main intellectual currents of the day.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Georgel, "L'Etat et 'ses' musées de province ou comment 'concilier la liberté d'initiative des villes et les devoirs de l'Etat,'" *Le Mouvement Social* 160 (July-Sept. 1992): 65-78.

<sup>27</sup> Georgel, "Le Musée, Lieu d'Identité," in Georgel, ed., 111.

<sup>28</sup> Nélia Dias, *Le Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro (1878-1908): Anthropologie et Muséologie en France* (Paris: CNRS, 1991); see also Elizabeth A. Williams, "Art and Artifact at the Trocadero: *Ars Americana* and the Primitivist Revolution," in *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material*

Isabelle Collet was the first to study regional manifestations. She notes the importance of the Museon Arlaten as an early example of the folkloric regional museum and comments that it was typical in its focus, for instance, on costume.<sup>29</sup> She also underlines that French peasant culture in late nineteenth-century France was regarded by the urban bourgeoisie as a form of exoticism.<sup>30</sup> She does not consider, however, the impact of these regional ethnographic museums within the communities they purport to represent.

Provençal museums have not yet received much scholarly attention. Pierre Angrand has written a history of the provincial beaux-arts museums, focusing on the building of their collections; however, he has not yet produced a volume on Provence.<sup>31</sup> Sherman discusses the building of the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Marseilles during the Second Empire, focusing on its architecture.<sup>32</sup> While some general considerations of individual Provençal museums have been made, their situation within the national political climate has generally not been considered.

There are numerous early accounts of the founding of the Museon Arlaten but, until recently, there has been little serious study of the institution. An account was written by a member of the Félibrige and then curator of the museum, Charles Galtier; the catalogue, however, is more of a tribute than a scholarly examination of the museum.<sup>33</sup>

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*Culture*, ed. George W. Stocking, Jr. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985); Williams, "Anthropological Institutions in Nineteenth-Century France," *Isis* 76 (1985): 331-348.

<sup>29</sup> Isabelle Collet, "Les Premiers Musées d'Ethnographie Régionale en France," *Muséologie et Ethnologie: Notes et Documents des Musées de France*, no. 16 (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1987), 81-3.

<sup>30</sup> Collet, 78.

<sup>31</sup> Pierre Angrand, *Histoire des Musées de Province au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, 5 vols. (Les Sables d'Olonne: Le Cercle d'Or, 1988).

<sup>32</sup> Sherman, 161-5.

<sup>33</sup> Charles Galtier and Jean-Maurice Rouquette, *La Provence et Frédéric Mistral: Mistral au Museon Arlaten* (Arles: Cuénot, n.d.).



Maryse Mane outlined the museum's early history in a brief article,<sup>34</sup> but she did not analyze its place within the larger historical context of regionalism or consider its use of visual imagery in creating an image of Provence, which will be the focus of this chapter. Collet has noted its importance as an early example of ethnographic museums.<sup>35</sup> In his brief study of the Félibrige, Pierre Pasquini provides the best analysis of the museum to date and does an excellent job of situating the museum within the overall aims of the Félibrige.<sup>36</sup> He gives a survey of the increasingly broad aims of the Félibrige, as they move from concentrating on defining the Provençal language to defining Arlésienne costume, to reinvigorating Provençal folk customs, although his primary interest is literary. Recent exhibitions at the museum have begun to analyze its significance, focusing on the still-powerful myth of the Arlésienne.<sup>37</sup>

### MUSEUM DISCOURSE IN THE THIRD REPUBLIC

In the Third Republic, the issue of provincial museum reform became both important and controversial. In an 1887 essay on the state of provincial museums, Jules Comte, a career administrator of the fine arts in the Third Republic, lamented that the fine arts were precariously administered. He points out that at times the Beaux-Arts had been an independent ministry, and other times it was overseen by the Ministry of Public Instruction. In fact, the directorship changed heads seven times in fifteen years.<sup>38</sup> More than just an administrative problem, these changes indicate the profound anxiety the

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<sup>34</sup> Maryse Mane, "Le Museon Ariaten," *Muséologie et Ethnologie: Notes et Documents des Musées de France*, no. 16 (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1987), 218-221.

<sup>35</sup> Collet, 81-3.

<sup>36</sup> See Pasquini, 257-266.

<sup>37</sup> See the discussion of the Fêsto Vierginenco by Dominique Séréna-Allier, in *Léo Lelée (1872-1947): À l'image provençale* (Arles: Museon Ariaten, 1997), as well as *Arlésienne: le mythe?* (Arles: Museon Ariaten, 1999).

central government had about the French art system in this period. This anxiety is further indicated by the number of decrees and circulars passed by the government regarding provincial museums. As Georgel points out, these numerous decrees represent “an avalanche” in comparison to the interest of previous governments in the nineteenth century.<sup>39</sup> The government intended to reform the provincial museum system. Yet this was no simple endeavour; the museum system had been held up as a paragon of the virtues of republicanism since its founding in the French Revolution. Yet it had also been seen as an example of over-centralization. Consequently, any suggested changes to the system invoked deeper concerns over control of the nation’s patrimony and the division of power between centre and periphery.

***The Founding of the French Museum System and the Creation of National Unity***

Pommier’s close examination of the issues at stake in the founding of the provincial museum system shows that the centralization of artistic goods had long been considered a political issue involving access to culture and the right to provincial equality.<sup>40</sup> In 1790, a commission was established to decide what to do with the seized *biens nationaux*; Pommier argues it unwittingly created the idea of *patrimoine*, that is, an artistic heritage belonging to all the people of France.<sup>41</sup> The initial temptation to destroy artworks as symbols of the *ancien régime* was rejected, as was, for the most part, the temptation to sell goods to raise money for the state.<sup>42</sup> Since these goods belonged to the nation as a whole, the representatives of the people in the National Assembly had the right to decide

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<sup>38</sup> Jules Comte, preface to *L’Art en France: Musées et Écoles des Beaux-Arts des Départements* by Joseph Comyns Carr, trans. Jules Comte (Paris: Librairie de l’Art, 1887), xxxiii.

<sup>39</sup> Georgel, “L’Etat,” 65.

<sup>40</sup> Pommier, “Naissance,” 482.

<sup>41</sup> Pommier, “Naissance,” 465-6.

<sup>42</sup> Pommier, “Naissance,” 465-7.

their fate. This central right was asserted by Jean-Marie Roland, the Minister of the Interior in a circular of November 3, 1792, which also asserted that everything should be conserved that could

entretenir parmi nous l'amour des arts et des talens et devenir, dans des temps plus paisibles, un motif d'émulation pour les citoyens qui s'adonneroient à leur culture, un appât pour la curiosité et l'admiration des étrangers, et un monument glorieux qui puisse attester à la postérité que le Peuple français a respecté, même au milieu des agitations d'une Révolution sans exemple, tout ce qui doit perpétuer l'honneur des arts et des lettres et la gloire d'une nation sensible et éclairée.<sup>43</sup>

Roland's text also set out the main divisions of artistic goods, concluding that the best would go to the national museum, some would go to departmental museums, and the rest would be sold. That the departments had no rights to decide what to do with artistic goods was frequently reasserted in the period, although there were some calls for geographic equality, that is, for the citizens of the provinces to have access to these national goods. A 1790 report suggested that the goods should be put in museums closest to their point of seizure (which was not necessarily their point of origin), but this was eventually dismissed because of the strong desire to create a showcase museum with the best of the national goods in Paris.<sup>44</sup> Indeed, a strong central museum was seen as a natural parallel to the strong and united nation. A 1794 report argued:

Il est indispensable de tout confondre dans un même rassemblement. . . . On ne peut se dissimuler que tous les arts ne doivent être concentrés dans un seul théâtre, afin que leur unité concoure à faire triompher l'unité de principe politique que nous avons fondé.<sup>45</sup>

Despite vigorous protest from provincial figures who argued that Paris did not need to strip the provinces of their art, from 1801 the law supported a centralized

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<sup>43</sup> Quoted in Pommier, "Naissance," 470.

<sup>44</sup> Pommier, "Naissance," 471-4.

<sup>45</sup> Quoted in Pommier, "Naissance," 477.

hierarchy of museums.<sup>46</sup> Following the suggestions of the Minister of the Interior, Jean-Antoine Chaptal, the law determined that fifteen towns would receive works from the national collection, although Paris would receive the best.<sup>47</sup> Chaptal's guiding principle was that:

sans doute. . . Paris doit se réserver les chefs-d'œuvre dans tous les genres; Paris doit posséder dans sa collection les œuvres qui tiennent le plus essentiellement à l'histoire de l'art; mais l'habitant des départements a droit aussi à une part sacrée dans le partage du fruit de nos conquêtes et dans l'héritage des œuvres des artistes français.<sup>48</sup>

Thus, the initial founding of the provincial museums was based on somewhat contradictory positions: the national artistic heritage belonged to all citizens of France, and so should be preserved for all. That heritage, however, was to be divided hierarchically, with Parisian museums receiving the best works.<sup>49</sup> France remained an extremely centralized state throughout the turbulent nineteenth century, and it was not until the Third Republic that the issue of museum reform and the response of provincial rights really came to the forefront.<sup>50</sup>

### ***Museum Reform in the Third Republic***

#### *The Creation of National Ethnography*

The concept of national heritage extended beyond the fine arts and, concomitant with the rise in folklore studies in France and with the Third Republic museum reform, regional folk traditions came to be seen as worthy of national museum representation. Prior to the founding of the Musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in 1878, material culture had been

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<sup>46</sup> The law of September 1, 1801 (14 fructidor an IX) also made provisions for the distribution of works to the provincial museums.

<sup>47</sup> Sherman, 26 says that in the final report the number eight was crossed out and fifteen written over it.

<sup>48</sup> Quoted in Fernand Engerand, "Les Musées de Province," *Revue Hebdomadaire* (16 mars 1901): 358.

<sup>49</sup> Bennett, 148-9 discusses the concept of national heritage, and argues that it is a unifying feature; even when it appears to highlight past conflict or difference, it usually casts them as overcome.

scattered throughout the collections of the Louvre, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and natural history museums.<sup>51</sup> The Trocadéro was originally created as a temporary exhibit at the 1878 Exposition Universelle; its popularity convinced the government to make it a permanent ethnographic museum. The collection focused primarily on colonial subjects, but from 1884 included a European exhibit of which the largest section was French.<sup>52</sup> The French component concentrated on Brittany, as it was “le terrain d’élection des études folkloriques et philologiques, en raison de la prétendue immutabilité de ses mœurs et de la persistance de la tradition.”<sup>53</sup> Clearly interested in what is now referred to as ‘salvage ethnography’--saving the vestiges of ‘authentic’ traditions before they disappear but, paradoxically, participating in the destruction of that supposedly pure tradition by the very presence of the outsider<sup>54</sup>--the museum preferred France’s most ‘primitive’ folk. Consequently, Brittany was best represented, followed by Auvergne, Provence, and other regions. Mannequins modelled folk costume, and objects that indicated the traditional occupations of rural life, such as farm tools, were displayed in vitrines. The *Salle de France* was saluted in the press as patriotic and as a means by which the citizens could come to know the nation as a whole.<sup>55</sup>

The French section was, however, just a small part of the overall collection, and there were calls for a museum devoted entirely to the material culture of all the regions of France. In 1889, Armand Landrin, a curator at the Trocadéro, proposed the formation of a Musée des provinces de France, which would collect and scientifically display all the

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<sup>50</sup> Sherman details changes in the administration of this policy throughout the nineteenth century.

<sup>51</sup> Williams, “Art and Artifact,” 156 describes the various sources from which the American collection was assembled.

<sup>52</sup> Dias, 187-191 on the European collection.

<sup>53</sup> Dias, 188.

<sup>54</sup> James Clifford, “Of Other People: Beyond the ‘Salvage Paradigm,’” in *Dia Art Foundation Discussions in Contemporary Culture*, no. 1, ed. Hal Foster (Seattle: Bay Press, 1987), 121-30.

folkloric objects of the nation. It would, Landrin suggested, be an effective teaching tool, instilling pride in the entire nation. Dias shows that Landrin hoped the museum would synthesize the diverse regional traditions into one national tradition; she states that, “Après l’examen des différences, les diverses provinces françaises, on passerait à la combinaison de ces divers éléments dans une totalité: la Nation.”<sup>56</sup> Landrin’s proposal was not developed;<sup>57</sup> however, the Salle de France within the Trocadéro indicates the national interest in defining the ‘Folk’ as part of the national heritage.

### *The Beaux-Arts*

Increasingly, there were calls for reform of the museum system. Essential to the state’s exercise of power over provincial museums was the ideological linkage of this power with the founding of the museum system in the Revolution and the consequent link between the state’s power and democracy. Almost all accounts during the period start from the premise that provincial museums are evidence of the benefits of democracy and the Revolution.<sup>58</sup> One of the best examples of the continuing importance of this myth comes from Jules Comte, who wrote a long preface to a French edition of a British book on French provincial museums, Comyns Carr’s *L’Art en France: Musées et Ecoles des Beaux-Arts des Départements*.<sup>59</sup> In the British account, the Revolutionary origin of the museum is omitted and the founding donations are (correctly) attributed to Napoléon’s rule.<sup>60</sup> In contrast, Comte’s French account opens with the emphatic statement: “C’est de

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<sup>55</sup> Dias, 190.

<sup>56</sup> Dias, 194.

<sup>57</sup> Dias, 194 suggests prohibitive costs, Landrin’s relative lack of status in the scientific community, as well as the greater status of the Trocadéro’s head curator, E.T. Hamy.

<sup>58</sup> Both Pommier and McClellan suggest that the roots of the museum system can be traced well back into the eighteenth century.

<sup>59</sup> Comte was then Inspector General of the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts et Dessin* in the Ministry of Public Instruction, so he was hardly a neutral player in this game.

<sup>60</sup> Carr, 5.

la Révolution que datent nos musées, ceux de province comme ceux de Paris.”<sup>61</sup> Comte shows some anxiety about the distribution of works that created the provincial museum collections actually falling under the empire of Napoléon, and he stresses that the Emperor was only fulfilling the democratic suggestions made under the Revolution. As Pommier has shown, this is technically correct, but the fact that they could arguably be dated to the *ancien régime* is completely ignored.<sup>62</sup> The actual origin of the provincial museums is less important than the intentions of the inspector general of fine arts, who went to some pains to correct the text of an Englishman as to their revolutionary origins. Comte argues forcibly that the same motives guided the founding of provincial and Parisian museums. This text indicates that revolutionary and democratic heritage was important to the Inspector General’s interpretation of France’s museum history, not surprising in a time when the state was trying to determine how it could increase its control over the display and meaning of the nation’s patrimony.

A second important argument--that there should be a central location that tells the history of French art--continued to sustain Parisian dominance of the museum system while relying on Revolutionary authority. Chaptal’s 1800 report argued that Paris must have the best art works and especially “ceux qui tiennent le plus essentiellement à l’Histoire de l’Art, qui marquent ses progrès, caractérisent les genres et permettent à l’artiste de lire sur les tableaux toutes les révolutions et les périodes de la peinture.”<sup>63</sup> Fernand Engerand, a deputy who encouraged the Chamber of Deputies to form an extra-parliamentary commission on museum reform in 1905, drew on Chaptal’s authority to support his position. Engerand called for an overhaul of the Louvre, where “devraient

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<sup>61</sup> Comte, xv.

<sup>62</sup> Pommier, “Naissance,” 451.

être centralisées les meilleures œuvres de nos artistes français, et des indications générales sur l'histoire de notre art national."<sup>64</sup> Departmental museums should collect works by their native sons, argued Engerand, making collections interesting and related to the regions. Furthermore, since the Louvre had chosen from "l'œuvre de chaque peintre les pièces les plus importantes, le surplus, composé d'œuvres très honorables et même de morceaux de choix, irait en province."<sup>65</sup> Similarly, Charles Couyba, a socialist deputy, championed Paris's right to the best works since, he argued, the retrospective of 1900 (where the state borrowed significantly from provincial museums, as discussed in Chapter Two), "a prouvé au monde que la démocratie française, comme jadis la démocratie athénienne, demeure le foyer de beauté."<sup>66</sup> Although Engerand and Couyba called themselves decentralists, displaying the glory of France took precedence. In their museum world, the history of French art should be written at the Louvre.

In 1879, Fine Arts Director Eugène Guillaume proposed comprehensive inspections of the provincial museums. As Sherman points out: "Both Guillaume's report and the introduction of legislation in 1878 by the minister, Agénor Bardoux, made it clear that the state intended inspections to tighten its supervision of, and expand its influence over, provincial museums."<sup>67</sup> While Sherman shows that the changes decreed between 1880 and 1910 had little actual impact (museums continued to function much as they had previously), the changes were hotly debated. An 1881 circular sent to the prefects by Under-Secretary of Fine Arts, Edouard Turquet, reminded them that "si c'est à l'école que l'enfant et l'ouvrier reçoivent l'enseignement, c'est surtout au musée qu'ils

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<sup>63</sup> Chaptal; quoted in Georgel, "L'Etat," 68.

<sup>64</sup> Engerand, 372.

<sup>65</sup> Engerand, 374.

<sup>66</sup> Charles-Maurice Couyba, *L'Art et la Démocratie* (Paris: Flammarion, 1902), 2; see also 298.



trouvent l'exemple." Furthermore, "la réorganisation du musée est donc le corollaire obligatoire de celle de l'école."<sup>68</sup> This comparison to school reform would have seemed ominous to those in favour of decentralization since the state was then instigating unprecedented control over the education system. Minister of Education Jules Ferry was in the process of making school free, secular, compulsory for those between 6 and 13 (including girls), uniform across the nation and, in 1887, exclusively taught in French. Not surprisingly, these changes were much feared by regionalists for their destruction of local uniqueness.<sup>69</sup>

An 1880 article by the deputy Henry Houssaye publicized the issue from a centralist position. It indicates the extent of the anxiety over the government's lack of control over provincial museums. Houssaye describes how these museums were founded by the state, how they are enriched each year by state donations, yet "selon la législation actuelle, l'état qui, en vertu de la loi de 1839, a toute autorité sur les bibliothèques, n'a pas même un droit de contrôle sur les musées."<sup>70</sup> Municipal councils could, he continues in near terror, even sell the national treasures. Houssaye enumerates the problems with the current state of museums: most are not catalogued; if catalogued, many have gross errors; the works are often falling into disrepair; they are overseen by curators who often have no training. He hopes that better state controls could solve these problems.

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<sup>67</sup> Sherman, 55.

<sup>68</sup> Edouard Turquet, Circular to prefects, 26 April 1881; quoted in Georget, "L'Etat," 70.

<sup>69</sup> See Joseph Moody, *French Education Since Napoléon* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1978), 96 for a roughly chronological list of the changes. In 1887 a law was passed stating that this education could only take place in French, which caused much consternation to regionalists, as well as rural teachers; on the importance of teaching French as well as for the wider context of these changes see Eugen Weber, "Civilizing in Earnest: Schools and Schooling," and "A Wealth of Tongues," chaps. in *Peasants Into Frenchmen* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), 303-338, and 67-94. For an example of continued outrage on loss of *patois* due to these changes, see Michel Baris, *Langue d'oïl contre langue d'oc* (Lyon: Fédérop, 1978), 45.

<sup>70</sup> Henry Houssaye, "Les Musées de Province," *Revue des Deux Mondes* 38, no.2 (1 April 1880): 557.

Government must, he argues, pass a law like that governing libraries, which would subject museums “à la surveillance permanente de l’autorité supérieure,” since both

sont d’utilité publique. Ils ne sont pas faits seulement pour l’étude des artistes et pour le plaisir des connaisseurs. Ils servent à tout le monde. Ils appartiennent à l’enseignement primaire comme à l’enseignement supérieur. Ils frappent les yeux de l’enfant et ils achèvent l’éducation de l’homme.<sup>71</sup>

Houssaye thus calls on the precedent of the national library system to support a law that would put museums under total control of the central government, and he relies further on the educative aspect of museums to support his position.<sup>72</sup>

Indeed, many changes were instituted in these years. An inspection service was created (although it was frequently reorganized), museums were classified into two tiers, national and departmental (or city museums), and a program was created to qualify curators. Finally in 1910, a comprehensive law governing national power over museums was passed, but, by this time much of the controversy had passed.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, the extra-parliamentary commission created in 1905 to determine the changes was hotly contested.

The 1905 commission was charged with establishing the present state of museums and their collections, as well as determining “les moyens de mettre en valeur ces collections avec le concours de l’État et les municipalités intéressées.”<sup>74</sup> The commission

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<sup>71</sup> Houssaye, 565.

<sup>72</sup> For a critique of the ideal of the civilizing mission of museums, see Sherman, 238 who concludes that “the museum in the bourgeois image was, after all, an ‘instrument of civilization,’ with all that those words imply in terms of power, ideology, and domination.”

<sup>73</sup> The clearest enumeration of these changes is found in Gérard Monnier, *L’art et ses institutions en France de la Révolution à nos jours* (Paris: Gallimard, collections Folio/histoire, 1995), 239-243; see Georgel, “L’Etat,” 75 on the 1910 law; Michael Orwicz, “Anti-Academicism and State Power in the Early Third Republic,” *Art History* 14, no. 4 (December 1991): 574 and passim discusses the state’s desire for ‘national art’ supported by the private sector, and he concludes, “encouraging the growth of art in the private sector could only reinforce the notion that Paris remained the ‘capitale de l’art.’” Thus, seemingly contradictory strategies, such as state control and the development of a commercial art market could equally promote the desired goal of the Republican system.

<sup>74</sup> Quoted in Georgel, “L’Etat,” 65.

was made up of a broad group of politicians, art critics, and museum officials, but included no representatives from provincial museums.<sup>75</sup> Even with this stacked deck, the issue of the state's right to recall *envois* was still controversial. Works were originally sent to the provinces as *dépôts*, and were not *dons*, although that term had occasionally been used in the nineteenth century. While no one at the commission disputed that the state owned the works, there was considerable disagreement over the circumstances in which the state should be allowed to recall them. The initial suggestion was that the state be able to borrow works for eighteen months. Mr. Aynard, a deputy from Lyon and strong supporter of the local arts, was the most vocal critic of this clause. He suggested that the government ask local authorities for permission to borrow works. Indicating the committee's distrust of the provinces, an anonymous commission member said they could not be asked, because "elles refuseraient toujours."<sup>76</sup> Aynard disagreed, citing the recent retrospective of 1900 and the 1904 exhibition, *Les Primitifs Français*, as examples when the provinces had donated generously. Aynard even confronted one of the main myths--that the provinces did not adequately care for the works--when he pointed out that his museum had lent works, and the state had returned them damaged. In Aynard's view, provincial museums should have the same rights as national ones, and since the national museums would not be expected to loan works for eighteen months, this should not be asked of the provincial museums.

The opposing side of the issue, and that of the central government, was voiced by Roger Marx, the chief inspector of provincial museums. Reminding Aynard that the

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<sup>75</sup> Georgel, "L'Etat," 74 lists all the members as does the cover of Lapauze. Notable were politicians such as Couyba, Poincaré, Léon Bourgeois; art critics such as Frantz Jourdain and Gustave Geffroy; and museum officials Roger Marx, Henry Lapauze, and Dayot.

<sup>76</sup> Quoted in Lapauze, 245.

*envois* are *dépôts*, not *dons*, Marx argued that the state would, on occasion, have higher aims requiring provincial works.<sup>77</sup> He too cites the 1904 *Les Primitifs Français* exhibition and the Universal Exposition retrospectives where the goal had been to show the development of the French school, which was presumably the higher goal that he had in mind. His belief in the importance of this display of the history of French national art leads Marx to conclude: “il me parait impossible. . . que l’Etat renonce au bénéfice de ces grandes leçons quand il ne fait qu’exercer strictement le droit que la loi lui confère.”<sup>78</sup> Furthermore, says Marx, it is not a question of Paris keeping the works, rather of borrowing them for “un intérêt supérieur. . . [and] pour une raison d’ordre scientifique.”<sup>79</sup> Thus calling on the legitimacy of science, national history, and the by now well established right of the state to tell that national art history, Marx asserts the right of the state to the nation’s patrimony. Aynard responds by arguing that the law does not put enough limits on the powers of the state and reminds the committee that “les Provinciaux sont des Français comme les Parisiens.”<sup>80</sup> While the commission eventually compromised to the effect that loans should be limited to one year, they refused to submit to Aynard’s other request that it be only after municipal consultation.<sup>81</sup> The rights of the provincial museums to guard *envois* from the state were not very strong.

### ***Regional Responses to National Museum Discourse***

From the regionalist point of view, the concerns of the commission were largely beside the point, and did not reach the heart of the issue: how provincial museums could

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<sup>77</sup> In chapter 2, in my discussion of the Exposition Universelle of 1900, I discuss the ideology of this “higher good” when the suggestion for a display of Provençal art, as distinct from French art, is refused.

<sup>78</sup> Quoted in Lapauze, 246.

<sup>79</sup> Quoted in Lapauze, 247.

<sup>80</sup> Quoted in Lapauze, 247.

<sup>81</sup> This becomes law in 1910.

stimulate provincial life. André Mellerio, a member of the 1905 commission and ardent decentralist, reported regularly in *L'Action Régionaliste* on the debate over provincial museums. In his eyes, although departmental museums were a crucial site for the spread of the regionalist spirit, real transformation would come when the regionalist movement caused wider societal changes. As he wrote of regionalism: "Il existe déjà un mouvement de forces libres qui ne cesse de croître en France et amènera certainement un renouveau de notre pays."<sup>82</sup> He continues:

Nous ferons remarquer cependant, d'une manière générale, qu'il [le décret] tend à établir un accord entre le pouvoir central et les autorités locales. Le principe qui doit dominer en pareille matière, nous semble-t-il, est de laisser, autant que possible, l'initiative à ces dernières, réservant au premier le droit de contrôle. C'est dans la juste balance de ces deux fonctions qu'on a chance de réaliser – en la présence matière comme en d'autres – un équilibre, évitant la compression et l'absorption venues d'en haut, comme aussi l'ignorance et la tyrannie d'en bas.<sup>83</sup>

Other writers in the primary regionalist journal, *L'Action Régionaliste*, even went so far as to question the most sacred of the myths about the museums, namely that they were evidence of a democratic state. The most vehement statement refuting this link so important to Third Republic ideology came from Alexandre Schurr. Schurr links the government's will to reform museums with education reform, and both with absolutism.

Tant que l'Etat se chargera d'organiser l'exercice de la culture; qu'il imposera ses programmes d'éducation, ses théories scientifiques et philosophiques; qu'il nous choisira les œuvres d'art à admirer, il étouffera l'initiative des citoyens et les Français finiront par devenir des Orientaux s'en remettant en tout à l'Allah-Etat. . . L'extension de l'autorité de l'Etat sur ces domaines, étrangers à ses fonctions propres, est un héritage des gouvernements absolus d'antan.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Mellerio, "Musées de province," 566.

<sup>83</sup> Mellerio, "Musées de province," 567.

<sup>84</sup> Alexandre Schurr, "Les Arts et l'Etat," *L'Action Régionaliste* 5 (July 1905): 82. Note with subsequent references to this periodical that it was inconsistently numbered.

Linking state intervention in the domain of culture to absolutist states, Schurr argues that Napoléon created the university so he would be “le maître de la pensée des Français,”<sup>85</sup> and all subsequent regimes have realized the utility of his actions. For Schurr, the same situation exists in the arts, except it started earlier under the kings. “Tous ces souverains ne voyaient dans l’art qu’un moyen de rehausser l’éclat de la royauté, et par reflet, de la nation entière.”<sup>86</sup> It was Louis XIV, Schurr points out, who created the royal academies and the French Academy in Rome, and these were upheld by subsequent regimes. “L’Etat garda la direction de l’Art jusqu’à nos jours. Autrement dit, la moitié des Français plus un peut imposer son goût à l’autre moitié. Que l’on soit roi, grand empereur, ou petits politiciens arrivistes, il est si doux d’être mécène quand c’est la France qui paie!”<sup>87</sup> For Schurr, the centralized patronage system now represented the tyranny of the majority, which could destroy minority culture.

Dr. V. Leblond, a municipal councillor in Beauvais and member of the departmental academic society, also refuted the republican history of provincial museums as stressed by authors such as Comte. In Leblond’s version of events, works continued to be sent to the provinces not primarily to aid the worthy cause of decentralization, but mainly because there were too many works in the Louvre.

Ces idées de décentralisation artistique ne sont point nouvelles. . . . Sous le Consulat et l’Empire, les envois de l’Etat se multiplièrent et certains musées de province reçurent des œuvres d’art parce qu’elles encombraient le musée du Louvre.<sup>88</sup>

Thus, it was not primarily an egalitarian move in Leblond’s account, but one of practicality.

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<sup>85</sup> Schurr, 82.

<sup>86</sup> Schurr, 82.

<sup>87</sup> Schurr, 83.

Despite his belief in the necessity of wider change, Mellerio had many suggestions for how regional museums could stimulate provincial life. He believed it would be through museums that the people of the provinces would learn about themselves. “En prenant une conscience plus complète de leur personnalité, les provinces ont chance de la mettre davantage en valeur et de la mieux défendre.”<sup>89</sup> He argued that the provincial museums should focus on *éducation populaire*, which would be best accomplished by displaying “tout ce qui peut expliquer une ville, un pays, une région.”<sup>90</sup> Thus, provincial museums should include not just fine arts, but should also display the region’s natural sciences, geology and flora, archaeology, history, arts, and local customs as well as industry and commerce.<sup>91</sup> He underlined his point by stating that the overarching principle of regional museums should be “donner à une collectivité habitant un lieu déterminé le maximum de conscience de soi-même dans le passé et le présent – pour préparer l’avenir.”<sup>92</sup>

Other regionalists also supported a museum system less dependent on the central government, less focused on the fine arts, and more broadly focused on regional history. Leblond argued that in recent years regionalists had begun to understand “le rôle social que peuvent jouer les musées régionaux dans l’enseignement de la jeunesse, l’influence moralisatrice qu’ils doivent exercer sur la masse du peuple comme sur l’élite

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<sup>88</sup> V. Leblond. “Un Musée départemental,” *L’Action Régionaliste* (June 1907): 180.

<sup>89</sup> André Mellerio, “Les Musées de province et le Décret du 30 septembre 1906,” *L’Action Régionaliste* 5, no. 11 (Nov. 1906): 563.

<sup>90</sup> Mellerio, “Les Musées municipaux et l’Education populaire,” *L’Action Régionaliste* 4, no. 4 (June 1905): 41.

<sup>91</sup> This expanded role for the regional museum was widely supported among regionalists, and almost non-existent among Parisians, who tended to more clearly separate fine art from other kinds of museums. This was the role of the museum envisaged by Mistral in the Museon Arlaten, discussed later in this chapter.

<sup>92</sup> Mellerio, “Musées municipaux,” 42.

intellectuelle.<sup>93</sup> He stresses that for a regional museum to fulfill its role, it cannot rely on the state *envois*, which are sent without reason or logic. Therefore, it should methodically classify the region's history, using photographs of monuments, engravings, statues and copies, as well as objects of natural history. It should also include the industrial and decorative arts, as well as fine art of either esthetic or documentary value.<sup>94</sup>

These criteria were likewise applauded by Jean Lahor, who was an outspoken supporter of the provincial museums as a means of creating a viable art 'for the people.' Citing the value of the Museon Arlaten as an example of an excellent museum that resists the trend towards centralization and uniformity, he argued that every former provincial capital should have its own regional museum.<sup>95</sup> Lahor, in fact, makes the distinction that regional museums such as the Museon Arlaten have collected *l'art populaire* while the fine arts have generally been collected by the national or large municipal museums. The national museums, says Lahor,

se sont toujours montrés fort peu démocratiques en leurs sélections et leur goût, bien que la France soit une démocratie, ces musées ayant négligé le plus souvent ce qui n'était pas une des manifestations luxueuses, aristocratiques de l'art ancien.<sup>96</sup>

Lahor thus makes a connection between the decorative arts, the people and democracy. On the other side of the equation are the aristocracy, the *ancien régime*, and the national museums. Citing the necessity of decentralization for the health of the nation, Lahor states that the Revolution and the railways both aggravated the tendency toward centralization. "Chacune de nos provinces avait autrefois ses costumes, ses mœurs, ses coutumes, ses traditions, sa poésie, ses formes d'art qui lui étaient bien personnelles

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<sup>93</sup> Leblond, 180.

<sup>94</sup> Leblond, 181.

<sup>95</sup> Jean Lahor, "La Création de Musées Provinciaux," *L'Action Régionaliste* 3 (March 1903): 70.



comme les formes mêmes, les aspects de la nature au sein desquels se développaient ses races et où se faisait leur mélange.<sup>97</sup> Although Lahor does not believe the regional dialects, the costumes, or the abandoned local customs can be resuscitated (in contrast to Mistral), he would like to prevent further development of national uniformity. His version of France rests on the idea of “la pluralité dans l’unité, et l’unité dans la pluralité.”<sup>98</sup>

Thus, there are a number of commonalities expressed by a broad range of regionalists on what a truly regional museum should collect. Indeed, many suggest reforms quite close to Mistral’s ethnographic museum, which is examined in the final part of this chapter. However, I will briefly contrast this ideal regional museum with the local departmental museum to indicate the limitations of its mandate.

### ***Marseilles’s Nationally Funded Fine Art Museum and Regional History***

As one of the initial museums founded in the French Republic, the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Marseille was caught between the national agenda and local calls for a museum more representative of the region.<sup>99</sup> The 1904 reception for the hundredth anniversary of its founding indicated the tension between the museum, its supporters, and the representatives of the central government. The socialist mayor, Amable Chanot, stated that, despite the city’s support for the arts, artists who wanted success had to leave for Paris due to the centralization of the artistic system. Those who remained “ont

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<sup>96</sup> Lahor, 70.

<sup>97</sup> Lahor, 71.

<sup>98</sup> Lahor, 71.

<sup>99</sup> For a brief overview of the development of Marseilles’s museums in the nineteenth and twentieth century, see Marie-Paule Vial, “Naissances et Mutations des Musées Municipaux,” *Marseilles* 165 (November 1992), 23–47; for a broader view of the development of the arts in general in Marseilles, see the section, “Les Données de la Création Artistique,” in *Marseille au XIXème: Rêves et Triomphes* (Marseilles: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1992), 116–305.

volontairement sacrifié la gloire et les profits à l'attachement au sol, à l'amour du soleil et de l'air si doux de la petite patrie."<sup>100</sup> Chanot pictures a wide gulf separating Paris and Provence, with success and profits only to be found in the capital. His complaints went so far as to compare Marseilles's situation with the colonies. As he said to the delegate from the Minister of Fine Arts: "Marseille est loin de Paris et il semble qu'on l'y considère comme une colonie d'outre-mer."<sup>101</sup> The mayor called for more attention to be paid to Marseilles, so it would be able to assume its rightful place. He called for help from the government "au réveil et à l'expansion du sentiment artistique."<sup>102</sup> Chanot thus recognized that improvements could be made but, unlike more ardent regionalists, did not fundamentally object to government control.

The curator of the museum, Philippe Auquier, also critiqued the capital. The provincial origins of French art have long been left out of the history, said Auquier, but they had always been known in Marseilles.<sup>103</sup> He described the denigration of the decorative arts as part of the national bias, which further excluded the genius of the provinces from the national history.<sup>104</sup> Thus, even at a celebration of the anniversary of the founding of this provincial museum, when one might expect the provinces to respect the founding donations of the state, there was much dissatisfaction expressed with the central government museum policy.

By the turn of the century, departmental museums that had been founded by revolutionary decree, such as the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Marseille, were interested in

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<sup>100</sup> Amable Chanot, "Discours," in *Centenaire du Musée de Marseille* (Marseilles: Moulot Fils Ainé, 1904), 11.

<sup>101</sup> Chanot, 11.

<sup>102</sup> Chanot, 11.

<sup>103</sup> Philippe Auquier, "Discours," in *Centenaire du Musée de Marseille* (Marseille: Moulot Fils Ainé, 1904), 25.

<sup>104</sup> Auquier, 28-9.

promoting local culture, albeit within the cultural hierarchy endorsed by the state.<sup>105</sup> The primary means was to collect works by local artists, especially those who had attained national recognition.<sup>106</sup> Auquier, for example, sought to create a comprehensive collection of copies of Marseillais artist Pierre Puget's sculpture.<sup>107</sup> Due to the vagaries of the *envoi* system, however, Marseilles had no works by such an established local son as Honoré Daumier.<sup>108</sup> While it was mostly interested in nationally sanctioned artists, the museum also saw fit to collect lesser known, regional artists, even if their work was judged to have only "une valeur d'art relative."<sup>109</sup>

The museum emphasized local artists. In 1898, Auquier re-hung the galleries, and showcased Provençal art in two rooms separate from the rest of the collection. He created a *Salle Provençale* in the large gallery on the first floor that exhibited numerous sculptures and paintings by Puget, such as *Le Sauveur du monde* (c.1655, oil on canvas, 250 x 190 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles), as well as a series of fourteen scenes of the *Life of Tobie* by Pierre Parrocel (Figure 20).<sup>110</sup> In addition to this collection of historical Provençal art by established masters, the museum also had a room devoted to the modern *école provençale*. The modern Provençal exhibit included paintings by well-known nineteenth century painters such as Gustave Ricard; his portraits of local painters, such as *Emile Loubon* (1856, oil on canvas, 46 x 38 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts,

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<sup>105</sup> Sherman, 240-241 suggests that the central government might have preferred provincial museums to have more focus on local culture but that local elites had too thoroughly absorbed the cultural hierarchy of the Grand Tradition. While Sherman points out that local history associations were "replacing art associations as the focal point of elite interest in local culture," he does not conceptualize this shift in terms of local elites perceiving limitations of the centralized art system, which my research suggests.

<sup>106</sup> Sherman, 203.

<sup>107</sup> Auquier, "Projet d'une salle Pierre Puget," Correspondance 1900, Auquier-Boy, Archives, *Musée des Beaux-Arts de Marseille*.

<sup>108</sup> On the *envois* system see Sherman, 16-54.

<sup>109</sup> "Procès-Verbaux," Comité d'Inspection et de Surveillance du Musée des Beaux-Arts, réunion de 12 sept. 1901, Archives, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Marseille.

Marseilles), paid tribute to the local tradition.<sup>111</sup> It also included works that celebrated Provençal popular mythology such as Barthalot's *Mort de Mireille*, a reference to Mistral's mythic heroine.<sup>112</sup> The stable of naturalist artists from the 1860s Ecole de Provence was well represented. Emile Loubon's *Marseille vue des Aygalades* (Figure 57, discussed in Chapter Four), and Auguste Aiguier's *Effet de soleil couchant* (Figure 58, discussed in Chapter Four) were shown, as were works by Paul Guigou (such as *Les Collines d'Allauch*, n.d., oil on canvas, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille).<sup>113</sup> The room thus showed both traditional, academic painting as well as more contemporary styles, albeit ones still primarily depicting the picturesque aspects of the region. While this room focused on local artists, it also isolated them from the mainstream of the French tradition, shown in the central gallery.

The bulk of the collection in the *Grand galerie centrale d'honneur* held the historic collection of French and foreign art, organized into national schools. Most noted in the collection were Peter Paul Rubens, *Chasse aux sanglier* (oil on canvas, 250 x 320 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles), and Perugino's *La Famille de la Vierge* (Pietro Vannucci, tempera on wood, 203 x 178 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles).<sup>114</sup> The Italian section included many well-known artists, and showed, among others, Annibale Carracci's *La noce de village* (oil on canvas, 145 x 255 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles), Ludovico Carracci's *L'Assomption de la Vierge* (attributed, oil on canvas,

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<sup>110</sup> *Marseille et Ses Environs*, Collection des Guides-Joanne (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1906), 36.

<sup>111</sup> Other artist's portraits on exhibit by Ricard included Dominique Papety and Paul Chenavard.

<sup>112</sup> I have not been able to determine any other information about this artist or painter.

<sup>113</sup> The list of Provençal painters is very long; see *Marseille et Ses Environs*, 40; it includes Alphonse Moutte, Marius Engalière, Raphaël Ponson, Raymond Allègre, all of whom are discussed in *Marseille au XIX*.

<sup>114</sup> Stendhal, *Voyage dans le Midi de Bordeaux à Marseille* (Paris: Encre, 1979), 179-191 describes the collection, albeit before its move to the Palais Longchamp in 1869; Prosper Mérimée, *Notes de Voyages*, ed. Pierre-Marie Auzas (Paris: Hachette, 1971), 145-7 writing in 1835 notes the same works as significant.

412 x 315 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles), and a work then attributed to Caravaggio (Anonymous Italian school, seventeenth century, *Le Christ mort soutenu par des anges*, oil on canvas, 99 x 78 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles). All of these paintings supported the narrative of the Grand Tradition. The importance of France in this narrative, however, was indicated on the side of the room devoted to the modern French school. A copy after Poussin's *Eliézer et Rebecca* by Ingres (oil on canvas, 46 x 38 cm., Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles) confirmed that the classical tradition exemplified by Poussin was indeed continued in more recent examples of the modern French school.

This attempt to create a museum expressing something of the unique spirit of the region was aided by the other museum in the same complex.<sup>115</sup> A museum of natural history occupied the other half of the Palais Longchamp, as the museum ensemble is called, and it also focused on the region. This ensemble of fine art and natural history does not seem to have served the need for regional museums in the period, however, since innumerable other museums focusing exclusively on local traditions were instituted or planned.

### ***Private Museums***

The vast number of museums devoted to local culture that sprang up around the turn of the century is indicative of the importance of the representation of native traditions.<sup>116</sup> In Marseilles, at least three privately funded museums devoted to native culture were begun. The academic journal *Revue Historique de Provence* initiated a project to establish a

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<sup>115</sup> I would like to thank Vojtěch Jirat-Wasiutyński for this observation.

<sup>116</sup> Collet, 69 points out that even though many local culture museums were ephemeral, they are historically significant.

Provençal analogue to Paris' Musée des Photographies Documentaires.<sup>117</sup> A number of articles in the review explained the need to capture the history of Provence before it was lost by photographing monuments in the process of decay. The editors argued that a comprehensive photographic archive of the monuments of Provence would aid the journal's goal: "la reconstitution de la civilisation provençale à ses divers âges."<sup>118</sup> To reach this goal they aimed to "fixer par la photographie l'image de tous les monuments figurés: édifices, colonnes, balcons, cariatides, portes, mobiliers, faïences, verreries, tableaux, tapisseries," which would

marquer en un relief réel, exact et puissant, l'originalité de notre pays au milieu des diverses physionomies provinciales; rectifier par cette reconstitution les erreurs des historiens provençaux, ignorants de la science critique, et des historiens français fascinés par l'influence prédominante de l'île de France dans l'histoire nationale.<sup>119</sup>

Thus recognizing the twin problems that the national history favours the Paris region and that local historians are not always exact, the journal editor, Mr. Valran, believed in the capability of photography to rectify this situation. He quickly expanded the subject to include *fêtes populaires*, costumes, and exemplary Provençal types; that is, the collection became more ethnographic because, he wrote, these elements of traditional culture "encore vivantes dans quelques régions disparaissent si rapidement devant les progrès de la civilisation, de la centralisation et de la mode."<sup>120</sup> Valran believed this new Provençal history would, more importantly, "raviver l'Esprit provinciale dans nos jeunes générations et de les 'enraciner' plus profondément dans ce sol d'où, prétend-on (assez légèrement d'ailleurs, n'en déplaise à M. Maurice Barrès,) les méthodes actuelles

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<sup>117</sup> Gaston Fontanille, "Recherches sur l'Art Provençal," *Revue Historique de Provence* (1900-01): 367.

<sup>118</sup> G. Valran, "Recherches sur l'Art Provençal," *Revue Historique de Provence* (1900-01): 111.

<sup>119</sup> Valran, 110-111.

<sup>120</sup> Fontanille, 366.

d'enseignement tendent à les 'déraciner.'"<sup>121</sup> They hoped the magazine would be able to raise enough funds through subscriptions to expand beyond a photographic museum into a Musée documentaire d'histoire et d'art Provençaux. Unfortunately, this museum was never constructed although photographs were deposited in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Marseille.<sup>122</sup>

Another short-lived regional museum was founded in Marseilles, also displaying things predominantly not found in the official art museum. Lou Cremascle, a cultural group of writers, musicians and artists, decorated its meeting place with things collected from Provençal farmhouses, recreating an interior of a Provençal *mas*.<sup>123</sup> Unlike traditional museums, even the Museon Arlaten, at Lou Cremascle the objects could be used. A photograph of the Salon and some of the group members was published in the *Revue de Provence* along with the suggestion that more of these museums should be founded.<sup>124</sup> Photographs of the group show them dressed in old-fashioned costume, and in one picture they are eating the characteristic regional soup, bouillabaise.<sup>125</sup> This group of cultured urban dwellers, with enough disposable income to furnish a meeting hall, suggests that bourgeois nostalgia for the supposedly simpler life of times past was not confined to Paris.

Other examples of the urge to create museums can be seen in the numerous references to committees planning museums in the ephemeral reviews that sprang up all over Provence. A complete list of the planned museums would be virtually impossible to

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<sup>121</sup> Valran, 116-7.

<sup>122</sup> Dominique Jacobi and Michèle Terras, "Le musée des photographies documentaires de Provence, 1860-1914," in *Images de la Provence: Les représentations iconographiques de la fin du Moyen Age au milieu du XXème siècle*, ed. Bernard Cousin (Aix-En-Provence: Université de Provence, 1992), 127-142.

<sup>123</sup> Jules Charles-Roux, *Souvenirs du Passé: Le Cercle Artistique de Marseille* (Marseilles: Ruat, 1906), 143-4. Charles-Roux translates the group name as La Crémaillère, roughly a house-warming.

<sup>124</sup> "Lou Cremascle - Musée Provençal Marseillais," *Revue de Provence* 12 (Dec. 1899): 229-233.

recreate; however, they do stand as an important historical reference. It was reported, for example, in the *Annales de la Société d'Etudes Provençales* that the city of Aix-en-Provence had agreed to pay 3,000 francs toward a museum of Provençal ethnography.<sup>126</sup> Earlier in the same year, it was noted that the mayor of Aix wanted to create a museum of Provençal archeology.<sup>127</sup> Girodie called for a Provençal sculpture museum in Avignon's Palais des Papes,<sup>128</sup> and as Catherine Chevillot has shown, there were numerous fine art museums also constructed in the period.<sup>129</sup>

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, there was widespread dissatisfaction with the museum system, which was widely recognized to have fallen into disrepair. While the state wanted to assert some kind of national governance over the disparate provincial museums, the museums themselves seemed to want more local representation. Regionalists, in general, saw departmental museums as important sites for the reinvigoration of provincial life. Accordingly, they sought museums that were more ethnographic in nature, focusing not only on fine art, but also on the decorative arts, history, and material culture. Moreover, while they often accepted the dominant definition of quality, they did not think aesthetic quality was particularly relevant, and were happy to have works of lesser aesthetic value if they had significant historical or ethnographic interest. Finally, given the numerous examples of attempts to start private museums, it seems that the departmental fine art museums were not changing rapidly enough to accommodate local desires for regional history.

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<sup>125</sup> Pictured in Charles-Roux, *Souvenirs*, 143.

<sup>126</sup> *Annales de la Société d'Etudes Provençales*, (1907): 196.

<sup>127</sup> *Annales de la Société d'Etudes Provençales*, (1907): 130.

<sup>128</sup> Girodie, "Sculpture," 227.

<sup>129</sup> Catherine Chevillot, "Annexe 1: Liste des musées de France construits au XIXe siècle," in Georget, ed., 136-7. Note that this list is not complete.



## THE MUSEON ARLATEN

Frédéric Mistral had long been combating the homogenizing effects of modern, French culture on the purportedly timeless traditions of Provence. In the 1890s, however, he created his most effective and enduring work: the Museon Arlaten. In this ethnographic museum, Mistral defined the 'traditional life of Provence,' focusing on the woman of Arles and her costume as the incarnation of the region. Through his museum and its attendant Fèsto Vierginenco, Mistral encouraged the women of Arles to reject modern clothing, which he saw as an example of the hegemony of Parisian culture. Moreover, the museum created a Provence that was timeless, free from class conflict, and rooted in the traditions of its classical heritage.

Mistral explicitly stated that the museum's purpose was to reinvigorate Provençal life in the face of nationalization. In 1896, he announced his plan to build a "Panthéon de la Provence" bringing together "tous les souvenirs de la race que nous sommes."<sup>130</sup> It would, Mistral believed,

sauver les vestiges de notre ancienne originalité nationale, car le monde se rue avec une rapidité vertigineuse vers l'horrible uniformité, la laideur et l'ennui. Nos collections des *Museon* seront peut-être les bouées où s'attacheront les racines des futures renaissances.<sup>131</sup>

The choice of the term pantheon, which would hold the history of the 'Provençal race,' implies a distinction from the 'French race' and indicates that Mistral conceived this museum as a tribute to the Provençal nation. Moreover, he uses the language of decentralization when he rejects the 'horrible uniformity' that the world is rushing towards, a uniformity exemplified by the museum policy of the Third Republic.

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<sup>130</sup> Galtier and Rouquette, 8.

<sup>131</sup> Letter from Mistral to Emile Espérandieu, 17 June 1898, quoted in Claude Mauron, *Frédéric Mistral* (Paris: Fayard, 1993): 313.

The original museum, announced in 1896 and opened in 1899, was only six rooms in a larger municipal building. The collection repeatedly made connections between Provence of the present day and the Provence of the past; it encouraged the museum visitor to slip between the present and the Roman age, and the present and the golden age of Provence in the Middle Ages. To this end, it avoided a strictly temporal narrative. Instead, rooms combined pieces from throughout the ages. For example, one reviewer stated that the walls of the entrance hallway

sont tapissés de tableaux, photographies, portraits d'Arlésiennes avec costumes anciens ou actuels, de dessins, de vues de monuments, pièces archéologiques de la ville ou de celles de la région comme Saint-Rémy, Nîmes, Valence, Digne, etc., de représentations de scènes de la vie actuelle, telles que les courses de taureaux provençales...<sup>132</sup>

The hall also exhibited photographs of Arles, Nîmes, Tarascon, and Saint-Rémy, and photographs of the seven founding members of the museum. There were examples of Provençal furniture, such as two *panetières*--open wooden bread holders that were suspended from the ceiling in the traditional Provençal house--which were considered exemplary of the unique Provençal furniture tradition. This seemingly random collection actually does have its own logic, mixing the present and the past, and linking them through the Félibrige and the revival of the Arlésienne costume. This goal was exemplified in works by the nineteenth-century artist and Félibre, Jean-Joseph-Bonaventure Laurens, whose paintings were exhibited in this hallway. His *Arlésienne au théâtre antique* (Figure 18) entered the museum in 1900. The lithograph depicts an Arlésienne in traditional dress leaning wistfully over the overgrown ruins of the antique theatre. Set within the frame of the columns, and seemingly as much a natural part of the scenery as the local flora, the Arlésienne indicates a continuity between the past and the

present.<sup>133</sup> The image of the *Arlésienne*, which comes to symbolize the entirety of Provençal life, is mixed with other images--of Roman monuments, and the Provençal landscape--and also with archaeological pieces of the ancient villages. Throughout the museum, the present (indicated by photographs as well as modern costume) and the past (indicated by archaeological ruins) merge, under the watchful eyes of the portraits of the *Félibrige*.

Other rooms contained a wide variety of regional culture: the tools of the *gardien*, the cowboy of the Camargue; musical instruments of the *farandoles*, the Provençal folk dance; old boats from the Camargue; and *santons*, small locally crafted figurines that were a recently invented Christmas tradition in Provence. There were also examples of ancient money, *Arlésien* costume, and jewelry. Two rooms had life-sized representations of typical Provençal family scenes, one of the birth of a child, and the other of a Provençal *mas*, or farmstead, on Christmas eve. Another example of the mixing of time scales occurs in the so-called *Salle Préhistorique*. It had a small-scale model of the *Grotte des fées*, a natural phenomenon in the mountains of Cordes, which dates from the end of the Neolithic period. This room also had tools of 'primitive man.' But jumping into the present, there were children's toys and models of the different kinds of breads and cakes currently made by bakers in Provence.

The original museum also displayed posters of the Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée (P.L.M.) railway line. As one guide tells us:

Enfin. Les murs de la pièce sont tapissés de ces affiches qui ne sont pas dépourvues d'un certain effet artistique, que le P.-L.-M., les Compagnies de navigation font apposer dans les gares. Elles représentent, le plus souvent,

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<sup>132</sup> A.R., "Le 'Muséon Arlaten,'" *Revue de Provence* 92 (August 1906): 119.

<sup>133</sup> See also the catalogue entry for this work in *Arlésienne*, figure 93, p. 290-2. Laurens was born in Carpentras.

quelque coin remarquable de Provence, comme les Maures, Monaco, Menton, la rade de Marseille, etc., où le bleu indigo de la mer se mêle au rouge des roches de l'Estérel, dont les sommets, le soir, se 'teintent d'un bleu de lavande', . . . ou encore à la végétation des régions tropicales sous les tons crus de l'astre d'or de la côte d'azur, ou enfin aux prairies émaillées de mille fleurs et comme couvertes d'un tapis polychrome, des régions alpestres.<sup>134</sup>

This is all the available information on posters exhibited in the museum,<sup>135</sup> but it gives substantial insight into another aspect of the museum: how it meshed with the tourist industry to create an image of Provence. This is discussed at greater length in Chapter Three. In terms of the museum and its guiding ideology, the exhibition of the posters implies a certain wish to stereotype the landscape and to display a list of the sites of Provence. This was also done with photographs and etchings, but the immediacy of colour posters would have heightened the local visitor's sense of allegiance to the larger region. Many poorer people would have had little chance to travel outside their own district, and these representations would have encouraged them to identify, not merely with their villages, but with Provence as a whole. Undoubtedly, it would have been as foreign to some as the concept of France itself.

The Museon Arlaten, in its efforts to be "le musée d'une région, *la représentation totale d'un pays*,"<sup>136</sup> is, in many ways, part of the European-wide interest in folk culture, which Peter Burke and Giuseppe Cocchiara have defined as an essential part of early nineteenth-century European cultural life.<sup>137</sup> Mistral stated that the Société d'Ethnographie, which had solicited his membership, had similar aims to those the

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<sup>134</sup> A.R., 120.

<sup>135</sup> The posters are mentioned in this description of the museum, but at present the archives of the museum are unavailable to scholars because they have not been stored properly, and must be organized and preserved before they can be accessed.

<sup>136</sup> Charles-Roux, *Arles: Son histoire, ses monuments, ses musées* (Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1914), 216, emphasis original.

Félibrige had held for forty years: “conservation, *résurrection* (dans le mesure du possible) de tout ce qui fait ou fit la personnalité des provinces de France, par le parler, les traditions, les coutumes, les costumes, l’art local, les monuments.”<sup>138</sup> The popularity of Alphonse Daudet’s play, *L’Arlésienne*, is a good example of the popularity of spectacles purporting to represent folk life; it played to enthusiastic audiences in Paris in 1885, despite a poor reception twenty years earlier.<sup>139</sup> Yet neither Daudet’s work, nor the many folk manuals, nor the ethnographic society were concerned with reaching the people of the region. Instead, they were written for the nation, especially its urban dwellers. Thus, the wider folk movement, culminating in the national ethnographic society, had fundamentally different aims, even if Mistral did not recognize them as such.<sup>140</sup> While the national society of ethnographers was interested in studying the way of life of the folk, and was primarily concerned with its display for urban audiences, Mistral had a different audience in mind: the folk themselves, who had to imagine themselves in the role.

The importance of the local audience is indicated by accounts of the founding of the collection, which emphasize its ‘authenticity.’ As Joseph Aurouze, an early chronicler of the museum, relates, the museum was quickly filled with items from all corners of Provence; everything imaginable representing all aspects of Provençal life was sent “par les paysans et les bergers, comme par les bourgeois et les nobles.”<sup>141</sup> This frequent refrain—that the museum was supported by, and representative of, every class and all

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<sup>137</sup> Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: New York University Press, 1978), 3. Giuseppe Cocchiara, *The History of Folklore in Europe*, trans. John N. McDaniel (Turin: Editore Boringhiera, 1952; reprint, Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1981), 6.

<sup>138</sup> Mistral, letter to the Société d’Ethnographie, Paris, 18 January 1895; printed in *L’aiòli*, v. 147; quoted in Pélissier, 136.

<sup>139</sup> G.V. Dobie, *Alphonse Daudet* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1975): 165.

<sup>140</sup> Pasquini, 266 has argued the same thing from a different position.

parts of Provence--reflects the desire for authenticity and comprehensiveness on the part of the bourgeois founders. Paradoxically the 'authenticity' of these objects had to be validated by principles of ethnographic collection as described in Dr. Marignan's *Instructions pour la récolte des Objets d'ethnographie du pays arlésien*, which guided the formation of the collection.<sup>142</sup> As was the case in other ethnographic collections of the period, authenticity was located especially in objects that had little indication of ongoing contact with other cultures.

The paradoxes inherent in a collection defining Provençal life for the Provençal people were also indicated by the labelling of the ethnographic collection. As Charles-Roux wrote, Mistral dreamed of being able to reach all the people of Provence; consequently, the museum labels were written in Provençal.<sup>143</sup> Yet, as one anonymous reviewer explained, the labels give "les explications nécessaires, noms, origines, emploi, usages, destination."<sup>144</sup> So these objects--which we have been told were brought from far and wide by peasants and nobility--were classified according to a scientific system, put behind glass, and explained to the people who formerly owned them, albeit in (what was formerly) their native tongue. Thus, the objects are meant to give a picture of the life of Provence, but they need to be explained to the very people they purport to represent.

The ideological significance of the use of Provençal can hardly be overestimated. Charles-Roux argued that because the Provençal language is *populaire*, its use in the museum "porte la marque d'une race profondément républicaine où la dignité de chaque

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<sup>141</sup> Aurouze, 8.

<sup>142</sup> Emile Marignan, "Instructions pour la récolte des objets d'ethnographie du pays arlésien" (Arles: ed. Jouve, 1896).

<sup>143</sup> Charles-Roux, *Arles*, 198.

<sup>144</sup> A.R., 118.

citoyen ignore et méprise les préjugés et l'orgueil de classe."<sup>145</sup> His ode to the glories of the language continued with a tribute to Mistral in which the language, the attributes of the race, and the genius of the museum are all intimately connected.

Le provençal est la langue d'un peuple libre. Et c'est cet amour des humbles, ce sens profond de l'égalité, ce respect de l'âme populaire, cette compréhension magnifique de sa grandeur qui ont dicté à Mistral le dessein d'élever un musée à tous les modestes objets de la vie quotidienne, . . . à tout ce qui fait l'originalité, la saveur de la vie provençale.<sup>146</sup>

Thus, the museum was promoted as creating a united sense of Provençal identity, and it differed significantly in its intended audience from other characterizations of Provence and its Folk.

In 1904, Mistral won the Nobel Prize for literature, and he used the funds to expand the museum in a new space, the Palais de Laval-Castellane.<sup>147</sup> The discussion of the new museum's architecture is indicative of what Daniel Sherman calls a virtual obsession in the period: finding a museum worthy of the city, town, or collection.<sup>148</sup> On winning, Mistral stated that he would use "l'argent qui m'échoit, à l'agrandissement et à l'installation définitive du Museon Arlaten dans un palais digne de le recevoir."<sup>149</sup> The new museum was an excellent example of Provençal Renaissance architecture, dating from the end of the fifteenth century, and the mayor of Arles noted that it would be "digne de passer à la postérité."<sup>150</sup> It was much grander and larger with eighteen rooms compared to only six at the previous site, and this expanded space would be used to develop the museum's themes more explicitly.

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<sup>145</sup> Charles-Roux, *Arles*, 198.

<sup>146</sup> Charles-Roux, *Arles*, 198.

<sup>147</sup> On Mistral and Nobel Prize, see "Mistral et le Prix Nobel" *Revue de Provence* 73 (Jan. 1905): 1-6.

<sup>148</sup> Sherman, 156.

<sup>149</sup> "Mistral et le Prix Nobel," 2.

<sup>150</sup> "Mistral et le Prix Nobel," 3.

The first four rooms of the ground floor were sumptuously decorated by local artists; the room entitled *La Provence hors la Provence*, was funded by three prominent regionalists: Jules Charles-Roux, Jeanne de Flandreysy, and Etienne Mellier.<sup>151</sup> Charles-Roux's guidebook, *Arles: Son histoire, ses monuments, ses musées*, made the political aspect of the program explicit. He envisioned this section as a tribute to Provençal art, which he said was often unknown inside the region itself, since it was now held in national museums. Three rooms concentrated on ancient Provence, while the fourth showed the continuation of the grandeur by focusing on the paintings of Gustave Ricard. Charles-Roux hoped that "cette exposition peut donner au visiteur une idée de la place magnifique occupée par la Provence dans l'histoire de l'art."<sup>152</sup> Lamenting that Provence no longer had the originals, Charles-Roux rhetorically asked: "La Vénus d'Arles ne serait elle pas plus belle si on la voyait au Théâtre Antique?"<sup>153</sup> Charles-Roux even went so far as to hope that the knowledge "des œuvres d'art découvertes dans le sol méridional ou créées par des artistes provençaux et ayant émigré hors de chez nous"<sup>154</sup> would lead his compatriots to one day understand "les inconvénients de notre excessive centralisation artistique."<sup>155</sup>

The most interesting décor occurs in the room entitled *La Provence hors la Provence* (see figures 6 to 9). The artists, Ollier and Patrizio Rogolini, frescoed six views of monuments of Provence, such as the Roman arena at Arles and the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, in the lunettes around the room (Figure 8). Below the lunettes both *trompe l'œil*

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<sup>151</sup> The names of the donors are displayed on a marble tablet in the room, and listed in the *Guide sommaire*, 1 which states that the first four rooms of the groundfloor were funded by Charles-Roux. These included 2 decorated with coats of arms etc, one of which contained information on the "exiled" Provençal art, as well as a final room devoted to the paintings of Gustave Ricard.

<sup>152</sup> Charles-Roux, *Arles*, 215.

<sup>153</sup> Charles-Roux, *Arles*, 216.

<sup>154</sup> Charles-Roux, *Arles*, 215.



and three-dimensional copies of famous Roman statues found in the region were shown, such as the Venus of Fréjus, the Venus of Vienne, and of course the Venus of Arles (figures 9 and 10).<sup>156</sup> The *Guide* draws the reader's attention to the faux pilasters crowned with the letters SPQA.<sup>157</sup> Although it does not explain the meaning, the letters likely stand for *Senatus populusque Arelatensis*, referring to the flowering of Arles in the eleventh and twelfth centuries when it was an independent city-state, with its own senate representing the people.<sup>158</sup> As Paul Mariéton described, it was "de ses premières libertés municipales, que date la renaissance d'Arles. Sa république aussi dura deux siècles (1080-1251), participant à l'admirable civilisation romane."<sup>159</sup> The room thus draws together artistic and political heritage.<sup>160</sup>

This tribute to the art of Provence created by Charles-Roux within the Museon Arlaten is an important statement of artistic regionalism and is even more important as a vision of how the history of Provence and its relationship to France should be written. Emphasizing that artistic glory and self-governance were both characteristic of Provence in Roman times, Charles-Roux creates a virtual temple to the classical past of Provence while explicitly critiquing France's long-standing policy of artistic centralization.

Mistral focused his attention on the less overtly political creation of a definitive Arlésienne. He had long created images of the women of Arles in his poetry, yet it was in the Museon Arlaten that he most closely defined 'traditional' Arlésienne costume. As many recent analyses of museums have recognized, the display of objects removed from

<sup>155</sup> Charles-Roux, *Arles*, 216.

<sup>156</sup> Jules Flamme, *Le Palais de Félibrige ou Museon Arlaten* (Arles: A. Sabatier, n.d.), 6.

<sup>157</sup> *Guide*, 1.

<sup>158</sup> Arelate was the Roman name for Arles.

<sup>159</sup> Paul Mariéton, *La Terre Provençale* (Paris: Ollendorff, 1903), 410.

<sup>160</sup> Thanks to Vojtěch Jiráč-Wasiutyński for his help; also *Cassell's New Latin-English English Latin Dictionary* ed. D.A. Simpson (London: Cassell, 1959), 546.

their original environment fundamentally changes the way in which they are perceived. In the museum, what had been a living and expressive mode of dress became an unchanging and unchangeable tradition. Inscribing sartorial boundaries on the women of Arles, Mistral reasserted spatial, social and even temporal boundaries that helped to maintain the cultural hierarchies of that society.<sup>161</sup>

The original museum had one of its five rooms entirely devoted to a historical display of the costume of Arlésienne women, as did the second museum. Although more astute commentators at the time recognized that the costume had changed throughout history, the museum valorized a version of the dress from the period of Mistral's youth, that of the 1840s and '50s. There were few references to the dress before or after this period, which was presented as the height of the costume's grace. Charles-Roux explained that the other historical versions of the costume did not have "cette originalité sobre, recueillie, un peu triste, mais si divinement élégante que nous lui connaissons aujourd'hui."<sup>162</sup> Subsequent events orchestrated by Mistral would encourage the revival of this particular, sober version of the costume.

While several variations in costume were displayed in the museum, and there were more and less elegant versions, no explanations were given as to the original significance of these differences. Consequently, the class-based origins of the differences were conveniently sidestepped. The textual evidence supports this interpretation even more explicitly. For Charles-Roux, the Provençal language, and by extension the museum, "porte la marque d'une race profondément républicaine où la dignité de chaque

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<sup>161</sup> Kelley, 1400-1403 discusses how these kinds of categorizations are both socially constructed and constructing.

<sup>162</sup> Charles-Roux, *Arles*, 203

citoyen ignore et méprise les préjugés et l'orgueil de classe."<sup>163</sup> Thus, the museum itself minimized class difference. In his elevation of the dress of certain women of Arles to museum object, Mistral encouraged all women of Arles to wear the same version of the costume, and so reinforced this purportedly classless society. More important, however, the costume display also fixed the limits of what qualified as traditional Arlésienne dress. From this point forward, not just anything worn by an Arlésienne woman is Arlésienne dress.

In addition to the costume display, the museum exhibited numerous portraits of Arlésienne women wearing their traditional dress. Portraits by Antoine Raspal of Arlésienne women from the late 1700s show early versions of the costume (see figure 11), and sketches and portraits by François Huard (figures 12 and 13) dating from the 1830s were also displayed. After 1904, there were colour prints by Léo Lelée and by Theo Mayan, which displayed more stylized versions of the Provençal costume (see Figure 14). Augustin Dumas' portrait of an unidentified sitter, from around 1860 (Figure 15), is representative of the conventional portrait style favoured in Mistral's collections. This portrait, which was painted well before there was a need to define the costume categorically, gives evidence of more individual elements than the versions from around the turn of the century. Here, the skirt is patterned, and the *modeste*--the piece of blue fabric wrapping over the dress--is brilliant blue. Similarly, in numerous sketches by Huard, the fabric tends to be brightly coloured and patterned. In the format favoured by Mistral at the end of the century, however, the bright clothing gives way to the more sober version Charles-Roux described.

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<sup>163</sup> Charles-Roux, *Arles*, 198.

Mistral further contributed to the narrow definition of *Arlésienne* women by commissioning the prolific portrait photographer Jules-Félix Nadar, who had relocated from Paris to Marseilles for the gentler climate in 1897, to provide photos for the museum.<sup>164</sup> I have not been able to determine which images were commissioned by Mistral, but numerous photographs and postcards from the period survive and many were displayed in the museum. In the 1890s, photography replaced graphics as the dominant postcard medium,<sup>165</sup> and most of the large postcard manufacturers produced photographic series of the *types* of France. The *Type Arlésienne* (Figure 16) was a general category of the image defining what it meant to be an *Arlésienne* woman. Indeed, Mistral even chose one woman as the best example of the type (Figure 19).<sup>166</sup> So, while numerous examples of the *Type Arlésienne* existed, he did solicit this kind of representation for his ethnographic museum and, consequently, reinforced an implicit definition of race.

While there are some variants on the costume in the postcards and photographs, the images tend to have a very traditional portrait format: a bust length portrait, with a three-quarter pose (Figure 17). The women's hair is always parted in the centre, and put up into a bun under an elaborate headpiece. The *Arlésienne* from the turn of the century always has dark hair and eyes, often somewhat in shadow. She has a full, round face. The mouth, which is dark, is slightly parted, or perhaps smiling. She wears a cross on a necklace, often a velvet choker. She frequently wears a brooch, which serves to anchor the parts of the dress. Her *modeste* is white and edged with lace. The rest of the outfit is

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<sup>164</sup> Mane, 220. Nadar set up a studio in Marseilles in 1897, and Mistral was reportedly one of his first clients, André Barret, *Nadar* (Paris: Trésors de la photographie, 1975), 37.

<sup>165</sup> Gérard Neudin, *La Photographie dans la Carte Postale* (Paris: Neudin, 1992), 6.

<sup>166</sup> Dominique Séréna-Allier, "Avant-Propos," in *Arlésienne*, p. 13, and Figure 35, plate 16. The supposed racial characteristics of the *Arlésienne* were based on the mixture of her Roman, Greek and Saracen, or Arab, characteristics. Pierre Serna, "Emile Fassin et les femmes de son moulin," in *Arlésienne*, 36 suggests

of unpatterned, dark fabric which contrasts notably with the diversity of pattern shown in the sketches from mid-century (seen in figures 11 to 15). This is the most common version of the dress by 1900, and is often referred to as that of Mireille, Mistral's most famous heroine.

The setting in these photos and postcards is essential to their meaning. Like the museum itself, it invariably conveys a sense of timelessness to the picture and the woman. The backgrounds are normally indistinct, and the edges of the postcard tend to be vignetted or blurred in a photographic style that is deliberately old-fashioned.<sup>167</sup> Consequently, although the image is presented in a quintessentially modern medium, it excludes all references to modernity in its setting. Occasional examples give more detailed settings, but these too, tend to blur the exact time frame. In Figure 16, for example, a duly costumed and labelled *Arlésienne* leans against a pillar of the Romanesque Cathedral of St. Trophime, which was built in the twelfth century and consequently evoked the Golden Age of Republicanism.<sup>168</sup> St. Trophime, to whom the church was dedicated, lived in the third century and was reportedly the first Bishop of Arles in the time of Roman rule. Thus, the setting has multiple significations, all of which evoke tradition and the history of Provence. The image evokes at once the Roman era with the dedication to St. Trophime, as well as the flowering of Provence in the twelfth century when the church was built and, of course, the Christian heritage that was so essential to Mistral's version of the essence of Provence.

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that this mixture allows her to symbolize all of Mediterranean culture, and moreover that this mixture pointedly excludes French, so that she is an anti-Marianne symbol.

<sup>167</sup> I thank Patricia Leighton for this observation.

<sup>168</sup> See for example, Mariéton, 415, who described the cloister of Saint-Trophime as the best place to "*songer aux grandeurs déchues de la cité.*"

While the assertion of female gender roles was particularly evident in sections explicitly devoted to the *Arlésienne*, they were also reinforced throughout the collection, and male gender roles were much less overdetermined. For example, the *Venus of Arles* (marble, 1.94 m, Musée du Louvre, Paris) carried much symbolic weight, and was even seen as the progenitor of the *Arlésienne*, although statues such as the *Torso of Augustus*, also held in the Louvre, received little attention in the museum and, seemingly, had little symbolic importance. The collection did include some depictions of male Provençal types, especially the *gardien*, or cowboy of the Camargue; however, the male figure was not subject to the same kind of definition and consequent control. It was femininity that was made to carry the symbol of tradition rooted in the soil of Provence.<sup>169</sup>

### THE FÈSTO VIERGINENCO

The valorization of the traditionally dressed (as defined by Mistral) and timeless *Arlésienne* beauty moved beyond the confines of the museum when Mistral organized the *Fèsto Vierginenco*.<sup>170</sup> The first pageant was held in 1903 in Mistral's museum itself--underlining once again the role the museum played in the creation of the image of the *Arlésienne*--and 28 young women of Arles pledged to wear the, by then, traditional costume. While 28 participants may not have signalled a united community, in the second year the large numbers necessitated that the event be moved from the museum to a larger venue. What could be more appropriate for this tradition-creating event than the lineage implied by Arles's Roman Theatre, where the *Venus* had originally been found?

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<sup>169</sup> Serna, 46-8 briefly considers the absence of a male equivalent in Provençal iconography; Pierre Pasquini, "'La vraie' Mireille," in *Arlésienne*, 74-80 discusses how the construction of the *Arlésienne* as visible symbol parallels a restriction in the visibility of real *Arlésiennes*, whose role within the home was concomitantly reasserted.

<sup>170</sup> See Séréna-Allier, 51-53.

A postcard of one of the Fèsto Vierginencos from before 1910 (Figure 5) shows its tremendous popularity.

Mistral's address to the Arlésiennes explicitly connected the pageant and the so-called traditional dress to the origins of the founding of Provence in classical antiquity, while also pointing to the politics of regionalism. He began by addressing the women.

Mesdemoiselles, nous sommes réunis en un lieu qui est encore sacré et tout empli de souvenirs. Ici même, il y a près de deux mille ans, aux pieds de la statue de la Vénus d'Arles, par les bouches des poètes, d'Eschyle, de Sophocle, d'Euripide, un hommage solennel, un culte national a été rendu à la Beauté.<sup>171</sup>

Drawing on the classical heritage, Mistral goes on to lament the fact that the Roman Theatre has fallen into ruins, and its most famous goddess, the *Venus of Arles* has been exiled to Paris. He continues that, despite these problems,

la beauté de nos jeunes filles, ô Arlésiens, est immortelle. Et aujourd'hui, après tant d'années et de bouleversements, le sang de Provence toujours rejaillit pur et vigoureux. . . . Chaque année, dans notre terroir, nous voyons une floraison de fraîches et belles filles qui sont l'ornement du pays, qui sont l'amour et la joie! Car c'est vous, ô jeunes filles, qui êtes l'orgueil de notre race, et vous, ô Provençales, qui êtes, on peut bien le dire, notre Provence en fleur!<sup>172</sup>

Mistral then emphasizes that it is not just the natural beauty of the women, but their wearing of the traditional dress that makes them the pride of their race. He states: "Grâce au costume que vous portez fièrement, patriotiquement, costume qui est aujourd'hui le plus élégant de tous, vous êtes la gloire d'un peuple, vous êtes le signe vivant de la Provence lumineuse."<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>171</sup> Mistral, speech in Charles-Roux, *Le costume en Provence*, 236; quoted in translation from Provençal in Pélissier, 166.

<sup>172</sup> Mistral, speech in Charles-Roux, *Le costume en Provence*, 236; quoted in translation from Provençal in Pélissier, 167.

<sup>173</sup> Mistral, speech in Charles-Roux, *Le costume en Provence*, 236; quoted in translation from Provençal in Pélissier, 167.

In this truly remarkable statement Mistral has linked his newly invented pageant of 'traditional' costume to a cult of Beauty which purportedly dates back to classical times in Provence. However, the beauty of the women is not enough to link the present to the classical past; it is their patriotic wearing of the traditional dress that makes them the sign of Provence's radiance. The so-called traditional costume, however, only dates back to the middle of the nineteenth century, hardly classical antiquity, and the diversity of even this tradition had been severely curtailed. Furthermore, Mistral has elided the difference between an Arlésienne tradition and the tradition of Provence, making Arles stand for all of Provence.<sup>174</sup> The Arlésienne has become a sign for Mistral's version of Provençal tradition, patriotism, and renewal.<sup>175</sup>

The connection to political regionalism and the refusal of Parisian centralization signified by the dress is indicated more subtly. The *Venus of Arles*, which Mistral mentioned more than once in his short speech was, at this time, the subject of a controversy. Many Provençals were calling for its return from the Louvre, and Charles-Roux had stated that the statue's exile was a clear sign of the overreaching of Paris and the nation's excessive centralization.<sup>176</sup> However, the Louvre had shown in recent years that it would not return significant works. In 1903 the town of Arles had officially requested the return of the *Torso of Augustus*, basing their request on the fact that

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<sup>174</sup> Pasquini, "Félibrige," 261; also Victor Nguyen, "Aperçus sur la Conscience d'Oc Autour des Années 1900," in *Régions et Régionalisme en France du XVIIIe Siècle à Nos Jours*, ed. Christian Gras and Georges Livet (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), 244-6 on the issue of unity and diversity within Mistral's conception of Provence.

<sup>175</sup> There are less successful stereotypes of the region, for example the fishmonger of Marseille is discussed by Patrick Boulanger, "Des Marseillaises à l'affiche (1860-1920)," in *Marseillaises: Les femmes et la ville* ed. Yvonne Knibiehler et al, (Marseille: Côté-femmes, 1993), 301-309, and earlier examples such as *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, 10 vols. (Paris: L. Curmer, 1840-2) discussed in the introduction, included a variety of "types" of Provence, such as "Le Paysan Marseillais," "Le Joueur de Boules," "Le Griset du Midi;" interestingly all these refer to male figures, and indeed, Balzac's entry "La



archaeologists had recently excavated the missing head of the statue. The Louvre only allowed them a cast of the Torso.<sup>177</sup> Since they had no reason other than regional pride to justify the return of the Venus, there was no reason to believe the Louvre would have returned this important symbol. Within the wider context of the museum debates, however, Mistral's repeated references to the statue underline the connection between cultural and political decentralization.

We can surmise that the traditional dress of the Fêsto Vierginenco was seen locally as a refusal of Paris' questionable mores thanks to the statement of an anonymous reviewer. This reviewer wrote in a local regionalist journal, *Revue de Provence*, that many of the local young women had taken the pledge to uphold tradition, and he contrasted them with those who prefer "le chapeau et la robe des 'demoiselles' mises à la mode parisienne."<sup>178</sup> The quotation marks around *demoiselles* suggest the reviewer's ironic implication of 'so-called ladies.' As Tamar Garb has shown, the hallmark of the Parisienne was artifice, whereas in Arles, the archetypal woman was to arise naturally from the land and its traditions.<sup>179</sup>

Mistral's folk museum, and the images and pageants which grew out of it, had far more complex motives than merely documenting the regional culture of Provence. The

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Femme de Province," vol. 6, 1-8, states that in Paris there are many kinds of women, "Mais en province il n'y a qu'une femme, et cette pauvre femme est la femme de province; je vous le jure, il n'y en a pas deux."

<sup>176</sup> Charles-Roux, *Arles*, 216.

<sup>177</sup> Georgel, "L'Etat," 75 discusses this issue and other similar controversies.

<sup>178</sup> A.R., 119

<sup>179</sup> Tamar Garb, *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-Siècle France* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 115; see especially chapter 3, "James Tissot's 'Parisienne' and the Making of the Modern Woman," and chapter 4, "Powder and Paint: Framing the Feminine in Georges Seurat's *Young Woman Powdering Herself*"; I thank Mark Antliff for this reference. See also my second chapter for further contrast of Parisienne and *Arlésienne*, as well as my "L'Arlesienne exposée à Paris et à Marseille," in *Arlesienne: le mythe?*, ed. Pascale Picard-Cajan (Arles: Museon Arlaten, 1999), 199-210. The implications of this term could have been meant even more judgementally, as 'mademoiselle' can have the slang meaning of prostitute; see *Dictionnaire de l'Argot*, ed. Jean-Paul Colin et al. (Paris: Larousse, 1996), 379;

museum created a definition of Arlésienne beauty in which modernity was excluded, class conflict was denied, and Provence was situated as an eternal and unchanging truth. Mistral exhibited Arlésienne beauty as a means of creating a sense of regional identity and of staving off the national identity that was itself in formation. As the nation relied on a particular version of the history of France, so too did the region, however different that history may have been. In the end, both constructs--region and nation--are formed in relation to each other, and rely on each other to make their meaning.

The significance of Mistral's museum takes place within an exhibitionary complex, and must be seen in the context of other museums and modes of display. In contrast to the departmental museum, the privately initiated museum was more responsive to local needs. Interestingly, these were not met by departmental museum collections of works by native artists. Instead, to be seen as true expressions of the local identity, museums such as that of Mistral needed to draw on the peasant heritage, folk traditions such as the costume or regional furniture, or the ancient past. It is in these regional museums that the idea of rural Provence with deep connections to the land and the classical past was exhibited and embraced by the people of the region as they found their place in the nation.

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for an informative study on the representation of prostitution in modern art see Hollis Clayson, *Painted Love: Prostitution in French Art of the Impressionist Era* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991).

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **EXHIBITING PROVENCE IN PARIS AND MARSEILLES**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

Visitors to Paris' Exposition Universelle of 1900 entered the fairgrounds through a monumental gateway capped by a fifteen foot statue commonly called *La Parisienne* or *Paris Welcoming her Guests* (see figures 21 and 22).<sup>1</sup> This allegorical figure was quintessentially modern: the city of Paris embodied in a gigantic and brightly coloured statue of a woman dressed in the latest fashions designed by the contemporary *haute couturier*, Paquin. In contrast to this *clou*, or showstopper, of the 1900 exposition, at France's first Exposition Universelle in 1855 the entrance portal to the main building, the Palais de l'Industrie, had been capped with an allegorical statue of *France Offering Crowns to Art and Industry* (Figure 23).<sup>2</sup> This building was demolished for the 1900 exposition. With it went the allegorical image of the nation, which was supplanted by an allegorical representation that intimately linked Paris, and not the rest of the nation, with modernity.

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<sup>1</sup> Officially called *The City of Paris*, the sculpture was by Moreau-Vauthier, and René Binet designed the gateway. The best discussion of the gateway is Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology and Style* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 5 and 289-93.

<sup>2</sup> Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 7. Mainardi notes the importance of the symbolism of this sculpture in 1855 at the outset of her seminal work.

The difference between the allegorical representation of the nation and its capital, between France and Paris, seems to have gone unremarked, as if it were natural or inevitable, something accepted and unquestioned. Furthermore, the image of Paris where one might have expected to find France, especially given the nation-building strategies of the Third Republic, recurred in other places in the exposition. The main entrance portal to the Petit Palais, one of the few permanent structures built for this exposition, showed “a luscious City of Paris experiencing ecstasy at seeing herself surrounded by the Muses,”<sup>3</sup> more often described as *Paris protégeant les arts* (Figure 24). The theme of this work closely paralleled the Palais de l’Industrie’s *France Offering Crowns to Art and Industry*, except for the marked change in hostess from France to Paris. The historical moment that made the difference in these symbols not only possible, but seemingly inevitable, is the background to this chapter, which explores representations of Paris and the provinces in the Exposition Universelle of 1900 and contrasts this version of the nation with that represented in the Marseilles Exposition Coloniale of 1906. While previous expositions had been content to use a symbol of France, why in the 1900 exposition was a symbol of Paris seen as appropriate? And what rift between Paris and *la province*<sup>4</sup> does this change in symbolism both reflect and create?

I will argue in this chapter that the Exposition Universelle of 1900 represents a seminal moment in the Paris-province relationship that has remained largely unconsidered.<sup>5</sup> While *Le Mouvement Social* has examined the 1889 exposition and

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<sup>3</sup> Richard Mandell, *Paris 1900: The Great World’s Fair* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 73.

<sup>4</sup> Alain Corbin, “Paris-Province,” in *Les Lieux de Mémoire*, vol. 3, *Les France*, book 1, ed. Pierre (Paris: Gallimard, 1992): 776-823 discusses “la province” as a sense of lack or of not being in the capital, as opposed to a merely geographic description.

<sup>5</sup> Much of the relevant literature on the dichotomies which differentiated Paris and Marseille is discussed at length in the introduction.

devoted an issue to the topic of Paris-Province 1900, the importance of the 1900 exposition in this relationship has not been fully recognized.<sup>6</sup> The exposition was significant in this domain in a number of ways. First, at its inception it engendered some critical debate about the role of the provinces in the modern nation, and complaints that only Paris benefited from the exposition turned a critical eye toward this relationship. Second, the exposition makes clear the dominant paradigm of Paris as modern, dynamic, and forward-looking but with a long historical tradition, in contrast to the provinces which are seen as quaint, static and undifferentiated from times past.<sup>7</sup> Third, the exposition stimulated a provincial response in the form of the Marseilles Exposition Coloniale, which attempted to reconfigure the cultural geography of the nation. Both of these constructions of the nation rely on structures of difference such as the denial of coevalness to make their meaning, which have usually been analyzed with respect to foreign, especially colonial, relations. Their more subtle application within the nation reveals much about conceptions of the nation, its culture, and modernity itself.

### *Literature Review*

Much recent work on the politics of representation in France has concentrated on museums and their role in supporting and creating national identity.<sup>8</sup> In his study of the Musée du Luxembourg before the French Revolution and the Musée du Louvre, Andrew McClellan argues that the primary function of the museum was to create a sense of national consciousness, an identification with what Benedict Anderson has called the

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<sup>6</sup> Special issue devoted to "Paris-Province 1900," *Le Mouvement Social* 160 (July-Sept. 1992); and special issue devoted to "Mise en Scène et Vulgarisation L'Exposition Universelle de 1889," *Le Mouvement Social* 149 (Oct.-Dec. 1989).

<sup>7</sup> Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 31 and passim.

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter One for a fuller account of recent critical examinations of museums.

imagined community.<sup>9</sup> Donald Preziosi suggests this political goal is also fundamentally linked to the sense of modernity itself. Preziosi argues that museums function as “a social instrument for the fabrication and maintenance of modernity, and of those ideologies of modernization and progress indispensable to the self-definition of modern nation-states.”<sup>10</sup> Tony Bennett’s theorization of an exhibitionary complex—a wider field of cultural display in relation to which museum displays make their meaning—points to the examination of the interrelationship of the various exhibits within a universal exposition.<sup>11</sup> The international exposition,<sup>12</sup> made up of various competing sites, was a brilliant invention and, as Preziosi concludes about the museum, “an indispensable instrument for weaving together, naturalizing, and perpetuating essentialist ideals for selfhood, ethnicity, gender, race, and nationality, over a teleologically gridded loom of fictional narratives masquerading as ‘history.’”<sup>13</sup> My examination of sites at the 1900 exposition, where the provinces of France were represented yet also denied

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<sup>9</sup> Andrew McClellan, “Nationalism and the Origins of the Museum in France,” in *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology*, ed. Gwendolyn Wright, Studies in the History of Art, no. 47 Center for the Advanced Study in the Visual Arts Symposium Papers XXVII (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1996), 29; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

<sup>10</sup> Donald Preziosi, “In the Temple of Entelechy: The Museum as Evidentiary Artifact,” in *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology*, ed. Gwendolyn Wright, Studies in the History of Art, no. 47 Center for the Advanced Study in the Visual Arts Symposium Papers XXVII (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1996), 170.

<sup>11</sup> Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: history, theory, politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), 59-88; Preziosi, “The Question of Art History,” *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 2 (Winter 1992): 379-86, also discusses the correlation between museum and art historical narratives.

<sup>12</sup> For an introduction to international expositions see Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World’s Fairs, 1851-1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); for quite a complete discussion of the literature to that date see Robert Rydell, “The Literature of International Expositions,” *The Books of the Fairs: Materials about World’s Fairs, 1834-1916, in the Smithsonian Institution Libraries* (Chicago and London: American Library Association, 1992).

<sup>13</sup> Preziosi, “Temple,” 170.

representation, highlights the naturalization of the rural nation's role within the national imagined community as a support for the modern metropolis.<sup>14</sup>

The role played in support of nationalism by art exhibitions within universal expositions was examined in Paul Greenhalgh's informative survey of universal expositions between 1851 and 1939.<sup>15</sup> Greenhalgh argues that art historians tend to overestimate the significance of the arts, as they were not very popular, and suggests their main importance was to lend status and credibility.<sup>16</sup> While I agree that this was their main function, exactly which version of nationhood they support can and should be nuanced. Patricia Mainardi has shown how greatly the Exposition Universelle affected the development of the fine arts and early modernism.<sup>17</sup> The changing definition of *art moderne* between the 1889 and 1900 universal expositions is the focus of Debora Silverman's book, which highlights the importance of the decorative arts and luxury goods to France's definition of itself at the turn of the century.<sup>18</sup> Despite these significant works, the art exhibits and the more highly visible public art, such as sculpture at the 1900 exposition, remain unintegrated into the study of the exhibitions as a whole.

The role of the colonial sections of expositions has also been recognized as of paramount importance to the goals of international expositions. Sylviane Leprun's analysis of the French colonial displays from 1855 to 1937 is concerned with broad continuities in the French imagining and representation of colonial peoples, rather than

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<sup>14</sup> On the Paris 1900 exposition see Mandell. Research is facilitated by Collette Signat's bibliography of primary materials *Bibliographie des documents publiés à l'occasion de l'exposition universelle internationale de 1900 à Paris* (Paris: Institut National des Techniques de la Documentation, 1959).

<sup>15</sup> Greenhalgh, 198-224.

<sup>16</sup> Greenhalgh, 198-99.

<sup>17</sup> Mainardi, 1 and passim.

<sup>18</sup> Silverman, passim.

the specifics of individual expositions.<sup>19</sup> Zeynep Çelik examined the architecture of Islamic countries at world's fairs in the nineteenth century and focused on the *danse du ventre* as symptomatic of the construction of stereotypes of the Arab world in the 1889 exposition in particular.<sup>20</sup> William Schneider has examined the French conception of Africa in popular culture in the nineteenth century and, importantly, differentiates between popular private-enterprise, ethnographic exhibitions and the more official version presented at the colonial expositions which had a clearer political agenda.<sup>21</sup> My examination of the representation of Provence relies on this work, as well as broader examinations of exoticism and primitivism, to situate the representation of rural France.

The 1906 Exposition Coloniale in Marseilles, especially the representation of the colonies therein, has been considered by both Schneider and Leprun. It was also considered in a recent exhibition focusing on Marseilles and colonialism.<sup>22</sup> In all of these, the representation of conflict within France is not considered to any great degree and, consequently, regional resistance to the national construct of a unified culture has not been recognized.

The cultural geography mapped by the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle used constructs of difference that were often applied to France's colonial subjects to define centre and periphery. The rural nation was positioned as without its own significant

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<sup>19</sup> Sylviane Leprun, *Le Théâtre des Colonies: scénographie, acteurs et discours de l'imaginaire dans les expositions, 1855-1937* (Paris: Harmattan, 1986).

<sup>20</sup> Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs*, Comparative Studies in Muslim Society, ed. Barbara D. Metcalf, no. 12 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992); Çelik and Leila Kinney, "Ethnography and Exhibitions at the Expositions Universelles," *Assemblage* 13 (1990): 34-59.

<sup>21</sup> William Schneider, "Colonies at the 1900 World Fair," *History Today* 31 (1981): 31-36; idem, "Race and Empire: The Rise of Popular Ethnography in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Popular Culture* 11 (1977): 78-109; and idem, *An Empire for the Masses: the French Popular Image of Africa, 1870-1900*, Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies, ed. Robin Winks, no. 11 (London and Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1982).



culture, as unchanging and eternal. Yet the rural nation was not powerless in this discourse. In the 1906 Marseilles Exposition Coloniale, Marseilles redefined its position by using similar tropes of difference from the colonial other and from Parisian modernism. Asserting a cultural history that emphasized the region's historic connections to the Mediterranean and classical culture, Provençal regionalists repositioned Provence as the most classic of French regions.

## PARIS EXPOSITION UNIVERSELLE DE 1900

### *Introduction and Literature*

This section will examine the relationship between Paris and Provence evidenced in the 1900 Exposition Universelle. At the outset of this chapter, I noted *La Parisienne* as a marker of the city's modernity. In contrast to this defining trope of Paris as the modern nation, the provinces were shown as examples of the quaint past that anachronistically live on in the present.<sup>23</sup> The importance of the symbolic representation of the city of Paris at the 1900 exposition is discussed in Naomi Schor's consideration of postcards from the period.<sup>24</sup> Schor accepts that since the subject of the 1900 exposition was, in many ways, the city itself, "to promote the nation in France is to promote its capital, and vice versa."<sup>25</sup> Moreover, since the identity of the nation and the capital are so deeply intertwined in France, "to celebrate Paris (as a woman, as a medieval wonder, as a place of popular entertainment) was to assert French national identity, to the exclusion of France's other cities, as well as to reaffirm its claim to being not just the capital of France

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<sup>22</sup> *L'Orient des Provençaux: Les Expositions Coloniales* (Marseilles: Vieille Charité, 1982).

<sup>23</sup> Fabian, 31-5.

<sup>24</sup> Naomi Schor, "Cartes Postales: Representing Paris 1900," *Critical Inquiry* 18 (Winter 1992): 188-243.

<sup>25</sup> Schor, 213.

but of the so-called civilized world."<sup>26</sup> The postcards of Paris in 1900 convey the thrill of modernization that Schor suggests is nostalgically contrasted with the quaintness of dying traditional societies.<sup>27</sup> Schor argues that this is a transitional moment in the vanishing of old Paris and the emerging of modern Paris. However, the fact that all moments are transitional is left unquestioned by Schor and, consequently, she does not interrogate the notion of the dying traditional society, which the construct of Paris in transition relies upon. While the postcards and the exposition, as a whole, undoubtedly configure the nation as modern, Schor does not examine representations of the provinces.

Frédéric Moret examined tourist guidebooks produced for both French provincials and foreign tourists at the Paris 1900 exposition, and found that, like Schor's postcards, guidebooks also offered a homogeneous picture of the nation's capital.<sup>28</sup> Both the French provincial and the foreign tourist are assumed to be naïve, and the guidebook, he argues, "installe une forme de terrorisme intellectuel sur le touriste provincial. . . . La grande hantise, c'est de ne pas se fondre dans l'anonymat parisien, c'est en définitive d'être reconnu pour ce que l'on est, un étranger ou un provincial."<sup>29</sup> The guides perpetuated classic oppositions between Paris and the provinces in which provincials must successfully disguise their provinciality by accepting the norms dictated by Parisian society.<sup>30</sup>

Moret also underlines an essential element of the expositions in general: they are a primary means by which provincials come to know Paris, and Parisians to know *la*

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<sup>26</sup> Schor, 214.

<sup>27</sup> Schor, 222.

<sup>28</sup> Frédéric Moret, "Images de Paris dans les guides touristiques en 1900," *Le Mouvement Social* 160 (July-Sept. 1992): 79-98.

<sup>29</sup> Moret, 92.

<sup>30</sup> Moret, 98.

*province*.<sup>31</sup> Historian Jacques Chastenet described the process, saying “les trains d’Exposition déversent dans la capitale nombre de bourgeois provinciaux qui semblent avoir été dessinés par Daumier et beaucoup de rurales arborent encore la vieille coiffe de leur canton.”<sup>32</sup> The difference between the Parisians and provincials was seemingly immediately apparent, and would be further heightened by the exposition itself.

### ***Controversy and Capitulation***

While in retrospect the 1900 exposition effectively distracted the public from certain political concerns--most notably the Dreyfus affair--in the years leading up to it, the exposition had itself caused some political controversy.<sup>33</sup> In general terms, the exposition was opposed by the political right as a danger to French commerce since the right supported protectionist policies, while the left supported the exposition because it provided jobs.<sup>34</sup> More specific complaints came from the decentralists of northeastern France. In June 1895, the municipal council of Nancy debated the proposed exposition and on August 12 passed a resolution against it.<sup>35</sup> Since municipal councils did not actually have any power to prevent its taking place, the resolution was largely symbolic; it did, however, engender a nation-wide debate through the reporting of the local decentralist paper, *L’Est Républicain*. Its editor, Goulette, formed the Ligue Lorraine décentralisation, which published an inflammatory pamphlet, “Pas d’exposition en

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<sup>31</sup> The developing tradition of ethnography of France’s “folk” is discussed in chapter 1; the folk costumes of France were first displayed at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, see Collet, “Premiers Musées d’ethnographie régionale en France,” 73.

<sup>32</sup> Jacques Chastenet, *Histoire de la Troisième République*, vol. 3, *La République Triomphante, 1893-1906* (Paris: Hachette, 1955), 204.

<sup>33</sup> On the Dreyfus affair and the exposition, see Mandell, 92-102. Mandell is also the best source on the political controversy of the exposition in the 1890s.

<sup>34</sup> Mandell, 49.

<sup>35</sup> Mandell, 40.

1900!," in October 1895 and distributed it to municipal councils all over France.<sup>36</sup> Much of the opposition was based on the belief that expositions drained people and capital from the provinces to Paris, but there was no hard statistical proof to support this position.

While the economic arguments were tempting, Mandell concludes that the real focus of much of the opposition was based on characteristic extreme right positions, jingoism and fears of 'moral degradation.'<sup>37</sup> The influence of the decentralist and nationalist ideology of Maurice Barrès, who brought the issue national prominence through two influential articles in *Le Figaro*, was very clear.<sup>38</sup>

The final governmental approval for the exposition was debated in March 1896 in the Chamber of Deputies. After four days of debate, some of which echoed Barrès, the proposal was passed, and approval took only one day in the Senate.<sup>39</sup> After 1896, little formal opposition to the event continued, and all sides seemed reconciled to it. While no previous exposition had been questioned so fundamentally, Mandell is careful to point out that the criticism was really from a small but vocal minority.<sup>40</sup> In fact, none of the prominent Provençal regionalists made themselves visible in this debate, and it was not much discussed in Provençal regionalist journals.<sup>41</sup> This might be explained by the fact that, as we will see, the industrial elite of Marseilles heavily supported the colonial aspect of the exposition for economic reasons.

So while there was some controversy in the 1890s, the erection of the massive statue of *La Parisienne* and the complete lack of controversy around it speaks of the

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<sup>36</sup> Mandell, 41.

<sup>37</sup> Mandell, 42.

<sup>38</sup> Maurice Barrès, *Le Figaro*, 2 August 1895, and 24 August 1895; quoted in Mandell, 41.

<sup>39</sup> Mandell, 44.

<sup>40</sup> Mandell, 43 and 51.

general acceptance of the predominance of Paris in the exposition. Indeed, a coalition of left-wing regionalists used the Exposition to hold a regionalist congress “qui réunira les décentralisateurs, les provincialistes, les régionalistes et les fédéralistes.”<sup>42</sup> However, unlike the 1937 exposition, in which the so-called provinces and their folk customs played an officially sanctioned role, at the 1900 exposition they were still rather hard to find.

The history of the so-called provinces, which correspond more or less to the administrative divisions of the *ancien régime*, can account for some of the ambiguity of their position within the Third Republic. Abolished with the French Revolution and replaced with smaller, more numerous departments, the provinces were often seen as symbolic of the *ancien régime* and, consequently, were associated with Legitimist politics. Their continued potency as cultural descriptors, however, is indicative of the complex nostalgia that infused national and regional identity.

Official correspondence between the exposition’s departmental committee and the department of the Bouches-du-Rhône, the most prominent of the departments in what was generally considered Provence, suggests that the department was eager to be officially represented, but that local industry was slow to respond. The President of the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce called for an exhibition of “plans et tableaux” of the city’s port “pour donner une idée aussi exacte que possible de l’importance de Marseille

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<sup>41</sup> Joachin Gasquet’s right-wing regionalist magazine, *Le Pays de France*, did question the exposition and its image of the nation, suggesting that this kind of event distracted the masses from more pressing concerns. See Henri Jacoubet, “Lettres de Paris,” *Le Pays de France* 17-18 (May-June 1900): 342-349.

<sup>42</sup> Jean Charles-Brun and Louis-Xavier de Ricard, “Décentralisation et Régionalisme,” *Revue Méridionale* 91, (May 1900): 59-60. In addition to the Proudhonian Charles-Brun and Ricard, the congress was to also include the prominent socialist, Charles Longuet.

comme ville maritime.”<sup>43</sup> This was to have been an exhibit promoting only the city itself. More interestingly, he says that the Chamber of Commerce would like to organize a retrospective exhibition of historic Provençal art, using the regional term. This exhibition was refused as it would not have fit into the history of national art being shown at the centennial art exhibition.<sup>44</sup> However, there were several instances in which the defunct ‘provinces’ were displayed, and their status as embodiment of times past reinforced.

### ***Paris Welcoming Her Guests***

The meaning of the provincial displays at the exposition is best understood by contrasting them with the image of Paris constructed there. In addition to the stereotypical Paris as pictured in postcards and guidebooks, which is described by Schor and Moret, the exposition itself also presented an image of Paris. Here, Paris was modern, the capital of culture, and a city with history. While the most famous remnant of the 1889 exposition, the Eiffel Tower, continued to signal the modernity of Paris, the rest of the exposition emphasized modernity, culture, and history.

Returning to the monumental gateway designed by Binet (Figure 22), reports generally stressed its modernity. Accounts repeatedly state that the gate’s modern construction effectively allowed large numbers of people to enter, and most mention its modern decorative style.<sup>45</sup> The *Guide Bleu* is fairly representative in its description of the gateway as “une courageuse tentative et un effort louable vers un art nouveau. La Porte monumentale est l’œuvre d’un fervent de l’Orient et s’impose à notre admiration

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<sup>43</sup> Président de la Chambre de Commerce de Marseille [Augustin Féraud], Marseilles, to M. le Commissaire Général de l’Exposition Universelle [Alfred Picard], Paris, 20 May 1898, F 12/4303, Archives Nationales, Paris.

<sup>44</sup> I am assuming that this proposed exhibition was refused by Alfred Picard, the exhibition’s central organizer, as his initials are on the proposal.

autant par le modernisme de sa structure que par l'éclat de sa décoration polychrome."<sup>46</sup>

Thus linking modern art with the appropriation of other cultural forms, the account goes on to describe the crowning statue as very fin-de-siècle, and says it symbolizes "Paris accueillant ses hôtes."

The fact that the clothing for *La Parisienne* was designed by a well-known fashion designer underlines its distance from the traditional provincial costume. Here was a woman not in classical dress, but a dress pointedly of its age, an age of change and progress, and so her contemporary fashion was, by definition, something that would soon change. As Tamar Garb has recently shown, in late-nineteenth century painting, "the 'Parisienne' became the generic term for describing the essence of a particularly modern, peculiarly French form of femininity...[and] had become necessary for the smooth functioning of the economy."<sup>47</sup> One guidebook from 1900 tellingly describes Parisian women and fashion.

La Parisienne! C'est-à-dire cette jolie silhouette que l'on revoit avec tant de gaieté au cœur quand on revient à Paris de n'importe quel point de la terre! Qu'on reconnaît partout: sur les plages, à la campagne et dans la petite ville de province quand, par hasard, elle s'y égare; la Parisienne délicieux assemblage de coquetteries et de charmes se décomposant ainsi: d'élégants vêtements qui s'ajustent indiscrètement comme un maillot ou qui flottent, suivant la mode, mais toujours bien portés et habilement taillés par une fine couturière tout aussi parisienne que sa cliente! . . . Une coiffure sans cesse renouvelée avec rien et hardiment posée sur la tête, renversée en arrière, penchée en avant, jetée de côté.<sup>48</sup>

Dressed in the latest fashion, wearing the latest hairstyles, and thus constantly changing, the Parisienne was a world away from the representative dress of provincial, which as we

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<sup>45</sup> See Silverman, 5 and passim on how the meaning of "art nouveau" and "style moderne" changed between 1889 and 1900.

<sup>46</sup> *Guide Bleu du Figaro à l'Exposition de 1900* (Paris: Le Figaro, 1900), 1.

<sup>47</sup> Tamar Garb, *Bodies of Modernity: Figure and Flesh in Fin-de-Siècle France* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 87, and generally, 81-113.

<sup>48</sup> C. de Tours, *Guide Album du Touriste. Vingt jours à Paris pendant l'Exposition Universelle de 1900*, (Paris: Société française d'éditions d'art, L.H. May, 1900), 118-119; quoted in Moret, 94.

have seen (Chapter One) was becoming fixed and unchangeable at precisely this time.

The shift in welcoming hostess, from France at the earlier expositions to Paris, indicates a new desire to represent the nation as modern, and the capital as taking its rightful place at the head of the nation.

Debora Silverman's analysis of the gateway heightens the distinction that it is Paris and not France figured at the entrance.<sup>49</sup> As Silverman describes, the archway was surrounded by two slender minarets, and the entire iron arch was clad in mosaic and bejewelled, attesting to the new taste and new meaning of *art moderne* in 1900. Connecting the archway to the minarets was a wall displaying a high-relief frieze of workers who had contributed to the fair: artisans and the "rural traditional trades"<sup>50</sup> (Figure 25). As one contemporary commentator described the scene: "A long train of workers unfolds in close ranks: day laborers, bakers, masons, carpenters, carrying their tools and the fruits of their labors. This is the symbol of an entire nation contributing to the common good."<sup>51</sup> Thus, while the entire nation is shown contributing to the making of the exposition through labour, Paris is shown not at work, but resting atop the labour of the nation. That this seemed appropriate indicates the extent to which this version of the nation and these roles for rural and urban people had become naturalized.

### ***Parisian Fashion - Provincial Costume***

Traditional provincial costume was a primary signifier of difference from the modernity exemplified by the Parisienne. A retrospective exhibition of clothing held in the Palais des Fils, Tissus et Vêtements (Figure 26) sought to prove the continued pre-eminence of

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<sup>49</sup> On the *Porte Binet* and *La Parisienne* see Silverman, 288-293.

<sup>50</sup> Silverman, 291.

<sup>51</sup> Jacques Desroches, "La Porte Monumentale de l'Exposition," *Revue illustrée de l'Exposition universelle* (June 25, 1900): 126; quoted in Silverman, 290.



Paris in world fashion, while simultaneously indicating how far it had 'advanced' from traditional costume. Separated into sections of court, city, and provinces, the clothing retrospective--organized by a couturier, Mr. Félix, and a costume designer, Mr. Th. Thomas--traced the development of French fashion up to the beginning of the Third Republic.<sup>52</sup> Critics enthused that "le Palais du Costume est comme la glorification de cette industrie éminemment française au travers des siècles, une de nos rares supériorités que l'étranger n'a pu entamer jusqu'à ce jour."<sup>53</sup> As this critic made clear, the proof of this superiority was the luxury goods and *haute couture* clothing of the capital, not the costume of the provinces.<sup>54</sup> The retrospective was comprised of separate rooms that displayed mannequins in lifelike scenes from various periods. Although it began as far back as the Gauls, it focused on nineteenth-century Parisian clothing. The display of Parisian costume was comprehensive: clothing appropriate for different activities (including that definitively modern experience, shopping) and appropriate for different classes was displayed. Additionally, various periods were covered, allowing the viewer to trace stylistic development over time.

In contrast to this evolutionary model of Parisienne clothing, provincial clothing was displayed with no signs to mark class difference and no indications that it changed over time or for different occasions.<sup>55</sup> In two popular illustrations of the exhibition from the *Encyclopédie du Siècle - L'Exposition de Paris (1900)* (figures 27 and 28), these

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<sup>52</sup> G. Moynet, "Le Palais du Costume," in *Encyclopédie du Siècle - L'Exposition de Paris (1900)*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie illustrée, Montgredein et Cie, 1900), 247.

<sup>53</sup> G. Moynet, "L'Inauguration du Palais du Costume," in *Encyclopédie du Siècle - L'Exposition de Paris (1900)*, vol. 3 (Paris: Librairie illustrée, Montgredein et Cie, 1900), 14.

<sup>54</sup> A favourite display was a statue of Josephine Bonaparte in a dress that reportedly cost 50,000 francs, G. Moynet, "Le Palais du Costume," 294.

<sup>55</sup> On authority created by exhibitions see especially James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988); and on the use of temporal constructs to legitimize authority see Fabian.

differences are made clear. While the elegantly drawn Parisiennes are shown in a variety of settings, the crudely drawn provincials are depicted outdoors, implying they are closer to nature and equating them with peasants. There are no *flâneurs* in the provincial backgrounds! By depicting all provincials as peasants living in an unchanging world, provincial clothing became folk costume. The *Arlésienne*, that quintessential woman of Provence, thus carried the symbolic weight of an unchanging and unchangeable tradition.<sup>56</sup>

The construction of a cultural geography of France at the 1900 exposition was also configured spatially, as an illustration of the *Palais de la Navigation Commerciale – La Galerie des Sections Françaises* reveals (Figure 29). Centred in the illustration of a crowded exhibition hall is a Parisian couple somewhat disdainfully regarding the throngs around them, she through hand-held eyeglasses. We would not be certain they were Parisian were it not for the obvious provincials who are more peripherally placed in the scene. To the right are two *Arlésiennes*, as we can easily distinguish by their ‘traditional’ regional dress. They are closely followed by two sailors, reminding us of the significance of the port industries to the region. These are followed by some visitors from North Africa, an important trading partner for the region. The *Arlésiennes* carry an open book, undoubtedly a guidebook that indicates their unfamiliarity with the exposition and possibly the city.<sup>57</sup> They are paralleled on the far side by a similarly provincial scene. Here another young woman’s clothing implies she too is not Parisian; her headdress suggests she is Breton. She also holds a book, which is tilted toward the the viewer so we are able to see it is open to a map of the exposition. Like the *Arlésiennes*, she is followed

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<sup>56</sup> On the creation of the definitive *Arlésienne* see Chapter One.

by military men and visitors from the East. The structure of the picture is paradigmatic. It is clear that the central couple is Parisian since they have no guidebook and do not wear 'traditional' clothes. Moreover, their position in the centre of the image parallels the position of the city in the nation. The French provincials are toward the periphery of the image, and further out (or back) are the colonial subjects. It is a fairly accurate illustration of the typical Parisian world view, which was also configured in other ways in the exposition itself.

### *Vieux Paris - Vieil Arles*

Probably the most insidious and influential portrayal of the national geography in a temporal mode, however, was the implicit comparison between the display *Vieux Paris* and the provincial displays. This small reconstruction inside the Paris 1900 exposition purported to recreate the Paris of 1400. It included re-creations of numerous well-known historic buildings, and had people dressed in period costumes who acted in live shows depicting everyday life in times gone by.<sup>58</sup> Designed by Albert Robida, a great popularizer, *Vieux Paris* was said to have been inspired partly by Victor Hugo's *Notre Dame de Paris*.<sup>59</sup> While purists complained of its glaring historical inaccuracies and overly theatrical elements, it was favourably reviewed in the press and seemed to garner much attention. An illustration (Figure 30) shows how carefully constructed and complete the buildings were, as if to re-create the feeling of being in that time, rather than looking at times past from the vantage point of the present. The *Guide Bleu* remarked of

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<sup>57</sup> Many guidebooks to the exposition included material on the city; for example see *Guides Pratiques Conty: L'Exposition 1900* (Paris: Guides Conty, n.d.).

<sup>58</sup> The *Vieux Paris* exhibit is described in detail in most guides to the exhibition and in newspaper accounts, see for example the *Guide Bleu*, 20, and Paul Combes "Paris en 1400: La Cours des Miracles" in *Encyclopédie du Siècle – L'Exposition de Paris (1900)*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Illustrée, Montgredien et Cie, 1900), 22-27.

the reconstruction that “dès qu’on a franchi le seuil du Vieux Paris, il semble qu’on soit tout à fait séparé du monde moderne.”<sup>60</sup> Of course, the fiction of this separation from modernity would be quite evident; modern Paris was always visible in the ever-present form of the Eiffel Tower.<sup>61</sup> This evident contrast between then and now markedly differentiates the quaintness of *Vieux Paris* from that of the provinces.

Provence, Brittany, (Figure 32) Poitou, Berry and Auvergne all had displays, organized by regional committees, that were superficially similar to *Vieux Paris*.<sup>62</sup> Reviewers most often compared the regional displays to either the Rue des Nations (where the foreign pavilions were) or the *Vieux Paris* exhibit, and thus set up analogies of the provinces as like foreign countries, or like Paris’s past.<sup>63</sup> One reviewer implicitly compared this exhibit to that of *Vieux Paris*, asking: “Puisqu’on reconstituait le ‘Vieux Paris,’ pourquoi chaque province n’aurait-elle pas eu sa reconstitution particulière dans l’enceinte de cette Exposition, qui appartient tout autant à la province qu’à Paris?”<sup>64</sup> His question also points to the uneven coverage of the provinces; only the most obviously different were on display.

Provence was represented by a reconstruction of a *Mas* (Figure 31), a Provençal farmhouse, described as Provence of today, and by a model of what was called *Vieil*

<sup>59</sup> *Encyclopédie du Siècle – L’Exposition de Paris (1900)*, vol. 2, 22.

<sup>60</sup> *Guide Bleu*, 20.

<sup>61</sup> Roland Barthes, “The Eiffel Tower,” *The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979) argues that the panoramic view afforded by the tower inevitably leads to the perception of Paris as historical, and that to perceive Paris from above is to perceive a history. Thus, while the tower would usually have been visible from the ground, the viewing position from atop it also affected perception of Paris.

<sup>62</sup> Collet, 111. But note that the “provinces” were not an official administrative unit in the Third Republic. This may account for why I have not been able to find archival material on the administration of this section.

<sup>63</sup> See, for example, Louis Farges, “La Province à l’Exposition: La Bretagne,” *Magasin Pittoresque* (15 July 1900): 421.

<sup>64</sup> “Les Vieilles Provinces,” *Encyclopédie du Siècle – L’Exposition de Paris (1900)*, vol. 2, 265.

*Arles*, described as Provence of old.<sup>65</sup> *Vieil Arles* of *autrefois* was shown by reconstructions of parts of the city such as the Roman road and necropolis of Les Alyscamps, the Romanesque doorway of the town's important cathedral, Saint Trophime, and the antique Roman theatre, all emphasizing Arles's historic connection to the ancient Roman world. The architectural reconstruction was designed by Etienne Bentz, who would later be active in Marseilles's colonial exposition, and Mr. Martin-Ginouvier was responsible for the artistic direction.

*Vieil Arles* was not, however, a reconstruction in the same sense as *Vieux Paris*. It was not a reconstruction of Arles in Roman times or in 1400, but was instead Arles as it existed in the present, in 1900, which Fromentin and others read as *Vieil Arles*. The reconstruction did not function in the same way as that of *Vieux Paris*. The latter simulated what life must have been like in the past, when the medieval buildings were new, and the contrast with the present was obvious. In contrast, the Arles reconstruction elided the differences between then and now; in fact, it deliberately confused them.

Like *Vieux Paris*, the displays of the provinces also included costumed figures, but instead of acting out period dramas, these women generally worked as waitresses serving regional cuisines. In a photograph of the exhibit, two Arlésiennes are visible in front of their display where bouillabaisse, the regional soup, was served. While the inhabitants of the *Vieux Paris* site were clearly actors playing a part, the position of the Arlésiennes was more ambiguous. The Arlésienne played the role of the mythic provincial woman--wearing 'traditional' garb, serving 'traditional' food from a supposedly 'traditional' home--but indications that she too was acting a part were

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<sup>65</sup> Charles Fromentin, "La Provence à l'Exposition," *Le Magasin Pittoresque* (1 June 1900):555.

absent.<sup>66</sup> Because her clothing could not be identified with a particular historical moment but instead signified an unbroken continuity between the present and some distant past, and because it was not clear if she was in costume or her 'real' clothes, the *Arlésienne* could be read as the essence of an eternal rural France.

One further element of the Provençal display has particular resonance to my consideration of primitivism in national and regional identity. The Paris exposition committee refused the original plan by the regional architect Bruno Pélissier for the reconstruction of the Provençal farmhouse.<sup>67</sup> Reportedly, "il a dû, non sans chagrin, modifier quelque peu pour obéir à des prescriptions administratives."<sup>68</sup> Charles Fromentin claimed the authentic version of the farmhouse had seemed too savage, and terrified the pencil-pushers of the administration, who insisted on a more pleasant version.<sup>69</sup> Consequently, the roof was raised; windows were added and enlarged. Fromentin went so far as to complain that the 'savages' on display at the Trocadéro did not have to make their displays more accommodating, and wondered why the provincials did.<sup>70</sup> The answer, it seems to me, has something to do with expectations. The administration seemingly did not think it appropriate for a Provençal farmhouse to appear 'savage'; yet they did not object to its portrayal as timeless and pre-modern.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Pierre Pasquini, "'La vraie' Mireille," in *Arlésienne: le Mythe?*, ed. Pascale Picard-Cajan, 165-88 (Arles: Museon Arlaten, 1999), shows the importance of her domestic position in the Félibrige mythology.

<sup>67</sup> Fromentin, 555.

<sup>68</sup> *La Cigale*, 120.

<sup>69</sup> Fromentin, 555.

<sup>70</sup> Fromentin, 555.

<sup>71</sup> Annie E. Coombes, "Ethnography and the formation of national and cultural identities," in *The Myth of Primitivism: Perspectives on Art*, ed. Susan Hiller (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), 188-214, has considered a parallel issue in the reconstructed displays of Irish and Scottish villages at the 1908 Franco-British Exposition that were displayed alongside reconstructions of Dahomeyan, Somalian and Senegalese villages. Coombes points out, however, that the Irish villages served paradoxically to support the idea of a racial hierarchy, because while seemingly less 'advanced' than the British progress shown, the Irish were seen to be significantly ahead of the African colonies.

Since the denial of coevalness is one of the primary constituents of primitivism, the way in which the provinces are here configured as not part of the present, yet not 'savage' seems to be part of the larger primitivist construct.<sup>72</sup> Since we now recognize that primitivism is more indicative of the dominant culture's desires than of other realities, it is not surprising that the construct has implications for the home country. Portraying the provinces as timeless--like the so-called savages were--but differentiating them from other, supposedly less advanced, 'races' also on display at the exposition, serves to create distinction within the French nation. It casts the provinces in a primitive light, while validating the 'French race' as a whole by showing that even the primitive elements of French society are not as primitive as the colonies. It thus reinforces a racial hierarchy while creating a temporal distinction between modern Paris and the rest of France.

### ***Provence and the History of French Art***

The role of official art exhibitions within universal expositions has long been recognized as important to the definition of French national identity, yet their role in the evolving dynamic between nation and region has not been considered. In the 1900 exposition, three separate art exhibits showed the glory of the French nation, giving a history of French art in a retrospective from time immemorial, in a centennial of the last hundred years, and a decennial of the last ten years. Some rhetoric proclaimed these art exhibitions to be decentralizing. For example, Roger Marx, then Inspecteur Général des Musées des Départements and curator of the centennial exhibition, repeatedly

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<sup>72</sup> See Fabian; and on the relation of time and primitivism see Mark Antliff and Patricia Leighton, "Primitivism," in *Critical Terms for Art History*, ed. Robert S. Nelson and Richard Shiff (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1996), 170-184.

characterized the exhibition as “éminemment décentralisatrice”<sup>73</sup> since it showed not only art from Paris, but from all the provinces. Although all the art exhibitions included a much higher percentage of works on loan from provincial museums than had the 1889 exhibition, the supposed decentralization was always subsumed within the larger narrative of the French nation.<sup>74</sup> Emile Molinier, the overall head of the fine arts section, said the purpose of the art exhibitions was to “écrire par des monuments de choix l’histoire de l’art français, des origines à la fin du XIXe siècle.”<sup>75</sup>

The centennial exhibition, organized by Marx, was the most interesting, both for its more modern selection of works and also because of Marx’s oft-cited interest in decentralization of the arts. Marx argued that the increased use of works from provincial museums “ont amené à remettre en lumière quelques œuvres d’artistes peu connus, d’artistes provinciaux surtout, et personne à coup sûr ne leur en voudra d’avoir fait sortir d’un injuste oubli des peintures, qui, dans d’autres circonstances, eussent valu à leurs auteurs d’être placés au premier rang.”<sup>76</sup> In his catalogue essay delineating the development of French art in the nineteenth century, Marx went to some effort to rehabilitate these previously little-known Provençal artists. Even he, however, had to qualify the Provençal painters whom he positions “à côté de ces confirmations de prééminences, des leçons précieuses se dégagent: . . . ainsi, la découverte des paysagistes

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<sup>73</sup> Roger Marx, “Exposition Centennale de l’Art Français,” in *Exposition Universelle de 1900: L’Art Français des origines à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Librairie Centrale des Beaux-Arts, Emile Levy, 1900), 9. Marx’s position as liaison between provincial museums and the central administration may explain his interest in characterizing the art exhibitions thusly.

<sup>74</sup> Critics at the time suggested that provincial works were included primarily so as not to repeat the 1889 exhibitions, or to show works not regularly seen in Paris, for example the *Guide Bleu*, 8. More recently, Elaine Wauquier, “Académisme et Modernité,” in *Le livre des expositions universelles. 1851-1989*, ed. Yvonne Brunhammer (Paris: Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs, 1983): 254 suggests that provincial works were also used to show to better advantage the great masters of the French tradition.

<sup>75</sup> Emile Molinier, “Préface,” in *Exposition Universelle de 1900: L’Art Français des origines à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Paris: Librairie Centrale des Beaux-Arts, Emile Levy, 1900), II.



méridionaux, de Constantin et Dagnan à Loubon et Guigou.”<sup>77</sup> The Provençal school of landscape painters is thus acknowledged, even as having its own tradition within French national art history; but it is not of the first order. Moreover, despite all his decentralizing rhetoric, Marx concludes that the exhibit “a prouvé que les annales de l’école française étaient impossibles à établir sans le recours à des musées trop peu connus, trop peu visités, qui seuls permettent de suivre l’enchaînement de la tradition dans notre pays.”<sup>78</sup> Thus, for Marx, the recently recognized contributions of the provinces only served to strengthen the national tradition of art.

Along with this stated aim of a national art history, there is evidence of the refusal of provincial identity within the art exhibitions. Marseilles--the second largest city in France at the time and the largest city in Provence--offered to contribute an exhibition that would show the history of Provençal art.<sup>79</sup> In the margin of the offer is a handwritten note signed with the initials of the exposition’s chief administrator (A.P., Alfred Picard) stating that Marseilles may make this contribution, if each work is requested or accepted by the hanging committee and it fits into the overall retrospective exhibition of French art. In other words, there is an evasive refusal of regional art history.

The artistic contributions of the region had to fit into the overall history of French art and, consequently, the region’s history was subsumed into the nation’s history. Yet the nation, which had a past, a present, and a future, was increasingly synonymous with Paris, as we saw in the allegorical entrance statue to the exposition. In fact, even at the

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<sup>76</sup> *Exposition Centennale de l’Art Français, 1800-1889: Catalogue Général Officiel* (Paris: Lemerrier, 1900), 8.

<sup>77</sup> Marx, 24.

<sup>78</sup> Marx, 9.

<sup>79</sup> Président de la Chambre de Commerce de Marseille [Augustin Féraud], Marseilles, to M. le Commissaire Général de l’Exposition Universelle [Alfred Picard], Paris, 20 May 1898, F 12/4303, Archives Nationales, Paris.

entrance to the grand retrospective of the nation's art, in the newly built Petit Palais, this same iconographic shift took place as this entrance portal was likewise decorated by an image of the *City of Paris Protecting the Arts*.

Thus Paris-province at the 1900 exposition was a temporal as well as spatial construction. Paris was the centre, the head, and the crown of the exposition. It existed in the past, the present, and the future. The progress made in the nineteenth century was the theme of retrospective exhibitions, and it was Paris itself that best showed this progress. Paris appropriated the history of progress as its own, and left the provinces to exist in a netherworld of neither then nor now. The dominant expression of the exposition as a whole was the stability of the Third Republic, the logical progeny of the history of France, forging into the future. The provinces, as typified by Provence, were further from the defined centre, portrayed as existing in a realm closer to the uncivilized world of the colonies. The provinces were thus caught in a temporal dilemma; viewed as 'old,' they seemingly had little place in the modern world of the nations, and yet they were valued exclusively for this nostalgic, simpler past. Despite the controversy of the 1890s and the prevalent nostalgia, the nation with Paris as its head ruled the day.

### **THE MARSEILLES EXPOSITION COLONIALE DE 1906**

The cultural geography mapped by the Paris-Provence dichotomy at the 1900 Exposition Universelle was reconfigured at the Marseilles 1906 Colonial Exposition, in which the region played a different role. Here, the region's identity was shaped not primarily in relation to the capital, but by its history and its relation to the colonies. To celebrate Marseilles, its cultural history, and relationship with the colonies was to undermine the dominant discourse supporting national unity asserted from the centre. Organized by

Jules Charles-Roux, the exposition sought to garner support for colonialism and to assert for Provence a special place in the colonialist project. While at the Paris exposition the *Arlésienne* had believably played the role of the traditional rural folk in counterpoint to Paris's modernity, in Marseilles she exemplified Mistral's version of Provençal civilization--a region with a long history and deeply embedded traditions--and this helped to differentiate it from the colonies on exhibit. Similarly, much emphasis was placed on the long history of Provençal art. The regional exposition attempted to reconfigure its place within the hierarchy Paris/Provence/colony both in the architecture of the pavilions and in the art exhibitions by emphasizing its history.

### *Colonialists and Colonial Expositions*

The colonial exposition held in Marseilles in 1906 was closely related to the Paris 1900 exposition through its organizers and by its colonial ideology, although it asserted a unique role for Marseilles in the colonial project. Its organizer, Jules Charles-Roux, was uniquely qualified to broker an exchange between the arts and industries of Marseilles and the colonies of France. He was an extremely successful industrialist, a noted art collector, a former deputy, and the organizer of the colonial section of the Paris 1900 exposition.

Since 1889, the colonial aspect of Parisian international expositions had assumed an increasingly important role, yet the main supporters of colonialism were unhappy with the increasingly carnivalesque atmosphere of ethnographic exhibitions.<sup>80</sup> While colonial exhibits, like the expositions in general, had the dual purpose of education and entertainment, it seemed to colonialists such as Joseph Chailley-Bert, a prominent

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<sup>80</sup> Schneider, *Empire*, 190-93.

colonialist, deputy, founder of the *Union Coloniale Française*, and close friend and business associate of Charles-Roux, that most visitors came away from the ethnographic exhibitions with stereotypical views. More important, he feared they had not been 'educated' as to the importance of the colonies in France's overall world position.<sup>81</sup> Chailley-Bert was critical of Charles-Roux's display of France's colonies at the 1900 exposition. Foremost among his complaints was that the exhibits "contain only what is picturesque and amusing about each colony."<sup>82</sup> As he saw it, the main point of ethnographic displays should be to increase support for colonialism at home. This would best be achieved by showing the economic benefits of colonialism and its importance to France's international position. Chailley-Bert called for an exclusively colonial, exclusively French exposition to redress these wrongs. The exposition should be organized by those specifically interested in the colonies, argued Chailley-Bert: "merchants, colonial supporters, governors and statesmen."<sup>83</sup> Charles-Roux seemingly agreed with these criticisms, and the impetus for a specifically colonial exposition was born.

The idea for an exposition limited to France and its colonies to be held outside Paris was first proposed in Marseilles in 1901 by Edouard Heckel, director of the Institut Colonial de Marseille, a colonialist lobby group. The municipal council, the Chamber of Commerce, and the Syndicat d'initiative all supported the idea of a national colonial

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<sup>81</sup> On Chailley-Bert, see Stuart M. Persell, "Joseph Chailley-Bert and the Importance of the Union Coloniale Française," *Historical Journal* 27, no. 1 (1974): 176-84; on Charles-Roux, see idem, "The Colonial Career of Jules Charles-Roux," in *Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History, March 14-15, 1974* (1974): 306-322; and on Chailley-Bert's criticism of the colonial representation at Paris 1900 see Schneider, *Empire*, 193.

<sup>82</sup> Schneider, "Colonies at the 1900 World Fair," 36.

<sup>83</sup> Schnieder, *Empire*, 193.

exposition, though expositions outside Paris were not usually nationally supported by the central government.

Marseillais colonialists put forth a strong argument in support of their city as the most logical location for the exposition. The official guidebooks and other information on the fair frequently called Marseilles “la ville coloniale par excellence”<sup>84</sup> and cited its position as the “*Port de l’Orient pour les Français de la métropole, Marseille est plus encore la Porte de la France pour ceux des colonies.*”<sup>85</sup> As France’s largest and most important port, the city already had a close connection to the colonies, and its businessmen wanted to consolidate this position. Shipping was an important local industry, and the Marseilles elite wanted to assert the city’s dominance over ports on the Atlantic coast, which had formerly been more powerful.<sup>86</sup> Strikes by dockworkers in Marseilles in 1901-02 had threatened its primacy, and J.L. Miege suggests the organizers would have also seen the exposition as a way of uniting the social classes.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, plans for the exposition coincided with intensive lobbying for the expansion of France’s North African empire into Morocco, which would also benefit the region’s ports and shipbuilding industries.

The funding for the Colonial Exposition was largely regional. The municipal council, the departmental council, and local business raised 1,500,000 francs while the

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<sup>84</sup> “Comment et Pourquoi l’Exposition Coloniale a lieu à Marseille,” in *Guide officiel de l’exposition Coloniale de Marseille* (Marseilles: Barlatier, 1906), 12.

<sup>85</sup> Paul Masson, “Marseille” in *Guide officiel de l’exposition Coloniale de Marseille*, 6.

<sup>86</sup> On the importance of colonial expansion to the economics of Provence, see L. Pierrein, “L’Economie de 1870 à 1940,” in *Histoire de la Provence*, ed. Edouard Baratier (Toulouse: Privat, 1969), 491-497; and Constant Vautravers, “Marseille, port du monde,” *La Provence de 1900 à nos jours*, ed. Pierre Guiral (Toulouse: Privat, 1978), 89-95.

<sup>87</sup> J.L. Miege, “Genèse des Grandes Expositions” in *L’Orient des Provençaux: Les Expositions Coloniales* (Marseilles: Vieille Charité, 1982), 17.

state contributed only 150,000 francs (one eleventh of the total).<sup>88</sup> Charles-Roux noted how unusual national funding was for an *exposition de province*, and he believed the 1906 exposition to have been the first to receive such official recognition.<sup>89</sup> A presidential decree in 1904 approved the exposition and named as its director Jules Charles-Roux, who exemplified the colonialist agenda in Marseilles.<sup>90</sup>

Charles-Roux was a dominant figure in all aspects of Marseilles culture. He came from a prominent Marseilles family that had a wide range of business interests, including soap making, for which they had won a *Medaille d'honneur* at the 1855 Exposition Universelle.<sup>91</sup> Charles-Roux became a municipal councillor in Marseilles in 1876, and was accused of wanting to be the Haussman of Marseilles.<sup>92</sup> He was a member of the Marseilles Chamber of Commerce from 1881, and was the deputy for Marseilles from 1889 to 1898. He was actively involved in both the Suez and Panama canals, and was vice-president of the Suez Canal Company in 1897, leading to his resignation from politics. He was “one of the richest collectors of directorships in colonial companies in French financial history”<sup>93</sup> and was on the boards of most of the major Marseilles shipping companies, including the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, Compagnie Messageries Maritimes, and Fraissinet et Cie, and in 1911 became the director of the Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée railway.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Béatrix Chevallier, “Un essai d’histoire biographique - Un Grand Bourgeois de Marseille: Jules Charles Roux (1841-1918),” (Mémoire, Université d’Aix-Marseille, 1969), 99.

<sup>89</sup> Jules Charles-Roux, *Souvenirs du Passé: Le Cercle Artistique de Marseille* (Marseilles: Paul Ruat, 1906), 149.

<sup>90</sup> All in Schneider, *Empire*, 193-4.

<sup>91</sup> Chevallier, 4.

<sup>92</sup> Chevallier, 30.

<sup>93</sup> Persell, “Charles-Roux,” 306.

<sup>94</sup> Persell, “Charles-Roux,” 307, and Chevallier, 118.

In addition to these financial and political activities, Charles-Roux was also extremely active in the arts. His father had a respectable painting collection, which included a work by Eugène Delacroix. Charles-Roux continued this interest in the arts, but focused his interest on local artists.<sup>95</sup> He wrote numerous histories and guidebooks to Provence,<sup>96</sup> and was the long-time president of the Marseilles cultural society, the Cercle Artistique.<sup>97</sup> A member of the Marseilles branch of the Félibrige, he was, as we have seen, active in the development of the Museon Arlaten. Thus, his reach extended to most aspects of economic, political and social life in Marseilles, and he was reputed to be a masterful politician with a reputation for getting what he wanted, due to his extremely forceful personality.

Throughout his political career, Charles-Roux was a vociferous champion of the colonialist cause, which was strongly tied to his regionalist position. He fervently believed in the economic value of colonialism for France and was a member of the Union Coloniale Française. As a deputy, he had been an important member of the Parti Colonial, a cross-party colonialist lobby group.<sup>98</sup> Even this seemingly national issue had a regionalist position for Charles-Roux. He began his career as a deputy during the debates over the Méline tariffs, which gave preferential treatment to French agriculture over imported products through taxes. Because this would damage trade with the colonies, which would hurt Marseilles shipping companies, Charles-Roux vehemently opposed the tariffs. Accused in the Chamber of representing local, not national interests,

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<sup>95</sup> Charles-Roux, *Souvenirs*, 6.

<sup>96</sup> Such as *Arles: Son histoire, ses monuments, ses musées* (Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1914), *Légendes de Provence* (Paris: 1910), and *Autour de l'histoire* (Paris: Lemerre, 1910).

<sup>97</sup> This is the primary subject of *Souvenirs*.

<sup>98</sup> On the colonial party see C.M. Andrew and A.S. Kanya-Forstner, "The French 'Colonial Party': Its Composition, Aims and Influence, 1885-1914," *Historical Journal* 14, no. 1 (1971): 99-128.

Charles-Roux took exception, asking how “could agricultural interests in the center and the North represent ‘national’ interests while those of France’s ports were considered ‘particular?’”<sup>99</sup> Thus, for Charles-Roux, the ‘national good’ was a question of perspective, and he opposed the habit of defining the national interests as those of the north.

Although he was primarily motivated by economic considerations, Charles-Roux was not above using the regionalist sense of historic injustice to garner support for his policies. When elected deputy he stated: “J’ambitionnerais de faire occuper à notre chère ville la place qui lui est due et qu’elle n’a pas.”<sup>100</sup> After his election to the Chamber, he held a folkloric banquet, where the Provençal folk dance, the *farandole*, was performed, complete with *tambourins*. The new representative to the national government gave his victory speech in Provençal. His politics in the 1890s were dominated by anti-protectionist ideals, but he framed this issue as a battle between north and south in France.

As the organizer of Marseilles’s colonial exposition, Charles-Roux had a well-established track record in colonial affairs and a clear agenda to put forth. A strong believer in free trade, he supported increased colonization as an economic benefit to the nation and the region, and like other colonialists of his day believed the best way to advocate colonialism was through the *mise en valeur* approach, that is, to show to the nation the economic benefits of colonialism. Undoubtedly this was a far stronger motivator for Charles-Roux and other colonialists than the *mission civilisatrice*, which

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<sup>99</sup> Persell, “Charles-Roux,” 315.

<sup>100</sup> Chevallier, 46.



was largely an ideological justification of economic policy.<sup>101</sup> Many aspects of the exposition such as limiting it to French colonies, the much larger space available, and the colonialist convention held on site, support this conclusion.

What standard colonial histories do not answer, however, is why there were no less than five separately conceived art exhibitions at this colonial fair, and what purpose they served. Indeed, I will argue that art exhibitions were not just a pleasing diversion, or even a typically French assertion of cultural supremacy but, in this case, the art exhibitions, in particular, were a means of reconfiguring Provence's place within the nation and thus in the cultural hierarchy between centre-periphery-colony. The Paris exposition did not differentiate Provence from provincial, so the organizers of the Marseilles exposition created their own set of hierarchies and codes by which they asserted the importance of Provence in the French nation.

While the colonialist aspect is crucial to understanding the motives of the organizers, it is not my primary interest here. The colonial ideology of the exposition has been well studied by Schneider, who usefully contrasts this exposition with that of Paris 1900.<sup>102</sup> Nor is my primary concern the display of the colonies at this exposition, despite their obviously central role; this aspect has also been studied. The mythology of Provence and Marseilles put forth in this exposition, however, has not yet been examined.<sup>103</sup>

### ***The Architecture of Region, Nation, and Empire***

The overall layout of the exposition was not haphazard. Charles-Roux had found the previous expositions suffered "du manque d'unité dans le plan décoratif" and he wanted

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<sup>101</sup> Persell, "Charles-Roux," 313.

an overall unity to smooth “le chaos et les fautes de goût qui existent souvent dans ces colossales agglomérations de monuments.”<sup>104</sup> Consequently, he appointed Louis Dumoulin artistic overseer to the exhibition.<sup>105</sup>

The symbolic division between colonial pavilions and French pavilions was, not unusually, clear-cut.<sup>106</sup> The single largest building, the Palais de l’Exportation or Grand Palais, was centrally placed at the head of the principal axis of the exposition (Figure 33). Reviewers recognized that this building, designed to house displays of Marseilles art and industry, had been given the *place d’honneur*, and its neoclassical architecture seemed appropriate.<sup>107</sup> Colonial pavilions, housed in reconstructions of indigenous structures, were grouped around this centrepiece, roughly corresponding to their geographic relationship to France.<sup>108</sup> The different colonial areas were separated from each other by groupings of trees, perhaps implying their supposedly more natural environments. As Jean-Claude Vigato has noted, the Marseilles 1906 colonial exposition continued the opposition between neoclassical French pavilions and folkloric colonial forms.<sup>109</sup>

Yet this broad delineation of colony versus nation, so clearly configured here and elsewhere, can be nuanced. In the case of the French pavilions, there were three separate architectural styles with competing narratives: the Grand Palais, which was largely a regional display; the pavilion of the Ministry of the Colonies, which represented the

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<sup>102</sup> It is the focus of the final chapter of *Empire*.

<sup>103</sup> On colonialism and expositions see footnotes 19-21.

<sup>104</sup> Jules Charles-Roux, “Nos Expositions des Beaux-Arts,” *Notice Officielle et Catalogue des Expositions des Beaux-Arts* (Paris: Moderne Imprimerie, 1906), XX.

<sup>105</sup> Charles-Roux, “Nos Expositions des Beaux-Arts,” XX.

<sup>106</sup> Leprun, 281 and passim; and Jean-Claude Vigato, “Les Exposition Coloniales,” *Monuments historiques* 125 (Feb. – Mar. 1983): 24-28; also Vigato, “The Architecture of the Colonial Exhibitions in France,” *Daidalos* 19 (15 March 1986): 24-37 which focuses on the 1931 exhibition, but notes that it was thought appropriate to use colonial forms on the building to house art of the colonies.

<sup>107</sup> “Comment et pourquoi,” 14.

<sup>108</sup> For details on the layout of the colonial pavilions see Schneider, *Empire*, 194.

central government; and an unofficial pavilion, the Provençal *mas*. Pavilions representing the Ministry of the Colonies were often allowed more whimsy and freedom than regular French pavilions in expositions.<sup>110</sup> Here, however, the regionally created Grand Palais used classical motifs with Provençal decorative themes, while the pavilion of the central government used a Louis XVI style, designed to impress.

The Palais de l'Exportation was the centrepiece of the exposition. As the guidebook stated, "le centre lui-même, place d'honneur, est réservé aux chambres de commerce. C'est là où sont présentés tous les produits de l'industrie métropolitaine qui trouvent des débouchés dans les colonies françaises."<sup>111</sup> Designed by Muller and Etienne Bentz, who had designed the Provençal *mas* at the Paris 1900 exposition, the neoclassical façade was one hundred and fifty metres long (Figure 34). The building, which was the head of *la grande allée*, was said to lend "une note d'importante majesté à côté des architectures indigènes."<sup>112</sup> The central portion of the imposing façade (Figure 35) had a large semicircular niche clearly inscribed with the letters RF, the insignia of La République Française. Appropriately for the city's commercial orientation, it was crowned with an allegorical statue of the *Génie de l'Exportation*.<sup>113</sup> On either side of the central entranceway was a colonnade of coupled Doric columns. The decoration was not exclusively classical, since the column capitals were not truly Doric. They were adorned with local symbols--personifications of the heads of the Rhone and Durance rivers--and the foliage was vines and oranges, seen as distinctively Provençal vegetation. In front of the grand niche was a water fountain with a colossal twelve metre statue of *Massalia*, the

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<sup>109</sup> Vigato, "Exposition Coloniales," 24-28.

<sup>110</sup> Leprun, 281.

<sup>111</sup> "Comment et pourquoi," 14.

<sup>112</sup> "Grand Palais de l'Exportation," *Guide officiel*, 101.

Greek name for Marseilles, holding out an olive branch. Both fountain and statue were by Marseilles sculptors.<sup>114</sup> Thus the architecture and decoration used the language of classical architecture, but in a way that highlighted Marseilles's historic connection to the classical world and its founding by the Greeks. While the French nation is not denied, the insistence on the origins of the city heightens the cultural significance of Marseilles within the nation, since it was said to have brought Greek civilization to France. The official guidebook supports this association, as it begins by discussing the founding of Massalia by the Greeks, tracing the eventual fall, the dark periods before they regained their freedom, and the eventual joining with France.<sup>115</sup> As the official guidebook concluded of the building:

Toute cette décoration moderne du Grand Palais est contenue dans des lignes d'une architecture classique, afin de conserver au monument sa dignité tout en l'égayant par la recherche d'un style plus en harmonie avec l'ensemble du milieu et sa destination même. Les éléments que la nature a prodigués à la Provence lui donnent une artistique élégance et semblent bien indiquer que Marseille demeure toujours le centre le plus actif de l'Exportation française vers les terres nouvelles, la porte ouverte de la Métropole sur ses colonies.<sup>116</sup>

The interior decoration of the Grand Palais (Figure 36) continued to emphasize the Greek founding of Marseilles. Scenes of the surrounding countryside and the port dominated the cupola of the Salle des Fêtes, or entrance foyer. The most remarked upon mural was "une composition de Montenard [qui] attire tous les regards; c'est *Marseille colonie grecque*"<sup>117</sup> (Figure 37). Montenard's work shows a procession of women in classical dress carrying a sculpture of the goddess Diana from the shores of the port up to

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<sup>113</sup> *Guide officiel*, 19; on p. 101 it is called the "génie de l'exposition."

<sup>114</sup> *Génie* was by J. Hughues, and *Massalia* by Constant Roux, a Prix de Rome winner.

<sup>115</sup> Paul Masson, "Marseille," *Guide officiel*, 3-7.

<sup>116</sup> "Grand Palais de l'Exportation," *Guide officiel*, 102-3.

the ancient city.<sup>118</sup> Other murals in this room included the active port of Marseilles, as well as a woman picking fruit from a bountiful tree. With the interior decoration thus reinforcing the architectural program, Marseilles was positioned as the most classic of French cities.

In contrast to this regional twist on neoclassical architecture, the Palais du Ministère de Colonies et des Beaux-Arts (Figure 38) was more traditional. It did not occupy quite as prominent a place, being immediately to the left on the Grand Avenue after the entrance. Called a modernized and simplified Louis XVI style--evoking French tradition and grandeur--the building was designed by Georges Sébille. Charles-Roux praised the architect for not trying to "rivaliser avec les bizarreries des constructions exotiques, mais bien de présenter une œuvre qui symbolisât, dans la forme la plus simple et la mieux appropriée, les deux buts auxquels elle était destinée: exposition du Ministère des Colonies, exposition des Beaux-Arts."<sup>119</sup> Unlike the much larger and grander Grand Palais, the architecture of the national pavilion invoked memories of a unified state under the monarchy, of a classicism tempered by French tradition.

Over the main entrance to the Colonial Pavilion was a typically French colonial medallion, which could have been found at any exposition. Charles-Roux explained (in the racist language common to colonialists of his day) that it symbolized the work France had to do.

Une femme coiffée du bonnet phrygien tient sur ses genoux un négriillon qui lui tend les bras; à côté d'elle un jeune Annamite apprend à lire. Au centre de ces figures, un vaste cartouche renferme les initiales R. F. Derrière elles s'étalent les

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<sup>117</sup> "Grand Palais de l'Exportation," *Guide officiel*, 102. Frédéric Montenard's position as an exemplary Provençal artist is discussed in Chapter Four.

<sup>118</sup> Charles-Roux, *Souvenirs*, 340.

<sup>119</sup> Charles-Roux, "Nos Expositions des Beaux-Arts," XXVII.

instruments du travail, du commerce, de l'industrie et de l'agriculture, masquant ceux de la guerre.<sup>120</sup>

Made by Capellero, a Prix de Rome winner, the medallion summarizes French colonialist ideals of France's role in bringing the light of civilization to the world. The Indochinese girl reading shows the culture France has to offer, and the emphasis on the commercial aspects of what France is bringing is particularly suitable for Marseilles. Yet the Phrygian cap marked the figure as a symbol of France, rather than the region on this national building.

As in Paris, the Marseilles exposition also had a *Mas de Provence* (Figure 39, 40) which again made no claims to authenticity.<sup>121</sup> Although it was called a *mas*, the building was not actually a Provençal farmhouse, but was instead both a tourist office and a tribute to the Félibrige in the shape of a seven-pointed star, a Félibrige symbol (Figure 39). It was built in a vernacular style that did not seek to impress with the same grandeur as the larger pavilions. The terracotta roof and significantly smaller scale marked the pavilion as belonging to a local, rural tradition. The difference from a traditional *mas* is pervasive, but perhaps most striking in a comparison of front façades (figures 40, 41, and 43). A typical *mas* is a large, rectangular, farmhouse, with a low sloping roof made of terracotta, and walls made of stone. Although *mas* did vary in elaboration according to the owner's financial status, they were not luxury buildings. Due to the heat, windows were usually small, and because of the winds, windows were not found on the north side. At this exposition, the *mas* retained the terracotta roof, yet significantly changed most other aspects. The rough stone of the traditional *mas* was replaced with decorative

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<sup>120</sup> Charles-Roux, "Nos Expositions des Beaux-Arts," XXVIII.

ornamentation that invoked Provençal literary traditions, and was thereby distinguished from what might have seemed too 'primitive' in comparison to the colonial architecture.

The front façade of the *mas* displayed quotations from Félibrige poets, such as Frédéric Mistral and Joseph Roumanille (Figure 43). Larger than life-size images of what Charles-Roux called a 'typical' Provençal man and woman--the Arlésienne we saw at the Paris exposition and her less popular male equivalent, the *tambourinaire*--figured prominently, flanking the entrance.<sup>122</sup> This version of the Arlésienne takes her place within the pantheon of Provençal literature. Depicted alongside quotations from the Félibrige, she stands as the incarnation of the literary imagining of traditional Provence rather than as a veritable ethnographic specimen. Provence, then, is a land with literature, and so is distinguished from the colonies on display, which have predominantly oral traditions.

The interior of the *mas*, which also made no attempt at ethnographic accuracy, accentuated the Arlésienne's role as symbol. Dioramas of picturesque Provençal sites painted by Provençal artists displayed the tourist attractions of the region, such as the ruined city of Les Baux.<sup>123</sup> Attendants in Arlésienne costume handed out regional tourist brochures. Whereas in Paris the *mas* had been made more pleasant and less primitive to differentiate it from the dwellings of the colonies on display, in Marseilles there was not even a pretense of an authentic re-creation of a Provençal farm. In Paris an Arlésienne in a pseudo-*mas* could seem to still exist in the present, but in the region itself she would

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<sup>121</sup> M. Izouard was the overall designer of the *mas*. The architect was M. Sénès, and the decorative painting was executed by M. Gall. The most complete description of the *mas* is found in Arelata, "La Provence à l'Exposition Coloniale. -- Le Mas de Santo Estello," *Revue de Provence* 91 (July 1906): 97-100.

<sup>122</sup> Charles-Roux, *Rapport Générale: Exposition Coloniale Nationale de Marseille* (Marseilles: Barlatier, 1908), 225.

have been recognized as a representation of olden days.<sup>124</sup> Moreover, if the passing of her 'authenticity' was made evident by an ethnographic display, her status as proof of the 'real Provence' would be undermined. Interestingly, contemporary accounts recognized how foreign an ethnographic recreation of a *mas* would have seemed to visitors. It would have been interesting and instructive, one reviewer stated, "tout comme on s'intéresse à la ferme Soudanaise ou au souch tunisien, qui sont des spécimens ethnographiques très réussis."<sup>125</sup> Thus, it seems that even Provençal visitors would have needed a lesson in what was supposed to be the 'authentic' culture of Provence. The *Arlésienne* in costume, however, could evoke the myth without jeopardizing its status, which a more complete reconstruction would have done.

Despite the similarities to the Paris *mas*, the *Marseilles mas* draws on a different series of referents. In *Marseilles*, the *mas* was a small part of a larger presentation emphasizing the classical origins of the region. Thus, the meaning drawn from this reconstruction highlights the strength of that 'primitive' history which is shown to live on in the present. It also underlines another spatial division between modern, urban *Marseilles*, and rural inland Provence. The *Arlésienne* and the *Félibrige* celebrated here were the sign of inland Provence. While there was an identifiable iconography of the *Marseilles* fishwoman used in advertising at the time, she is nowhere to be found in this exposition.<sup>126</sup> Provence, even in *Marseilles*, is associated with the interior, and with the less modern aspects of the region. The fact that the *mas* was primarily a vehicle for the

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<sup>123</sup> The scenes were: *Cité des Baux*, by Décanis, *Place du Marché d'Aix* by José Silbert, *La tour sarrasine*, *La ville des Félibres*, *Arles* by Valère Bernard, *Ste. Baume* by Montenard, *Martigues* by Charles Vivès-Apy, and *Avignon Vieux Port* by Casile.

<sup>124</sup> On displays of modern farming techniques and the provinces see Collet, 100-105.

<sup>125</sup> Arelata, 98.

<sup>126</sup> See Patrick Boulanger, "Des Marseillaises à l'Affiche (1860-1920)," in *Marseillaises: Les femmes et la Ville*, ed. Yvonne Knibiehler et al, (Paris: Côté-femmes, 1993), 301-309.



dissemination of tourist brochures further suggests that the version of idyllic, picturesque Provence seen here was as useful to Marseilles as it was to Paris.

### ***Constructing a Regional Art History***

Fine arts occupied a significant amount of space in both the Grand Palais de l'Exportation and the Palais du Ministère des Colonies et des Beaux-Arts. Charles-Roux explained their predominance stating: "Les Beaux-Arts occupaient à l'Exposition de Marseille une place importante et justifiée; ils servirent à constituer au Champ du Prado une parure élégante, originale; ils imprégnaient l'atmosphère d'un charme tout particulier."<sup>127</sup> This rather simplistic explanation, however, belies the complexity of their role. Most significant in terms of creating a history of Provence was the much discussed *Exposition Historique de l'Art Provençal*, held in the Grand Palais de l'Exportation, and which consequently evoked the idea of 'culture' as one of the benefits France exported in its 'mission civilisatrice.' Yet this regional narrative was balanced by three thematically linked exhibitions in the Palais du Ministère des Colonies et des Beaux-Arts which focused not on Provençal art, but rather national art: a retrospective orientalist exhibition, an exhibition of colonial artifacts, and an exhibition of contemporary art in a contest to win a travel scholarship.

The *Exposition Historique de l'Art Provençal* was significant, and was discussed in both the regional and national press.<sup>128</sup> The honorary presidents of the Provençal art exhibition were, not surprisingly, Charles-Roux and Frédéric Mistral; however, it was actually curated by Louis Milhau, an adjunct to the Fine Arts Administration, and

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<sup>127</sup> Charles-Roux, *Rapport Générale*, 215.

<sup>128</sup> See for example, Philippe Auquier, "L'Exposition Générale d'Art Provençal à Marseille," parts 1 and 2, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 3d ser., 36, no. 590 (1 August, 1906): 161-172; no. 591 (1 September, 1906): 256-263.

Philippe Auquier, the curator of the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Marseille.<sup>129</sup> The Chamber of Commerce had proposed a similar exhibition for the 1900 Paris exhibition, but as we have seen, it did not fit into the narrative told in Paris. In Marseille, however, this section of the exhibition was essential to Charles-Roux's depiction of Provence. The show had 1,300 works dating from the earliest surviving Provençal art to the present day, including both artists born in the region and those who worked in it.<sup>130</sup> As installation photographs show, it was inclusive, bringing together fine and decorative arts, from private and public collections (Figure 42). Divided into five rooms, roughly by period, it showed oil paintings, watercolours, pastels, drawings, sculpture, china, furnishings, ironwork, coins and medals. In contrast to the nationalist narratives told at the Paris exposition and in the Colonial Pavilion, the regional show constructed a history of a separate, Provençal race.

As Charles-Roux explained, the exhibit was arranged chronologically, “de manière à montrer le plus clairement possible comment les différentes branches de l’art avaient évolué en Provence.”<sup>131</sup> The exhibit as a whole, he concluded, “portait la marque caractéristique de sa terre d’origine: elle dénotait de façon éclatante combien le caractère ethnique de nos anciennes provinces est indélébile, et elle constituait par là une très intéressante manifestation décentralisatrice.”<sup>132</sup> Thus, for Charles-Roux, the exhibit

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<sup>129</sup> Sophie Biass-Fabiani, “Le fauvisme provençal, un mouvement introuvable,” in *Peintres de la Couleur en Provence. 1875-1920* (Marseille: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1995), 181 states that Mistral and Auquier curated this exhibition. All official accounts of the exposition state that it was Milhau and Auquier, and some mention that Mistral and Charles-Roux were Honorary Presidents. She may have concluded that Mistral curated the exhibition from accounts such as the anonymous review in *Annales de la Société d’Etudes Provençales* 3 (1906):159, which gave only Mistral’s name in connection with the exhibition.

<sup>130</sup> Charles-Roux, *Rapport Générale*, 221.

<sup>131</sup> Charles-Roux, *Rapport Générale*, 222.

<sup>132</sup> Charles-Roux, *Rapport Générale*, 224.

manifested some essence derived from the soil of Provence that animated the art and was proof of the distinct identity of the region.

Jeanne de Flandreysey, a friend of Charles-Roux and well-known writer, likewise explicitly supported the exhibition of Provençal art, which she argued made the Provençal spirit manifest. She says of Charles-Roux, “en groupant, en une sorte d’apothéose la touche grasse, les moiteurs sensuelles d’un Fragonard, les lumières suaves d’un Vernet, et ses pénombres amoureuses, les dessins noblement sévères de Puget, il a synthétisé, pour ainsi dire, l’âme provençale dans ce qu’elle a de plus fugitif et d’éternel.”<sup>133</sup> This synthesis of works by local artists created a history of a separate art tradition which, in turn, strengthened the sense of regional identity.

The eternal essence of Provence was attributed in the exhibition catalogue to another key part of the myth of Provence and Provençal art: its connection to the classical world. Ferdinand Servian began his study of Provençal art by going back to Greek and Roman times since “les Grecs et les Romains, en déposant sur notre sol les germes fécondant de leur esthétique, forment la vision et développent les facultés de notre race.”<sup>134</sup> Indeed, they encountered no other civilization so well disposed to use and understand their art, he stated, since the line between Greek and Gallo-Greek is almost impossible to draw. Moreover, “c’est par la Provence qu’il [l’art roman] a pénétré dans notre pays.”<sup>135</sup> Unlike other areas in which Greek and Roman styles intermingled, in the Midi, Servian argued, Greek and Roman styles remained distinct. The inland regions adopted Roman techniques, while Marseilles remained resolutely Greek; for Servian,

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<sup>133</sup> Jeanne de Flandreysey, “L’Exposition Coloniale de Marseille – L’Art Provençal à l’Exposition,” *Les Annales Politiques et littéraires* 1206 (5 August 1906): 90.

<sup>134</sup> Ferdinand Servian, “Introduction: l’Ecole Provençal,” *Catalogue des Ouvrages exposés au “Grand Palais” dans la Section de l’Art Provençal* (Marseilles: Moullot Fils Ainé, 1906), 30.

these characteristics remain visible in Provençal art. Servian discusses the various changes successive waves of foreign influences have had on Provençal art eventually concluding:

vos brillantes qualités se sont, pour la plupart, peu à peu fondues avec la logique, la clarté et le naturel qui caractérisent le génie français. Seul, le souffle de l'antiquité semble encore passer sur le front lumineux de la Provence. Nos sculpteurs qui, à l'heure actuelle, tiennent dans l'Ecole française une place très honorable, animent le marbre avec un ciseau grec. . . . Quant aux peintres, trop longtemps insensibles à la magie ensoleillée des sites qu'ils avaient sous les yeux, ils opposent aux mystères confus du Nord, une note claire, harmonieuse et chaude, dépourvue de cette exagération que leur prêtent les observateurs superficiels.<sup>136</sup>

In this account, the Provençal temperament merged with the qualities of logic and order that give the French genius its pre-eminence. These characteristics, he states, are still evident in contrast to northern painting.<sup>137</sup>

This show of Provençal spirit was linked to more than just cultural traditions. The exposition was funded by both private initiatives and the municipality; it had not been federally subsidized.<sup>138</sup> Charles-Roux stated that it was able to occur despite the fact that "depuis un demi-siècle nos divers gouvernements ont systématiquement refusé de doter Marseille d'un centre d'enseignement supérieur et ainsi privé sa population de l'élément indispensable à sa vitalité intellectuelle."<sup>139</sup> Despite the city's lack of higher education facilities, it still supported art and culture, he argued, as the art exhibit proved. For Charles-Roux, the cultural autonomy proven by the exhibition was directly linked to economic and political independence. He stated: "Je suis partisan convaincu de

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<sup>135</sup> Servian, 32.

<sup>136</sup> Servian, 44-5.

<sup>137</sup> For further discussion of the qualities ascribed to northern and southern temperaments, see Chapter Four.

<sup>138</sup> "Section de l'Art Provençal," *Guide officiel*, 111.

<sup>139</sup> Charles-Roux, *Souvenirs du Passé*, 482.

l'autonomie des grands ports de commerce. – Je considère cette autonomie comme le corollaire obligatoire de la décentralisation intellectuelle que je réclame."<sup>140</sup> Thus, for the organizer, the *Exposition Historique de l'Art Provençal* was an expression of intellectual regionalism, which inherently led to more political aims.

The function of this display of the history of Provençal art can only be clear when seen against the function of historical displays of art in the French nation as a whole. While the Parisian history of art shown at the Centennial show denied and erased difference within the French tradition, Charles-Roux and the Provençal exhibit sought to create difference. Denying the teleological narrative of artistic precedents contributing to the development of a French tradition, this exhibition sought to substitute a different narrative, albeit equally constructed, of a Provençal tradition. This narrative legitimized the Provençal people in the present by validating their past. Consequently, regional identification with the nation was minimized. At the same time, this exhibit gave Provence a history, and so removed it from the realm of the timeless Other, which had been the dominant impression given in the Parisian exposition.

### *Constructing a Colonial Art History*

In contrast to this regionalist narrative, the Palais du Ministère des Colonies et des Beaux-Arts held three linked exhibits: an orientalist retrospective, works of living orientalist painters, and a competition for young orientalist painters.<sup>141</sup> While these exhibitions did not further Charles-Roux's regionalist agenda, they were designed to encourage support for colonialism. The section was overseen by Léonce Bénédite, who was curator of the Musée du Luxembourg, which collected works by living French

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<sup>140</sup> Charles-Roux, *Souvenirs du Passé*, 490.

artists. He advocated the purely aesthetic study of foreign cultures, but bluntly stated the ulterior motive.

Ce rôle purement artistique comportait, comme corollaire, une mission de propagande. Si l'Orient reste toujours pour nous le pays de l'immuable, du mystère et du rêve, s'il continue à exercer la séduction inépuisable de sa lumière et de son ciel, ce magique décor des Mille et une Nuits ne nous cache pas les êtres vivants, citoyens naturels de vastes empires qui portent au fond des sables brûlants et de mers lointaines les frontières de la patrie. Tout en restant fidèles à leur idéal étroitement pittoresque les orientalistes ne pouvaient oublier que ce sont les littérateurs et surtout les artistes qui ont le plus contribué à faire pénétrer dans la foule les formes et les mœurs de l'Orient, à lui ôter chaque jour son caractère exceptionnel et inusité, à l'acclimater enfin parmi nous.<sup>142</sup>

Bénédite thus underlines the importance of art in the colonialist project.

The *Exposition Rétrospective artistique* included many major painters of the nineteenth century. The surprisingly avant-garde nature of this exhibition is undoubtedly due to the curator of this section, Gaston Bernheim Jeune. Romantic orientalist such as Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps, Eugène Delacroix, Jean-Léon Gérôme, Théodore Chassériau, Eugène Fromentin, and Horace Vernet were well represented. These "orientalistes d'hier. . . serviront donc d'exemple aux nouveaux orientalistes."<sup>143</sup> More modern works included were Edouard Manet's *La Nègresse: Etude pour Olympia* (Figure 83),<sup>144</sup> and two pictures of Algerian women by Pierre-Auguste Renoir.<sup>145</sup> Two paintings by Paul Gauguin were shown: *La Martinique* and *Paysage à Tahiti*.<sup>146</sup> Thus, the modern

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<sup>141</sup> Charles-Roux appointed the official painter to the Ministry of the Colonies, Louis Dumoulin, as overall head of these exhibits; however Bénédite seems to have been the dominant figure.

<sup>142</sup> Bénédite, LIII.

<sup>143</sup> Charles-Roux, "Nos Expositions," xxiii.

<sup>144</sup> The catalogue only lists artist, title and owner, so it is difficult to determine exactly what was shown. Although Denis Rouart and Daniel Wildenstein, *Edouard Manet: Catalogue raisonné* 2 vols., (Lausanne and Paris: Bibliothèque des Arts, 1975) do not list this exhibition, the title and provenance suggest this was the painting shown.

<sup>145</sup> Renoir showed *Tête d'Algérienne, Fête du camp*, which belonged to Monet, and *Tête d'Algérienne*, which belonged to Jules Strauss.

<sup>146</sup> Georges Wildenstein, *Gauguin*, vol. 1 (Paris: Editions des Beaux-Arts, 1964) does not include this exhibition in any exhibition lists. Examination of provenance reveals that, since Bernheim Jeune is listed as the owner of *Paysage à Tahiti*, it was likely Wildenstein 503, *Tahitiennes près d'un ruisseau* (1893, oil

exhibit would also have reinforced the colonial theme with its depictions of colonial subjects. The avant-garde nature of these works notwithstanding, the overall narrative would have emphasized, as Charles-Roux intended, that “chaque fois que la France a tenté un effort à l’extérieur, il s’est trouvé des peintres pour écrire les phases de ses luttes et consacrer sa gloire.”<sup>147</sup>

A third section, the *Exposition historique*, sought to “faire revivre sous les yeux du visiteur”<sup>148</sup> the history of France’s colonial expansions through historic objects, works of art and *bibelots*. Called a sort of “annexe du musée Carnavalet de Paris,”<sup>149</sup> this section held predominantly military items arranged by geographic area. As examples of the objects, the sword of a famous French general from the siege of Tonkin, souvenirs from the Algerian campaigns, and the flag of Fachoda were all displayed. It showed busts of Gambetta and Ferry, both of whom had supported imperialism, busts of generals of many military expeditions, and statues of the “*morts glorieux*” as well as “les souvenirs plus récents des campagnes d’Afrique, de nos prises de possession successives de la Tunisie, de l’Indo-Chine, de Madagascar et de notre vaste domaine de l’Afrique Occidentale.”<sup>150</sup> Historical exhibitions such as this were not particularly uncommon at this time; however, the care with which their interpretation was circumscribed certainly was.

The official guide explained the items and their significance to France’s colonial expansion, often in some detail. This kind of interpretative explanation was extremely

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on canvas, 73 x 92 cm, private collection); it could also have been Wildenstein 568, *Te Pape Nave Nave Eau Délicieuse* (1898, oil on canvas, 73 x 92 cm, private collection, Chicago), although the landscape description makes the former more likely.

<sup>147</sup> Charles-Roux, “Nos Expositions,” xxiv.

<sup>148</sup> Charles-Roux, “Nos Expositions,” xxv.

<sup>149</sup> *Guide officiel*, 29.

<sup>150</sup> Charles-Roux, from “Nos Expositions,” quoted in *Guide officiel*, 30.

unusual at the time since catalogues for both art and historical exhibitions almost never gave contextual explanations beyond the artist, title, and date. Indeed, the catalogues for all the art exhibits were printed together, and this is the only one to have received such detailed commentary. The display of objects belonging to Béhanzin, the King of Dahomey, was accompanied for example by text stating: "Nous avons un rôle de civilisation et d'intérêt en même temps qu'un rôle d'expansion à remplir."<sup>151</sup> The reason this commentary was seen as necessary is clear given the political atmosphere toward colonialization in 1906. Although there is virtually no other sign of it in the exposition, or even in the Marseilles press, there was widespread horror at recently revealed atrocities by the colonialists in the French Congo.<sup>152</sup> The viewer was left much room for individual interpretation in the purely artistic exhibits, but it seems the meaning of these objects had to be specified.

The final exhibit of this series, the *Exposition du Concours des Bourses de voyage*, contained only works of artists less than 45 years old, and offered financial assistance for selected artists to "aller étudier aux Colonies les vives couleurs, les tons chauds, les jeux de lumière qu'ils n'ont fait qu'entrevoir ici."<sup>153</sup> The prize money came from the ministries of Colonies and Public Instruction as well as the sub-department of Beaux-Arts and the governors of the colonies.<sup>154</sup> So, while the government did not fund the Provençal exhibition, it did support the broader colonialist project.

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<sup>151</sup> Boulland de l'Escale, "Catalogue de l'Exposition Historique," *Notice Officielle et Catalogue des Expositions des Beaux-Arts* (Paris: Moderne Imprimerie, 1906), 15.

<sup>152</sup> The contributions of anarchist artists such as Kees van Dongen, František Kupka and Pablo Picasso to the debate about colonialism have been examined by Patricia Leighton, "The White Peril and l'art nègre: Picasso, Primitivism and Anticolonialism," *Art Bulletin* 72, no. 4 (Dec. 1990): 609-630.

<sup>153</sup> *Guide officiel*, 30.

<sup>154</sup> Dumoulin, "Aux Futurs Coloniaux," LXIII.



The art exhibitions contained within the Palais du Ministère des Colonies et des Beaux-Arts were in keeping with the artistic project of orientalism, which went hand in hand with the colonial conquest. Despite the common interest in furthering the colonialist cause, however, the regional artistic displays had a rather different agenda. Often portrayed in an exoticist manner similar to the colonies, Provence was here shown to have its own artistic traditions; the need to demonstrate these evidently outweighed the purely propagandistic aspects of the colonialist project.

This examination of the representations of Provence at the Paris Exposition Universelle de 1900 and at the Exposition Coloniale de Marseille, 1906 underlines the spatial and temporal roles created in expositions. It is apparent that Marseilles tried to reconfigure its place within the nation using art exhibitions and other tools to emphasize that the region too had a history. The Exposition Coloniale also used the sense of nostalgia brought out by Arlésienne costume, vernacular architecture, and picturesque landscape to suggest the continuation of that tradition in the present. Charles-Roux used the well-established techniques of the central government--the isolation of art as a civilizing discourse--to assert a unique place for Marseilles, the Port of the Orient, between colony and capital.

### **CHAPTER THREE:**

#### ***SELLING PROVENCE: TOURISM, POSTERS AND LANDSCAPE***

##### **INTRODUCTION**

Advertising posters are a largely unexamined source in French cultural politics, yet they were central to the development of tourist imaginings of the nation and the region. The democratization of tourist travel to France's Mediterranean coast from 1880 to 1914 significantly affected the ways in which the region was imagined. This chapter will show that, alongside the political centralization taking place during the Third Republic, the tourist discourse was influenced by governmental programs designed to encourage a national knowledge of the diverse regions of France. The Provençal regionalist movement opposed this centralizing political system, but supported tourism, partly for economic reasons. More importantly, however, Provençal regionalists believed that displaying their region for the tourist gaze would encourage a renewed regional pride and consequently aid the longed for Provençal renaissance. Thus, tourism in the Third Republic was integral to the creation and maintenance of both national and regional identities. Promoted by the national government as a means of increasing national sentiment, tourism was also encouraged within Provence by local elites as a means of resistance to Parisian hegemony.

The posters that helped shape this discourse from the 1890s initially appealed to older paradigms of tourist travel, such as the aristocratic winter visit. Quickly, however,

the industry responded to the changing market by developing posters portraying the 'natural landscape,' or the tourist surveying the view. Locally created posters often focused on the unique cultural traditions of the region. Thus, regional identity was negotiated in the public sphere of advertising in a discourse of nation and region, tourist and native. This self-definition as other may seem paradoxical, but within the context of resistance to Parisian hegemony and national uniformity, the strategy aimed to revive local culture.

### *Ideology of Landscape*

As recent analyses have shown, the category 'landscape' is inevitably an ideological construct--a way of perceiving on the part of the viewer--and this fact underlies my investigation of the tourist landscape and its representations.<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Green's groundbreaking study considered the wide variety of media in which the landscape discourse is constituted; he shows that the experience of modern Paris was an essential factor in the development of the bourgeoisie's interest in 'natural nature.'<sup>2</sup> This chapter examines the new taste for 'natural nature,' and relates it to the new way of conceptualizing the landscape as a symbol of national identity.

Painting was an important medium for the conceptualization of the French landscape, and its value to the nation was much discussed as the nineteenth century drew

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<sup>1</sup> For an excellent critique of examinations of Fauve landscapes that do not recognize the ideological component of landscape imagery, see Roger Benjamin, "The Decorative Landscape, Fauvism, and the Arabesque of Observation," *Art Bulletin* 75, no. 2 (June 1993): 295-316; and Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1984) provides a useful historicizing of the concept of landscape.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas Green, "Natura naturans: the formation of an urban vision," Part II in *The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and bourgeois culture in nineteenth-century France* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 67-126.

to a close.<sup>3</sup> Acceptance of landscape as a genre, previously seen as one of the lower orders of painting within the academic hierarchy, was widespread by then. Even provincial museums, traditionally slow to accept change, had embraced landscape as a worthy art form.<sup>4</sup> It was also beginning to be recognized as an important part of the French artistic tradition. In his 1894 history of landscape painting, Raymond Bouyer called for a historical exhibition of French landscape painting, as well as a permanent museum exclusively devoted to landscape painting, which would better showcase the genre's continuing relevance to the nation.<sup>5</sup> Bouyer cites a precedent for this idea, the proposal by Paul Mantz and Paul Guigou for an exhibition of "la géographie artistique de la France enseignée par ses paysagistes défunts ou vivants" at the 1889 Exposition Universelle.<sup>6</sup> Landscape painting was seen, by Bouyer and others, as a means of teaching citizens about the geography of France, but it was not painting alone that would be put to this use.

The Ministère de l'Instruction Publique decided in 1900 to "envoyer à des écoles élémentaires des tableaux en couleur représentant des paysages de la France et des reproductions des principaux monuments de notre art nationale."<sup>7</sup> Significantly, it was not just historically or artistically sanctioned monuments that would be sent to the schools, but images of France's landscapes themselves that were seen as educational and

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<sup>3</sup> Stephen Daniels, *Fields of Vision: Landscape Imagery and National Identity in England and the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) shows that in the British case, one of the principal functions of landscape imagery is to accommodate both national and regional identities.

<sup>4</sup> Daniel J. Sherman, *Worthy Monuments: Art Museums and the Politics of Culture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989): 147, 198-200.

<sup>5</sup> Raymond Bouyer, *Le Paysage dans l'Art* (Paris: L'Artiste - Revue de Paris, 1894), 75.

<sup>6</sup> Bouyer, 78.

<sup>7</sup> Paul Maryllis, "Les Paysages de France," *La Cigale* year 25, no. 5 (April 1900): 79. See Michael Orwicz, "Anti-Academicism and State Power in the Early Third Republic," *Art History* 14, no. 4 (December 1991): 574-77 on an earlier scheme to use visual culture to inculcate state values within education.

'national.'<sup>8</sup> In *La Cigale*, the Parisian journal of writers and artists from the Midi, Paul Maryllis applauded the decision asking, "qu'oi de plus propre à exciter l'intérêt et l'enthousiasme des enfants que la vue même de notre pays?"<sup>9</sup> The children, suggested Maryllis, would feel forgotten instincts arise in themselves, would experience a rise in aesthetic sentiment, and would, moreover, experience "le sens profond de l'histoire, de la chaîne qui relie l'une à l'autre, à travers les âges, toutes les générations d'une même patrie."<sup>10</sup> Maryllis suggested "par l'image, sinon par la vue directe, faisons-nous une histoire, une géographie vivante,"<sup>11</sup> calling for an artistic display of France's geography shown in landscape painting. He poetically evoked the benefits.

Imaginez une exposition de notre France avec les tableaux de Rousseau, de Corot etc. Quelle révélation et combien on l'aimerait ce pays que, par l'enchantement de ses artistes, on trouverait si séduisant et si beau. . . . Donnons à notre pays toute l'attention qu'il mérite. . . . Devant la physionomie animée de notre France, nous nous sentirions plus attachés à sa terre, à sa race, à ses coutumes.<sup>12</sup>

It was believed that images of the landscape would root the people in the land and unite the nation.

Maryllis moved from discussing the use of representations of French countryside to the issue of the land itself. He argued, "si nos paysages de France, si nos sites historiques, peints ou réels, ont un tel attrait et une telle puissance d'évocation, c'est donc un crime d'y toucher."<sup>13</sup> While the government had long recognized the importance of preserving historic sites and monuments, said Maryllis, it had not yet understood the importance of preserving picturesque scenery for its own sake. Furthermore, he

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<sup>8</sup> Richard Brettell, "The Fields of France," in *A Day in the Country* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1984), 241-247 discusses how the ideology of plentiful land in Impressionist painting corresponded to a nationalist ideology.

<sup>9</sup> Maryllis, 80.

<sup>10</sup> Maryllis, 80.

<sup>11</sup> Maryllis, 81.

<sup>12</sup> Maryllis, 81-2.

complains about the fact that even in the most remote region of France, just as in the large cities, “l’affiche aux tons criards vous gâte dans sa fleur la plus douce émotion.”<sup>14</sup> For Maryllis, this visual polluting of the countryside by modern advertising must be stopped, and so he supports the idea of a society for the protection of landscape. His complaint that there should not be posters blocking the view reveals much about the prevailing ideology of landscape. First and foremost, it is believed to be a national entity and a right of citizens. Moreover, landscape had to exclude those obvious markers of modernity, posters, which were quite acceptable in cities and even gave them much of their vibrancy.<sup>15</sup> The French landscape to be preserved was rural and untouched by modernity.

Charles Beauquier, a deputy from Besançon, spearheaded the campaign to create laws protecting historic sites and landscapes. In 1903, he formed the Société pour la protection des paysages.<sup>16</sup> His call for the protection of landscape sites underscores the very urban nature of the landscape movement. In an article in the Parisian regionalist journal *Mouvement Esthétique*, Beauquier discussed the supposed lack of aesthetic appreciation by primitive and rural peoples for landscape, saying:

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<sup>13</sup> Maryllis, 80.

<sup>14</sup> Maryllis, 81.

<sup>15</sup> Landscape painting had generally excluded signs of modernity, as Robert Herbert points out in his “City vs. Country: The Rural Image in French Painting From Millet to Gauguin,” *Artforum* 8 (1970): 49; Herbert cites Castagnary attacking the Jeanron’s inclusion of a telegraph wire in a landscape painting; Castagnary asked: “why this electric telegraph? What does it signify, I don’t mean in this painting, but in any painting? What is there in common between this brass wire, this utilitarian industrial product, and landscape, which is the seeking and expression of beauty in nature? It is nonsense.”

<sup>16</sup> *L’Action Régionaliste* 2 (February 1903): 43; Richard Thomson, *Monet to Matisse: Landscape Painting in France, 1874-1914* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1994), 19, briefly discusses this society comparing it to the creation of the National Trust in Great Britain, however, he sees the context as paradoxical, while I do not; he concludes, “In the very decade before 1914, when avant-garde painters subjected landscape motifs to extremes of chromatic experimentation and formal fragmentation, paradoxically conservation of the natural landscape was being advanced by regional notables with connections in the cultural establishment.”

Les peuples primitifs, plus près de leur berceau, et dont la vie peu compliquée se rapproche de l'animalité, n'ont pas le sentiment du Beau dans le Paysage. Le villageois qui vit dans les champs au milieu des beautés naturelles reste indifférent, ou à peu près, à leurs plus éblouissantes manifestations. Dans le plus bel arbre du monde, il ne verra qu'un nombre déterminé de mètres cubes de bois à brûler ou de poutres pour la construction.<sup>17</sup>

Stating that neither the middle ages nor antiquity had appreciated landscape, Beauquier pointed to the very modern nature of his conception of natural landscape when he concluded: "Il faut arriver aux temps modernes pour saisir le sentiment du Beau naturel dans tout son épanouissement."<sup>18</sup> Beauquier argues that it is the urbanite's modern sentiment that can appreciate landscape beauty, and neither the primitive nor the rural dweller who, as we have seen, was constructed as living in a different time, had this aesthetic faculty. Consequently, he concludes, it must be protected from these peoples who use the earth and only see in it an economic interest. It must also be protected from the other encroaching enemy: industrialization. Both enemies see only economic value in the land, and Beauquier's unspoken assumption is that landscape exists outside the realm of the commodity; as with art, recognizing landscape is evidence of disinterested taste.<sup>19</sup> Beauquier found it necessary to create what we would now call a lobby group to protect landscape. For Beauquier, the beauty of landscape was just one aspect of its relevance. Its destruction is further shameful to France because the nation's "beaux sites" were the "inspireurs de son génie artistique."<sup>20</sup> Thus, Beauquier's campaign to save the natural beauties of France linked them to their representation in France's cultural heritage as

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<sup>17</sup> Charles Beauquier, "Pour la Protection des Paysages," *Le Mouvement Esthétique* 2 (15 March 1902): 22.

<sup>18</sup> Beauquier, "Paysages," 22.

<sup>19</sup> On the idea of disinterested taste as part of the hegemony of class, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); on attitudes towards commodification of landscape in United States, see Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995).

<sup>20</sup> Beauquier, "Paysages," 22.

something outside of commodification, that was essentially rural, and that must now be left in a 'natural' state.

The activities of the Société pour la protection des paysages were widely reported in the regionalist press, and the Société can be seen as another aspect of the regionalist movement. Beauquier was a prominent figure within the Fédération Régionaliste Français (FRF), and wrote of the need for constitutional reform compatible with more democratic government structures in the association's journal.<sup>21</sup> He argued: "République et centralisation sont une véritable antinomie. La République doit se distinguer de tous les régimes autocratiques par ce fait essentiel que ce n'est pas le pouvoir exécutif qui doit gouverner la nation, mais la nation qui doit se gouverner elle-même."<sup>22</sup> In other articles, Beauquier distanced himself from the fanatical nationalism that had co-opted the decentralist discourse after the turn of the century.<sup>23</sup> In so doing, he further strengthened the link between regionalism, federalism, and the development of a state policy of appreciating landscape.<sup>24</sup>

In 1906, many regionalists applauded the creation of a new law, undoubtedly precipitated by Beauquier's lobby group, for the protection of both sites and monuments having artistic character. The *Annales de la Société d'Etudes Provençales* reported:

Soucieux de la conservation des sites et des monuments de France les plus recherchés pour leur beauté naturelle ou pour leur valeur artistique, le Parlement vient d'adopter une loi dont le texte a été promulgué le 24 avril 1906 et qui a pour but de constituer dans chaque département une commission des sites et monuments naturels de caractère artistique.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Beauquier, "Un constitution décentralisatrice," *L'Action Régionaliste* Year 4, no. 3 (May 1905): 2-6.

<sup>22</sup> Beauquier, "Décentralisatrice," 6.

<sup>23</sup> Beauquier, "Patriotisme et Décentralisation," *L'Action Régionaliste* year 4, no. 7 (September 1905): 133.

<sup>24</sup> Beauquier cites as among the founding members of the Société pour la protection du paysage: Jean Aicard, Mistral, (both prominent Félibrige), the art critic Jean Lahor and the painter Jules Breton.

<sup>25</sup> *Annales de la Société d'Etudes Provençales* 3 (1906): 237.



This newly proposed law was seen as decentralizing by André Hallays in the *Revue Universelle*.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, Hallays linked the creation of regional preservation societies to the newly developed *syndicats d'initiative*, which he thought would help in the necessary preservation since the *syndicats* were beginning to realize that “de beaux chateaux, de belles églises, de beaux rochers, de belles futaies sont des sources de revenu.”<sup>27</sup> While he was skeptical that this alone would bring about a provincial renaissance, he nevertheless found it a happy coincidence that commerce and aesthetics had the same beneficial goal of preserving the nation's views.

There was, then, a widespread interest in the power of landscape images of France, and both the landscape itself and representations of it were seen as valuable assets to the nation. Widespread belief in the pedagogical qualities of landscape spread from the Minister of Public Instruction, as shown by his decision to send images not just of monuments but also of landscapes themselves to every school in France. Furthermore, this interest was widespread among politically active regionalists such as Deputy Beauquier, and was well supported in regionalist publications. Essential to this definition of the importance of landscape preservation is its urban sensibility, which is especially evident in the definition of the countryside as something that should not include visible signs of modernity. Furthermore, while the land itself was essential to ideas of landscape, so was its re-creation in painting and the distribution of this ‘way of seeing’ to all the citizens of the nation. Landscape around the turn of the century was thus part of a national heritage, and tourists were encouraged to regard landscape as a symbol of the national patrimony.

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<sup>26</sup> André Hallays, “Le Défense des monuments et des paysages de la France,” *Revue Universelle* 115 (1 August 1904): 423.

### *Conceptualizing Tourism*

The history of tourism in the nineteenth century shows a democratization of the industry.<sup>28</sup> What had, at the beginning of the century, been the exclusive domain of the wealthy became, by the end of the century, an activity to which the middle classes could aspire.<sup>29</sup> This democratization brought other changes. Tourists in Provence at the beginning of the century were usually spending the winter at a coastal resort, such as Nice or Hyères, where it was thought the climate and rest would provide a healthful respite from diseases such as tuberculosis. These tourists were likely little interested in much activity, nor would they have been interested in seeing the rest of the region, which was thought of as a primitive, even dangerous, backwater.<sup>30</sup> Jules Michelet, for example, in his *Tableau de France*, famously referred to the south as nothing but a “*pays rude*.”<sup>31</sup> After the arrival of the railroads, Provence became better known, and a more active tourist was also inclined to spend the winter in a slightly expanded range of similar resorts which were beginning to develop activities such as casinos and other entertainment.<sup>32</sup> By the 1880s, there was a noticeable change from a tourist primarily concerned with health to a more fashionable or *mondain* tourist.<sup>33</sup> The formerly aristocratic preoccupation with health through clean air and rest gave way to a tourist more interested in an active holiday that involved seeing and being seen by fellow

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<sup>27</sup> Hallays, 423.

<sup>28</sup> Scott Schaefer, “The Retreat from Paris,” in *A Day in the Country*, 299 attributes the “intense yearning” people had for the countryside to industrialization.

<sup>29</sup> For a brief outline of the history of French tourism, see Marc Boyer, *Le Tourisme* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1972), 133-148.

<sup>30</sup> Maurice Agulhon and Noël Coulet, *Histoire de la Provence* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1993), 107-113 discuss the changes in tourist perceptions of Provence.

<sup>31</sup> Quoted in Agulhon and Coulet, 109.

<sup>32</sup> On the development of Nice and the effects of tourism on its urban planning, see James C. Haug, *Leisure and Urbanism in Nineteenth-Century Nice* (Lawrence, Kansas: Regents Press of Kansas, 1982).

<sup>33</sup> Boyer, 140-143; and Haug, 48-9.

tourists. This second-generation tourist, to use Haug's terminology, was more interested in visible luxury consumption than private relaxation, which led to a corresponding shift from accommodation in relatively modest private villas to lodging in highly visible opulent hotels, from quiet promenades to more structured entertainment found in casinos.<sup>34</sup> Tourism continued to grow until World War I, especially after 1892 when round trip excursion rates began to be used.<sup>35</sup> A scenic tour of a number of vacation spots became increasingly available to larger numbers of people. Agulhon and Coulet suggest a third stage, when the region became known and appreciated for its nature.<sup>36</sup> Certainly, the publication of Stephen Liégeard's *La Côte d'Azur* in 1887, where the coastal region of Provence was first given this evocative nickname, was both influential in promoting the new tourism and also indicative of a shift taking place.<sup>37</sup> This was also the period when the region begins to control its own image through the development of *syndicats d'initiative*, which promoted a particular vision of Provence.

Recently, more theoretical considerations of tourism have further nuanced the understanding of the importance of tourism in modern society. Dean MacCannell's seminal work *The Tourist* argued that tourism is a significant structure of modern life that is fundamentally a quest for the 'authentic.'<sup>38</sup> This quest seeks to create wholeness in fragmented modernity by locating authenticity in others: other places, other peoples, or other times. Although MacCannell does not problematize authenticity, the concept has been much discussed in other forums. The notion of authenticity has usually relied on a

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<sup>34</sup> Haug, 49 and passim.

<sup>35</sup> Paul Goujon, *Cent Ans de Tourisme en France* (Paris: Cherche Midi, 1989), 26.

<sup>36</sup> Agulhon and Coulet, 110.

<sup>37</sup> Stephen Liégeard, *La Côte d'Azur* (Paris: Maison Quantin, 1887); for an impressionistic survey of French literature discussing the region see André Merquiol, *La Côte d'Azur dans la Littérature Française* (Paris: Editions Jacques Dervyl, 1949).

<sup>38</sup> Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Schocken Books, 1976).

definition of culture as totally isolated from other cultures, especially that of the viewer, so that the viewer's very presence makes the culture less authentic. This results in a freezing of 'authentic' cultures at some point in the past, in a mythical time of changelessness.<sup>39</sup> MacCannell's structuralist argument has been criticized for overstating the determining nature of the structure of modern life on the tourist (seen as monolithic) and for not recognizing that the role of tourist and toured are not mutually exclusive.<sup>40</sup> He can also be critiqued for ignoring historical changes within the modern era. His elaboration of a search for authenticity as an essential part of tourism has been refined by later writers, such as John Urry and James Buzard, who each suggest authenticity as the goal of some kinds of tourism.

Urry's more historical analysis similarly shows the importance of tourism as a phenomenon in modern society. Recognizing the diverse kinds of tourism, he nevertheless maintains that tourism is a structure of difference, and the tourist gaze "presupposes a system of social activities and signs which locate the particular tourist practices, not in terms of some intrinsic characteristics, but through the contrasts implied with non-tourist social practices."<sup>41</sup> Consequently, tourist practices must be historically located. Where MacCannell locates the central feature of tourism as a quest for authenticity, Urry instead conceptualizes it as a perceived difference between the

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<sup>39</sup> For the concept of authenticity see Lionel Trilling, *Sincerity and Authenticity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); Sally Price, *Primitive Art in Civilized Places* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989) remains a deceptively simple analysis of the complex issues; see also Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997).

<sup>40</sup> For criticism of MacCannell, see Erik Cohen, "Sociology of Tourism," *Annual Review of Sociology* 10 (1984): 373-92; John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage, 1990), 8-11; James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 5-6; and the very useful historiography by Tom Selwyn, "Introduction," in *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*, ed. Tom Selwyn, (London: John Wiley and Sons, 1996), 1-32.

<sup>41</sup> Urry, 2.

everyday and the extraordinary, which might involve seeking authenticity.<sup>42</sup> Urry underlines how visual an experience tourism is, and how structured this gaze is as a way of seeing and conceiving that must be learned.<sup>43</sup> Urry also makes a useful distinction between tourists with a 'romantic gaze' in contrast to those who prefer a 'collective gaze.' Romantic tourists value intense personal emotional experience, which they often find in nature.<sup>44</sup> This romantic gaze values privacy, solitude and often constructs "a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze."<sup>45</sup> Thus, the romantic gaze often sacralizes nature. At the other end of the tourist spectrum is the 'collective gaze,' which relies on large numbers of other tourists who, by their presence, confirm the value of the place being visited.

Buzard's study of tourism in literature reveals that a dominant trope of travel writing contrasts inauthentic 'tourism,' which is that of virtually everyone else, with one's own 'travels,' perceived as more authentic. Much like Urry's conception of the romantic tourist, Buzard's 'anti-tourist' constructs his or her "own cultural experiences as authentic and unique, setting them against a backdrop of always assumed tourist vulgarity, repetition and ignorance."<sup>46</sup> Buzard differs from Urry in that he is more concerned with the tourist's self-representation in literature than the actuality of tourist travel. His analysis shows how dominant the trope of the anti-tourist is in nineteenth-century literature, and it can be applied equally to visual representation. Robert Herbert has critiqued both Urry and Buzard, however, by pointing out that tourists assume

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<sup>42</sup> Urry, 11.

<sup>43</sup> Urry, 11-13.

<sup>44</sup> Urry, 20, 45, and *passim*.

<sup>45</sup> Urry, 45.

<sup>46</sup> Buzard, 5.

different guises during their travel, sometimes perceiving their travels as inauthentic and sometimes authentic, for example.<sup>47</sup>

Similarities between tourism and art within capitalism have been suggested by Dona Brown's study of nineteenth-century tourism in New England.<sup>48</sup> Brown argues that the ideology that constructs separate spheres outside the market system for art functioned in an analogous way with tourism.<sup>49</sup> While some aspects of tourism are clearly commodified, such as hotels, other aspects, such as viewing the landscape and the Folk, are seen as outside the commodity system. Brown shows that the tourist industry paradoxically marketed itself by emphasizing these intangible aspects. Tourists, in turn, did not see themselves as consumers but as sensitive lovers of scenery. As Brown concludes, "in spite of how scenic tourists saw it, tourism did not protect nature from commercialization; it intensified the commodification of both art and nature."<sup>50</sup> The visual culture produced by this discourse of landscape and the commodification of travel was an essential part of the American way of seeing New England. Brown's study further shows that New England, which was formerly envisaged as a hive of industry, came to be seen through sentimental eyes. It became "a mythic region called Old New England – rural, preindustrial, and ethnically 'pure' – a reverse image of all that was most unsettling in late nineteenth-century urban life."<sup>51</sup> This version of the region was highly selective, ignoring the large urban centres that were integral to the region. In touristic viewing, Brown shows, the imagined world of pastoral beauty was an escape from the

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<sup>47</sup> R. Herbert, *Monet on the Normandy Coast: Tourism and Painting, 1867-1886* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994), 4.

<sup>48</sup> Brown, 5-6.

<sup>49</sup> Brown, 5-6.

<sup>50</sup> Brown, 13.

<sup>51</sup> Brown, 9.

conditions of modern industrial life.<sup>52</sup> The ideology of tourism was very similar in Provence, although I am particularly interested in how local inhabitants actively participated in the mythification of the region.

The importance of tourism in the making of modern art has recently come to the fore. Robert Herbert has shown that Claude Monet's images of the Normandy coast are generally devoid of signs of the very tourism that brought him to the site and furthermore provided an audience for his work.<sup>53</sup> Thus, these works support the contradictory position of tourists, who arrived thanks to a well-developed commodified network, believing themselves to be experiencing a solitary, mythic communion with the land. James Herbert's work similarly considers the relationship between tourism and painting for the later generation of Fauve painters, linking the ideology of tourism to what he calls their neo-naturalist aesthetic.<sup>54</sup> Both these important works are primarily concerned with the way that what was considered 'high art' responded to nature, and neither give much consideration to the general discourse on landscape.<sup>55</sup> Both consider the sublime and the picturesque, but neither seriously consider the broader categorizing of landscape that was occurring at the national level.<sup>56</sup> In the next chapter, I will examine fine art responses to landscape discourse but, here, I concentrate on posters. Posters remain little known; but

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<sup>52</sup> Brown, 9.

<sup>53</sup> R. Herbert, *Monet on the Normandy Coast*, 1, 6-7.

<sup>54</sup> James D. Herbert, *Fauve Painting: The Making of Cultural Politics* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992).

<sup>55</sup> I use the term "high" or "fine" art with caution; although this categorization is replete with hierarchies that, I believe, hinder historical analysis, it had clear meaning in the period I am discussing, and when I use the term, I signal that historical category rather than an evaluative one.

<sup>56</sup> R. Herbert does briefly consider some guidebook images, primarily to show that Monet painted sites that had been previously depicted, but does not consider them as part of a changing and active process of seeing and representing; J. Herbert briefly considers tourist guidebooks and some postcard images; I go into further detail about tourism, 'high' art, and artists in Chapter Four.

these self-consciously artistic representations prepared tourists (and artists) for the landscapes they were about to see.

### ADVERTISING PROVENCE

An examination of some of the posters produced to promote the region, many by the railway Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée (PLM), reveals some of the stereotypical images that were well established, as well as new ones that came into vogue around the turn of the century. By the 1890s, in addition to their advertising potential, posters were being recognized as artistic, and books such as Roger Marx's five-volume *Les Maîtres de l'Affiche* published between 1896 and 1900 signal their increasing popularity. The rising status of the poster had also been signalled when the 1889 Exposition Universelle exhibited posters and at the 1900 exhibition, which held a retrospective of the acknowledged poster master Jules Chéret's work.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, annual salons for lithographs and posters, such as the Salon des Cent, also developed in the period.<sup>58</sup> PLM posters of the south of France were singled out as particularly artistic in the popular weekly illustrated supplement to *Le Petit Parisien*, which stated:

Depuis quelques années, certaines affiches sont devenues de véritables chefs-d'œuvre artistiques. Les collectionneurs sont venus et les affiches rares ont atteint des prix que bien des tableaux n'obtinrent jamais. . . Il ne pouvait choisir mieux que les splendides dessins que la compagnie des Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée vient de faire paraître.<sup>59</sup>

My examination of these posters shows, however, that it was not only Parisians who were keenly interested in the PLM posters.

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<sup>57</sup> Danièle Giraudy, *L'Affiche* (Marseille: Musée Cantini, 1967).

<sup>58</sup> An 1891 exhibition by Les XX is said to have been the first to exhibit painting and posters together, *Word and Image: Posters from the collection of The Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1968), 15.

<sup>59</sup> "Nos Gravures – L'Art sur les Murs," *Le Petit Parisien Supplément Littéraire Illustré* 193 (Lundi 30 Juillet 1894), 247.



Since the early chroniclers, advertising posters have not been subject to much serious scrutiny. As Robert Goldwater has shown, colour lithography, popular in the first half of the nineteenth century, declined in popularity until it was revived in a commercial context. Indeed, artists such as Pierre Bonnard and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec both first used colour lithography for advertisements, and later used the medium in what was considered fine art.<sup>60</sup> Goldwater concludes:

There is here, then, a situation which clearly indicates the influence of the commercial poster upon the revival of 'artistic' color lithography, and points to the commercial developments of the eighties as the foundation of the artistic successes of the nineties and the renewed interest in work of smaller format and more intimate expression. And then, in retroactive fashion, the commercial poster is itself regarded as a work of art, and is pulled in limited editions *avant la lettre* for the connoisseur and collector.<sup>61</sup>

In general, the focus has been on individual poster designers such as Toulouse-Lautrec or Chéret, or on non-commercial lithographs.<sup>62</sup> Consequently, while their works might be well known, there has been no larger study of the iconography of posters from the late nineteenth century, and recognition of their importance in the visual field remains largely limited to the depiction of Parisian dance halls.<sup>63</sup> Indeed, an astute critic in 1895 recognized this uneven coverage when he wrote: "To turn from music-halls to the great

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<sup>60</sup> Robert Goldwater, "'L'Affiche Moderne': A Revival of Poster Art After 1880," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 22 (1942): 173-82.

<sup>61</sup> Goldwater, 182.

<sup>62</sup> See the exhibition catalogue by Ebrina Feinblatt and Bruce Davis, *Toulouse-Lautrec and his Contemporaries: Posters of the Belle Epoque from the Wagner Collection* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1985); Jane Abdy, *The French Poster: Chéret to Cappiello* (London: Studio Vista, 1969); Alain Weill, *L'affiche française, Que sais-je?* vol. 153 (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1982).

<sup>63</sup> Although broader in focus than most, and giving more social history, Phillip Dennis Cate and Sinclair Hamilton Hitchings, *The Color Revolution: Color Lithography in France, 1890-1900* (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Inc, 1978) continues this focus on Paris and its dance halls.

railway companies is an emphatic transition, and yet the former, no less than the latter have done much to encourage the artist to apply his talent to the *affiche*.’<sup>64</sup>

### *The Cultured Tourist at the Spa*

Hugo d’Alési designed the first colour poster advertising railway travel in France for the PLM line in 1890.<sup>65</sup> His poster for Cannes (Figure 44) is an early example of his many posters advertising Provence, most of which date from the 1890s and picture sites that were already well established spa destinations. They tend to convey the sense of a restful and healthful vacation spot for the leisured upper classes. The poster shows a well-dressed woman sitting in the shade in a cane rocking chair with her dog, a sign of the leisure classes, beside her.<sup>66</sup> She is on a terrace that overlooks the village, the ocean, and the mountain backdrop. Yet she does not survey the fabulous view, instead focusing on the nearby foliage. This poster draws on the long tradition of *villégiature* tourism in which Cannes’ climate--especially beneficial for the tubercular--was more important than any fashionable events. Similarly, an earlier PLM poster by d’Alési advertising *L’Hiver à Nice*, (Figure 45) shows a woman looking away from the view. Shaded by her parasol, she seems to have looked up at the viewer from the book she was reading which hangs in

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<sup>64</sup> Charles Hiatt, *Picture Posters* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1895; reprint, East Ardsley, UK: EP Publishing, 1976), 172.

<sup>65</sup> Henriette Touillier-Feyrabend, “Une affiche militante ou le mariage d’un stéréotype et d’une idéologie,” in *Arlésienne: le mythe?*, ed. Pascale Picard-Cajan (Arles: Museon Arlaten, 1999), 230; little information is available on d’Alési, but basic biographical information can be found in J. Balteau et al, eds., *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Letouzey, 1933); Weill, 59 calls him the most celebrated of the poster designers who specialized in railways.

<sup>66</sup> R. Herbert, *Impressionism: Art, Leisure, and Parisian Society* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 270 and 273 discusses dogs as emblematic of the upper classes, particularly lap dogs and greyhounds.

her right hand. In both, the focus of our gaze is on the recuperating visitor; beyond its climate, little of the city or region is suggested.<sup>67</sup>

Even before these posters were produced, a new kind of tourist could be found in the now-fashionable coastal resorts. Two examples showing more active tourists are indicative of what Urry has called the tourist of the collective gaze, who wants to see and be seen, who knowingly partakes of the leisure industry, and takes pleasures in a manner appropriate to her station in life. The anonymous poster, *Cannes L'Hiver Gd. Hôtel des Pins*, (Figure 46) indicates a much more active winter vacationer. It depicts two women playing tennis, which signals the English vogue for the area.<sup>68</sup> In the middle ground a woman with a parasol—that clear marker of class in the nineteenth century—promenades with a young child, and in the background the luxury hotel itself is visible.<sup>69</sup> Bunches of cut flowers and lemons signal the benefits of the gentle climate.<sup>70</sup> The landscaped garden in which the tourists actively amuse themselves is created for the pleasure of the winter vacationers, but similar to d'Alési's image for Cannes (Figure 44), the natural landscape is not the real attraction.

The active tourist is also the subject in the anonymous *Hyères Var Station hivernale à 16 heures de Paris Théâtre Municipal Casino-Concerts Promenades Superbes La ville est à 3 km de la mer* (Figure 47). Here, a lady and gentleman are

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<sup>67</sup> Sharon Hirsch suggested that the timing of the disappearance of these images evoking the tubercular might be related to scientific research that had recently discovered tuberculosis was not primarily a disease of delicate women, but instead often infected miners, for example. The French scientific community in France disputed the international reports, and consequently tuberculosis retained an upper-class feminine association in France after it no longer did in Switzerland.

<sup>68</sup> On the travel habits of British tourists see John Pemble, *The Mediterranean Passion: Victorians and Edwardians in the South* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987).

<sup>69</sup> Haug, 58 discusses the development of similar hotels built in the 1880s.

<sup>70</sup> Adolphe Joanne, *Géographie de Département du Var* (Paris: Hachette, 1880), 40 says of the department, "Il doit à son admirable climat une foule de plantes exotiques, et la culture des fleurs y donne lieu à un

shown riding horses, a leisure activity which was, like tennis, strongly associated with the English and the upper classes. The English connection is strengthened by an inset image of the residence of the British queen, which further heightens the aristocratic and fashionable aspects of the resort town. The inclusion of travel schedules alludes to the international elite that was visiting during the period, since the schedules provide information about cities such as London, St. Petersburg, Berlin and Vienna. Both posters convey the availability of the most up-to-date amusements for the tourists, and Figure 47 lists a wide array of sophisticated leisure activities for a small village.<sup>71</sup> Similar to the lemons in the Cannes poster, the Hyères ad displays a bunch of cut flowers. Cut flowers contrast markedly with later images, which focus on the beauty of the flora to be seen in nature; they seem to signify, if not an artificial use of the land, at least a cultured, non-native response to it. Luxurious cut flowers were also associated with upper-class tourists. The local government of Nice, for example, consciously chose to develop floral festivals and include them in the re-invented carnival as a means of attracting wealthy tourists.<sup>72</sup> So while possibly alluding to such a significant social event of the winter season, or the vogue for floral design, the cut flowers so prevalent in these images simultaneously indicate a cultured appreciation of the beauty of the land, in contrast to a more natural landscape.

### ***The Natural Tourist Along the Coast***

In marked contrast to posters focusing on tourists enjoying resort facilities, d'Alési's *Hyères* (Figure 48) is indicative of a new kind of advertising. Instead of focusing on the

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commerce important." While the flora in the poster suggests the climate, their economic importance is not suggested.

<sup>71</sup> The 1876 census reports Hyères population as 12,289 as cited in Adolphe Joanne, *Géographie du Département du Var* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1880), 37 and 54.

tourist, it concentrates on the new object of the tourist gaze: the 'natural' landscape of Provence. The panoramic view of the distant village and harbour includes only one visible figure: a shepherd tending his flock, which is a symbol redolent of the pastoral and all it implies. The absence of visible signs of tourism in the distant landscape puts the viewer in the position of the romantic anti-tourist who came to experience the 'authentic' landscape, off the beaten path.<sup>72</sup> Here, the distinctive characteristics of the region are signified not by cut flowers, but by the umbrella pine tree, rooted in the land. Similarly, the shepherd lives in harmony with the land and is pictured as part of the scene on offer for our gaze. Our connection made with this shepherd is purely visual, as it undoubtedly would be in the tourist experience. The viewer is almost solitary, and like the painter, this appreciation of the beauty of the landscape marks the traveller as having superior taste, distinct from locals, who did not appreciate the landscape in which they lived. Tourists, removed from their everyday environment, presumably appreciate the landscape's aesthetic qualities to the exclusion of all else. This landscape, free from the disturbing signs of tourism, can be appreciated--as Beauquier would have wanted--for its naturalness, and for its evidence of supposedly unchanging traditions of France's past.

This aesthetic appreciation of the landscape and the consequent link between artist and tourist is made explicit when the two are merged into one figure taking in the view. The role of the artist in re-creating the landscape is depicted in one PLM poster dating from 1897, the *Littoral de la Méditerranée* (Figure 49). Designed by Henry Gray, the poster depicts a family vacationing at the edge of the sea. The gloved and hatted woman in the foreground looks out over the beach where her children play. Her parasol

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<sup>72</sup> Haug, 49-51.

<sup>73</sup> See Buzard, 34-37 and passim on the desire for a solitary experience of nature as a trope of anti-tourism.

lies on the ground behind her, filled with wild flowers she must have picked, and a posy of flowers is in her left hand. Her husband sketches the scene before him, and his palette and paint box lie in the foreground, marking his activity as artistic. The fair-haired children play on the beach and, like their parents, they too wear wide brimmed hats. A dark-haired local woman, who wears dress signifying the region, and a headpiece (but not a brimmed hat) over her much darker hair, attends the children. Her difference from the tourists is signified in several ways. By this time, the coast has become a scene to be painted by the visiting tourists, as much a part of the tourist experience as the sand to be played upon by the child with bucket and shovel, the flowers to be picked, and the ocean to be sailed. Indeed, a regional magazine from the period reported in 1899: “Notre beau littoral est toujours de plus en plus recherché par les artistes: c’est là qu’ils veulent vivre!”<sup>74</sup>

The non-specific location of this ad also indicates a geographic shift taking place. It is not only the well-established stations that are now visited, but also the entire length of the coastline that is becoming a site for the tourist gaze. However, the 1897 poster does not yet use the term “Côte d’Azur,” coined by Stephen Liégeard a decade earlier.<sup>75</sup> Neither does it use the term Provence. Instead, it seems to suggest a more diffuse tourism along the Mediterranean coast, attracted by the natural scenery rather than associations with history that Provence may have had.

In *Côte d’Azur* (Figure 50), dating from around 1910, the image once again includes tourists. There is, however, a subtle yet significant change indicating the

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<sup>74</sup> “Echos de Provence,” *La Provence Illustrée* 2, no. 9-10 (1 September, 1899): 73; the anonymous report cited the novelist Paul Bertnay’s building of villas in Saint-Raphael, and the painter Vallat, who has also had a stylish villa built in the area.

<sup>75</sup> Liégeard, *passim*.

increasing importance of viewing the landscape in tourism. Whereas in figures 44 and 45, the focus was squarely on the recuperating tourist, and the landscape was almost incidental, in these later images the balance has tipped. Here, the focus of the image is on the beauty of the landscape, and the tourist's presence suggests that we too could enjoy this view from a like position of near solitude. High above the village, the gloved and hatted women with parasols rest overlooking the by now canonical image of the receding coastline with its jutting promontories.<sup>76</sup> Indeed, it seems likely that they climbed this hillside precisely to take in the view. There was not a strict chronology in the shift from *hivernant* to *mondain* to anti-tourist that these posters illustrate; the collective and romantic gazes co-existed, and advertisers designed posters to appeal to each. Moreover, the posters would not follow a strict chronology since older tourist paradigms remained appropriate for certain locations. However, we can conclude that the landscape and its evocative power had taken on an increasingly important role in the tourist agenda.

None of these posters, mainly from the early period of illustrated advertisements, expresses interest in the indigenous peoples or their traditions. We can trace a decrease in interest in the rarefied leisure pursuits of those seeking a resort insulated from the local population and a concomitant increase in interest in the beauty of the 'natural' landscape. We can also see the spread of tourism from established spa towns to the whole Mediterranean coast, and note that fewer inland towns are advertised as tourist destinations. The new interest in France's natural sites parallels the government's promotion of landscape generally as a way of increasing national sentiment. Many regionalists supported this seeming valorization of rural life, without perhaps recognizing its distinctly urban point of view. Indeed, a new generation of advertisements relying on

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<sup>76</sup> See Chapter Four for a consideration of views of the coastline in painting.

the theme of the 'picturesque native' in the landscape can be found in the posters of many local companies. The rise of interest in developing the local tourist industry is shown by the newly formed Syndicat d'Initiative de Provence, which produced one of the most stereotypical views of the region.

### *Tourism and Regionalism*

The Syndicat d'Initiative de Provence was first proposed in October 1902 and was inaugurated in February 1903.<sup>77</sup> After the first syndicat d'initiative was founded in Grenoble in 1889, they spread quite rapidly; there were close to 200 syndicats d'initiative existing in France by 1900.<sup>78</sup> The stated purpose of the Provençal organizers was "précisément pour attirer les étrangers comme aux touristes, augmenter l'attrait de Marseille et améliorer les facilités de voyage que s'impose la création du syndicat d'initiative de Provence."<sup>79</sup> Their goal was "de faire mieux connaître et apprécier les sites merveilleux de notre chère Provence."<sup>80</sup> Yet these simply listed goals do not tell the full story of the birth of the syndicat, which like many other Provençal endeavours was enmeshed in the regionalist discourse. The syndicat grew out of an earlier committee created to promote the region, called L'Action Provençale.<sup>81</sup> Formed in 1900, the committee was largely comprised of the guiding figures of the local regionalist journal *Revue de Provence: Littéraire, Artistique et Historique*. The journal was edited and published by Paul Ruat, and the committee included Ruat and Elzéard Rougier, who

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<sup>77</sup> *Revue de Provence* 47 (November 1902): 176; and 52 (April 1903): 63.

<sup>78</sup> On the development of the syndicats d'initiative in France and their initial modelling after Swiss tourist offices, see Goujon, 11-12.

<sup>79</sup> *Revue de Provence* 47 (November 1902): 176.

<sup>80</sup> *Revue de Provence* 52 (April 1903): 63. Note that Provence here included four departments: Bouches-du-Rhône, Vaucluse, Var and Basses-Alpes.

<sup>81</sup> It should be noted that the group was reported as being federative, and any town that had 25 members could form its own autonomous local committee, *Revue de Provence* 22 (October 1900): 215.



frequently wrote on the arts. As reported in the journal, the initial meeting attracted fifty people, who sought to “créer une organisation active et pratique de décentralisation,”<sup>82</sup> to unite those interested in literature, the arts, and decentralization. This initial organization was not concerned with tourism at all. Instead, its goals were to “veiller au maintien des us et coutumes de notre pays, d’organiser des concours de jeux floraux, des fêtes avec prix pour les farandoles, . . . en un mot, faire une décentralisation littéraire et artistique.”<sup>83</sup> Addressing the meeting, Ruat said that the committee had essentially the same goals as his journal, which had been founded in 1899. The *Revue de Provence* had already organized Provençal festivals and excursions, and had also published Provençal postcards. Shortly after founding the more tourist-oriented Syndicat d’Initiative in 1903, the committee dissolved itself.<sup>84</sup> The Syndicat, then, was born of a regionalist group closely linked to the decentralist magazine *Revue de Provence* which supported cultural renewal as leading to political decentralization.

These close links between the local regionalist movement and the development of the syndicats d’initiative were paralleled by the intellectual support given nationally to tourism by many regionalists. Committed to political decentralization, Louis-Xavier de Ricard delineated advantages in *Le Figaro* to both the nation and the region from the development of tourism. He assumes that tourists travel from Paris to the rest of the nation, and that they will benefit by their exposure to France. He states:

C’est la France entière qui en profitera, et Paris lui-même, quoique peut-être il ne s’en doute guère. Les touristes qui lui reviendront de leur tour de France lui apporteront des impressions, des sensations, des idées qui pondéreront

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<sup>82</sup> *Revue de Provence* 22 (October 1900): 214.

<sup>83</sup> *Revue de Provence* 22 (October 1900): 215.

<sup>84</sup> *Revue de Provence* 53 (May 1903): 84.

heureusement celles que nous importe d'ailleurs, jusqu'ici peut-être un peu trop abondamment, le snobisme exotique et cosmopolite.<sup>85</sup>

Nowadays, he goes on, everyone wants to make the best of their vacations, and he asks, “*quel plus agréable et plus utile emploi en faire que de partir à la découverte de la France?*”<sup>86</sup>

In addition, there would be considerable advantages for the regions. For Ricard, while tourism might be profitable, the more important benefit would be the intellectual stimulation it would give provincial life. One of the primary advantages of the developments of *syndicats d'initiative* is to

unir dans un intérêt commun, quoique s'inspirant de motifs différents, toutes les classes et toutes les castes, depuis les artistes, les lettrés, les professeurs jusqu'aux aubergistes et limonadiers, en passant par les élus des assemblées locales, Conseils municipaux et Conseils généraux. Ainsi s'opère une première cohésion provinciale malgré les inimitiés politiques et les rivalités locales. Ils contraindront la province à sortir de cette nonchalance et de cette indifférence qui l'avaient mise en si mauvaise réputation.<sup>87</sup>

By bringing together the diverse factions of provincial life the *syndicats* would, Ricard suggests, force the improvement of many aspects of provincial culture. Ricard mentions the formation of general regional federations, which are also “une excellente excitation aux initiatives locales.”<sup>88</sup> The provinces' main problem, he says, is their mistrust of themselves. This self-doubt is due to the fact that the provinces have absorbed the values of centralization, which denigrate them. The renewal of provincial life that would come from federation could have a far greater effect for the entire nation.

J'en espère tout simplement notre *rénovation* littéraire et artistique. . . . Nous serons ramenés peu à peu vers nous-mêmes, vers nos propres traditions, et, au lieu

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<sup>85</sup> Louis-Xavier de Ricard, “La Province: Si les Provinciaux y consentent...” *Le Figaro* (Paris) 20 July 1903, 5.

<sup>86</sup> Ricard, 5.

<sup>87</sup> Ricard, 5.

<sup>88</sup> Ricard, 5.

de nous disperser à l'extérieur en quête d'impressions factices qui tirent chaque jour hors de nous un peu plus de nous, c'est en nous-mêmes que nous chercherons et trouverons nos motifs, la matière et les sujets de nos œuvres. . . . Que chaque région donne à son tour son expression et sa note: et il me semble que nous aurons bientôt, en notre France si diverse mais harmonieuse, la plus magnifique efflorescence d'art qui s'y soit jamais épanouie.<sup>89</sup>

For Ricard, tourism will help renew provincial life, which will in turn renew the nation as a whole, entrenching France in its diverse, but harmonious traditions.

In fact, Ricard's support of tourism is representative of the regionalist movement as a whole. *L'Action Régionaliste*, the official organ of the Fédération Régionaliste Française, regularly reported on developments in the tourist industry. The journal was clearly linked to the left in France, regularly included contributions by Paul-Boncour, the well-known deputy and leftist, and was liberally sprinkled with quotes from Proudhon's *Du Princip Fédératif*.<sup>90</sup> The journal, in an anonymous note, praised the newly formed Marseilles tourist office, saying it "va devenir le centre de la vie régionale."<sup>91</sup> The development of *syndicats* was here cited as aiding "le réveil et la mise en valeur des provinces françaises."<sup>92</sup> *L'Action Régionaliste*, again in an anonymous submission, also reported favourably on the first Congrès des Syndicats d'Initiative de France held in October 1903 in Marseilles. This was taken by the author to "marque un réveil de la vie provinciale."<sup>93</sup> Moreover, Emile Magne suggested in the journal that the role of the *syndicats* paralleled that of Beauquier's landscape preservation group. He wrote: "pour

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<sup>89</sup> Ricard, 5.

<sup>90</sup> As one example of many, in the fourth issue, between articles there is a long quotation from Proudhon stating: "Le gouvernement le plus libre et le plus moral est celui où les pouvoirs sont le mieux divisés, l'administration la mieux répartie, l'indépendance des groupes la plus respectée, les autorités provinciales, cantonales, municipales le mieux servie par l'autorité centrale; c'est, en un mot, le gouvernement fédératif." *L'Action Régionaliste* 4 (April 1903), 101. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *Du principe fédératif et de la nécessité de reconstituer le parti de la révolution* (Paris: E.Dentu, 1863).

<sup>91</sup> *L'Action Régionaliste* 3 (March 1903): 96.

<sup>92</sup> *L'Action Régionaliste* 7 (July 1903): 215.

<sup>93</sup> *L'Action Régionaliste* 9 (Oct. 1903): 285.

la conservation des beautés naturelles et leur propre conservation, les syndicats d'initiative luttent contre l'industrie envahissante. Ils ont avec la Société pour la Protection des Paysages des tendances collatérales."<sup>94</sup> In both anonymous and identified contributions, *L'Action Régionaliste* encouraged local *syndicats d'initiative* to federate voluntarily into groups of mutual interest to better serve their own interests.<sup>95</sup> This consistent editorial position is not surprising, given the FRF's aims (discussed in the introduction).

The decentralizing benefits of tourism were also mentioned in an issue of the widely read *Revue Universelle* called *A Travers la France - Décentralisation*. Louis Farges's article on the history and future of *syndicats d'initiative* in France notes the economic benefits of tourism for the regions.<sup>96</sup> Tourism would be regionally beneficial, he suggests, because "un mouvement intellectuel se crée; en voulant faire connaître son pays aux étrangers, on apprend soi-même à mieux le comprendre et à mieux l'aimer."<sup>97</sup> Farges believed that tourism was an excellent way for the French to come to know their nation, and teaching the tourist about the region would be an essential part of the new industry. To this end, he suggested that the *syndicats* publish historical information, or have a local library, which should ideally be situated in a museum. He continues:

S'il groupait dans un musée local, dont le musée Arlaten offre pour la Provence un si merveilleux exemple, l'iconographie du pays, les œuvres en original ou en reproduction de ses artistes, les anciens costumes, les produits divers de l'industrie locale, tout ce qui, en un mot, permet de connaître le passé et le présent d'un pays.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Emile Magne, "Les syndicats d'initiative," *L'Action Régionaliste*, n.s., 1 (January 1906): 290

<sup>95</sup> Both in *L'Action Régionaliste*, 9 (Oct. 1903): 303; and Magne, 290.

<sup>96</sup> Louis Farges, "Les Syndicats d'Initiative," *Revue Universelle* 4, no. 115 (1 August 1904): 420.

<sup>97</sup> Farges, 422.

<sup>98</sup> Farges, 422.

Thus for Farges, tourism and decentralization had similar goals, and his reference to Mistral's museum as a classic example of good tourist information is indicative of the clear link between regionalism, the developing museum industry, and tourism.

There had been previous local calls for the development of organized tourist offices in Provence, which can also be linked to the regionalist movement. The director of the Provençal journal *La Provence Illustrée*, Louis Barnouin, saw tourist publicity as both an economic necessity and an intellectual good. In a 1900 article, Barnouin looked at the usefulness of publicity and showed the good it had done the *stations hivernales*, but lamented the fact that this tourism had not yet spilled over to the rest of the region. He sadly concluded, with the now almost unimaginable statement, "néanmoins, nous avons dû le reconnaître il y a bien peu de touristes en Provence."<sup>99</sup> Barnouin argued that the cultural form of decentralization that, to date, had dominated the approach to attracting tourists was not enough to publicize the area. "Promener triomphalement la Tarasque, . . . parler de nos félibres et de nos cigales, tout cela est très bien, . . . mais cela n'est pas tous que nous avons en Provence,"<sup>100</sup> exclaimed Barnouin. In fact, he went further and argued that true cultural decentralization would not occur until there had been a practical decentralization. Decentralization, Barnouin posited, would only come about through good publicity, which would bring money to the region, "puisque l'argent est indispensable."<sup>101</sup> Barnouin's final word on the subject argued that the best way of getting more tourism was through publicity and this was best achieved through the formation of a *syndicat d'initiative*, such as had been recently convened in Savoy and

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<sup>99</sup> Louis R. Barnouin, "Le Tourisme en Provence," *La Provence Illustrée* 3, no. 26 (1 August 1900): 193-4.

<sup>100</sup> Barnouin, "Le Tourisme en Provence III - Un peu de Publicité," *La Provence Illustrée* 3, no. 28 (1 October 1900): 218.

<sup>101</sup> Barnouin, "Tourisme, III," 218.

Dauphiné.<sup>102</sup> “Aux merveilles naturelles qu’elle possède, la Provence peut ajouter le trésor immense de ses souvenirs; chez nous, chaque rocher, chaque village a son histoire ou sa légende, illustre ou simplement poétique.”<sup>103</sup> Thus, there was a strong national movement that saw the development of tourism as a means of supporting cultural decentralization; furthermore this movement was supported locally and was eventually brought to fruition by the Marseilles group.

The impact of the Syndicat d’Initiative de Provence in promoting a particular version of Provence really cannot be overestimated. One of the Syndicat’s founding actions was to publish guidebooks to each of the Provençal departments, the one for the Var being written by Ruat, while Rougier wrote on the Basses-Alpes.<sup>104</sup> The Syndicat was largely responsible for the *mas* (discussed in Chapter Two) at the 1906 Colonial Exposition. The members decorated the Syndicat’s offices with wall paintings by a local artist, David Dellepiane, discussed below as a significant poster designer in the region.<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, the Syndicat published its own, somewhat irregular, journal, *Au Soleil*,<sup>106</sup> which focused on culture and the arts, and reported extensively on the Exposition Coloniale.<sup>107</sup> The journal had a very inclusive definition of culture; as Etienne Fauché wrote, “*Au Soleil*, nous voulons célébrer tout ce qui caractérise notre Provence: ses beautés naturelles, le caractère de son peuple, le génie de ses artistes, l’originalité de ses

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<sup>102</sup> Barnouin, “Le Tourisme en Provence IV- L’Œuvre pratique,” *La Provence Illustrée* 3, no. 30 (1 and 15 December 1900): 235.

<sup>103</sup> Barnouin, “Tourisme, IV,” 235.

<sup>104</sup> *Revue de Provence* 52 (April 1903): 63.

<sup>105</sup> *Revue de Provence* 52 (April 1903): 64.

<sup>106</sup> The Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris has 3 issues, all from the journal’s second year, 1906 (the year of the colonial exposition) which are numbered 2, (January 1906); 3 (February 1906); and 4 (July 1906). This implies to me that there was one previous issue in the journals first year.

<sup>107</sup> *Au Soleil* also had articles of a more critical nature, such as that by André Gouirand which said that Marseilles was no longer hospitable to the arts, and that this was why there was not a Provençal landscape

traditions locales.”<sup>108</sup> Notable, especially for the very commercially oriented Marseilles, is the omission of any mention of the city’s industrial or commercial success. The magazine and the Syndicat held regular excursions, not just for tourists, but for people of the region to experience its landscape and see its historic sites. It also initiated a poster contest as one of its earliest acts; the winning entry was by the Provençal artist David Dellepiane (Figure 51).<sup>109</sup>

### ***Depicting ‘The Toured’ in Regional Posters***

Dellepiane’s striking poster reflects a common regionalist desire to situate Provence as a land of ancient traditions that still guide the lives of its people.<sup>110</sup> A reviewer applauded the Syndicat’s poster contest which, he said, “a donné naissance à des pages fort artistiques parmi lesquelles on a retenu pour synthétiser la mission du Syndicat la maquette si lumineuse et si gaie de Dellepiane.”<sup>111</sup> It depicts a Provençal couple walking along the hillside overlooking the Mediterranean, a perfect example of the idealization of an ‘authentic folk’ couple living in harmony with nature. The male figure makes traditional music, playing a pipe and regional drum, known as the *tambourin*. The woman gathers the leaves of a mulberry tree, which were used to feed silkworms.<sup>112</sup> The local silk industry had been hard hit by a plague in mid-century and it never fully

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school as there had been in Loubon’s time; André Gourand, “Chronique Mensuelle – l’Art au Soleil,” *Au Soleil* 2 (January 1906): 5.

<sup>108</sup> Etienne Fauché, “La Provence à Table,” *Au Soleil* 2 (January 1906): 10.

<sup>109</sup> The best source to date on Dellepiane is Patrick Boulanger, *David Dellepiane: A travers ses Affiches* (Marseilles: Espace Ecureil, 1993); Boulanger informed me that he was working on a catalogue raisonné of Dellepiane’s work, although it has not yet appeared.

<sup>110</sup> Note that on this reproduction of the Syndicat d’Initiative poster (Figure 51) PLM seems to be stamped onto the poster. The version I saw of this poster at the Chambre de Commerce de Marseilles did not have this obviously later addition, nor did the version used as the guidebook cover; it was not originally produced for the PLM, but rather for the Syndicat d’Initiative contest and as such reflects their values.

<sup>111</sup> *Revue de Provence* 52 (April 1903): 64.

recovered. Consequently, her actions allude to a long regional tradition now threatened. The colours of his clothes harmonize perfectly with the far shore, the white of the shirt harmonizing with the house nestled in the hills, the orange of the shadows in the shirt paralleled by the soil itself, and his darker vest echoed by the clumps of trees. The woman wears a variation of traditional Provençal costume, with a red skirt and pink blouse overlaid with a white *modeste* and a blue apron into which she gathers the foliage. In contrast to the posters examined here, this one is unique in its concentration on the peasant couple. We see no evidence of tourism except, of course, the fact of the poster itself. Instead, we see what the new tourist would have been seeking: the seemingly authentic other living in harmony with the land.

Inset are several smaller landscape images: at the top right a roundel depicting Moustiers, an inland town famous for its pottery; at the lower left there is a dramatic rendering of La Sainte Baume, an ancient village perched on a cliff; and at the lower right, the sun sets over the ruins of St. Rémy and Les Baux. These major historic sites emphasize the longevity of tradition. As was often the case in guidebooks, but not at all the case in most posters of the region, here we see the region as having history, but it does not exist only in the past. At the bottom centre, the famous bay of Toulon--the seat of France's primary military port--is marked by its huge, modern ships. This poster thus combines certain features made popular in other posters: the elevated viewpoint, the view of the coastline stretching into the distance, as well as the stereotype of the provincial peasant existing in harmony with nature. Nevertheless, the image chosen by the Syndicat

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<sup>112</sup> Boulanger, *Dellepiane*, 10 suggests this is to feed her nearby goat, however Maurice Agulhon and Pascale Picard-Cajan both believe that she is assisting in the silkworm industry, a practice they report was encouraged well into the twentieth century.



also claims more for Provence. The roundels insist on the region's diversity, and its continuing importance in the Mediterranean economy.

Other posters advertising to a local audience also drew on regional history and tradition. The 1899 poster for the twenty-fifth hundred anniversary of Marseilles's founding (Figure 53), also designed by Dellepiane, pictures a key moment in the story of the founding of the city.<sup>113</sup> When the Greeks from Asia Minor, called Phoceans, landed at what is now Marseilles, the local Ligurian population was celebrating a festival at which Gyptis, daughter of the local king, would choose her husband. The leader of the Phoceans, Protis, was invited, and Dellepiane depicts the moment that Gyptis signals her choice by handing Protis a ceremonial cup of wine. The stylized poster thus emphasizes the connection of Marseilles to the ancient world of the Greeks, who are united with the local population in the offspring of Protis and Gyptis.

While the use of such mythic scenes may not come as a surprise given the event it celebrates, the use of such references is more surprising in posters from local industry. An anonymous advertisement for a Marseilles shipping company, *Cie de Navigation Mixte* (Figure 54), indicates how literary myth could be used in advertising.<sup>114</sup> The poster silhouettes the skyline of Marseilles viewed from across the bay. In the middle ground a modern steam ship, flying the French flag, motors out to sea and is juxtaposed with a strange fantasy ship coming into port. On its bow is a woman; behind her, two men dressed in robes converse. The barely legible name of the boat, *Mélisende*, allows us to decipher the reference. Maurice Maeterlinck's play, *Pélléas et Mélisande*, published in 1892, retold the story of Dante's Paolo and Francesca. Dante was much praised as a

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<sup>113</sup> Boulanger, *Dellepiane*, 5, 9-10, says the poster was very successful and launched Dellepiane's career.

precursor to the living Provençal literary tradition. Paul Mariéton, a prominent *Félibre*, noted that it was in nearby Les Baux that “Dante, exilé de Florence et citoyen d’Arles, est venue rêver son Enfer.”<sup>115</sup> Thus, in Félibrige history, the region had inspired one of history’s most significant literary works, and it continued to inspire contemporary versions.<sup>116</sup> But why would a shipping company want to include this rather obscure reference to Pélleas and Mélisande in its advertisements? This historical reference to an international literary tradition that dates back to Provence’s golden age implies a long-standing connection to the whole of the Mediterranean world. It thus suggests a tradition unique to France’s Mediterranean coast, which is further emphasized by depicting Mélisande on the prow of a boat, in a region famous for its shipbuilding. Significantly, this is not merely the stereotypical image tourists may have wanted to see. It is, instead, a characterization of regional culture that redefines the role of Provence in French history.<sup>117</sup>

Another Dellepiane poster, *Fraissinet et Cie Paquebots – Poste Français Marseille*, (Figure 52) affirms local industry’s interest in picturing the region, and its connection to industrialist and regionalist Jules Charles-Roux helps explain the widespread use of local history. The advertisement is dominated by the image of a local fisherman, who is neither a tourist, nor a Fraissinet sailor. He smokes a pipe, his clothes

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<sup>114</sup> Although this poster is not signed, I believe it to be by Dellepiane. The detail of the imagery, the reflection in the water, as well as the integration of text and image suggest his hand.

<sup>115</sup> Paul Mariéton, *La Terre Provençale* (Paris: Paul Ollendorff, 1903), 132 does not seem to notice the irony of this phrasing; Dante recounts his conversation with Francesca in Hell in his *Divine Comedy*.

<sup>116</sup> Mariéton, 428, writes, “La terre occitanienne fut alors la plus civilisée de l’Europe. La plupart des sujets modernes, comme la Divine Comédie et la légende de Faust, existaient déjà dans sa poésie universelle, initiatrice de l’esprit nouveau.”

<sup>117</sup> Touillier-Feyrabend, 228, states that advertising adopted the most stereotypical views so that it would be immediately legible, concluding that “elle réactive ainsi les stéréotypes qui constituent une collection de signes destinés à une consommation visuelle, elle ne les crée pas.” Her differing opinion from mine could well be due to her focus on posters containing only images of Arlésiennes.

look worn and are a little tight, and several of his vest buttons no longer close. His heavy boots and woven fishing baskets underline his difference from the impeccably dressed tourists with parasols in other posters. The background shows a modern steamer and a smaller pleasure craft, which gives scale to the immense ship entering the port. The fisherman leans on the frame of an inset roundel showing the entrance to Marseilles's port. The entire right side of the image is framed by a flagpole, on which a flag for Fraissinet et Cie and the French postal service fly. The ropes from this outer flagpole bisect the two boats, highlighting their juxtaposition. Yet it is the fisherman, staring at the viewer, who is central to this image, which relies on the coexistence of the modern ship and the traditional way of life to make its meaning. The tension between the old and the new here suggests that Fraissinet is linked to the land by this fisherman, to the nation by the flags and to the city of Marseilles by the port.

The formal similarity of this poster to another for the same company and by the same artist, (Figure 55), is intriguing. Here, the connection to the colonies is emphasized by the two black men dressed in colorful robes--one of whom smiles broadly--and surrounded by exotic fruits such as bananas. Like the fisherman in the previous image, these figures also lean against a roundel, which likewise includes a picture of the interior harbour. Behind them, across the bay, is a modern steamer. The posters have the same basic structure, although the colour is heightened in the colonial poster. The function of the colonial subjects in the picture seems clear: they indicate the exotic lands to which the line travels, providing a view of the destination. Moreover, the contrast between the small boat being loaded by colonial subjects and the large steamer indicates both that 'the natives are friendly' and how advanced Fraissinet is in comparison. If the inclusion of

'friendly natives' can be explained by the destination, the inclusion of the *dour Provençal* is less easily interpreted.

Jules Charles-Roux, then head of the board of directors for the shipping company Fraissinet et Cie,<sup>118</sup> as discussed in Chapter Two, was a major figure in Provençal cultural life. From 1891, Marseilles's primary industry, shipping, was threatened by protectionist trade policies that Augustin Féraud, the president of Marseilles's Chamber of Commerce, described as "le Nord armé contre le Midi, comme contre un peuple ennemi."<sup>119</sup> As a deputy, Charles-Roux likewise lobbied against the tariffs, seeing them as evidence of the nation's disregard for the south, and even went so far as to suggest that if certain tariffs were instituted, the only thing to do would be, "de déclarer la franchise des ports de commerce. Vous organiserez alors dans l'intérieur le système qui vous plaira, et nous, dans les ports, nous vivrons de la vie qui nous est indispensable."<sup>120</sup> As shown in previous chapters, he advocated a revived regional culture to strengthen the south's political position. This political regionalism, which uses cultural identity as a means to an economic end, seems very relevant to the use of regional stereotypes in pictures. The fisherman in the poster for Fraissinet, like the reference to the literary tradition in the ad for Navigation Mixte, underlines their difference from the rest of the nation, which they believe will help their political cause.

Another example of the regional taste for posters that picture the 'traditional' Provence can be seen in the poster for Arles' celebration of the *Cinquantenaire de Mireille* (Figure 14). Designed by Léo Lelée for the fiftieth anniversary of Mistral's epic

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<sup>118</sup> *Temoins du Patrimoine* (Marseilles: Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie Marseille-Provence, 1996), unpaginated; and Boulanger, *Dellepiane*, 10; Charles-Roux also played a prominent role in the railway PLM, and later CGT.

<sup>119</sup> Quoted in *Documents de l'Histoire de la Provence*, ed. Édouard Baratier (Toulouse: Privat, 1971), 400.

poem *Mireille*, which would be celebrated by the mounting of the play version of the poem, the poster shows several Arlésienne women in the ruins of the Roman arena. Lelée became a favourite designer in Arles and, while new to the region in 1902, he seems to have greatly pleased Mistral and the Arles Félibrige.<sup>121</sup> He opened his own printing shop and Provençal art gallery, *A l'image provençau*, which was also responsible for the diploma printed for the 1903 Fèsto Vierginenco, discussed in Chapter One. In his simplified design, the archetypal Arlésienne is the focus of the image, and her symbolic place at the centre of the ancient ruins indicates her supposedly timeless significance. Like Dellepiane's poster for the Syndicat, the tradition of the region is the focus of the poster. Although this focus seems completely natural to us today, the posters from only a decade earlier tended to focus on the imported tourist culture, and indicate that both ways of seeing were largely cultural.

Local tradition and the depiction of women in Marseilles posters have been examined by Patrick Boulanger.<sup>122</sup> Boulanger focuses exclusively on Marseilles advertising and shows that the use of local dialect in posters was progressively abandoned in the latter half of the nineteenth century.<sup>123</sup> Until World War I, however, local advertisers, such as the regional distilleries, continued to use identifiably Marseilles scenes, such as the old port, and identifiably Marseillaises women to sell their products locally.<sup>124</sup> These tended to be women of modest means engaged in their normal daily activity, which Boulanger suggests would have appealed to the largest audience. After

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<sup>120</sup> Quoted in *Documents de l'Histoire de la Provence*, 402.

<sup>121</sup> See the exhibition catalogue, *Léo Lelée (1872-1947) "A l'image provençau"* (Arles: Museon Ariaten, 1997); also the more celebratory Michel Gay, *Centenaire de l'œuvre de Léopold Lelée* (Nîmes: E.N.D., 1994).

<sup>122</sup> Patrick Boulanger, "Des Marseillaises à l'affiche (1860-1920)," in *Marseillaises: Les Femmes et la Ville*, ed. Yvonne Knibiehler et al, (Marseilles: Côté-femmes, 1982), 301-309.

<sup>123</sup> Boulanger, "Marseillaises," 302.

the war, however, the range of *Marseillaises* represented was progressively narrowed until the fish seller became the exclusive nostalgic sign of the historic city.<sup>125</sup>

Boulangier's focus on this particular poster tradition shows that the local community looked favourably on nostalgic images of Marseilles's past.<sup>126</sup>

Travel posters largely fall into three categories: the earliest, which did not entirely disappear, relied on an older paradigm of the attractions of the region and depicted traditional spas. As tourists began to visit a larger geographic area, travel posters focused on the natural beauty of the coastline, exemplified by images of the bourgeois tourist surveying the view. Such posters differed from guidebooks and earlier governmental programs, discussed in the introduction, which usually focused on historic architectural sites. After the turn of the century, however, a new focus on local identity can be seen in many posters, and although this has been read as promoting stereotypes of region, they also function to maintain a cultural identity distinct from the homogenizing view from Paris. Many not only portrayed the ubiquitous, and virtually interchangeable, provincial peasant, but also emphasized the historical traditions of the region. The role of individuals such as Charles-Roux—who portrayed Marseilles's shipping industries' difficulties as an example of the problems of centralization and the concomitant loss of regional cultural identity—is difficult to ascertain. The focus on the stereotypical sites and traditional costumes would have appealed to a national audience hungry for the

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<sup>124</sup> Boulangier, "Marseillaises," 302-6.

<sup>125</sup> Boulangier, "Marseillaises," 308.

<sup>126</sup> Boulangier, "Visions d'Empire: Les affiches des Expositions Coloniales de Marseille (1906-1922), des Danseuses Cambodgiennes aux cavaliers algériens," *Marseille* 188 (July 1999): 56-67 gives a descriptive account illustrating the posters from the 1906 *Exposition Coloniale* which typically focus on colonial subjects arriving in Marseilles; I thank Pascale Picard-Cajan for this reference.

'authentic other'; but it also created a space for difference within the nation, which later governments would come to embrace.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Touillier-Feyrabend, 230 sees the railways advertisements as paradoxical since they contributed to the loss of local culture; however it seems that their goals of promoting travel and those of the regionalist were very much in agreement. Many predicted that railways would be the death of local culture, but my argument suggests that they contributed to its entrenchment.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE POLITICIZED PASTORAL: FROM NEO-IMPRESSIONISM TO FAUVISM

Je vais le lire à l'ombre d'un pin, devant la mer – et dans la beauté de ce décor, j'évoque naturellement la vie de bonté et d'harmonie que vous nous laissez espérer. On respire librement dans votre livre, comme sous ce pin, par la brise du large.

Paul Signac in Saint-Tropez, thanking Jean Grave for his latest anarchist book, c.1899-1913.<sup>1</sup>

## INTRODUCTION

When Paul Signac painted the Mediterranean south, he engaged a long tradition of picturing a region quite distinct from the centre of the nation. Mythic Provence was constructed in seemingly paradoxical ways: it was seen both as the cradle of the classical, Latin tradition in France and also exoticised as a primitive backwater filled with almost-foreign peoples and traditions. Recent scholarship has asserted an 'inevitable collaboration' between the political right in France and works of art that either portray the Mediterranean coast or use the conventions of the classical landscape, which are both

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<sup>1</sup> Robert L. Herbert and Eugenia Herbert, "Artists and Anarchism: Unpublished Letters of Pissarro, Signac and Others," parts I and II, *Burlington Magazine* 102 (November and December 1960): 521; the letter is not dated but since it was sent from Signac's home, La Hune, in Saint Tropez, we can surmise it was sent between 1899 and 1913. Signac bought La Hune very late in 1898 or early in 1899 (Philippe Thiébaud, "Art nouveau et néo-impressionnisme: les ateliers de Signac," *Revue de l'Art* 92 (1991): 77, fn 10); he seems to have stopped going there after separating from his first wife in 1913, according to Françoise Cachin, *Paul Signac*, trans. Michael Bullock (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society, 1971), 120; and Robert L. Herbert, *Neo-Impressionism* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1968), 129.



assumed to support an essentialist view of France's Latin heritage.<sup>2</sup> However, this oft-asserted association between classicism and conservatism merits scrutiny. From Paul Signac's classically inspired anarchist manifesto painting, *Au Temps d'harmonie*, to Octave Maus's 1913 salon of La Libre Esthétique organized around the theme *Interprétations du Midi*, there is a modern tradition of radical picturing of the Mediterranean that refutes this conservative association.

This chapter contests the often-assumed parallel between classicism and the political right in France before World War I by examining the radical revision of the pastoral landscape in Signac's depictions of the Mediterranean coast. Signac used the conventions of the pastoral landscape to critique modern society. The chapter begins with an overview of recent analyses of the classical landscape, focusing on changing conventions of the pastoral, which gradually merged with the classical landscape. It then examines how Provençal painting was often perceived as classical in Paris in the late nineteenth century. Yet, as I will show, the south was also conceived as linked to a tradition of liberty and freedom by regionalists, and as the perfect milieu for the development of a harmonious society by anarchists such as Elisée Reclus. I then examine how Signac invoked these constructions of the region when he used the conventions of pastoral landscape painting, a genre often employed to critique society, to radicalize the seemingly neutral depictions of the Mediterranean. While scholars have previously analyzed the theoretical impact of Henry on Signac, none have considered how his theory, which also envisioned a more harmonious future, relates to Signac's interpretation of the south. The context created by Neo-Impressionism, in which the

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<sup>2</sup> James D. Herbert, *Fauve Painting: The Making of Cultural Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 124-129.

south is associated with liberty, colour, and a reconfigured classicism, was crucial to the ideals of artistic freedom explored by Signac's followers among the Fauves, particularly Matisse. I would argue that Matisse was fully aware of the Leftist import of Neo-Impressionist images of the Midi and that these politics inform his own landscape painting. In contrast to scholars who would associate works such as *Luxe, calme et volupté* with a right-wing political agenda, I suggest that such paintings place Matisse firmly on the left, in terms of both style and subject matter.

### THE CLASSICAL, THE PASTORAL, AND THE SOUTHERN LANDSCAPE

C'est une vérité vieille, que les églogues et les idylles ont  
presque toujours été le contre-coup d'agitations sociales.  
Jules Castagnary, Paris Salon of 1857.<sup>3</sup>

#### *Interpreting Modern Classicism and the Pastoral*

Recent considerations of the general phenomenon of classicism in modern painting have raised many questions for my study. Kenneth Silver's groundbreaking work saw World War I era classicism as a reactionary movement ideologically aligned with political conservatism.<sup>4</sup> The horrors of war, Silver suggests, precipitated a rejection of pre-war ideology and the avant-garde modernism that expressed it. For Benjamin Buchloh, the return to classical themes in easel painting after World War I was an abandonment of modernism's critical potential as there is an "inherent authoritarian tendency of the myth

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<sup>3</sup> Jules Castagnary, *Salons, 1857-1870*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1892), 17; quoted in Jeremy Strick, "Notes on Some Instances of Irony in Modern Pastoral," in *The Pastoral Landscape*, ed. John Dixon Hunt (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1992), 196.

<sup>4</sup> Kenneth E. Silver, *Esprit de Corps: The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914-1925* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989).

of a new classicism."<sup>5</sup> Depictions of the Mediterranean coast are doubly guilty in James Herbert's assessment of Fauvism: they invoke the classical tradition by their subject matter and also depict a region associated with the Latin tradition lauded by the political right.<sup>6</sup> Herbert is not alone in this endeavour; a number of recent studies--which have not had the careful attention to the historical moment seen in Silver's examination of post-war classicism--have drawn similar conclusions about any kind of classicism in modern art being allied to reactionary politics.<sup>7</sup> In contradistinction to these studies, my research indicates that pre-war classicism had very different referents than post-war classicism, and to elide the differences between the two loses much of the historical importance of the artistic movements. This is particularly true when we consider Neo-Impressionist images of pastoral landscape, a genre commonly associated with classicism.

In fields other than art history, the pastoral has often been regarded as inherently critical.<sup>8</sup> The pastoral mode of poetry, which dates back to ancient Greece, can be presented in a variety of forms or genres, but includes the following generally recognizable themes: the complete harmony of society, a land of eternal spring where nature's bounty freely provides for all, sexual freedom, (but not its consequences, i.e., children), no private property, no commerce and, occasionally, in its more primitive form, no reading or letters. Annabel Patterson analyzes the reception of Virgil's

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<sup>5</sup> Benjamin Buchloh, "Figures of Authority, Ciphers of Regression: Notes on the Return of Representation in European Painting," in *Art After Modernism: Rethinking Representation*, ed. Brian Wallis (New York: New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1984), 110.

<sup>6</sup> J. Herbert, 124.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, *On Classic Ground: Picasso, Léger, de Chirico and the New Classicism, 1910-1930*, ed. Elizabeth Cowling and Jennifer Mundy (London: Tate Gallery, 1990), and *Canto d'Amore: Classicism in Modern Art and Music, 1914-1935*, ed. Gottfried Boehm et al. (Basel: Kunstmuseum, 1996). In contrast to these, Mark Antliff analyzes alternative forms of cubist classicism in *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 16-38, and Roger Benjamin considers the Fauve use of classical motifs in "The Decorative Landscape, Fauvism, and the Arabesque of Observation," *Art Bulletin* 75, no. 2 (June 1993), 306.

*Eclogues* and concludes that the pastoral poem is structured to raise questions about the relationship between nature and culture; however, in the twentieth century, it has been seen as nonideological.<sup>9</sup> Yet since shepherds frequently meditate upon the charms of country life in the pastoral, the form itself implies contrast; the contrast is sometimes made explicit, as in Horace's Epode II, "Happy the man, who far from town's affairs, / The life of old-world mortals shares."<sup>10</sup> Indeed, Renato Poggioli suggests that "the birth of the pastoral coincided with the decline of the ancient *polis* or city-state and with the appearance of a quasi-modern metropolis," and "appears whenever the hustle and bustle of metropolitan life grows hard to bear."<sup>11</sup> In his assessment of pastoral poetry, W.H. Auden distinguishes between the Arcadian pastoral, which looks back nostalgically and is merely aesthetic, and the utopian pastoral, which looks forward optimistically and is thus political.<sup>12</sup> Marx and Engels valued such utopian visions because "they attack every principle of existing society" and "correspond with the first instinctive yearnings . . . for a general reconstruction of society."<sup>13</sup> The literary critic Harry Levin associates the pastoral with primitivism since both reject the present, and are, by implication, inherently critical of it. Yet, Levin notes that, unlike primitivism, the pastoral can look to either the past or the future.<sup>14</sup> In nineteenth-century French painting, the pastoral became increasingly associated with the academic tradition, and thus its possibility for radical critique of society went increasingly unrecognized.

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<sup>8</sup> The essays in Bryan Loughrey, ed., *The Pastoral Mode: A Casebook* (London: MacMillan, 1984) are very useful; especially Peter Weston, "The Noble Primitive as Bourgeois Subject," 166-180.

<sup>9</sup> Annabel Patterson, *Pastoral and Ideology: Virgil to Valéry* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 8.

<sup>10</sup> Horace, Epode II, trans. J Marshall (London: Everyman edition, 1911), 113-4; quoted in Loughrey, "Introduction," in Loughrey, ed., 10.

<sup>11</sup> Renato Poggioli, "Pastorals of Innocence and Happiness," in Loughrey, ed., 99-100.

<sup>12</sup> W.H. Auden "Arcadia and Utopia," in Loughrey, ed., 90-92.

<sup>13</sup> Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (Harmondsworth: 1967), 116; quoted in Weston, 173.

In visual arts, attempts to define the pastoral have usually relied on both formal aspects and subject matter. David Rosand argued that the formal conventions of the genre acquire their own “expressive momentum” and evoke the conventions of the genre as a whole, even if not all components are present.<sup>15</sup> The genre is characterised by a view of landscape more intimate than panoramic, the inclusion of a dominant grove of trees, a gentle stream running through the trees, and distant buildings that act as a foil to the natural setting.<sup>16</sup> Rosand suggests that some signifiers, such as the shepherd and distant town view, became less important than the overall formal structure for signifying pastoralism, while other signifiers, such as the sheltering grove of trees, became more increasingly important carriers of pictorial meaning.<sup>17</sup> A key element of all pastorals, he argues, is a juxtaposition of the real and the idyllic. In early pastorals, such as Giorgione’s influential *Fête Champêtre*, c.1510 (Figure 56), this was suggested by a view of a distant town that set off the idealized country life of the foreground. In subsequent developments, although the town was often not depicted, due to “the very structure of the composition, the dialogue between town and country remains implicit.”<sup>18</sup>

While the historical landscape was traditionally distinguished from the pastoral primarily by a more elevated theme, by the late nineteenth century, the conventions had become blurred. Both pastoral and historical classical landscapes were characterized by

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<sup>14</sup> Harry Levin, “The Golden Age,” in Loughrey, ed., 121-123.

<sup>15</sup> David Rosand, “Giorgione, Venice, and the Pastoral Vision,” in *Places of Delight: the Pastoral Landscape*, ed. Robert Cafritz, Lawrence Gowing, and David Rosand (Washington: Phillips Collection, 1988), 21-81; and his later essay, “Pastoral Topoi: On the Construction of Meaning in Landscape,” in *The Pastoral Landscape*, ed. John Dixon Hunt (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1992), 161-177. The shift from literary criticism to art history underlines scholarly differences: in current literary studies the pastoral is generally accepted to be a mode, not a genre, i.e., it is defined by its way of looking at the world rather than by its formal qualities as a genre would be. For more on the literary scholarship in relation to art historical discourse, see Leo Marx, “Does Pastoralism Have a Future?” in Hunt, ed., 209-213.

<sup>16</sup> Rosand, “Pastoral Topoi,” *passim*.

<sup>17</sup> Rosand, “Pastoral Topoi,” 169.

an elevated, rather than intimate, view of nature. This idealized view was the primary signifier of the classical tradition and the concomitant rejection of the seeming artlessness of the Impressionists. Both pastoral and historic landscapes were associated with a southern climate, with the Italian or French Midi; and the elevated style, in which truthfulness to nature gives way to idealization, was linked to a generalized rather than particular landscape setting.<sup>19</sup>

The perception of the south as inherently classical, and this tradition's association with academicism, removed it from the avant-garde of painting in the decades before 1890, when classicism and avant-gardism seemed antithetical.<sup>20</sup> Charles Baudelaire, for example, defined modernism as Romanticism, and insisted it was a product of the north.<sup>21</sup> Modern, northern, Romantic painting, for him, was determined by colour, while southern painting was based on line and tonal modelling, in the classical tradition.<sup>22</sup> Raymond Bouyer, in his 1893 book on landscape painting, using the conventions set out by Pierre Henri Valenciennes in 1800, could still write of an elevated landscape style exemplified by Claude Lorrain and Nicolas Poussin that "possesses an intrinsic beauty--geometric and picturesque--which it draws from the cadenced eurhythmy of lines, from the harmonious marriage of tones."<sup>23</sup> Bouyer associates this with "the summery and decorative

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<sup>18</sup> Rosand, "Giorgione, Venice and the Pastoral Vision," 50.

<sup>19</sup> Benjamin, "Decorative," 301-304.

<sup>20</sup> Puvis de Chavannes seems to have been an exception to this rule; Signac's perception of his work is discussed later in the chapter.

<sup>21</sup> Charles Baudelaire, "The Salon of 1846," *Art In Paris, 1845-1862 Salons and Other Exhibitions*, trans. and ed. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon, 1965), 47. I thank Vojtěch Jiráč-Wasiutyński for this reference.

<sup>22</sup> Vojtěch Jiráč-Wasiutyński, "Van Gogh in the South: Antimodernism and Exoticism in the Arlesian paintings," in *Policing the Boundaries of Modernism: Antimodernism and Artistic Experience*, ed. Lynda Jessup (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming) discusses Baudelaire's concept of northern and southern painting, as well as Van Gogh's depictions of the south.

<sup>23</sup> Benjamin, "Decorative," 301.

brightness of the antique Midi."<sup>24</sup> When the Neo-Impressionists moved to the Mediterranean shore and used this pictorial paradigm, they were relying on conventions of the region and the genre to envision a new direction for modern art.

### ***The Ecole de Provence and the Classical Tradition***

The continuing importance of the southern location for the classical tradition is indicated by the reception of indigenous Provençal painters from the Second Empire onwards. Although they practised a gentle naturalism, painters from the region continued to be seen through a lens of classicism.<sup>25</sup> The so-called Ecole de Provence, which was really represented almost exclusively by painters from Marseilles, flourished in the 1850s and 1860s, when Emile Loubon directed the local Ecole de Beaux-Arts. Loubon invigorated the local art scene with annual exhibitions that showed works by acknowledged masters of the contemporary Parisian scene, such as Eugène Delacroix, Thomas Couture, Alexandre Cabanel, and Rosa Bonheur.<sup>26</sup> His version of Provence, shown at annual salons in Marseilles and Paris, was very different from the touristic image, focusing on neither the ancient ruins so often sketched in guidebooks, nor the coastline favoured by wintering tourists. Instead, Loubon's work focuses on the interior of Provence, shown as a harsh, arid land with little vegetation. His frequent depictions of Provençal shepherds, as in *Marseille vue des Aygalades* (Figure 57), suggest nothing of the mythic Arcadian shepherd, but instead indicate the hard work involved in driving herds. The bleached tones of the landscape speak little of the brilliant colour that would later typify depictions of the region, although Parisian critics noted the intensity of blue in both his skies and

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<sup>24</sup> Benjamin, "Decorative," 302.

<sup>25</sup> Jean-Roger Soubiran, *Le Paysage Provençal et l'école de Marseille avant l'impressionnisme, 1845-1875* (Toulon: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1992) discusses the group in terms of naturalism.

sea.<sup>27</sup> This is not an idealized depiction of an eternal land; in the very centre of the canvas, two dark smokestacks are silhouetted against the blue of the sea, and, as the title emphasizes, they point to the growing city of Marseilles.<sup>28</sup>

Other artists within the group, such as Auguste Aiguier, were more clearly indebted to the classical tradition. His *Effet de soleil couchant* (Figure 58) clearly recalls Claude Lorrain, and depicts a seemingly timeless southern landscape in a conventional way. Even Aiguier, though, does not include mythological subjects. Thus, although the dominant school in Provence between 1840 and 1860 was characterized by tonal modelling, its work did not conform to many aspects of the classical tradition, such as the use of mythological scenes or historical figures; instead, the Ecole de Provence typically produced naturalistic depictions of the landscape.

The brilliant colour and light increasingly became the defining feature of the region for the next generation of Provençal painters, who were much less recognized in Paris. Naturalistic depictions of Provence's interior, of peasants and shepherds at work, continued to dominate, although heightened colour became increasingly representative.<sup>29</sup>

Frédéric Montenard, who was called "le peintre officiel des paysages ensoleillés du Midi,"<sup>30</sup> was perhaps the best known of the Provençal painters of the 1880s (see

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<sup>26</sup> Soubiran, "L'Ecole de Marseille, 1850-1914," in *Marseille au XIXème: Rêves et Triomphes* (Marseilles: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1992), 270.

<sup>27</sup> For example, Philippe Burty notes that the school of Marseilles is characterized by "un ciel trop féroce," in *La Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1864): 455; quoted in Soubiran, "Ecole de Marseille," 268.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Thomson, *Monet to Matisse: Landscape Painting in France, 1874-1914* (Edinburgh: National Gallery of Scotland, 1994), 71 discusses this work as addressing "the whole gamut of issues and polarities to be found in later landscape painting: city and country, the timeless and the modern, the agricultural and the industrial, the picturesque and the sublime."

<sup>29</sup> The best overview of this generation of Provençal painters is *Peintres de la Couleur en Provence, 1875-1920* (Marseilles: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1995).

<sup>30</sup> Charles Ponsonailhe, "Salon de 1886 - La Peinture," *L'Artiste* (June 1886): 419; quoted in *Peintres de la Couleur*, 33.



figures 37 and 59).<sup>31</sup> Seen by the Parisian critic Paul Mantz as exemplifying the new landscape tradition and exemplifying southern painting, Montenard's ability to capture the effects of brilliant sun on the water in a naturalistic manner was much praised; indeed Mantz wrote, "Il n'a dit que la vérité. Depuis deux ou trois ans, la Méditerranée n'a pas de peintre plus exact."<sup>32</sup> At the same time, Mantz could see Montenard as part of a decorative tradition; Montenard was thus not merely naturalistic, but also more than naturalistic. Indeed, this aspect was seen as common to painters from the south; George Lafenestre, for example, wrote in the *Revue des deux mondes*, "nous avons, notamment, la pléiade des paysagistes méridionaux qui ne sauraient, sans trop mentir, renoncer aux joies de la lumière, MM. Montenard, Dauphin, Cabrit, Gradis, etc. Leurs esquisses, en général, sont joyeuses et éclatantes, mais ils ont une tendance à traiter les choses en décor."<sup>33</sup> Many critics of the day cited the decorative qualities of the southern landscape, and when Montenard went on to produce large-scale mural paintings, Ponsonailhe saw the influence of Puvis de Chavannes "dans les lignes du paysage. Cet horizon maritime est rempli de noblesse et de grandeur."<sup>34</sup> In the 1880s and 1890s, Puvis was seen as the best exemplar of the modern classical landscape tradition. Camille Mauclair's posthumous tribute to Puvis summarized most of the key signifiers of classicism. "His decorative sense," Mauclair wrote, "ennobled everything, and without working from nature, with just a few drawings and studies of planes and of objects, he would

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<sup>31</sup> *Peintres de la Couleur*, 33.

<sup>32</sup> Paul Mantz, *Le Temps* (3 June 1883):1; quoted in *Peintres de la Couleur*, 34; see *ibid.* 34-6 for additional criticism of Montenard.

<sup>33</sup> George Lafenestre, "Le Salon," *Revue des deux mondes* (1890): 658; quoted in *Peintres de la Couleur*, 33.

<sup>34</sup> Ponsonailhe, "Salon de 1886 - La Peinture," *L'Artiste* (June 1886): 419; quoted in *Peintres de la Couleur*, 36.

reconstruct a landscape that was at once stylized and real.<sup>35</sup> Mauclair highlights the importance of the decorative in elevating drawings from nature to the level of the classical. Critics responding to Montenard's depictions of the southern shore similarly employed the language of classical grandeur and the decorative, as if they inevitably saw the Mediterranean shore as linked to the classical landscape tradition, despite the local naturalistic tradition.<sup>36</sup>

The Mediterranean coast was associated with the decorative aspects of the classical tradition, which was, in turn, generally associated with academicism in the late nineteenth century. Although the region was also associated with colour and light, it was not associated with modelling in colour, but rather with tonal modelling. No wonder then that it was not the main vacation choice of Impressionists.

### *Explaining the Attraction of the South*

In the late 1880s, artists began to travel to the Mediterranean coast in increasing numbers, but many of the explanations of the relatively sudden attraction of the south are limited because their focus lies elsewhere. Most scholarship on Neo-Impressionism, for example, focuses on Seurat and, consequently, on the period before the geographic shift.<sup>37</sup> There have been three dominant explanations of the region's new-found

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<sup>35</sup> Camille Mauclair, "Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1898)," *La Nouvelle Revue*, 118 (1899): 671; quoted in Benjamin, "Decorative," 298.

<sup>36</sup> The most naturalized example of this phenomenon remains the association between Cézanne and Poussin, which began in this time period and remains with us to this day. For a powerful refutation of the association see John House, "Cézanne and Poussin: Myth's History," in *Cézanne and Poussin: A symposium*, ed. Richard Kendall (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 129-149.

<sup>37</sup> Herbert's *Neo-Impressionism* considers the movement as a whole, unlike the burgeoning literature focusing exclusively on Seurat; yet Herbert does not consider the 1890s an important period for the movement. He suggests that the movement suffers a decline around 1894, and a second flowering from 1904 to 1910, p.23; Martha Ward, *Pissarro, Neo-Impressionism and the Spaces of the Avant-Garde* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996) focuses on Pissarro, although does consider the broader movement, especially in terms of the market; and John G. Hutton, *Neo-Impressionism and the Search for Solid Ground: Art, Science, and Anarchism in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State

attraction. The simplest has been its natural beauty and quality of light, combined with a desire to escape from Paris.<sup>38</sup> Françoise Cachin explains Signac's relocation as primarily a desire to escape the pressures of Paris; her explanation has been widely accepted, for example, in the latest important study of the artist.<sup>39</sup> Even *A Day in the Country*, which calls for a recognition of the complexity of landscape painting and its interpretation, repeatedly discusses the Midi only in terms of light and colour.<sup>40</sup> The catalogue states that, for many artists, the national landscape was defined by the region around the Ile de France and that, after moving south, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Henri Matisse, Paul Cézanne, Signac, and Cross "sought more and more merely to render this extension of the Parisian landscape, moved from Normandy to the Riviera, in terms of its light."<sup>41</sup>

A more complex motivation--although primarily art historical instead of cultural--was suggested by Fred Orton and Griselda Pollock in their analysis of the attraction of Brittany in the late 1880s, which emphasized the importance of Neo-Impressionism in the

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University Press, 1994) is primarily concerned with anarchism. For the extensive Seurat literature see, Robert L. Herbert et al., *Georges Seurat: 1859-1891* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991); and Paul Smith, *Seurat and the Avant-Garde* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); and discussion later in chapter.

<sup>38</sup> Herbert, *Neo-Impressionism*, 40 calls Signac's Mediterranean images a "hymn of praise to color and sunlight."

<sup>39</sup> Françoise Cachin, "L'Arrivée de Signac à Saint-Tropez," in *Signac et Saint-Tropez, 1892-1913*, ed. Jean-Paul Monery and Marina Ferretti-Bocquillon (Saint-Tropez: Musée de l'Annonciade, 1992), 11 and repeated in Marina Ferretti-Bocquillon, "Paul Signac au temps d'harmonie, 1892-1913," in *Signac et la libération de la couleur de Matisse à Mondrian* (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1997), 51-75.

<sup>40</sup> Richard Brettell and Scott Schaefer, "Impressionism in Context," in *A Day in the Country: Impressionism and the French Landscape* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1984), 18 state that the major thesis of the exhibition "is that Impressionist landscapes are saturated with meaning and that one needs to know a great deal before one can approach them in all their richness;" yet the Midi is reduced to light and colour in Sylvie Gache-Patin and Scott Schaefer, "Impressionism and the Sea," 277; and Scott Schaefer, "The Retreat from Paris," 300 and 302.

<sup>41</sup> Gache-Patin and Schaefer, 277; Brettell, "The Impressionist Landscape and the Image of France," 28-29 argues that Paris and the Ile de France were seen by many as standing for the nation, although he does not look for resistance to this point of view; and Schaefer, "The Retreat from Paris," 300-302 repeats the association of the Midi with light and colour, as well as the concept of the Midi as merely an extension of the Parisian landscape.

changing painterly landscape. They contend that vanguard painters made trips away from Paris in the late 1880s largely because:

the metropolis was no longer available to them as the main subject matter for vanguard painting. Ambitious artists were directed by necessity to find new spaces to occupy, new areas of representation. Once the *banlieue* had been possible and negotiable but this was no longer the case, and the regions became viable, novel.<sup>42</sup>

The primary reason that artists were no longer able to represent the city or its suburbs, in Orton and Pollock's account, was the dominance of Seurat's *Un Dimanche à la Grande Jatte* (1884) (Figure 76), which they posit as the definitive visual statement on urban, bourgeois, social relations. While Seurat's work was significant, their assessment conflates the differences between individual artists, and between the differing cultural perceptions of Brittany and the Midi.

More critically oriented scholars have suggested political motivations for the Neo-Impressionist move to the south, which my work will expand upon. R. Herbert and Eugenia Herbert were the first to draw attention to the anarchism of many Neo-Impressionists; this line of inquiry has been fruitfully taken up by both Peter Flagg and Robyn Roslak, who have suggested political motives for Signac's relocation.<sup>43</sup> Flagg convincingly argues that, for the anarchist Neo-Impressionists, the department of the Var offered more than just pleasing light and colour, due to its politically sympathetic milieu. Flagg sees Signac and Cross's move to the south and their instigation of an *Ecole Méditerranéenne* as an effort to recapture a lost sense of community, and also to avoid

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<sup>42</sup> Fred Orton and Griselda Pollock, "Les Données Bretonnantes: La Prairie de Répresentation," *Art History* 3, no. 3 (Sept. 1980): 332.

<sup>43</sup> Peter J. Flagg, "The Neo-Impressionist Landscape" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton, 1988) and Robyn Roslak, "Organicism and the Construction of a Utopian Geography: The Role of Landscape in Anarcho-Communism and Neo-Impressionism," *Utopian Studies* 1, no. 2 (1990): 96-114; and Roslak, "The Politics of Aesthetic Harmony: Neo-Impressionism, Science, and Anarchism," *Art Bulletin* 73, no. 3 (September 1991): 381-390.

the repercussions in Paris where anarchists were being persecuted.<sup>44</sup> He suggests several reasons that would have been attractive to anarchist artists: the region was still rather isolated, it had a left-wing political history, there was a separate Provençal identity that was not fully synonymous with French identity and, finally, there was a vibrant local cultural movement that had some parallels with anarchist philosophy.<sup>45</sup> Unfortunately, Flagg's discussion of the regional movement oversimplifies its complexity.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, he does not question what the Mediterranean meant to the Neo-Impressionists, leaving Mediterranean culture as a given, not a term constantly in construction.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, he does not consider their radical use of the conventions of classicism, which is the focus of this chapter.

Roslak convincingly links the Neo-Impressionist choice of a rural location to the anarchist geographer Elisée Reclus's faith in the countryside as the perfect geographic milieu for the development of a harmonious society.<sup>48</sup> Roslak shows that while Kropotkin championed a rural environment, Reclus preferred a coastal environment both for its beauty and health-giving properties, and for the ocean's power to unite humankind in a harmonious ensemble.<sup>49</sup> She convincingly associates the Neo-Impressionist goal of a harmonious picture designed to affect the viewer and bring about change in society with an anarchist view of science and geography. Roslak does not distinguish, however, between the Norman coast and the Mediterranean coast. Unlike Flagg, she does not

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<sup>44</sup> Flagg, 21, and 200.

<sup>45</sup> Flagg, 176 and passim.

<sup>46</sup> For example, he uses the term *Mediterraneanism* to describe the local regional movement; this term was not used in the period and does not correspond to any group that I have located.

<sup>47</sup> For example, Flagg writes, "we feel Cross reaching beyond visible nature to the roots of Mediterranean civilization and suggesting its enduring presence in the modern world," p. 210.

<sup>48</sup> Roslak, "Utopian Geography," 100-01, and passim.

<sup>49</sup> Roslak, "Utopian Geography," 105-10.

consider the region's political associations; nor does she examine the similarities in ideology between the regionalist and anarchist movements.

Most explanations for the Fauve attraction to the Midi have also emphasized the light and colour, while de-emphasizing the importance of Neo-Impressionism. Ellen Oppler noted the impact of Signac's *D'Eugène Delacroix au Néo-Impressionnisme* on Matisse in 1898, yet she calls the influence of Neo-Impressionism "indirect," because it came through Seurat's "disciples," Cross and Signac.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, she concluded that Matisse visited and stayed at Saint-Tropez in 1904 because Signac had invited him, not because he showed an enduring interest in the established artist.<sup>51</sup> Like most other scholars, she sees the impact of Neo-Impressionism primarily in terms of the divisionist technique, which Matisse "soon modified and then abandoned."<sup>52</sup> However, if one recognizes that Signac's impact on Matisse began with the publication of his treatise in 1898 and then recurred in an intense engagement from the summer of 1904 lasting well into the fall or winter of 1905-06 (when Matisse's Neo-Impressionist *Port d'Avall* [Figure 80] was painted,<sup>53</sup>)--and arguably coloured the way Matisse pictured idyllic lands forever--it becomes clear that the impact of Neo-Impressionism was neither indirect nor short lived.

Catherine Bock in *Matisse and Neo-Impressionism, 1898-1908* emphasizes the importance of Neo-Impressionist style on Matisse's formal development, but she does not consider the ideology of place. She interprets Matisse's first divisionist period, after he

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<sup>50</sup> Ellen C. Oppler, *Fauvism Reexamined* (New York: Garland, 1976), 100-101.

<sup>51</sup> Oppler, 100-102. This conclusion is often stated in the literature, but to my knowledge evidence proving the point has never been cited.

<sup>52</sup> Oppler, 104.

<sup>53</sup> John Elderfield, *Henri Matisse: A Retrospective* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1992), 145, dates this work to autumn-winter 1905-06, ie a full year later than *Luxe, calme et volupté*, which is usually seen as Matisse's only significant Neo-Impressionist work.

had read Signac's treatise while on an extended honeymoon in Corsica and Toulouse, in purely stylistic terms. Acknowledging the intensity of colour in the light of the south, she concludes "the general circumstances of his 'free' year in the provinces, marked by exaltation and isolation, provide a setting for this burst of chromatic experimentation."<sup>54</sup> Yet this sense of freedom implies an ideology of place. It is the artist's perception of the provinces that allows him to free himself from the perceived constraints of Paris. Indeed, Signac and others had likewise experienced the provinces as a place of freedom, a way of seeing the coast that informed their vision. Matisse's second period of more extended contact with the Neo-Impressionists in Saint-Tropez was of far greater importance but Bock dismisses both the importance of Signac as a painter, and the importance of the actual location: "There is no reason to suspect that Matisse went down to Saint-Tropez specifically out of interest in pointillism. Stories of Signac's hospitality, the desire to spend the summer inexpensively away from Paris, and the lure of the southern climate – all of these were likely factors in Matisse's decision to go."<sup>55</sup> As discussed in Chapter 3, summers in the region were not the traditional holiday time, and the weather may well have not been seen as a benefit; indeed Matisse complained of it being too hot to work.<sup>56</sup> The idea that life in Saint-Tropez was inexpensive is also questionable, since in June of 1905 Charles Camoin complained that it was rather expensive in Saint-Tropez, and said that he would move further along the coast to Agay.<sup>57</sup> The region's new status as favoured tourist spot must have appealed to Matisse; so too would the opportunity to

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<sup>54</sup> Catherine Bock, *Henri Matisse and Neo-Impressionism, 1898-1908* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 29.

<sup>55</sup> Bock, 63.

<sup>56</sup> Judi Freeman, "Documentary Chronology," in *The Fauve Landscape*, ed. Judi Freeman (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1990), 63 cites a letter from Matisse to Manguin written in September 1904, in which Matisse describes the intense heat and how difficult it has been to work.

<sup>57</sup> Freeman, "Chronology," 73.

make professional connections with the president of the most avant-garde, and recently revitalized, exhibiting society, and the chance to visit an unfamiliar part of the nation.<sup>58</sup>

Thus, like other scholars, Bock does not consider the more subtle impact of contact with Signac and Cross on Matisse, or the impact of Neo-Impressionist picturing of the region in radical pastorals. Instead she accepts that the region was paradisiacal at all times of the year, and that Matisse naturally conveyed this truth.<sup>59</sup>

Despite these interpretations, the basic question remains why around 1890 so many artists began to travel in ever-increasing numbers to the Mediterranean coast. What did it offer them that Brittany no longer did? Since Brittany was a popular tourist destination from the 1870s, if not earlier, and this did not deter the Pont Aven school some twenty years later, it cannot only have been freedom from the tourist crowds. An original point of view is also a possible explanation, but it too seems inadequate since the original interpretation of an established subject is generally more valued within modernism than original subject matter. The railway linking Paris to Nice was completed in the 1860s; consequently, the explanation that artists began to travel south because of more convenient access fails to explain the thirty-year lag. The hot summer weather is also often facilely cited as a benefit; however, since generations of French preferred to summer on the cooler Atlantic coast, it would seem unlikely that there was a sudden vogue for the scorching heat of the Mediterranean. James Herbert offers a partial explanation for the new-found attraction of the region in its weather. He shows that a new kind of tourism at the end of the century increasingly valued physical invigoration and 'authentic experience'; this kind of tourist spoke of visiting the Midi, not when the

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<sup>58</sup> On Matisse's status as a lapsed member of the Touring-Club de France see Freeman, p. 213 note 35.



hoards of wealthy vacationers crowded the shores, but when the 'real' inhabitants were there in summer.<sup>60</sup> While Herbert's suggestion that tourists increasingly sought locations perceived as invigorating begins to explain the attraction the Mediterranean may have had for Signac, an avid sailor, there is both a larger cultural perception of the region and a specifically anarchist perception of the region that would also have come into play.

### **SITUATING THE SOUTH IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY**

Conceptions of the French nation as divided between north and south were widespread in the nineteenth century, and the cultural imagining of the south may have been particularly attractive to the Neo-Impressionists. Nineteenth-century social scientists had noted the unequal development between north and south and agreed upon a dividing line that ran from Geneva to St. Malo. They were not in agreement, however, about which side of the line was better.<sup>61</sup> The division was made primarily on the basis of development (criminality statistics, education, etc.), but climate was the commonly given explanation for the differences. Besides academic explanations, more popular inventories of the differences between northerners and southerners accentuated the perceived freedom of life in the south.

#### ***Stendhal: The Natural Anarchist***

In *Memoirs of a Tourist*, Stendhal's fictional account of a businessman's travels, the southerner is described as having a joy, a "brio," absent in northerners. Unlike

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<sup>59</sup> These same assumptions are repeated in a catalogue devoted to considering Signac's impact on modern art, see Eric de Chasse, "Signac et les Fauves," in *Signac et la libération de la couleur*, 170.

<sup>60</sup> J. Herbert, 93-6.

<sup>61</sup> Roger Chartier, "The Two Frances: The History of a Geographical Idea," in *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), 172-200.

northerners, the southerner did not suffer from “nervous weaknesses.”<sup>62</sup> Moreover, the difference between the man of Paris and the man of Marseilles, “the southern town *par excellence*,”<sup>63</sup> is due, Stendhal suggests, to the restrictions of Parisian society. The narrator states: “There can hardly be a greater contrast than the actions and feelings of a young man in Marseilles to those of one in Paris. In Paris a young man can get ahead only through society.” Briefly describing Parisian society, he concludes: “Even a vision of this kind of life would make a Marseillais grow pale. For him his life is all freedom and movement.”<sup>64</sup> Describing the region as free from the constraints of polite society--and thus primitivizing it--Stendhal also evokes another aspect of the primitive.

The South of France is in the same case as Spain and Italy. Its natural *brio*, its vivacity, keeps it from being ‘Englished’ like the North. A man of the Midi does what pleases him at the very moment and not what is prudent. This man is not made for the civilization that has reigned since 1830: money and the shrewd and legitimate ways of getting it . . . “But do you think of money every two minutes?” they [northerners] ask him. “You sacrifice wines to the interest of iron,” he says. There is no answer to that.<sup>65</sup>

Stendhal links the south of France to other ‘Latin’ countries that are all separate from ‘civilized’ societies’ concern for money. This portrayal of the vivacious southerner (who, free from the constraints of civilization, seems to belong to an earlier time that predates capitalism and modernity) would have appealed to nostalgic and escapist bourgeois fantasies of ‘authentic’ life. It would surely have appealed to Signac who was, in fact, a “fanatical devotee of Stendhal” and viewed him as a “natural anarchist.”<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Stendhal, *Memoirs of a tourist*, trans. and ed. Allan Seager (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1962), 263.

<sup>63</sup> Stendhal, 267.

<sup>64</sup> Stendhal, 274.

<sup>65</sup> Stendhal, 302.

<sup>66</sup> Cachin, *Signac*, 115 notes that Signac wrote a pamphlet on Stendhal’s life.

### *Maupassant and Liberty*

The view of the south as physically and culturally distinct from the north is reiterated in the work of Guy de Maupassant, whom Signac admired as evidenced by his 1883 painting *Still Life with Book by Maupassant* (Figure 60). Françoise Cachin pointed out that Maupassant's description of his sailing trip along the Mediterranean coast, published as *Sur l'eau* in 1888, likely influenced Signac's decision to visit the region.<sup>67</sup> A closer reading reveals that there may have been more than just a description of physical beauty that enticed Signac in Maupassant's text.

Maupassant had vacationed every year in the region from 1881-88,<sup>68</sup> staying with such notable figures as Juliette Adam, a prominent libertarian in the 1880s. Maupassant's account begins by describing the Maures mountain range, which separates Saint-Tropez from inland Provence, as an almost foreign land: "C'est là que commence cette région sauvage, sombre et superbe, qu'on appelle encore le pays des Maures."<sup>69</sup> It is a "petit royaume sarrasin" with many "maisons mauresques avec leurs arcades, leurs étroites fenêtres et leurs cours intérieures."<sup>70</sup> Furthermore, "Si l'on pénètre à pied dans les vallons inconnus de cet étrange massif de montagnes, on découvre une contrée invraisemblablement sauvage, sans routes, sans chemins, même sans sentiers, sans hameaux, sans maisons."<sup>71</sup> Describing the entry to the gulf of Saint-Tropez, with its ruined towers, Maupassant evokes the stunning setting of this "petit port isolé en

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<sup>67</sup> Cachin, *Signac*, 56; Jacques Dupont, Préface, *Sur l'Eau*, by Guy de Maupassant (Paris: Gallimard, 1993): 10; he states that it is now accepted that this is a writer's fiction, and does not describe an actual voyage, but provides a composite picture.

<sup>68</sup> Dupont, 8.

<sup>69</sup> Maupassant, 119.

<sup>70</sup> Maupassant, 119.

<sup>71</sup> Maupassant, 119.

communication avec le reste du monde.”<sup>72</sup> Thus, emphasizing the continued evidence of foreign Moorish presence, the isolation and wildness of the region, Maupassant sets the stage for a very exotic experience.

At the same time, however, Maupassant also underlines how far this stereotype is from the reality of the region when he humorously describes attempts to create *stations hivernales* along the *côte de maures*, especially in Saint-Aygulf. He recounts that along this isolated coast one finds large planned roads cut through the trees, yet no houses. These roads are named after famous painters: “boulevard Ruysdael, boulevard Rubens, boulevard Van Dyck, boulevard Claude Lorrain. On se demande pourquoi tous ces peintres? Ah! pourquoi? C’est que la *Société* s’est dit, comme Dieu lui-même avant d’allumer le soleil: ‘Ceci sera une station d’artistes!’”<sup>73</sup> In fact, there was rampant speculation on land values in the Côte d’Azur, and the financial group Société foncière de Cannes et du littoral had specifically created resort towns starting in the 1880s.<sup>74</sup> Maupassant ridicules the faith in this financial speculation, but notes nevertheless that a lot had been purchased at Saint-Aygulf by the successful academic painter, Carolus-Duran. Maupassant is caught in the typical tourist dilemma: he knows that the authenticity he seeks no longer exists, and perhaps never did, yet he still wants to see the region as savage and wild. Consequently, his account veers between knowing irony and nostalgia.

This combination continues in Maupassant’s description of the inhabitants of this supposedly savage region. Having disembarked, he begins his account of Saint-Tropez by describing the miserable life of the office workers he sees leaving for their

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<sup>72</sup> Maupassant, 122.

<sup>73</sup> Maupassant, 120. A footnote in the text explains that *Société* is a reference to financial institutions.

lunchbreaks for whom “tous les jours, les semaines, les mois, les saisons, les années se ressemblent. . . . On se constitue prisonnier à huit heures du matin; la prison s’ouvre à six heures, alors que la nuit vient.”<sup>75</sup> He laments: “Ô liberté! liberté! seul bonheur, seul espoir et seul rêve!”<sup>76</sup> Maupassant turns to his own condition, describing his fear at receiving a package of letters that he believes seek to tie him down and control him. Drawing a parallel to the controlled lives of the office clerks, Maupassant concludes “ainsi que nous restons seuls, malgré tous nos efforts, de même nous restons libres malgré toutes les étreintes.”<sup>77</sup> This assertion of an indomitable individualism that continues, despite modern society’s efforts to crush it, is followed in Maupassant’s account by an assessment of the local people.

Maupassant turns his ear to the other lunchtime restaurant patrons, and he describes their conversations as quintessentially French. One overheard conversation “réorganisait l’armée et la magistrature, réformait les lois et la Constitution, définissait une République idéale, pour son âme de placeur de vins.”<sup>78</sup> Describing the others, Maupassant concludes: “Je voyais en eux toute la France, la France légendaire, spirituelle, mobile, brave et galante.”<sup>79</sup> For Maupassant, these men exemplify the French race, which he describes by a brief lesson in French history, emphasizing the great spirit that has motivated the French throughout the ages. Maupassant’s complete account of Saint-Tropez begins with a description of its physical beauty and its slightly foreign qualities. It concludes with a tribute to individual liberty, to a life lived outside the realm

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<sup>74</sup> Dupont, 42, note 2.

<sup>75</sup> Maupassant, 125, and 123-6.

<sup>76</sup> Maupassant, 123-4.

<sup>77</sup> Maupassant, 128.

<sup>78</sup> Maupassant, 129.

<sup>79</sup> Maupassant, 130.

of the modern office and in touch with the natural rhythms of the seasons, where everyone had time to consider such intellectual concerns as the structure of the state. In its entirety, Maupassant's account would have appealed to Signac and resonated with his choice of locale made only a few years later.

### ***Reclus and Kropotkin: Latin Culture and Anarchism***

Elisée Reclus and Pierre Kropotkin, both anarchists and geographers, also contributed to the development of the myth of the Mediterranean in ways that would have appealed to Signac.<sup>80</sup> Both believed in the importance of geographic location in shaping social and political institutions, and both advocated a decentralized political system. What might seem to be mere cultural stereotyping in the illustration *Latins et Germains* (Figure 61), done by František Kupka for a chapter of the same title in Reclus's final work, *L'Homme et la Terre*, is far more complicated.<sup>81</sup> In Kupka's illustration, the Latin people are represented as more harmonious and laudable. On the right, a heavy Germanic man polishes his shotgun, evoking the reputed German militarism, while on the left, a Latin figure sits on a Corinthian column capital, supported by a beautiful woman, and holding up a statue. This evocation of family, art, and the continuity of the Greek spirit in art as

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<sup>80</sup> The connection between Reclus's science and his anarchism is convincingly elucidated by Marie Fleming, *The Anarchist Way to Socialism: Elisée Reclus and Nineteenth-Century European Anarchism* (London: Croom Helm, 1979); see also Béatrice Giblin's introduction to *L'Homme et la Terre*, by Elisée Reclus, 2 vols. (Paris: Françoise Maspero, 1982), 1:5-99; Fleming, *The Geography of Freedom: The Odyssey of Elisée Reclus* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1988); Gary S. Dunbar, *Elisée Reclus: Historian of Nature* (Hamden CT: Archon Book, 1978); Yves Lacoste, *Paysages Politiques: Braudel, Gracq, Reclus* (Paris: Librairie générale française, 1990), especially 191-224 for history of reception of Reclus's work; and Chris GoGwilt, "The Geopolitical Image: Imperialism, Anarchism, and the Hypothesis of Culture in the Formation of Geopolitics," *Modernism/modernity* 5, no. 3 (Sept. 1998): 49-70. On Kropotkin see Caroline Cahm, *Kropotkin and the Rise of Revolutionary Anarchism, 1872-1886* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 8.

<sup>81</sup> Reclus, *L'Homme et la Terre*, 6 vols. (Paris: Librairie universelle, 1905-08; reprint of volumes 5-6, Paris: Fayard, 1990; excerpted reprint edited by Béatrice Giblin, Paris: François Maspero, 1982, 2 vols.) Note that page citations are to both reprint editions, which I distinguish by date of publication); for a general discussion of the text see Dunbar, 112-20; and Giblin, 75-99.

well as politics, all bathed in metaphoric light in contrast to the shadowed militaristic German, seems to give visual evidence of Reclus's support of Latin culture.<sup>82</sup>

Yet Reclus's concepts of race and nation were more complicated than this stereotype might imply. Reclus believed in progress, but he defined progress as the spread of emancipation.<sup>83</sup> In this regard, he believed German culture had regressed; it was undeniable, he wrote, that Germany had made much material progress, but as for "sa marche dans un avenir d'égalité et de justice . . . de pareilles appréciations ne peuvent être faites."<sup>84</sup> Cultural characteristics, he stated, were determined by environment, history, and education, and so they were not immutable.<sup>85</sup> Therefore, while not anti-German, Reclus condemned the present state of German culture for its nationalism, militarism, and expansionism.<sup>86</sup>

Reclus's view of Latin culture, however, was more complicated. He recognized the elasticity of the term, which could apply to any civilization that had been part of the ancient Roman world; nevertheless, believed that the Latin invasion of France had been the most significant of all of the successive invasions because of its impact on the French language.<sup>87</sup> It was because of the Latin characteristics of the language, he wrote, that "l'esprit français a pris un tour essentiellement classique."<sup>88</sup> Thus, Reclus emphasized the classical elements within French culture and linked them to a Latin heritage.

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<sup>82</sup> Virginia Spate, *Orphism: The Evolution of Non-Figurative Painting in Paris, 1910-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1979), 88-9 discusses Kupka's anarchism, and mentions his interest in light as symbolic; *ibid.*, 103-4 discusses his illustrations for Reclus.

<sup>83</sup> Fleming, *Anarchist Way*, 39 and *passim*.

<sup>84</sup> Reclus, *L'Homme et la Terre*, 1990, 170.

<sup>85</sup> Fleming, *Anarchist Way*, 239-44 on Reclus's concept of race; and on Reclus's assertion of importance of education in determining national characteristics, 153.

<sup>86</sup> See Reclus, *L'Homme et la Terre*, 1990, 169-70.

<sup>87</sup> Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle: La Terre et Les Hommes*, vol. 2, *La France* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, n.d), 50.

<sup>88</sup> Reclus, *La France*, 50.

Reclus had long advocated that the best social structure was a decentralized state.

This ideal political structure, as Marie Fleming summarizes,

would take the form of small groups or associations whose relationship to existing communes would depend on the people involved. While each association would be independent and self-administering, the people of one, acting out of a sense of brotherly love rather than competition, might well join the people of another to form a larger association, and these would vary in size.<sup>89</sup>

These local units would be based on 'natural' associations, which Reclus contrasted with the artificial hierarchies of centralized states since he believed that "the system of local units imposed from above was a tool of despotism, especially in France."<sup>90</sup> Examples of natural units could be found in the south, Reclus wrote, where most of the small landowners resided within the local town so they could effectively take part in its decision-making processes.<sup>91</sup> In Provence and the Mediterranean region of France, he states: "Le grand privilège de pouvoir discuter les intérêts publics a, par tradition, changé tout le monde en citoyens. L'appel de l'agora comme en Grèce, de la vie municipale comme en Italie, attire les habitants vers la place centrale où se débattent les affaires communes."<sup>92</sup> Anarchism, Reclus noted, was most entrenched where this kind of communal tradition was combined with a tradition of freethinking, where:

the spirits have for a long time been liberated from religious and monarchical prejudices, where revolutionary precedents have loosened the faith in the established order, where the practice of communal franchises has better accustomed men to dispense with a master, where disinterested study developed thinkers outside every coterie.<sup>93</sup>

Reclus thus recognized that historical tradition alone did not guarantee progress. He stated that in the Middle Ages the south "représentaient sans contredit la partie la plus

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<sup>89</sup> Fleming, *Geography of Freedom*, 64; and on his decentralist ideas in general, 63-5, 115.

<sup>90</sup> Fleming, *Geography of Freedom*, 64.

<sup>91</sup> Reclus, *L'Homme et La Terre*, 1982, 2: 46.

<sup>92</sup> Reclus, *L'Homme et La Terre*, 1982, 2: 46.



avancée de la nation,” but regretted that in the present it combined advanced and regressive elements.<sup>94</sup> On the positive side, he cited the strong political support for *radicale* or *radicale-socialiste* parties, which called for the separation of church and state, and the “paysans qui entrent délibérément dans la voie coopérative, même communiste.”<sup>95</sup> Yet, on the negative side, he noted a reactionary element within the regionalist movement. He laments the irony that southern towns have “senti leur vieil esprit municipal se réveiller contre le gouvernement central” only to assert their cultural right to bullfighting, which he sees as barbaric.<sup>96</sup> Thus, Reclus sees the tradition of local self-governance as the best form of governance, and associates it with the Latin culture of the Mediterranean south. Although he recognized that this tradition had weakened, Reclus’s description of Latin people implicitly accords with the positive vision depicted by Kupka, who was also an anarchist.<sup>97</sup>

Kropotkin wrote of the peoples of the Mediterranean basin as more naturally sympathetic to anarchism than German peoples.<sup>98</sup> Analyzing recent history, Kropotkin stated that Germanic peoples responded to the Paris Commune by supporting the authoritarian socialism of Marx, while Latin peoples responded with sympathy to the anarchism of Bakunin.<sup>99</sup> In a critique of the German Social Democratic Party and socialism as espoused by Marx and Engels, Kropotkin wrote that the German socialists began to favour,

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<sup>93</sup> Reclus, to Georges Renard, 2 June 1888; quoted in Fleming, *Anarchist Way*, 153.

<sup>94</sup> Reclus, *L'Homme et La Terre*, 1990, 146.

<sup>95</sup> Reclus, *L'Homme et La Terre*, 1990, 146-7.

<sup>96</sup> Reclus, *L'Homme et La Terre*, 1990, 147.

<sup>97</sup> Spate, 88-9 and passim.

<sup>98</sup> Cahm, 8.

<sup>99</sup> Cahm, 8.

not the kind of state that might be termed the highest type among those existing today, namely the *federated* state, but the Roman type, unitary, indivisible and centralized in the Roman manner.

Against this Germanic spirit, therefore, the Latin peoples had to defend the very right to revolutionary agitation. They had to wage a difficult struggle against their governments and against the socialists of the German school.<sup>100</sup>

Kropotkin here associates centralized political authority with the Germanic spirit and with the tradition of the Roman Empire, and distinguishes Latin culture from these. The Latin people, in Kropotkin's account, oppose centralization and seek anarchist revolution. Indeed, Kropotkin repeatedly characterized anti-Marxist anarchists as Latin, for example when he explained the split between the anarchists and socialists. He wrote: "the Latin federations, Spanish, Italian, Belgian and Jurassic (French could not be represented) constituted among themselves a Federal union which broke entirely with the Marxist general council of the International."<sup>101</sup> As he includes both Belgians and Swiss in the category Latin, Kropotkin's definition of Latin seems to be those who support anarchism.

While both Kropotkin and Reclus associate anarchism with some aspects of Latin culture, another part of Reclus's theory may have also contributed to the attraction of the region for Signac. Reclus's guidebook to winter resort villages of the Mediterranean said that the region around Saint-Tropez preserved the most essential characteristics of the region; it was the "Provence de la Provence."<sup>102</sup> He also discussed it in terms of its similarity to North Africa.<sup>103</sup> The guidebook begins by comparing the region to Africa.

Les côtes de la Provence et de la Ligurie génoise sont presque une terre africaine. Elles ressemblent au littoral de Tunis et d'Alger par la hardiesse de leurs

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<sup>100</sup> Peter Kropotkin, "'Western Europe,' from *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*," in *The Conquest of Bread and Other Writings*, ed. Marshall Shatz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 215.

<sup>101</sup> Kropotkin, "Anarchism," in Shatz, ed., 242.

<sup>102</sup> Reclus, *La France*, 182.

<sup>103</sup> Reclus, *Les Villes d'Hiver de la Méditerranée et les Alpes Maritimes* (Paris Librairie Hachette, Collection des Guides Joanne, 1864), 96.

promontoires, la forme rythmique de leurs anses dessinées en arcs de cercle, leur végétation semi-tropicale, la splendeur du ciel rayonnant qui les éclaire.<sup>104</sup>

Reclus continued that the Mediterranean is geographically separate from the north and, with the Spanish coast, it constitutes “une partie du monde distincte où s’opère la transition entre l’Europe et l’Afrique.”<sup>105</sup> His more academic publications reiterate this similarity, but also discuss France’s unique role as the place where a future universal brotherhood will be created due to the eventual fusion of all races. Since it was a crossroads between north and south, “la France est-elle devenue historiquement la terre où les races du Nord se sont unies à celles du Midi, où la civilisation méditerranéenne est venue se croiser avec les éléments de la culture celte et germaine.”<sup>106</sup> For Reclus, then, Provence still had a role to play in the future of humanity; as he said in contrast to those who saw the south as weakened, “l’histoire n’a point déserté les rivages de la Méditerranée.”<sup>107</sup>

The comparison between Provence and North Africa was frequently made in the nineteenth century, both popularly and academically. In the extremely popular *Le Tour de la France par Deux Enfants*, in which two young Lorrain boys travel around France and learn to love their country in its diversity, the Camargue is described as “desséchées par le souffle du mistral, couvertes de cailloux, et qui ressemblent à un désert de l’Afrique transporté dans notre France.”<sup>108</sup> Rather than being an isolated comparison, Provence and the Mediterranean coast were often compared to African soil. This must have both reflected and informed the general cultural understanding of the region as

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<sup>104</sup> Reclus, *Villes d’Hiver de la Méditerranée*, III.

<sup>105</sup> Reclus, *Villes d’Hiver de la Méditerranée*, III.

<sup>106</sup> Reclus, *La France*, 4.

<sup>107</sup> Reclus, *L’Homme et La Terre*, 1990, 114.

unlike northern France; whether you saw this as positive or negative would have depended on many factors, but for an anarchist familiar with Reclus, it would likely have seemed very positive.<sup>109</sup>

### ***Regionalists and the Tradition of Liberty***

A somewhat different version of Provençal culture was supported by regionalists.

Although many were not tied to the anarchist movement, decentralists and regionalists often focused on ancient history to portray the Mediterranean peoples as freedom loving. The editors of *La Provence: Revue indépendante de décentralisation*, a typical small, regionalist journal, explained that they were inspired by a love of their “petite patrie,” and: “Il y a dans cet amour, un peu de la nostalgie du Passé, c’est pourquoi la note sera parfois émue, presque sentimentale; il y a aussi de l’allusion (beaucoup!) de la foi dans l’avenir du désir de voir ressusciter le vieil esprit de liberté qui anima autrefois l’âme de la Provence.”<sup>110</sup> This ‘ancient spirit of liberty,’ which they planned to revive, seemed to many regionalists to go naturally with a decentralized government. In *La Revue Phocéenne*, Mr. Demoulins explained, in an article on Mistral, that while the rest of Europe suffered under the feudal yoke, “les cités de Provence fortes et fières de leurs franchises, s’élevaient avec orgueil, jalouses de leurs droits et gardiennes des libertés

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<sup>108</sup> G. Bruno, *Le Tour de la France par Deux Enfants* (Paris: Librairie classique Eugène Belin, n. d.; reprint, Evreux: Imprimerie Hérissey, 1994), 175.

<sup>109</sup> For another comparison of the French Mediterranean landscape to North Africa, see Paul Joanne, *Itinéraire général de la France – Provence* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, Collection des Guides-Joanne, 1890), p.xiv “En effet, les côtes de la Provence et de la Ligurie rapellent le littoral de Tunis et d’Alger par la hardiesse de leurs promontaires de calcaire.” Repeated references to the Moorish elements of the town, or the naming of the mountain range after the Moors, as can be found Maupassant, discussed above, also reinforce this North African association.

<sup>110</sup> “Au Lecteur,” *La Provence* 1 (15 Nov. 1904): 1.

communales.”<sup>111</sup> Thus, regionalists also contributed to the myth of Provence as a place of communal liberty.

### ***Signac and Regionalism***

While Signac’s support of anarchism, with its attendant support for political decentralization, is well known, there is less conclusive evidence of his support of regionalism. However, in 1902 he reviewed a Provençal art exhibition held in Marseilles by the Société des Amis des Arts de Marseille. It reveals his contradictory and ambivalent position on provincial art. He begins by saying how unusual a good provincial exhibition is.

Contrairement aux habituelles exhibitions d’art en province, où, autour du lourd colis du directeur de l’École des Beaux-Arts de l’endroit, et des cartes de visite des indigènes « seconde médaille » ou « associés », émigrés à Paris, s’accrochent les pénibles travaux des amateurs de la localité, l’*Exposition de Peintres Provençaux*, organisée par la *Société des Amis des Arts de Marseille*, dans les salons du *Cercle artistique* de cette ville, présente de nombreuses œuvres de beaux peintres, – mais, ils sont morts, ce qui explique.<sup>112</sup>

After briefly discussing the best known of the nineteenth century Provençal painters, such as Gustave Ricard, Monticelli, and Guigou, Signac concludes: “Il faut louer cette manifestation d’art régionaliste, révélatrice de talents peu connus.”<sup>113</sup> Thus, he supports the exhibition in principle, although he critiques many aspects of it (most deservedly the collector who attached an artist’s nameplate directly to the canvas rather than to the frame.) Signac’s assessment shows the difficult position of those who favoured

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<sup>111</sup> M. Demoulin, “Frédéric Mistral,” *La Revue Phocéenne* 1, no. 5 (October 1899): 67.

<sup>112</sup> Paul Signac, “Exposition de Peintres Provençaux à Marseille,” *La Revue Blanche* 28 (May-Aug. 1902): 143.

<sup>113</sup> Signac, “Peintres Provençaux,” 145.

regionalism; while theoretically supporting a decentralized world, in the present day, they recognized the all-too-evident provincialism of the provinces.<sup>114</sup>

Despite his criticism, Signac recommends André Gouirand's history of Provençal art, *Les Peintres Provençaux*, indicating both his interest in regional artists and his knowledge of the local movement, which opposed France's centralized art system. Gouirand's history foregrounds the regionalist perspective on Provençal art. He begins by critiquing the "système centralisateur qui étreint, paralyse et tue la France,"<sup>115</sup> which is a theme common to anarchists and regionalists. Nevertheless, Gouirand noted, Provence's long history of artistic excellence had at last been recognized at the 1900 centennial exposition in which Enguerrand Charonton's *Couronnement de la Vierge* (1454, panel, 182.9 x 220 cm. Musée de l'Hospice, Villeneuve-lès-Avignon) was highly praised.<sup>116</sup> The strength of this long tradition, Gouirand argues, comes from the mixing of cultures, long associated with the region, all of which were founded on Greek civilization. He writes: "Il est incontestable que les artistes grecs qui descendirent en Provence y apportèrent les éléments de la beauté qui étaient chez eux le but de l'art."<sup>117</sup> Despite some periods in which art declined--not, he points out, during the republican Roman period but afterward in the time of the Caesars--the spirit of the Greeks lived on in Provençal art. Although it once again fell into oblivion following Provence's joining with France, it received a new infusion with the arrival of the Flemish painter Ludovic Finsonius in the seventeenth century. "Sur cette terre toujours désireuse de fécondation,

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<sup>114</sup> Many regionalists noted this problem, acknowledging that Paris attracted all the best minds of the day; see for example, Jean Charles-Brun, "Une Ligue d'Action Méridionale," *Revue Méridionale* (1899): 25 which describes how France "est anémié à la périphérie."

<sup>115</sup> André Gouirand, *Les Peintres Provençaux*, 2nd ed. (Paris: Société d'éditions littéraires et artistiques, 1901), 2.

<sup>116</sup> Gouirand, 5.

<sup>117</sup> Gouirand, 3.

sur ce sol provençal où l'art grec avait laissé de si profondes racines, un printemps devait bientôt faire pousser les rameaux d'une nouvelle Renaissance."<sup>118</sup> These were the fundamentals of many regionalist histories: that the region's essence had been determined by the Greeks, that this Greek spirit re-emerged periodically and was associated with liberty or at least disassociated from centralized foreign governments, and that its separate art tradition needs to be recuperated. Signac's recommendation of this source, in a review applauding regionalist art exhibitions, gives tacit support to this version of Provençal history.

It seems that the tension evident in Maupassant's text between nostalgically seeing the exotic in the south, and simultaneously being aware of the region as participating in the modern world is also present in most other mythic representations of the region. While Reclus saw the Midi as classically inspired, his geographic guidebooks to the various regions also describe the considerable industry in the Var in glowing terms. There was a large export of flowers, of wines, and various fruits, and significant mining and shipbuilding.<sup>119</sup> This combination of myth, representation, and belief system all influenced the way Provence was seen from both within and without the region. In late nineteenth-century culture, the idea of the exotic other existing in some time outside modernity was a dominant trope of escapist fantasy; yet, it was also more than mere escapism.<sup>120</sup> For anarchists, the emerging socialist movement, and many active regionalists, the power to change modernity was held by individuals; their support of a

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<sup>118</sup> Gouirand, 7.

<sup>119</sup> Adolphe Joanne, *Géographie du Département du Var* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1880; reprint, Evreux: Hérissé, 1994), 40-46.

<sup>120</sup> T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), xiv.

milieu they believed to be conducive to a just society led many to the south in what became a personal quest for freedom. For Signac, the region was mythic indeed.

### NEO-IMPRESSIONISM ON THE MEDITERRANEAN COAST

When Henri-Edmond Cross adopted Neo-Impressionism and moved to the Midi in 1891 and Signac settled there in 1892, their avant-garde style may have seemed incongruous with the classical landscape tradition often associated with the Mediterranean shore. Yet a close examination of Signac's œuvre--and its use of the traditions of the pastoral landscape to critique society--reveals his support of a version of Latin culture that was consistent with certain aspects of anarchism as well as with the theories of Charles Henry. Although my primary interest is the cultural construction of Provence, Signac's paintings from Saint-Tropez engage with his earlier works and with those of Seurat to make their meaning; consequently, my findings shed light on how significant practitioners of Neo-Impressionism understood Seurat's painting.

#### *Signac in Saint-Tropez: The Locals in the Landscape*

In his paintings from Saint-Tropez, Signac continued to explore formal issues, such as the creation of a harmonious, decorative whole, that had long been evident in his work. Yet, he also showed a new interest for situating figures in landscape settings. While this had been a dominant motif in Seurat's œuvre, Signac had generally avoided this subject until his arrival in the south. His few previous figure paintings had been set indoors, and his landscapes had been largely unpopulated.<sup>121</sup> Signac indicated his new interest in large-

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<sup>121</sup> Claire Frèches-Thory, "Paul Signac, Acquisitions récentes," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 33, no. 1 (1983): 38 notes that his previous works with major figures were interior scenes: *Apprêteuse et garnisseuse (modes), rue de Caire*, (Figure 66), *La Salle à Manger*, (Figure 68), and *Le Dimanche parisien*, (Figure 67.) Although some of his landscapes include figures, such as *Le Passage du Puits Bertin, Clichy* (Figure 71), they are relatively small, and not the focus of the composition. See also



scale, multiple-figure landscape compositions in a letter written to Camille Pissarro shortly after his arrival in Saint-Tropez in May 1892. “Je pense à une grande toile, des figures,” he wrote. “J’ éviterai de tomber ici dans ma sempiternelle marine.”<sup>122</sup> A sketch (Figure 63), likely dating from this first summer in Saint-Tropez, seems to be the earliest incarnation of both his major southern figure compositions: *Jeunes Provençales au Puits*, *décoration pour un panneau dans la pénombre* (Figure 62) and *Au temps d’harmonie* (Figure 75). In the first half of the decade, Signac would be primarily occupied with these works, which would make his attachment to the region and his politicized version of the pastoral very clear.

*Provençales au Puits*, of 1892, uses the eminently classical motif of two local women gathering water at a communal well, while another carries her water up a hill and into the distance. This depiction of daily life in Saint-Tropez may be read as illustrating certain anarchist theories of society that would likely have appealed to Signac. The women at the well seem to assist each other in their task; the figure on the left swings her jug, as if to move it to up to the ledge, while the figure on the right draws the water. More important, the well is communal, not private. This representation of communal living accords with Kropotkin’s ideals of ‘mutual aid’ and communal property, of which Signac certainly was aware.<sup>123</sup> Indeed, Kropotkin noted that “a peasant commune, no matter where, even in France, where the Jacobins have done their best to destroy all

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idem, “La donation Ginette Signac,” *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France* 28, no. 2 (1978): 107-12.

<sup>122</sup> Frèches-Thory, “Paul Signac,” 38.

<sup>123</sup> Signac would certainly have known the work of Kropotkin due to his general immersion in anarchist circles from around 1888, as shown by Herbert and Herbert, 477; Signac specifically refers to the work of Kropotkin in a letter to Jean Grave dated c. 1893, in Herbert and Herbert, 519. Kropotkin’s *The Conquest of Bread* was published serially in *Le Révolté* and *La Révolte*, and as a book in 1892. For a consideration of other Neo-Impressionist images that evoke the ideology of mutual aid, see Roslak, “Organicism,” 101-103;

communal usage," shares resources, including water.<sup>124</sup> The sketches in which Signac worked out the final composition reveal that the motif of two women together at the well was a virtual constant. Of the seven known working drawings (see figures 63-65), only *Esquisse II*, recto and verso (Figure 64) do not show the women working together. The significance of this depicted interaction of mutual aid is made clear by comparison with his previous figural works, in which human relations generally seem deliberately stilted. In both *Apprêteuse et garnisseuse (modes), rue de Caire* (Figure 66) and *Le Dimanche parisien* (Figure 67), no personal interaction is depicted. In *La Salle à Manger* (Figure 68) the implied interaction is of one of servitude, since the maid approaches the woman of the house, but the man and woman at the table show no signs of interaction. The chosen motif in *Provençales au Puits* instead embodies the anarchist ideal of a communal society in which individuals share communal resources and assist each other.<sup>125</sup>

In this painting, Signac portrayed regional women much differently than did other artists of the day, such as Vincent Van Gogh, Paul Gauguin, or Jules Breton. When exhibited in 1893, the picture's title identified the figures as young Provençal women. Yet, some years later, Gauguin derisively described what seems to be this painting when he wrote: "Sur le bord de la mer un puits: quelques figures parisiennes de rayures habillées et bigarrées, assoiffées d'ambition sans doute, cherchent dans ce puits tari l'eau qui pourrait les désaltérer. Le tout de confetti. Cela pourrait être de Signac."<sup>126</sup> Gauguin seems to have remembered the figures as bourgeois Parisians. Although his

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on Pissarro's depictions of self-sufficient, anarchist society as like that envisioned by Kropotkin, see Ward, 174.

<sup>124</sup> Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread*, 61-2.

<sup>125</sup> Roslak "Organicism," 108, states that the town's communal fishing industry would have appealed to Signac, but says that Cross and Signac eliminated it from their work in favour of an aestheticization that corresponded to Reclus's "belief that humanity must assist in the creation of idealized geographical environments," p.110; I suggest that this work conveys support for communal life in other ways as well.

competitiveness certainly affected his assessment, Gauguin's comment points to Signac's very different way of depicting the local inhabitants. Signac depicted them in modern clothing, not so-called traditional regional costume. In contrast, many works by Van Gogh and Gauguin in Arles (or a host of artists visiting Brittany) clearly mark their subjects as locals by their costume. In Gauguin's *The Night Café* (Figure 69), the women in the bar are clothed in what is clearly meant to signify traditional Arlésienne clothing. Their identity is summarized by their costume in a stereotypical response that reduces individuals to types.<sup>127</sup> Signac, in contrast, conveys an aspect of the everyday life of local women, and avoids the by now standard depiction of the peasant hard at work in the fields *à la* Jean-François Millet or Breton. He uses the grandeur of a decorative, classicizing composition, but does not archaize the scene by putting the women in identifiably regional clothing. Instead, the viewer is forced to recognize that they exist in the present and are, at the same time, Provençal, a distinction that Gauguin did not or could not make.<sup>128</sup>

Signac avoids the facile primitivizing that so often characterized sympathetic portrayals of rural life at the end of the nineteenth century, and this, too, may relate to Kropotkin's theories. Kropotkin noted that artists' portrayals of fieldworkers were "not true to life, nearly always merely sentimental,"<sup>129</sup> and asked how a depiction could be truthful if the painter "only knows it as a bird of passage knows the country he soars over

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<sup>126</sup> Gauguin; quoted in *Signac* (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1964), 52.

<sup>127</sup> On Van Gogh's interest in cataloguing portraits by 'types' see Jirat-Wasiutyński, "Vincent van Gogh's Republic in 1888: Portraits of the People Between Past and Present," (unpublished manuscript); on the depiction of peasants in general, see R. Herbert, *Peasants and "Primitivism": French Prints from Millet to Gauguin* (South Hadley: Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, 1995).

<sup>128</sup> Ward, 215 makes a similar point.

<sup>129</sup> Kropotkin, 104.

in his migrations."<sup>130</sup> Zimmermann points out that Signac's tendency (before Saint-Tropez) toward depicting his own social class in bourgeois interiors may be linked to this suggestion, which he says was well known in anarchist circles.<sup>131</sup> It may also explain why Signac's paintings from his summer travels, such as *Cassis, Cape Lombard* (Figure 70), were even more devoid of figures than milieux with which he was more familiar, such as *Le Passage du Puits Bertin, Clichy* (Figure 71). Yet once he settled in Provence, figures take on a prominent role. In *Provençales au Puits*, Signac simultaneously invokes both the idealizing, classical tradition and certain anarchist precepts by the setting, subject matter, and formal qualities.

### *Signac and Science*

Certain formal aspects of *Provençales au Puits* have led me to consider the influence that Charles Henry may have had on Signac's paintings from Saint-Tropez. The impact of scientific theories on Neo-Impressionism has primarily been considered with respect to Seurat.<sup>132</sup> Moreover, recent re-interpretations have argued that Henry's influence on Seurat has been "greatly exaggerated."<sup>133</sup> Paul Smith's recent study combatively argued that Seurat's painting was not, as is commonly assumed, "a variety of realism that was

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<sup>130</sup> Kropotkin, 103. For a differing interpretation of the relation between artists and anarchist theories of art see Herbert and Herbert, 478.

<sup>131</sup> Michael F. Zimmermann, *Seurat and the Art Theory of his Time* (Antwerp: Fonds Mercatur, 1991), 205, suggests that Kropotkin's view that artists should avoid sentimentalizing peasants or workers by not depicting them until they lived among them and understood them may be a reason why Signac's earlier landscapes were largely depopulated; this would suggest that he now felt more connected to the local population than he had when he only vacationed along France's coasts.

<sup>132</sup> On Seurat and science see William Innes Homer, *Seurat and the Science of Painting* (Cambridge: M.I.T Press, 1964); Herbert, *Neo-Impressionism*; idem, "'Parade de cirque' de Seurat et l'esthétique scientifique de Charles Henry," *Revue de l'art* 50 (1980): 9-23; Herbert, *Seurat*, passim; John Gage, "The Technique of Seurat: A Reappraisal," *Art Bulletin* 69, no. 3 (September 1987): 448-54; Alan Lee, "Seurat and Science," *Art History* 10 (June 1987): 203-26; Roger Herz-Fischler, "An Examination of Claims Concerning Seurat and 'The Golden Number,'" *Gazette des beaux-arts* 101 (March 1983): 109-12; and Zimmermann.

<sup>133</sup> Herbert, *Seurat*, 392.

'scientific' in character and left-wing in its critique of social injustice."<sup>134</sup> Smith's refutation of the idea that the use of scientific theory makes one a realist is very useful,<sup>135</sup> but his assertion that idealism is not compatible with the political left is incorrect.<sup>136</sup> He states that since Seurat's intentions were idealist, they "could hardly have been properly left-wing since Idealism denied the determining nature of social and political reality on experience."<sup>137</sup> Yet many anarchists were idealists, interested in science, and far to the political left, for instance, Reclus, who advocated in *L'Homme et la Terre* mental evolution as a precondition for political revolution.<sup>138</sup> Moreover, Smith's desire for a consistent, logical subject is evident when he concludes: "To regard Seurat's line as synthetic and Idealist, and his colour as scientific and/or Impressionist, makes his intentions inconsistent or nonsensical: to do so is almost to accuse the painter of a kind of schizophrenia."<sup>139</sup> Instead, my study shows that Signac's painting uses psychophysical theory, and is both anarchist and idealist.

Recent studies by Zimmermann and Ward suggest a more complex understanding of the role of science in Neo-Impressionist art. Zimmermann's thorough elucidation of Henry's aesthetic theories and their reception, in both scientific and artistic communities,

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<sup>134</sup> Smith, 1.

<sup>135</sup> Smith, 142-5; however, Smith's investment in Seurat's painting as Wagnerian precludes him from studying how Henry theorized Wagner.

<sup>136</sup> Smith, 1 and 11; see Eugenia Herbert, *The Artist and Social Reform, France and Belgium, 1885-1898* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), for a discussion of the general milieu in which Symbolist idealism was intermingled with leftist politics; and for an examples of science and idealism, see Linda Dalrymple Henderson, *The Fourth Dimension and Non-Euclidean Geometry in Modern Art* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

<sup>137</sup> Smith, 1.

<sup>138</sup> I thank Patricia Leighton for this observation; Patricia Leighton, *The Politics of Form: Art, Anarchism and Audience in Avant-Guerre Paris* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, forthcoming); as another example, see Joan Ungersma Halperin, *Félix Fénéon: Aesthete and Anarchist in Fin-de-Siècle Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 44-5 and 181, which discusses Fénéon's materialism, showing that a faith in science was not incompatible with a support of literary symbolism, 189-190. Halperin shows that, for Fénéon, art was a search for "reality 'distilled'", 190, a definition that accords with idealism, while at the same time evoking a chemical model.

supercedes previous accounts.<sup>140</sup> Ward's consideration of psychophysical aesthetics recasts the debate from how particular paintings applied certain rules to the wider social context of psychophysical theory.<sup>141</sup> She convincingly demonstrates that Henry's attraction for the Neo-Impressionists lay in his belief that there was a universal language of visual stimuli, and that aesthetics could be therapeutic. Ward and Zimmermann differ in their assessment of the basis of Henry's science; while Zimmermann sees Henry's psychophysical aesthetics as resolutely in the positivist tradition, Ward links him to the Symbolist and idealist search for something beyond the conscious.<sup>142</sup> She states that psychophysics "anticipated an ideal state of being in a timeless future."<sup>143</sup> Ward sees the attempt to define normalcy in psychophysics as consistent with Third Republic medical discourses, which she sees as authoritarian; she does not explore its similarity to the anarchist desire to hasten the oncoming of a more natural, harmonious state.

There has been little consideration of Signac's interest in Henry, despite the widespread knowledge that Signac contributed illustrations to Henry's books and participated in his experiments. Cachin states that, despite their close working relationship, Signac was less influenced by Henry than was Seurat, although Frèches-Thory sees his stylistic influence in *Provençales au Puits*.<sup>144</sup> Although both Halperin and Zimmermann have analyzed the theoretical dimension of Henry's influence on Signac, they have not explored the manner in which Signac incorporated Henry's precepts into his regionalist conception of Provence.

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<sup>139</sup> Smith, 11.

<sup>140</sup> Zimmermann, 227-275, and 295-300.

<sup>141</sup> Ward, 124-143.

<sup>142</sup> Ward, 126-8.

<sup>143</sup> Ward, 128.

<sup>144</sup> Cachin, *Signac*, 77; Frèches-Thory, "Paul Signac," 42, and passim on geometry.

Signac and Henry had known each other from the spring of 1886.<sup>145</sup> Signac assisted Henry in his experiments and contributed illustrations to his *La Rapporteur esthétique* and *Le Cercle chromatique*, which were published in 1890. He also produced material advertising Henry's theories such as a watercolour poster and lithograph, *Application du cercle chromatique de M. Ch. Henry* (Figure 72), which was reproduced on the back of a theatre program of the Théâtre Libre in 1889.<sup>146</sup> As R. Herbert and Zimmermann have shown, the poster illustrates Henry's colour theory. In the first initial of the name of the theatre, the colours appear in the order in which Henry placed them on his colour wheel. In the second initial, they are inverted, which, as Zimmermann shows, was meant to draw attention by disharmony.<sup>147</sup> Contrasting colours dominate the illustration in the tondo, and the dark border around the tondo--which Signac, unlike Seurat, seems not to have used in his paintings--is also illustrative of Henry's theory that a dark frame would lessen external distraction.<sup>148</sup>

Critics linked Signac's paintings to a theory of lines and colour from 1887 until at least 1896, when *Harmonie* was exhibited. Félix Fénéon, a close friend of both Signac and Henry, made the link repeatedly. He mentioned Henry's theory with reference to Neo-Impressionism as early as September 1886,<sup>149</sup> and in May 1887, he uses the term

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<sup>145</sup> Ward, 125; John Rewald, *Georges Seurat*, trans. Lionel Abel (New York: Wittenborn, 1948), 74 cites Fénéon to conclude Seurat and Signac met Henry at the Eighth Impressionist exhibition in 1886.

<sup>146</sup> Herbert, *Neo-Impressionism*, 137; Cachin, *Signac*, 33; and Zimmermann, 297.

<sup>147</sup> Herbert, *Neo-Impressionism*, 137, who also suggests that Signac applied the theories with more wit than science.

<sup>148</sup> See Halperin, 133-137 on Seurat's use of dark frames in relation to Henry's aesthetic theories; see Smith, 132, and Smith, "Was Seurat's art Wagnerian? And what if it was?," *Apollo* 77, no. 353 (July 1991): 21-8, for an alternative interpretation of dark frames as Wagnerian, which does not fully recognize Henry's interest in Wagner.

<sup>149</sup> Félix Fénéon, *L'Art moderne de Bruxelles* (19 Sept. 1886); in Fénéon, *Œuvres plus que complètes*, ed. Joan U. Halperin, 2 vols., (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1970), 1: 58.

*dynamogénie* to describe Signac's painting.<sup>150</sup> In 1889, Fénéon wrote: "Les paysages de M. Signac, à la direction diagonale, aux arêtes souvent rectilignes, aux angles pointus, fourniraient les plus beaux prétextes aux mensurations d'un Charles Henry."<sup>151</sup> This implies that the scientist draws conclusions from examining the painting, rather than the artist programmatically inscribing scientific formulae into his painting; indeed, their experiments did draw conclusions by analyzing the effects of art on viewers.<sup>152</sup> When preparing his 1890 profile of Signac, Fénéon asked for comments from both men, implying that Henry played a significant role.<sup>153</sup> The article described the technique in detail, and included a long paragraph on the artist's participation in Henry's experiments. Despite his emphasis on Signac's interest in, and use of, science, Fénéon did not describe these works as realist. In what could be a definition of Symbolism, Fénéon explains: "Paul Signac put créer les exemplaires spécimens d'un art à grand développement décoratif, qui sacrifie l'anecdote à l'arabesque, la nomenclature à la synthèse, le fugace au permanent, et, dans les fêtes et les prestiges, confère à la Nature, que lassait à la fin sa réalité précaire, une authentique Réalité."<sup>154</sup> As Fénéon's text makes clear, Signac uses science not to achieve realism, but to elevate the natural to the timeless.

As late as 1896, a sympathetic review of Signac noted his use of a theory of lines.<sup>155</sup> An anonymous article in *L'Art Moderne* that reviewed the *Libre Esthétique* exhibition stated that *Harmonie*

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<sup>150</sup> Fénéon, *L'Art moderne de Bruxelles* (1 May 1887); in *Œuvres*, 1: 75.

<sup>151</sup> Fénéon, *La Vogue* (Sept. 1889); in *Œuvres*, 1: 165.

<sup>152</sup> Halperin, 123.

<sup>153</sup> Halperin, 133-134.

<sup>154</sup> Fénéon, *L'Hommes d'aujourd'hui* 373 (1890); in *Œuvres*, 1: 177.

<sup>155</sup> For other examples after 1892 see Charles Saunier, "Critique d'Art," *La Plume* 4 (1893): 171, who says that his works "sont résumées ses théories sur la ligne et la couleur;" and Antoine de la Rochefoucauld, discussed later in this chapter, who describes the general direction of lines, and his use of theory in general, in "Paul Signac," *Le Cœur* 1, no. 2 (May 1893): 4-5.



constitue un essai de décoration nouvelle où la théorie des lignes chères à l'auteur joue un rôle peut-être trop visible, mais que l'on ne peut s'empêcher de défendre à cause de la belle conviction d'art que la fresque profère. Le fond est du reste harmonieux et léger; l'idée de bonheur se dégage de la joie des tons.<sup>156</sup>

Given the importance of Neo-Impressionism in Belgium, it seems likely that this sympathetic review reflects some knowledge of the artist's current intentions. Although he does not give an exact date, Zimmermann suggests that Signac dissociated himself from Henry after his work was publicly discredited, and he notes that Signac only mentioned him once in his 1898 text, *D'Eugène Delacroix au néo-impressionnisme*.<sup>157</sup> Yet, as Zimmermann shows, Henry's work was being questioned from 1890, when Signac and Henry were still working together, and Signac's diary records a visit from Henry as late as December 1894.<sup>158</sup> Although Henry's importance is minimized in Signac's treatise, it does not prove that Signac abandoned the theories; indeed, he still referred to *dynamogénique* lines and colours as late as 1935.<sup>159</sup> Henry's influence appears to have been significant and long-lasting.

While it is now apparent that Neo-Impressionists did not programmatically apply the laws of science to the canvas, their evident interest in the science of the day bears consideration. As Signac made clear in his treatise, he believes that the rules of science can assist the painter, but they only uncover natural laws, which a painter such as Delacroix discerned intuitively. Signac wrote of artists: "precise scientific method does

<sup>156</sup> "Le Salon de la Libre Esthétique," *L'Art Moderne* 16, no. 10 (8 March 1896): 73-75.

<sup>157</sup> Zimmermann, 236; 243-6 describes Henry's discrediting by Georges Sorel and then Henri Bergson.

<sup>158</sup> See Signac, "Extraits du journal inédit de Paul Signac," ed. John Rewald, *Gazette des beaux-arts* 6<sup>th</sup> ser., 36 (July-Sept. 1949): 97-128, translations, 166-74; 39 (April 1952): 265-84, translations 298-304; 42 (Sept. 1953): 27-57, translations 72-80; this citation, 170.

<sup>159</sup> Signac, "Le Sujet en Peinture," reprinted in Signac, *D'Eugène Delacroix au néo-impressionnisme*, ed. Cachin (Paris: Hermann, 1964), 154-5.

not disable their power to sense; it guides and protects it."<sup>160</sup> Moreover, he makes it clear that the goal of art is neither the application of theory, nor the recreation of the visual process.

Guided by tradition and science, [the Neo-Impressionist] will harmonize the composition with his conception; that is to say, he will adapt the lines (directions and angles), the chiaroscuro (tones), and the colors (hues), to fit the character that is to dominate. . . . By thus subordinating color and line to the emotion he has felt and seeks to render, the painter will play the role of a poet, a creator.<sup>161</sup>

Thus, for Signac, science and tradition guide the painter, but the goal is not realism; it is the creation of what he calls "harmonie morale."<sup>162</sup>

Charles Henry expressed very similar views.<sup>163</sup> Henry wrote that science's goal "is to spread pleasure within us and without, and, from this point of view, its social function is immense in these times of oppression and muted collisions. It must spare the artist useless hesitations and attempts in pointing out the path by which he can find richer and richer esthetic elements."<sup>164</sup> Thus, both science and art, in Henry's view, have social functions. In his article, "Rapporteur Esthétique et sensation de forme," which Signac recommended to Van Gogh,<sup>165</sup> Henry expressed his belief that the artist of genius creates something beyond aesthetic laws. "Le génie est inimitable, car il s'exprime non

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<sup>160</sup> Signac, *From Eugène Delacroix to Neo-Impressionism*, trans. Floyd Ratliff, in Ratliff, *Paul Signac and Color in Neo-Impressionism*, (New York: Rockefeller University Press, 1992), 249.

<sup>161</sup> Signac, in Ratliff, 249-50.

<sup>162</sup> Ratliff translates this as harmony in the mental sphere, 233; but in Cachin, ed., it is "harmonie morale," 71, which I would translate directly as moral harmony.

<sup>163</sup> Homer's synopsis of Henry's science remains very useful, and Halperin's consideration of his importance to the symbolist milieu in which Fénéon was equally immersed is illuminating. The distinction between those interested in Neo-Impressionism and science and those interested in anarchism has not led any but Roslak to question how the two might be related. Although Roslak links the anarchist aesthetic to science, focusing on organicism, atomistic models and the atom, she does not inquire into Henry's ideology (except to say that Henry linked aesthetic and moral harmony.)

<sup>164</sup> Charles Henry, "Introduction à une esthétique scientifique," *La Revue contemporaine* (August 1885): 441; quoted in Homer, 190.

<sup>165</sup> Signac described Henry as his "collaborator" in a letter to Van Gogh, praising the value of the aesthetic protractor, and says he will send Van Gogh the pamphlet when it is published; quoted in Homer, 299, note 43.

seulement par les rythmes visibles, mais par une infinité de rythmes invisibles plus ou moins."<sup>166</sup> He describes the artist's role, saying: "L'artiste n'est qu'un œil, une oreille, un système nerveux normalement organisé, et développés: il sent le rythme et parce qu'il le sent, parce que l'idée est une réalisation virtuelle, il le produit extérieurement."<sup>167</sup>

Even more interesting with respect to Signac is Henry's belief that the artist's environment affects his perception: "Il le sent et le produit d'autant mieux que le milieu est plus normal, plus harmonique. Ce ne sont pas les écoles, mais les brillants états sociaux comme la vie en Grèce ou à la Renaissance, qui produisent les grandes périodes de l'art."<sup>168</sup> In more harmonious societies, Henry believes, artists are better able to sense the universal harmony, and so better art is produced. He concludes that art can function to improve society: "Réciproquement, aider le développement normale (de l'art, c'est favoriser d'autant la réalisation) encore lointain de notre destinée, la création de l'harmonie universelle."<sup>169</sup> Thus, for Henry, the purpose of science and art is the furthering of universal harmony; Signac's goals were very similar.

### *Science in Saint-Tropez*

Although Signac did not apply Henry's theories programmatically, his first large painting from Saint-Tropez seems to accord with Henry's advice. In *Provençales au Puits*, the general direction of the picture's lines is ascending to the right, which is supposed to produce joy in the viewer.<sup>170</sup> The direction thus suits the painting's positive rendition of communal life, and the anarchist message of a better future. The direction is echoed in

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<sup>166</sup> Henry, "Rapporteur esthétique et sensation de forme (1)," *Revue Indépendante* 7, no. 18 (April 1888): 90.

<sup>167</sup> Henry, "Rapporteur esthétique," 90.

<sup>168</sup> Henry, "Rapporteur esthétique," 90.

<sup>169</sup> Henry, "Rapporteur esthétique," 90.

the path winding up the hill, and it is repeated across the canvas in the sails and masts. The line is reinforced by colour contrast; the yellow-orange hill creates a dominant contrast against the blue sea. Both contrasting colour and upward line are maintained in the slightly bent torso of the figure on the left. The linear direction was enhanced by Signac's willingness to depart from the reality of the site. In figures 63 and 65, the pier and lighthouse jut out from the right shore; Signac relocated them to the other shore, reinforcing the upward linear direction.

Henry's theory of harmonious angles seems to be invoked by the all-too-evident geometry of the picture. The angle of the shadow falling on the front side of the well, which is created by the woman on the left, is emphasized in all versions of the picture. In most versions, the angle retains its geometric precision, measuring 120 degrees, which is harmonious according to Henry. Other angles within the picture also seem somewhat contrived. The arm of the woman on the left makes a perfect ninety degree angle with her body. (However, the angle created by the arm and the shadow of the bust and shoulder is 135 degrees, which is not deemed harmonious, and would consequently attract attention.<sup>171</sup>) The angle formed by the rope is difficult to measure accurately, but is between ten and eleven degrees, with 10.588 being considered harmonious by Henry. My measurements seem to confirm that Signac was utilizing Henry's theory; however, the actual measurements are less convincing to me than the decidedly anti-naturalistic forms, which seem to draw attention to themselves. While the rope is unobtrusive, the woman's arm and the shadow on the well seem glaringly unnatural. Their angularity is

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<sup>170</sup> Henry, "Introduction à une esthétique scientifique," *Revue Contemporaine* 2 (May-Aug. 1885): 447, and passim.

<sup>171</sup> Zimmermann, 297.

heightened by the contrast with the shadows in the foreground, which swirl in abstract arabesques, and are also unrelated to naturalism.<sup>172</sup>

Signac also seems to use colour with some attention to Henry's theories.

Although red does not dominate in the top of the canvas, as Henry prescribed for dynamogenic pictures, blue is concentrated on the left, yellow on the right, and green on the bottom, as Henry stipulated. Yet the most interesting element, to my eye, is Signac's use of white at the centre of several canvases. Of the five water jugs in *Provençales au Puits*, only one is not green; it is a bright, and noticeably uniform, white, and is roughly centred in the picture. Several other canvases also have noticeable white areas at their centres. A flowering bush near the centre of *Harmonie* is white, although the white is juxtaposed with pale blue touches, unlike the almost pure white of the jug in *Provençales au Puits*. In *Golfe Juan* (n.d., oil on canvas, 65.4 x 81.3 cm, Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, MA), only the sail in the centre is white; the other two sails depicted are mixtures of red and pink. These instances of predominant white centres correspond to contemporary colour theories, including that endorsed by Henry (Figure 73). The marked geometry, the use of colour, and the general direction of movement in his works all suggest that Signac agreed, to some extent, with the broad principles of Henry's theory. In contrast to the normative, even authoritarian, tendencies Ward sees in psychophysics,<sup>173</sup> I see this as consistent with the vision Signac expressed in his illustration for *Les Temps Nouveaux* (Figure 74), in which an artist slays the three-headed

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<sup>172</sup> Nancy Forgione, "'The Shadow Only': Shadow and Silhouette in Late Nineteenth-Century Paris," *Art Bulletin* 81, no. 3 (Sept. 1999): 490-512, discusses the use of shadow with respect to a search for "the intrinsic nature of things," 492, and with reference to this painting, 499.

<sup>173</sup> Ward, 127-131.

dragon of capitalism with his brush. Aesthetic theory, for Signac and Henry, was a means to a harmonious future.

### ***Harmony and the Pastoral Revisited***

Signac's *Au Temps d'harmonie* (Figure 75) is a manifesto-like illustration of the idea of an anarchist utopia situated in a Provençal landscape, and it uses the conventions of the pastoral landscape to make this meaning clear. In a letter to Cross written in the summer of 1893, Signac discussed the painting.

Grande nouvelle! sur vos conseils je vais tâter d'une grande toile! (...) Le joueur de boules devient un personnage épisodique de: au temps d'anarchie (titre à chercher). Au premier plan un groupe au repos (...) homme, femme, enfant (...) sous un gros pin un vieillard conte des histoires à de jeunes mômes (...) sur un coteau (...) la moisson: les machines fument, travaillent, abattent la besogne: et autour des meules (...) une farandole de moissonneurs (...) au centre un jeune couple: l'amour libre!<sup>174</sup>

Although Signac stated that the use of the term anarchy in the title was provisional, the title at exhibition made the anarchist message quite evident. As Albert Boime points out, the switch from Anarchy to Harmony in the title hardly disguises the point; harmony was widely used with reference to the ideal anarchist society.<sup>175</sup> Moreover, it was subtitled *L'âge d'or n'est pas dans le passé, il est dans l'avenir*, a phrase borrowed from the anarchist, Charles Malato.<sup>176</sup>

The monumental scale--slightly larger than 3 x 4 metres--emphasizes the painting's connection to the classical landscape, as does the broad panoramic view of the

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<sup>174</sup> As reprinted, including brackets and ellipsis, in Monery and Ferretti-Bocquillon, 52.

<sup>175</sup> Albert Boime, "Georges Seurat's 'Un dimanche à la Grande-Jatte' and the Scientific Approach to History Painting," in *Historienmalerei in Europa: Paradigmen in Form, Funktion und Ideologie*, ed. Ekkehard Mai and Anke Repp-Eckert (Mainz: P.V. Zabern, 1990), 316.

<sup>176</sup> Cited in E. Herbert, 190-1.

Mediterranean bay.<sup>177</sup> Moreover, the repoussoir tree in the foreground providing shelter for the group below is one of the defining features of pastoral landscapes.<sup>178</sup> The obvious idealization of the generalized, yet southern, scene, the disposition of the figures throughout the clearly constructed, orderly landscape with its alternating patches of sunlight and shadow, and the path that leads us through that landscape all invoke the classical tradition.

In many ways, *Harmonie* recalls Seurat's *Un Dimanche à la Grande Jatte* (1884) (Figure 76).<sup>179</sup> The paintings are compositionally similar: both depict a sunlit shoreline, using alternating patches of sunlight and shadow, and small groupings of figures, mainly engaged in leisure activities. Yet there are significant differences. Seurat's figures are stiff and hieratic, resisting interaction, which Nochlin has argued signifies modern alienation.<sup>180</sup> She quotes a critic of the day: "One understands the stiltedness of the Parisian promenade, stiff and distorted; even its recreation is affected."<sup>181</sup> In contrast, as Hutton points out, Signac's figures play and work together in harmonious interaction,

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<sup>177</sup> Despite its large dimensions, it was not designed for a particular location. In 1897, Signac offered the painting to the Victor Horta's *Maison du peuple* then being built in Brussels, and in 1900, he visited the building to choose an appropriate location for the painting's display. It was not installed, however, and Signac withdrew his offer; for details and consideration of Signac's towards art nouveau, see Thiébaud, 72-3. The painting remained in the possession of Signac's first wife, Berthe Signac until it was donated to the *Mairie de Montreuil* in 1935.

<sup>178</sup> Rosand, "Pastoral Topoi," 169.

<sup>179</sup> Hutton, 136-7.

<sup>180</sup> Linda Nochlin, "Seurat's *Grande Jatte*: An Anti-Utopian Allegory," *Museum Studies* 14, no. 2 (1989): 147. Debate over the meaning of Seurat's *Grande Jatte* is far from over. For a judicious assessment of the literature see R. Herbert and others, *Georges Seurat: 1859-1891* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), 170-178, and 425; like Nochlin, Thomson, *Seurat* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1985) does not see the image as a positive endorsement of contemporary society; however, both Boime and Stephen Eisenman, "Seeing Seurat Politically," *Museum Studies* 14, no. 2 (1989): 211-22 see Seurat's rendition as positive and in accordance with certain anarchist principles, which I find implausible given the lack of interaction Nochlin points out; John House, "Meaning in Seurat's Figure Paintings," *Art History* 3, no. 3 (September 1980): 345-356 argues that it can be read in contrast to other works by Seurat as juxtaposing natural and artificial, an argument with many similarities to my own; Timothy J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and His Followers* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 266 argued influentially that the picture is about the intermingling of classes; Smith, *Seurat*, 56 says Seurat approves of intermingling of social classes.

inverting Seurat's mockery of Parisian mores.<sup>182</sup> Seurat's figures are dressed in contemporary fashion, and this modernity is underlined by the title, which specifies the time and place depicted. In contrast, Signac's figures are dressed in much simpler fashion and so avoid such markers of class as parasols and top hats. The generalization seen in the costume is also reflected in the title, which specifies neither time nor place. Seurat's work depicts a day of leisure, yet work and leisure take place side by side in Signac's *Harmonie*. While the meaning of Seurat's work remains ambiguous and open for debate, Signac's anarchist convictions lead him to picture Provence in *Harmonie* as indisputably positive.

When Seurat exhibited *La Grande Jatte* at the eighth Impressionist exhibition in May 1886, Signac showed *Apprêteuse et garnisseuse (modes), rue de Caire* (Figure 66).<sup>183</sup> Signac's painting depicts two women sewing hats, illustrating the labour involved in the contemporary fashion industry. Signac reworked the painting using the divisionist technique after seeing Seurat's work, which indicates that formally, at least, the painting engaged with *Grand-Jatte*.<sup>184</sup> While the strong silhouettes and decorative flattening might make the painting seem to be purely a study in form, the paintings also relate in terms of subject matter.<sup>185</sup> Although debate over the meaning of Seurat's *La Grande Jatte* is likely not over, most critics agree that the painting gently mocks bourgeois

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<sup>181</sup> Henry Fèvre, 1886; quoted in Nochlin, 140.

<sup>182</sup> Hutton, 137.

<sup>183</sup> Ward, 66-7 discusses its formal qualities, especially its primitivism, with reference to similarities in Pissarro's work. For exhibition information see Charles Moffet, et al., *The New Painting: Impressionism, 1874-1886* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1986), 443-447.

<sup>184</sup> Ward, 66.

<sup>185</sup> Ward, 66-7 analyses the painting in relation to similar formal elements in Pissarro's paintings; Cachin, *Signac*, 26 notes that the geometry is stressed, and concludes "the pleasure or interest ought to come simply from the lines, the contrast of values and colors ... This is a deliberately stylized and, as it were, dehumanized version of a 'genre scene.'" Herbert, *Seurat*, 175 discusses its primitivizing features.



women's elaborate clothing styles.<sup>186</sup> Seurat added to the already exaggerated form of the woman's bustle,<sup>187</sup> which indicates that his concern with fashion was deliberate. Signac's depiction of contemporary labourers who created these fashions takes Signac's critical observation to the level of class analysis.

The garment industry gave rise to much debate on the plight of the working poor, women's labour, and industrialization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>188</sup> Economically significant, the industry was also central to the larger debate over France's declining position as an exporter of luxury goods.<sup>189</sup> Needleworkers became "the very image of poverty"<sup>190</sup> in the late nineteenth century. Most were too poor to purchase sewing machines, and did piecework in their homes by hand, as is likely depicted in Signac's painting. As Seurat had done, Signac specified the location: Rue de Caire. In the second *arrondissement*, the Rue de Caire was in an area where rents had become particularly expensive after Hausmannization, and where the working classes were finding it increasingly difficult to make ends meet.<sup>191</sup> Thus, while Seurat depicts the suburban recreation of the middle classes, Signac depicts working-class life in the city and the inexpensive labour on which the modern fashion industry relied. While Seurat ambiguously portrays modern, suburban recreation with its signifying clothing, Signac

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<sup>186</sup> Herbert, *Seurat*, 176 who disagrees with Thomson, *Seurat*, who argues that the woman with the monkey is a prostitute.

<sup>187</sup> Herbert, *Seurat*, 173.

<sup>188</sup> See Judith G. Coffin, *The Politics of Women's Work: The Paris Garment Trades, 1750-1915* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996); Lorraine Coons, *Women Home Workers in the Parisian Garment Industry, 1860-1915*, *Modern European History, Garland Series of Outstanding Dissertations*, ed. William H. McNeill, (New York: Garland, 1987); Marilyn J. Boxer, "Women in Industrial Homework: The Flowermakers of Paris in the Belle Epoque," *French Historical Studies* 12, no. 3 (Spring 1982): 401-423; and Boxer, "Protective Legislation and Home Industry: The Marginalization of Women Workers in Late Nineteenth-Early [sic] Twentieth-Century France," *Journal of Social History* 20 (Fall 1986): 45-65.

<sup>189</sup> See Nancy J. Troy, *Modernism and the Decorative Arts in France: Art Nouveau to Le Corbusier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 52-67 and *passim*.

<sup>190</sup> Coffin, 4.

shows the underbelly of modern fashion. Signac's depiction of behind-the-scenes labourers in the fashion world is a new subject in modern art, and it affirms that he had entered into a dialogue with Seurat's paintings from his first foray into Neo-Impressionism.<sup>192</sup> In December 1894, while he was at work on *Harmonie*, Signac went to see *La Grande Jatte* in Seurat's mother's apartment, which suggests the painting continued to be relevant for him.<sup>193</sup>

It has often been noted that Signac's composition also owes much to Puvis de Chavannes; but it is not as well known that Signac linked the decorative and idealizing style of Puvis's murals with anarchism.<sup>194</sup> In 1893, at the same time he was beginning work on the large painting, Signac wrote to his friend, the well-known anarchist writer Jean Grave, to thank him for sending a copy of his book, probably *La Société mourante et l'anarchie*. Signac said that Grave had succeeded in conveying "l'espérance de cet avenir proche où, enfin, pour la première fois, toute individualité sera libre. Dans le grand décor poétique, à la Puvis, – de Kropotkine, quels solides monuments, pratiques et habitables vous élevez! Comme on y respire bien."<sup>195</sup> In this succinct statement, Signac links the anarchist philosophies of Grave and Kropotkin to the large-scale mural compositions of Puvis; all, he says, give hope of the freedom to come in the anarchist future.

The picture recontextualizes many traditional elements of the pastoral and codes them with reference to the anarchist future. The man reading, in the left foreground,

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<sup>191</sup> On high rent in this district, see Lenard Berlanstein, *The Working People of Paris, 1871-1914* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 32 and 191.

<sup>192</sup> Signac's *Le Dimanche parisien* of 1889-90 (Figure 67) also seems to continue this engagement with the subject of the *Grande Jatte*.

<sup>193</sup> Signac, "Journal," 171.

<sup>194</sup> On other Neo-Impressionist's attitudes towards Puvis, see Hutton, 119-22.

<sup>195</sup> Signac, letter to Jean Grave, c. 1893; reprinted in Herbert and Herbert, 519.

evokes the Arcadian image of the shepherd reciting poetry in days of old. He bears a double message, however, since he also indicates the anarchist belief in the importance of education for all.<sup>196</sup> Following the path into the middle distance, an embracing couple signifies “free love!,” as Signac put it in his letter to Cross, which was both a common motif in the pastoral, and widely embraced by anarchists. In the background, a tractor alleviates much human labour, allowing for the leisurely life depicted elsewhere in the painting.

The embracing couple signifies another important aspect of the anarchist future. They contemplate a flower, which they hold in outstretched arms. The pose, repeated in the woman seated by the sea and in several other significant works,<sup>197</sup> seems to signify aesthetic contemplation.<sup>198</sup> Kropotkin saw aesthetic interests as an elevated goal, but one that would only be available after baser needs were satisfied. He wrote of humankind: “As soon as his material wants are satisfied, other needs, which, generally speaking may be described as of an artistic character, will thrust themselves forward.”<sup>199</sup> Signac also wrote of aesthetic appreciation as a higher goal that workers would achieve when the anarchist dream was realized: “Quand la société que nous rêvons existera, quand débarrassé des exploiters qui l’abrutissent, le travailleur aura le temps de penser et de

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<sup>196</sup> Kropotkin, 18.

<sup>197</sup> Their pose recalls Signac’s *Portrait de Félix Fénéon sur l’émail d’un fond rythmique de mesures et d’angles. de tons et de teintes* (1890, oil on canvas, 74 x 95 cm, Rockefeller Collection, New York), although Fénéon appears not to be looking at the flower. A similar pose is used in Signac’s *Portrait de ma mère* (private collection, Paris; reproduced in Frèches-Thory, “Signac,” 38); and in Cross’s *L’Air du Soir* (Figure 78).

<sup>198</sup> Smith, *Seurat*, 138-9 suggests that Seurat’s *Le Cirque* (1890-91, oil on canvas, 186 x 151.1 cm. Musée d’Orsay, Paris) juxtaposes the artistic life, embodied by the performers, and the life of the spectators. He argues that the painting suggests art can liberate people from enslavement to the mere illusion of reality. Neo-Impressionism was thus engaged in a discourse on the value of aesthetic appreciation. The pose in the works mentioned above is not unlike the pose in Seurat’s *Jeune femme se poudrant* (1889-90, oil on canvas, 95.5 x 79.5 cm, Courtauld Institute Galleries, London), which would suggest an additional set of contrasts.

<sup>199</sup> Kropotkin, 94.

s'instruire. Il appréciera toutes les diverses qualités de l'œuvre d'art."<sup>200</sup> Although Signac includes an artist at his easel by the sea, it is not only the artist who is aesthetically oriented in this anarchist paradise.

Signac prominently includes a rooster and hen in the foreground of *Harmonie*.<sup>201</sup> The poultry form the brightest spot in the foreground, as they are encircled by an aureole of light. Both Elie Reclus and Charles Fourier, whose work Signac would likely have been familiar with, discussed the rooster's symbolic significance. Fourier called the rooster "la plus digne" of all the birds, and contrasted the rooster with its opposite, "le canard, emblème du mari ensorcelé qui ne voit que par les yeux de sa femme. . . . Le coq dépeint le caractère opposé, l'homme courtois qui, sans maîtriser les femmes, sait tenir son rang avec elles: c'est l'homme de *bon esprit*."<sup>202</sup> The hen and rooster, in Fourier's system of analogies, indicated good marital relations between men and women. Signac had, in an early explanation of the picture, mentioned free love as one of its themes, and the addition of the rooster and hen to the foreground (which are not present in the earliest sketch) may relate to this theme.

Elie Reclus's article, published in *La Société Nouvelle* while Signac was at work on *Harmonie*, adds an anarchist interpretation to the prominently depicted rooster.<sup>203</sup> Reclus notes that the rooster is often a symbol of love in Greek and Roman mythology,<sup>204</sup> but is better known for its combativeness. It will always fight no matter the adversary,

<sup>200</sup> Signac, c. 1902, unpublished manuscript in Signac Archives; quoted in Herbert and Herbert, 479.

<sup>201</sup> Monery and Ferretti-Bocquillon, 54, suggest this is "a wink" at Seurat's painting.

<sup>202</sup> Charles Fourier, *Œuvres Complètes de Ch. Fourier*, vol. 6, *Le Nouveau Monde Industriel et Sociétaire* (Paris: Librairie Sociétaire. 1845; reprint, Paris: éditions anthropos, 1966), 464.

<sup>203</sup> Elie Reclus, "Mythologie Populaire: Le Coq," parts 1-3, *La Société Nouvelle* 106 (October 1893): 470-82; 107 (November 1893), 587-602; 108 (December 1893), 700-715; this quote, 715.

<sup>204</sup> Elie Reclus, 471 and 602.

and will fight until it wins or dies.<sup>205</sup> He describes the cock as a symbol of the revolution and, especially, of the “rights of man,”<sup>206</sup> but he is somewhat oblique on the rooster as an anarchist symbol.<sup>207</sup> He does note, however, that since the cock announces the dawn of the sun, and the sun sees all, “l’oiseau qu’il anime passait pour prophétique.”<sup>208</sup> He concludes his essay by saying he had recently seen a drawing of a cock beating its wings over the globe. “Cela figurait, sans doute,” he continued, “le triomphe, encore lointain, de la Liberté, de l’Egalité et de la Fraternité universelles. ‘Voilà, pensai-je, la glorieuse décoration que recevra l’Arc de l’Etoile quand aboutira la Révolution française.’”<sup>209</sup> So for Reclus, the fight for liberty, symbolized by the rooster will be won at some point in the future; Signac’s rooster, who rests peacefully, may be a symbol of the anarchist battle won.

The picture contains several identifiably Provençal features, which are also linked to anarchist ideology.<sup>210</sup> A group of women perform the traditional dance of Provence, the *farandole*, under the shelter of the umbrella pine in the background. Their joyous gestures are echoed in the motion of the women folding laundry in the middleground, suggesting that work and leisure need not be so different. The *boules* players in the foreground are similarly signifiers of both Provence and the similarity of work and

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<sup>205</sup> Elie Reclus, 472.

<sup>206</sup> Elie Reclus, 472; on the rooster as unifying symbol of the French nation, see Michel Pastoureau, “Le Coq Gaulois,” in Nora, ed., vol. 3, book 3, 528-9; but he makes no reference to anarchism.

<sup>207</sup> Elie Reclus, 472; on the rooster as an anarchist symbol, see Ronald Creagh, “Socialism in America: The French-Speaking Coal Miners in the Late Nineteenth Century,” in *In the Shadow of the Statue of Liberty: Immigrants, Workers, and Citizens in the American Republic, 1880-1920*, ed. Marianne Debouzy (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 150; the May 1911 cover of *Mother Earth*, edited by Emma Goldman, has a red background with a cock crowing; I thank Mark Antliff and Allan Antliff for these references; and Eugenia Herbert, 155 notes that the Belgian journal *Le Coq rouge* was considered the Belgian edition of *Les Temps Nouveaux* in 1895.

<sup>208</sup> Elie Reclus, 705.

<sup>209</sup> Elie Reclus, 715.

<sup>210</sup> See Monery and Ferretti-Bocquillon, 58-59.

leisure, since the player's gesture is echoed by the sower above him.<sup>211</sup> The vegetation, especially the characteristic umbrella pine set before the beautiful bay, indelibly marks the Mediterranean location. Despite these indicators, the particular location is not identified, which accords with the idealization of traditional pastoral landscapes.

In another letter thanking Grave, cited at the beginning of this chapter, Signac links the anarchist future to the contemporary Provençal setting. He writes: "Je vais le lire à l'ombre d'un pin, devant la mer – et dans la beauté de ce décor, j'évoque naturellement la vie de bonté et d'harmonie que vous nous laissez espérer. On respire librement dans votre livre, comme sous ce pin, par la brise du large."<sup>212</sup> For Signac, then, the environment enabled him to envision a better life. It seems Signac, like Henry, believed that the artist's ability to create harmony was stronger in a harmonious setting. *Harmonie* thus re-creates the setting of Saint-Tropez, which Signac links to an anarchist future, using a classicizing style. Indeed, he would repeatedly re-create this harmony in his future works.

The juxtaposition of natural and artificial is most clearly brought out in comparison to Seurat's *La Grande-Jatte*, although, as Rosand has argued with respect to the pastoral in general, this juxtaposition is implicitly present in the formal language of the genre.<sup>213</sup> The contrast with earlier Neo-Impressionist painting, however, points to another, equally significant, contrast that is outside the tradition of the pastoral: north versus south. Signac has transposed the setting from the northern suburbs depicted in

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<sup>211</sup> Although the game is widely played, it was associated with Provence; see, for example, B. Durand, "Le Joueur de Boules," *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes: Encyclopédie morale du dix-neuvième siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris: L. Curmer, 1840), 294, who writes of the *boules* player in Paris, "de toutes les provinces de France, la Provence est celle qui en fournit le plus Paris."

<sup>212</sup> Signac, letter to Jean Grave, n.d.; reprinted in Herbert and Herbert, 521.

<sup>213</sup> Rosand, "Giorgione, Venice, and the Pastoral Vision," 38.

many Neo-Impressionist works to the archetypal small village of the south, the kind of village applauded by Reclus for its public culture.<sup>214</sup> Herein lies the strength of the anarchist future, we are told, in a decentralized, independent, rural society. They are, in Signac's image and anarchist ideology, not cut off from the modern world, but instead have harnessed the benefits of industrialization evident in the modern farm equipment visible in the background. These figures are in harmony with the classical land, an image that is central to the Neo-Impressionist pastorals that will follow.

### *Later Pastorals*

In Signac's later works from Saint-Tropez, once again, the human figure often plays a less significant role. In *Saint-Tropez, the Parasol Pines at Les Canoubiers* (Figure 77), the primary focus is a decorative, rhythmic treatment of the landscape. A beautiful umbrella pine is silhouetted against a yellow sky, and the bay indicates human presence with several jetties. At the extreme right edge of the picture, just at the edge of the land, two human figures are silhouetted in the light under the sheltering branches of a smaller tree. These figures, hinted at in only the barest of detail, render the landscape neither terrifying nor sublime, but rather human and inhabitable, making its harmony seem available and possible. This composition relies on the conventions of the later pastoral that Rosand delineated, especially the convention of the sheltering grove, which he calls "one of the standard articulating units. . . [and] a clear sign of the 'idyllic.'"<sup>215</sup> While Signac does not employ the pastoral as obviously in later works from Saint-Tropez as he did in his first two major canvases here, the painting nevertheless invites

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<sup>214</sup> Reclus, *L'Homme et La Terre*, 1982, 2: 46, and as discussed above.

<sup>215</sup> Rosand, "Pastoral Topoi," 169, fn 17; on grove as theme, see Rosand, "Giorgione," 51; and on shift from intimate to more panoramic views of landscape "Giorgione," 70.

comparison between the life envisaged and the Parisian milieu in which it would have been viewed.

Other Neo-Impressionist images of the Mediterranean shore have been read by Hutton as little different from academic and reactionary images that treat similar subjects.<sup>216</sup> Examining Cross's depictions of females nudes in pastoral settings, Hutton concludes: "Born of an attempt to employ art to visualize the future and hence hasten its arrival, Neo-Impressionist utopian imagery was badly compromised from the outset by its conservative roots and implications."<sup>217</sup> While this is true of Cross's works depicting bathing nymphs, I would not draw the same conclusion for Signac's images of the Mediterranean shore. Hutton's conclusion oversimplifies the complexity of art praxis. Technique itself signifies. Consequently, the equation of Neo-Impressionist and academic art elides crucial differences, both in the ways in which the works would have been received, and the critical position from which they respectively spoke. Moreover, his argument fails to recognize differences within the movement. Unlike Cross, Signac does not depict female nudes by the seashore, which is an important difference in subject matter.<sup>218</sup> Lastly, Hutton does not recognize the potential within the pastoral genre for a critique of society: the genre has not been exclusively reactionary. Indeed one could argue that it is inherently critical (although not necessarily progressive) since, according to Levin, "the praise of times past. . . is an implicit critique of nowadays."<sup>219</sup> Hutton's

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<sup>216</sup> Hutton, 143-4.

<sup>217</sup> Hutton, 144.

<sup>218</sup> I am currently examining the treatment of the female nude in Cross's paintings in relation to both Signac and Matisse's work.

<sup>219</sup> Levin, 121.



assertion of failure on the part of the Neo-Impressionist pastorals is echoed in recent interpretations of Fauvism, which similarly align the works with conservative values.<sup>220</sup>

### *Classicism and the Criticism of Neo-Impressionism*

The invocation of classicism was politically charged, and the reception of Neo-Impressionism indicates its complex positioning. Critics in the early 1890s rarely referred to the obviously classicizing elements of the works; for example, I have not found mention of the pastoral. Instead, Neo-Impressionism's supporters, who were generally associated with Symbolism, tend to discuss it in terms of 'the decorative,' or its 'synthesis.' Moreover, the southern location, which virtually determined that local artists would be seen as classical, was rarely discussed as relevant to the style. Instead, in the case of avant-garde painting, the location was more often linked to North Africa or Japan in exoticising terms. Fénéon, for example, wrote:

Nous aimons l'Op. 198, *Cassis (Bouches-du-Rhône)*, daté de mai 1889, et riche de promesses d'art nouveau. La vigueur de la forme, l'extension décorative, de large nappes en dégradation régulière apparentent ce paysage maritime aux paysages de lacs des Japonais: et le japonisme possible de ce tableau ne doit rien au Japon, n'est qu'une étape du développement logique de M. Signac.<sup>221</sup>

Here invoking and refusing Japan, Fénéon later concluded that Signac's "œuvres, de quiddité intacte, épanouissent un harmonieux et nostalgique rêve dans de la lumière, et ses destins seraient révolus s'il passait quelques années dans l'Afrique saharienne, entre

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<sup>220</sup> These are discussed later in this chapter; Timothy Hyman, "The Golden Age Returns," *Royal Academy Magazine* 58 (Spring 1998): 52-4 briefly discusses Pierre Bonnard's invocation of the Golden Age, rejecting the idea that Golden Age symbolism is merely escapist, and arguing instead that it signalled an embrace of anarchist ideas; moreover, he points out that it was Signac who first enticed Bonnard to the south; in contrast, Griselda Pollock, "On not seeing Provence: Van Gogh and the landscape of consolation, 1888-9," in *Framing France: The Representation of Landscape in France, 1870-1914*, ed. Richard Thomson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 112 denies any critical power in Van Gogh's orientalist paintings of Provence, which she sees as "ultimately reactionary and conservative;" in contrast, Jirat-Wasiutyński, "Van Gogh in the South," interprets them as having critical potential.

<sup>221</sup> Fénéon, *La Vogue* (Sept. 1889); in *Œuvres*, 1: 165.

sable et ciel.”<sup>222</sup> The use of terms, such as decorative and harmonious, highlights how close Neo-Impressionism was to the Symbolist movement, and that Signac’s rendition of the south was seen as outside the classical tradition, which was associated with academicism. It also points to the idealizing tendencies of the paintings but, significantly, it is in terms that evoke neither academicism nor ideological conservatism, as terms associated with classicism might have.

The most significant criticism after Signac settled in Saint-Tropez came from Antoine de la Rochefoucauld. As had most other critics, de la Rochefoucauld positioned Neo-Impressionism not as realist, but as idealist. Signac, he wrote, “pénètre hardiment dans les contrées plus idéales de la musique.”<sup>223</sup> He is, says de la Rochefoucauld, “l’artiste de la grande synthèse,”<sup>224</sup> and, “l’ordre et la raison sont ses maîtresses qualités.”<sup>225</sup> De la Rochefoucauld stresses that Signac’s use of science does not prevent him from being a true artist. Delacroix, he continues, understood these principles, as do musicians and poets. Like musicians, such as Richard Wagner and Vincent d’Indy, “Signac, songeant à la synthèse des arts sur un plan élevé, plie son Art aux règles de l’Harmonie.”<sup>226</sup> He continues: “M. Signac est donc aussi un Poète; le rythme des lignes est pour son cerveau puissant ce que la prosodie est pour le versificateur.”<sup>227</sup> He compared Signac’s works from Saint-Tropez to frescoes,<sup>228</sup> and praised a sunset by Cross

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<sup>222</sup> Fénéon, *La Plume* (1 Sept. 1891); in *Œuvres*, 1: 199.

<sup>223</sup> Antoine de la Rochefoucauld, “Paul Signac,” *Le Cœur* 1, no. 2 (May 1893): 4.

<sup>224</sup> De la Rochefoucauld, 4.

<sup>225</sup> De la Rochefoucauld, 4; he also praises the work as the best of the Indépendants using the pseudonym Tiphéreth, “L’Art,” *Le Cœur* 1 (April 1893): 6-7; Frèches-Thory, “Paul Signac,” 45, note 22, states this is a De la Rochefoucauld’s pseudonym.

<sup>226</sup> De la Rochefoucauld, 4.

<sup>227</sup> De la Rochefoucauld, 5.

<sup>228</sup> De la Rochefoucauld, 5.

as “l’œuvre rêveuse d’un poète, d’un idéaliste, d’un amant de l’au-delà.”<sup>229</sup> The next year, he would praise Cross’s *L’Air du Soir* (Figure 78) as idealist, decorative, and in the lineage of the *Venus de Milo* (c. 150 B.C.E., marble, height 2.1m., Musée du Louvre, Paris).<sup>230</sup> This combination of idealist aims, science, and praise for the decorative with reference to Neo-Impressionism may seem incongruous, but these were the terms with which Neo-Impressionism was commonly discussed. Thus, it seems that classical elements in Neo-Impressionism and Signac’s pictures from Saint-Tropez were linked, not to conservatism, but to a Symbolist form of idealism.

Yet, after the turn of the century, Neo-Impressionism was increasingly recognized in explicitly classicizing terms, even by critics on the left. In contrast, a term such as “decorative,” which was clearly related to Symbolism--by then a very different movement from the somewhat loose grouping of the early 1890s--would be used less frequently. At the Galerie Druet’s Exposition Paul Signac in 1904, Fénéon compared Signac to the French classical painters Claude and Poussin.

Cette opulente chromatique qui paraît aux toiles de Paul Signac décore des compositions volontaires, audacieuses et rythmiques à propos desquelles il est licite peut-être d’écrire ici le nom de quelque héros de l’art de peindre, un Poussin, un Lorrain. . . Un jour qu’ils feuilletaient ensemble le *Liber Veritatis*, Goethe dit à son interviewer fidèle:

“Ils ont, ces tableaux, la plus grande vérité sans ombre de réalité. Claude Lorrain connaissait par cœur le monde réel jusque dans le plus petit détail, et il s’en servait comme d’un moyen pour exprimer le monde que renfermait sa belle âme. C’est là le véritable idéalisme, il sait se servir de moyens réels de telle façon que le vrai, en apparaissant dans l’œuvre, donne l’illusion d’une réalité.”<sup>231</sup>

The timing of the preface to the exhibition catalogue is particularly interesting for later developments in the history of art. Matisse had spent the previous summer painting with

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<sup>229</sup> Tiphéret, 7.

<sup>230</sup> Tiphéret, “Regard en arrière et simples réflexions sur l’art en 1894,” *Le Cœur* 2, no. 9 (December 1894): 6.

Signac and Cross in Saint-Tropez, but this exhibition of Signac's purportedly classical works, which Fénéon compares to Claude and Poussin, takes place at precisely the time when Matisse was working on *Luxe, calme et volupté* (Figure 81).

The classical aspects of Neo-Impressionism continued to be applauded. In 1907, Maurice Denis--a symbolist and advocate of classicism--could say of Cross's landscapes, "Les rythmes de ses paysages ont un équilibre, une solennité dans le balancement des masses qui font songer, je le dis sans paradoxe, à des inventions de Claude Lorrain."<sup>232</sup>

Similarly, in 1914 Roger Allard wrote:

Ce qui plaît dans l'art de M. Paul Signac et l'assure de durer, c'est l'absence de maniérisme, je ne dis pas de procédé. Le procédé existe, mais il est maintenant intégré au génie même du peintre: la touche divisée a cessé d'être un système. Elle est bon langage naturel. Ainsi, il est parvenu non pas seulement à acquérir une manière personnelle, mais, ce qui est mieux, à réaliser une œuvre inimitable. . . je pense irrésistiblement à l'historien des fastes lumineux des cités maritimes, à l'immortel Lorrain Claude Gellée.<sup>233</sup>

Signac himself discussed the classical aspects of Neo-Impressionism, and related these classical elements to the landscape of Provence. In his preface to an exhibition of Charles-Henri Person in 1913, Signac emphasized the lessons the Mediterranean landscape could give the painter, saying "la merveilleuse ordonnance de beauté classique du paysage des Maures, toutes ces pures lignes remplissant le ciel, lui enseignèrent les règles de la composition, balancement des masses, entrelacs des rythmes."<sup>234</sup>

Furthermore, Person's Neo-Impressionist images of the Midi put him in "la véritable tradition classique."<sup>235</sup> Signac thus saw and emphasized a connection between the Neo-

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<sup>231</sup> Fénéon, "Exposition Paul Signac," 1904; in *Œuvres*, 1: 246; ellipsis points are in the original.

<sup>232</sup> Maurice Denis, "Préface à l'exposition d'Henri-Edmond Cross," 1907; in *Théories, 1890-1910*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Paris: Rouart et Watelin, 1920), 159.

<sup>233</sup> Roger Allard, *Les Ecrits français* (5 January 1914); quoted in Fénéon, *Œuvres*, 1: 274.

<sup>234</sup> Signac, "Préface," Exhibition Charles-Henri Person, (February 1913); quoted in *Signac*, 1964, 54-5.

<sup>235</sup> Signac, "Préface"; quoted in *Signac*, 1964, 55.

Impressionist technique, the choice of location in the Midi, and the classical tradition in painting. Yet his simultaneous anarchism, his belief in the value of place, and in the possibility of aesthetics to reform society indicated by his famous, if naïve, dictum, “Justice en sociologie, harmonie en art: même chose,”<sup>236</sup> preclude us from indicting these paintings as complicit in a conservative cultural program.

### FROM NEO-IMPRESSIONISM TO FAUVISM

The lines of influence that connect Fauvism to its predecessors and Neo-Impressionism to its successors are not neat. There is not a definitive meaning that can be gleaned from Signac’s *Au Temps d’harmonie* (Figure 75) and applied to Matisse’s *Bonheur de Vivre* (Figure 79). Nor would I suggest that there is a clear lineage from Poussin through Cézanne and Neo-Impressionism to Fauvism. Lineages are complex and contingent; while illuminating some aspects, they put others in shadow. Nevertheless, in this final section I examine the recurrence of the Mediterranean pastoral in Matisse’s work, and consider the suppression of its classical referents in its early reception.

#### *Historiography: Fauvism’s Repressed Lineage and Recent Critiques*

The impact of Neo-Impressionism’s revision of the classical landscape has not been recognized for several reasons, not least of which is the fact that the scholarship on Neo-Impressionism tends to focus on Seurat and to position the rest of the group as followers. As a result, as I noted at the outset of this chapter, such important scholars of Fauvism as Ellen Oppler have seen the divisionist influence on Matisse as “indirect” since it came through Seurat’s “disciples,” Signac and Cross.<sup>237</sup> In addition to being in the shadow of

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<sup>236</sup> Signac, unpublished manuscript in Signac Archives, c.1902; quoted in Herbert and Herbert, 479.

<sup>237</sup> Oppler, 100-101.

Seurat, the work of Signac and Cross remains difficult to study because of a lack of documentation.<sup>238</sup> A further result of the focus on the early part of the movement is that changes within Neo-Impressionism remain largely unrecognized, and scholars of Fauvism often make broad generalizations about Neo-Impressionism that are no longer true in the 1890s or 1900s. Marcel Giry, for example, states that Neo-Impressionism “remained fundamentally naturalist,” and Pierre Schneider states that both Impressionism and Neo-Impressionism had the same “essentially realist” goals.<sup>239</sup> While this may have seemed true in the 1880s, it cannot hold true for works such as Cross’s *L’Air du Soir* (Figure 78), or more generally for Signac, who was advocating an art of harmony and synthesis from the early 1890s.

Jack Flam’s reading of Matisse’s *Luxe, calme et volupté* (Figure 81) is one of the few to emphasize adequately the impact of the Neo-Impressionist theme.<sup>240</sup> Flam nuances Matisse’s “progress” from *Le Gôûter (Golfe de Saint-Tropez)* (Figure 82) through *Luxe, calme et volupté* and eventually to *Bonheur de Vivre* (Figure 79), which is

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<sup>238</sup> As evidence for this hierarchy within art history, an examination of bibliography suffices. The number of monographs, exhibitions, and studies devoted to Seurat is far too great to list here [for a complete bibliography see the exhibition catalogue edited by R. Herbert, *Georges Seurat*; see also Russell T. Clement and Annick Houzé, *Neo-Impressionist Painters: A Sourcebook on Georges Seurat, Camille Pissarro, Paul Signac, Théo Van Rysselberghe, Henri Edmond Cross, Charles Angrand, Maximilien Luce, and Albert Dubois-Pillet* (Westport Ct: Greenwood Press, 1999)] yet there are no catalogue raisonnés of either Signac or Cross’s work. Until the 1997 exhibition *Signac et la libération de la couleur de Matisse à Mondrian* in Grenoble, Françoise Cachin’s 1964 biography was the most reliable source on Signac. As an example of its omissions, it does not reproduce Signac’s major work of the 1890s, *Au temps d’harmonie*, but only a black and white reproduction of an oil study for the finished work; it does, however, reproduce Matisse’s *Luxe, calme et volupté* in a full page colour reproduction. Signac’s important role as founding member and longtime president of the Société des Indépendants remains undocumented. Cross’s work is still poorly documented, as Isabelle Compin, *H. E. Cross* (Paris: Quatre Chemins-Editart, 1964) remains the most detailed consideration of his œuvre.

<sup>239</sup> Marcel Giry, *Fauvism: Origins and Development* (New York: Alpine Fine Arts, 1982), 26; and Pierre Schneider, *Matisse* (New York: Rizzoli, 1984), 209; Schneider’s interpretation of Neo-Impressionism is revealed in his statement that when painting *Bonheur de Vivre* “up until now, [Matisse] had never departed from the basic rule of realism, as stated repeatedly by Courbet, Manet, Monet, Cézanne, and Signac: paint what you see,” 242, and which also does not account for *Luxe, calme et volupté*.

<sup>240</sup> Jack Flam, *Matisse, the Man and his Art, 1869-1918* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1986), 114-121.

so patently assumed by Schneider. As Flam points out, Signac's artistic method would have challenged Matisse, not merely in its divisionism, but more importantly in its rejection of the goals Matisse had set for himself: "spontaneity and direct response to nature."<sup>241</sup> Flam underlines the importance of Matisse's rejection of naturalism in this work and his new embrace of what he identifies as the Symbolist mode of narrative subjects, that is, narrative subject without clear or overt narrative content.<sup>242</sup>

Nevertheless, the emphasis on the formal elements pervades the literature. Catherine Bock, for example, concludes that, after Matisse rejected the Neo-Impressionist technique in *Bonheur de vivre*, the legacy of Neo-Impressionism was his working in the studio, rather than from nature, which led to a shift away from naturalism, as well as an interest in colour and light.<sup>243</sup> Bock says nothing of the modern pastoral, which Signac and Cross introduced to Matisse in Saint-Tropez.

### ***Fauvism's Latin Heritage and the Critics***

Despite his extremely thought provoking and often convincing arguments, James Herbert's interpretation of the Mediterranean Fauve landscapes are problematic on several levels. Most difficult to reconcile with the historical record are his provocative statements on politics that later are somewhat mollified. Herbert draws a subtle picture connecting Matisse's Mediterranean pastorals to the right-wing Latinism of the Action Française. For example, he begins his extended discussion of Charles Maurras by stating that:

The Latin heritage was obviously an impressive tool of legitimation, and the Fauves were hardly the only people of their day to exploit its powers. . . . Such, in fact, was the nationalist project of a certain cadre of reactionary

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<sup>241</sup> Flam, 114.

<sup>242</sup> Flam, 118.

<sup>243</sup> Bock, 95-6.

intellectuals, few in number but highly influential, headed by Charles Maurras, the editor of the newspaper *Action française* and founder of the political group of the same name. Since the Latin heritage was in the same years both a major component in the artistic endeavors of the Fauves and a centerpiece in the political program of Maurras and his compatriots, these two movements inevitably collaborated and competed with each other over the meanings and implications of that heritage.<sup>244</sup>

After titillating the reader with the implication of an 'inevitable collaboration and competition' between the nationalist right and the Fauve image, Herbert nevertheless concludes that "despite the idyllic theme of these paintings, Matisse's brightly colored and loosely painted dabs, planes, and unctuous lines would have impinged on the nationalist's version of the distant, lost golden age."<sup>245</sup> Thus, he conjures with but then retreats from his implication of Fauvism as collaborating with the right wing of Maurras and the Action Française, and he does not suggest any competing meanings these works might have had to dispel further the spurious connection he has implied.

Herbert's argument for similarity relies on his contention that *Luxe, calme et volupté* and *Bonheur de vivre* "depict themes that, for the most part, corresponded to the nationalist program of discovering a cultural definition of the French nation: idyllic reveries evoking Poussin and the *grande tradition*, Mediterranean settings suggestive of the nation's Latin orientation."<sup>246</sup> While the similarity is accurate, his assertion that the association of the Latin heritage with the nationalist right was uncontested is not.<sup>247</sup>

While Neo-Impressionism was increasingly being called classical by anarchists and conservatives alike, Fauvism was seen as very distant from the classical tradition by

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<sup>244</sup> J. Herbert, 124.

<sup>245</sup> J. Herbert, 135.

<sup>246</sup> J. Herbert, 129.

<sup>247</sup> My understanding of the current critical debate over classicism and Latinism and their multiple political valences in the pre-war period is informed by Mark Antliff's *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), especially chap. 1 "Cubism, Classicism, and the Body Politic."



critics on all sides, a point to which I shall return. The criticism of Maurice Denis, a painter Herbert admits is closer to the nationalist vision than are the Fauves, makes it clear that Matisse was being encouraged to return to the classical tradition from which Fauvism was seen to stray.<sup>248</sup> Furthermore, as Herbert convincingly demonstrates, essential to the French definition of its *grande tradition* was that its technique seem natural and not determined by theory.<sup>249</sup> Herbert proffers his own interpretation, inventing the term “neo-naturalist” to describe Fauve technique. In Herbert’s definition, Fauve painters repudiate obvious system, trying to make their paintings seem entirely natural and unmediated. Having defined the works as neo-naturalist, and as consequently repudiating theory, Herbert is able to put them in the lineage of the *grande tradition*. Yet Denis and others saw Matisse’s paintings as completely reliant on theory and not nature.<sup>250</sup>

Herbert’s second assumption of an irrefutable connection between the Mediterranean settings of these works and a geographical connection to the Latin heritage and concomitant right-wing ideology is also problematic. If, as I have shown with the respect to Neo-Impressionists, regionalists, and anarchists, there was an existing alternative to this vision of the Latin past, then Matisse’s paintings take on a different position within this discourse. Herbert briefly considers but immediately rejects the possibility of an alternative political meaning ascribed to the Latin past, again relying on

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<sup>248</sup> Maurice Denis, “La Peinture,” *L’Ermitage* (15 May 1905): 319; quoted in J. Herbert, 131: “It is in reality that [Matisse] will develop his very rare gifts for painting . . . He will rediscover, in the French tradition, the feeling for the possible.”

<sup>249</sup> J. Herbert, 120-123.

<sup>250</sup> Denis “La Peinture,” *L’Ermitage* (15 June 1906): 325; quoted in J. Herbert, 122, “Matisse . . . hardly does anything . . . but translate theorems of paintings into diagrams.”

his definition of Fauve painting as neo-naturalist.<sup>251</sup> He admits that from Denis's perspective:

the Fauve pastorals, especially pseudo-pointillist works such as *Luxe, calme et volupté* and Derain's *The Golden Age*, may well have appeared compatible with Signac's anarchist artistic program of the 1890s. Yet Fauve paintings no more represented a gap between the present state of injustice and a future paradise than they did between a lost world of monarchs and a corrupt republican present. . . . Fauve paintings, interpreted as neo-natural paintings, do not make utopia; they find it at Saint-Tropez and Collioure as those sites exist in the present.<sup>252</sup>

Herbert's language reveals his bias; if we question the term pseudo-pointillist, arguing that there is much evidence that Matisse and André Derain were strongly influenced in terms of technique, in terms of locale, and most clearly in terms of theme by Neo-Impressionism, Herbert's dismissal of Denis's interpretation seems hasty. Herbert simplifies Denis's criticism because it contradicts his neo-naturalist theory. Yet Denis's criticism repeatedly and influentially positions Fauvism not as free from theory and akin to neo-naturalism, but as suffering from an excess of theory and as outside the French tradition.<sup>253</sup>

Herbert does not consider Matisse's social milieu or personal politics. Little is known of his politics, and it seems that he was not seriously engaged; there are, however, indications that he was interested in anarchism at the beginning of the century. Matisse reportedly said that he experimented with anarchism in his youth.<sup>254</sup> He was very close to Maximilien Luce, a prominent and militant anarchist, friends with Mécislas Golberg, also an anarchist,<sup>255</sup> and close to Cross and Signac. In her recent biography of Matisse,

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<sup>251</sup> J. Herbert, 139-142.

<sup>252</sup> J. Herbert, 141.

<sup>253</sup> See Benjamin, "Fauves in the Landscape of Criticism: Metaphor and Scandal at the Salon," in *The Fauve Landscape*, ed. Judi Freeman (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1990), 241-266.

<sup>254</sup> Schneider, 720.

<sup>255</sup> Hilary Spurling, *The Unknown Matisse: A Life of Henri Matisse*, Volume 1, 1869-1908 (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1998), 209.

Hilary Spurling reports that early in the century, when Matisse could ill afford it, he donated money to political exiles from France.<sup>256</sup> Although Spurling states that, by 1905, Matisse had “long since outgrown his youthful anarchism,”<sup>257</sup> her research indicates that he was still in close contact with several anarchists. Matisse left Luce in charge of his studio in the summer of 1905, and he became a friend of Etienne Terrus while in Collioure. Terrus was a friend of Luce’s, and also an anarchist artist who showed at the Indépendants, and he “would become over the next ten years the most companionable of all the friends the Matisses made in Catalonia.”<sup>258</sup> Matisse seems to have continued to enjoy the companionship of committed anarchists; it seems unlikely that these friendships would have survived if the only context for Mediterranean pastorals was that created by the Action française.

Herbert is not alone in seeing a classical element in Fauve painting; despite the implicit critique of Herbert’s position in his own work, Roger Benjamin also links Fauve landscapes and the classical landscape tradition, albeit in a different manner.<sup>259</sup> Benjamin divides landscape painting into two main traditions: the classical *paysage historique*, which is exemplified by Poussin and Claude, associated with the south, is decorative and idealized, and does not depict an identifiable site; and the *paysage rustique*, which is identified with the north, is more naturalistic, and is topographically specific.<sup>260</sup> The Fauves, he argues, reject the Impressionist landscape tradition, which is more closely associated with the *paysage rustique* and, thus, the north.<sup>261</sup> They draw instead on the

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<sup>256</sup> Spurling, 209.

<sup>257</sup> Spurling, 303.

<sup>258</sup> Spurling, 307; also 308-9.

<sup>259</sup> Benjamin, “Decorative,” 295-316.

<sup>260</sup> Benjamin, “Decorative,” 304.

<sup>261</sup> This association of Impressionism and the *paysage rustique* runs counter to the interpretation of Brettell, who associates Impressionist landscape with the classical iconography of depicting the *campagne* around

classical landscape tradition to create a new, modern genre, the *paysage décoratif*, which is a classically inflected landscape strongly relying on the unifying plastic element of the arabesque. Benjamin's illuminating analysis of the use of tradition in the formation of the modern *paysage décoratif* would only be strengthened by a more thorough investigation of the question of why, in this period, the supposedly non-specific site of these works was so exclusively associated with the south and why it was so often utopian. It is significant that the Fauves were not the first generation to reject the naturalism of Impressionism in favour of the abstraction of an idealized scene rooted in classical precedent. Neo-Impressionist artists explicitly grappled with these concerns, but how Matisse and other Fauves responded to their complex intervention in the field of the harmonious landscape is not illuminated by Benjamin's argument, which omits their contribution.<sup>262</sup>

Benjamin's reading of the *paysage décoratif* as "a modernist addition to the traditional academic division between the historic landscape (*paysage historique*), with its figures in heroic action, and the rural landscape (*paysage champêtre*), with its more intimate country setting"<sup>263</sup> illuminates a broader trend in modern art that has, as yet, been little considered. What he calls the *paysage décoratif* falls within the broader category of pastoral. The importance of the category is revealed if one considers the regularity with which it recurs in the paintings of Signac, Cézanne, Matisse, and André Derain. Indeed, it could be argued that it is one of the central subjects of painting

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the capital city, see Brettell, "The Impressionist Landscape and the Image of France," in *A Day in the Country*, 29 and 38.

<sup>262</sup> Benjamin, "Fauves in Landscape of Criticism," repeatedly uses Signac's letters for background context, but does not examine the role of the movement in this development.

<sup>263</sup> Benjamin, "Fauves in the Landscape of Criticism," 254.

between 1890 and 1914, in which the continued oscillation between the idea and the motif is most thoroughly explored.

### ***Seeing Classicism in 1904***

Having illuminated the importance of the Mediterranean to anarchist theory and its role in Neo-Impressionism, we are now better situated to understand Matisse's Mediterranean images, such as *Luxe, calme et volupté* of 1904-05. Matisse had met Signac the previous winter, in 1903 or 1904.<sup>264</sup> At that time Signac was a well-established, prominent painter. His *D'Eugène Delacroix au néo-impressionnisme* was extremely influential, and greatly affected Matisse's style before 1900. In addition to being the recognized head of Neo-Impressionism, Signac was a founding member of the most avant-garde exhibiting society, the Société des artistes indépendants, which radically rejected hierarchy and was closely associated with both Neo-Impressionism and political vanguardism. Significantly, the Indépendants was the venue in which Matisse chose to exhibit both *Luxe, calme et volupté*, and *Bonheur de Vivre*.

Despite recent critical attempts to align Matisse's works with the Latinism espoused by the political right, a more historical account of their inception and reception supports instead a radical, left-wing association. One of the most notable aspects of the criticism is the almost complete lack of reference to the classical tradition in Matisse's works, which although shockingly coloured, would seem to be transforming or subverting that tradition. Indeed, before his conversion to Neo-Impressionism, Matisse had been seen as belonging to the modern-classical tradition. Roger Marx, a prominent arts administrator, wrote a preface to Matisse's first one-man show, dating to just before

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<sup>264</sup> Spurling, 272.

his 1904 trip to Saint-Tropez, which discussed Matisse's œuvre in the classicizing terms common to the day. He situated Matisse as a student of Moreau and Cézanne, both of whom, Marx said, "reclaim Poussin."<sup>265</sup> Yet, paradoxically, these references to tradition quickly disappeared from the critical discussion of Matisse once he embraced Neo-Impressionism.

Louis Vauxcelles's reaction to *Luxe, calme et volupté*, exhibited at the 1905 Indépendants, illustrates the critical dilemma. Vauxcelles seems studiously to avoid referring to classicism when approaching this work. He begins his discussion of Matisse by praising "a small, synthetically constructed southern landscape," *The Terrace at Saint-Tropez* (1904, oil on canvas, 71.8 x 57.8 cm, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston), as one of the best at the Salon.<sup>266</sup> In the language of the day, the reference to the southern location and the synthetic construction of the landscape could easily have been followed by a discussion of the artist's modern classicism. Instead, Vauxcelles continues, Matisse "turns back and suddenly becomes a neo-impressionist with *Ordre, Luxe et volupté* [sic]. No! I can't see the happy shades of an Orphic ballet wandering in the chaotic luminosity of this landscape, where everything dances."<sup>267</sup> The reference to Orpheus alludes to the classical tradition, but Vauxcelles categorically denies the possibility of this landscape serving as a locus of classicism. Moreover, it is the painting's luminosity--the very effect Neo-Impressionist theory devoted so much energy to creating--that Vauxcelles sees as chaotic.

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<sup>265</sup> Roger Marx, "Exhibition of Works By the Painter Henri Matisse, Preface" (June 1904); quoted in Jack Flam, ed., *Matisse: A Retrospective* (New York: MacMillan, 1988), 43.

<sup>266</sup> Louis Vauxcelles, *Gil Blas* (23 March 1905); quoted in Flam, ed., 45.

<sup>267</sup> Vauxcelles, *Gil Blas* (23 March 1905); quoted in Flam, ed., 46.

Denis's 1905 reviews of both the Indépendants and the Salon d'Automne clearly position Matisse's work outside the French tradition, and he cautions: "This first experiment . . . will alert him to the dangers of abstraction. *Luxe, calme et volupté* is the schema of a theory. It is through realism that he will best develop his very special gifts as a painter. He will rediscover in the French tradition the feeling for what is possible."<sup>268</sup> A few months later, Denis repeats that Matisse is outside tradition, warning that "recourse to tradition is our best safeguard against the intoxications of reason, against an excess of theory."<sup>269</sup>

Marx wrote only of the "irradiated landscapes" of Matisse, without explicitly referring to either their Mediterranean location or their composition, although he did discuss another Moreau student, Simon Bussy, as "a dear returned absentee who is justly acclaimed for his radiant Mediterranean visions."<sup>270</sup> The omission of any discussion of Matisse's work in these terms is indicative of how far Matisse was seen to be from the classical tradition by the mainstream critics of the day.

In an odd juxtaposition *Luxe, calme et volupté* depicts a fully clothed woman sitting at a picnic, a child wrapped in a towel, and, sensuously arranged before them, numerous naked, bathing women. *Le Gôûter (Golfe de Saint-Tropez)* (Figure 82), done on the spot in Saint-Tropez, pictures Matisse's wife and son in the same location, under the shade of a slightly more protective pine tree, recalling Cross's *La Plage de Saint-Clair* (1906-07, oil on canvas, 65 x 81 cm, Musée de l'Annonciade, Saint-Tropez.) In

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<sup>268</sup> Denis, "La Réaction nationaliste," *L'Ermitage* (15 May 1905); quoted in Benjamin, "Fauves in the Landscape of Criticism," 246.

<sup>269</sup> Denis, "De Gauguin, de Whistler et de l'excès des théories," *L'Ermitage* (15 November 1905); quoted in Benjamin, "Fauves in Landscape of Criticism," 246.

<sup>270</sup> Roger Marx, "Le Vernissage du Salon d'Automne," *Chronique* (21 October 1905): 267; quoted in Benjamin, *Matisse's 'Notes of a Painter': Criticism, Theory, and Context, 1891-1908* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1987), 87.

the final work, however, the composition changes from the more intimate vertical composition to a horizontal panorama, and the nymphs are added. In the tradition of the pastoral and recalling Giorgione's *Fête Champêtre* (Figure 56), Edouard Manet's famous *Le Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* (1863, oil on canvas, 213 x 264 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris) also incongruously combined the naked and the clothed, thus juxtaposing the natural and the artificial. While Manet's juxtaposition highlights gender and class issues, Matisse's juxtaposition draws our attention to the relation between north and south. The clothed tourist from the north (modelled on the artist's wife) has come to visit this fashionable southern tourist destination; the expectations of the classical southern landscape that she brings with her, the expectation of a mythological scene, seems to be the subject of the painting. Matisse engages, then, with stereotypes of the region: his clear adhesion to Neo-Impressionist principles puts him in a camp that had politicized the pastoral as a venue in which current societal norms could be critiqued, as some argue Seurat did, and a better future envisioned in the manner of Signac.

The similarities of Matisse's *Bonheur de Vivre*, exhibited at the Indépendants in 1906, to Signac's *Au temps d'harmonie* bear consideration. Because of technique, *Luxe, calme et volupté* is more frequently compared to *Harmonie*; despite *Bonheur de Vivre*'s more radical use of colour, it may have more similarities with Signac's anarchist composition.<sup>271</sup> Both works depict shaded areas in the foreground that are predominantly green and purple, and these give way to bright yellow middlegrounds. Both include a ring of dancers in the background, the evocation of free love at the centre of the composition, and both picture nature's abundance by the verdant and stylized trees that

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<sup>271</sup> I am currently working on an article considering these paintings in terms of Matisse's relationship with anarchist painters and contemporaneous depictions of the female nude invoking the Mediterranean.



frame the composition. Yet there are obvious differences: Matisse includes no signifiers of time, while Signac includes modern elements such as the tractor and clothing, and Signac includes labour. The pipe players, shepherd, Bacchic dancing, and languorous nudes in *Bonheur de Vivre* all suggest that the classical tradition was uppermost in Matisse's mind.

Yet, this work was not seen as drawing on the classical tradition. Vauxcelles described the picture as "creatures in languorous attitudes, with lovely hips, sleep, dream; one, standing, is stretching, hands crossed behind her head; others are playing the panpipe; . . . At the center of the composition a wild round. There are great qualities here: the masses are rhythmically balanced." He concludes that Matisse had been seduced by theory, and suggests he must in future avoid it. Vauxcelles described the Salon d'Automne jury deliberations as a battle between "the *right*, those who prefer a watered-down Impressionism, and the *left*, who take pleasure in the aggressive polychromy of the 'fauves.'" <sup>272</sup> As Roger Benjamin has shown, broadly speaking, critics who opposed Matisse, such as Camille Mauclair, Sâr Péladan, and Denis were all associated with the right, while those supporting him, Vauxcelles, Michel Puy, and Guillaume Apollinaire, were associated with the left. <sup>273</sup> Thus the radical style of *Bonheur de Vivre*, rather than Signac's anarchist tropes, sparks political positioning on the part of these critics.

Octave Maus, head of the Belgian avant-garde exhibiting society Les Vingt, and a political radical who had long supported Neo-Impressionism, discussed *Bonheur de Vivre* in terms of its relation to Neo-Impressionism. He began his account of the annual

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<sup>272</sup> Louis Vauxcelles, "Le Boulevard: Le jury de peinture," *Gil Blas* (17 Sept. 1908); quoted in Benjamin "Fauves in Landscape of Criticism," p. 266, note 59.

exhibition by noting the importance of the Indépendants as a revolutionary exhibiting society, whose lodgings “sentent la barricade” and where an artist’s personal vision is encouraged.<sup>274</sup> Turning to discuss Matisse’s *Bonheur de Vivre*, Maus says it “paraît échapper au domaine pictural et plonger dans des réalisations scientifiques dont la clef nous manque,” but he finds it indisputably interesting.<sup>275</sup> Maus then invokes a common trope to describe a masterpiece—originally ridiculed and only later recognized as such—citing Seurat’s *La Grande Jatte* as an example. Maus thus creates a lineage between Seurat’s suburban Sunday and Matisse’s utopian pastoral. He then compares Matisse to others working in Saint-Tropez and experimenting with Neo-Impressionism, such as Lucie Cousturier, Charles Camoin, and Henri Manguin, concluding that “à côté de lui, [ils] paraissent classiques, ou à peu près.”<sup>276</sup> Maus thus positions Matisse’s painting at the cutting edge of the modern classical tradition; although it is not yet recognized as a masterpiece, it will become one.

The nationalist critics, who generally preferred more academic treatments, albeit of similar themes, hardly deigned to discuss art such as that of Matisse, but on the rare occasions when they did, their view of him as diametrically opposed to their values and their vision of the French tradition is evident. Furthermore, the perception of Fauve art as outside the French tradition was strengthened by the belief that their art was primarily purchased by foreigners.<sup>277</sup> Louis Rouart’s virulent anti-Semitism, which saw Jews as polluting the French race, colours his reading of the work; in a reference to the Steins, he dismissively concludes that Matisse “is taken seriously only by two or three Jews from

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<sup>273</sup> Benjamin, “Fauves in Landscape of Criticism,” 242.

<sup>274</sup> Octave Maus, “Le Salon des Indépendants,” *L’Art Moderne* 26, no. 17 (29 April 1906): 134.

<sup>275</sup> Maus, 134.

<sup>276</sup> Maus, 134.

San Francisco.”<sup>278</sup> In the conservative *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, André Péroat suggested that Fauve art be classified in exhibitions as foreign, as they were “incoherents in revolt against the Latin soul.”<sup>279</sup> Consequently, we can conclude that Fauve pastorals were not received as supporting traditional French or Latin culture despite their obviously classical subject matter and location.

The situating of Matisse as outside or ahead of the classical tradition speaks volumes about changes in the political world between 1890 and 1905. Before the rise of the nationalist right in the aftermath of the Dreyfus affair, the Neo-Impressionists could use the conventions of classical tradition. Because of the formal history of Neo-Impressionist images, and because of the contrast with their own Parisian iconography, the Neo-Impressionists could picture the Mediterranean as the locus of anarchist freedom in days to come, and as an alternative to the constraints of the present day. Yet for new converts to Neo-Impressionism, the radicalism of that lineage--its tweaking of the classical tradition--was not recognized, indeed the silence on that issue was marked. In terms of historical accuracy, then, I think we have to conclude that Matisse’s Mediterranean images did not support an essentialist Latinist definition of the classical tradition and a concomitant definition of the French race in the period; instead, they asserted a radical revision of that definition. These works use aspects of the classical language, the compositional elements, the disposition of figures in the landscape, and the subject matter, but examination of their reception indicates that other aspects--notably the

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<sup>277</sup> Benjamin, “Fauves in the Landscape of Criticism,” 258-61.

<sup>278</sup> Louis Rouart, “Reflections on the Salon d’Automne,” *L’Occident* (November 1907): quoted in Flam, ed., 69.

<sup>279</sup> André Péroat, “Les Salons de 1907,” *Gazette des beaux-arts* 37 (1 May 1907): 356; quoted in Benjamin, “Fauves in the Landscape of Criticism,” 261.

use of the divided touch, and later 'theory' --prohibit them from being included in this newly inflected discourse.

### ***Mediterranean Visions and the Left***

In 1913, the theme of the annual salon of La Libre Esthétique was *Interprétations du Midi*. Taken as an isolated exhibition, out of the context Octave Maus had created for over 20 years, the theme may not seem significant. When seen in its historical context, however, the exhibition is indicative of the continuing anarchist tradition of portraying the Mediterranean as idyllic. La Libre Esthétique evolved out of Les XX, an exhibiting society that, like the Indépendants, had been organized with an absence of hierarchy that was read as evidence of anarchist tendencies.<sup>280</sup> The founders of Les XX, Edmond Picard and Octave Maus, were anarchists, who ensured that the group rejected any conservative tendencies.<sup>281</sup> Unlike its predecessor, La Libre Esthétique was concentrated in the hands of Maus, who ensured it remained international and avant-garde. He saw it as "l'extension du mouvement vingtiste, procédant de la même poussée et du même esprit d'indépendance."<sup>282</sup> From 1904, Maus generally chose an annual theme as well as the artists who would exhibit.

The 1913 *Interprétations du Midi* exhibition included the work of many well-known French artists from Impressionist, Neo-Impressionist and Symbolist camps, such as Pierre Bonnard, Simon Bussy, Charles Camoin, Lucie Cousturier, Maurice Denis, Georges d'Espagnat, Othon Friesz, Alfred Lombard, Henri Manguin, Albert Marquet, Claude Monet, Kerr-Xavier Roussel, Louis Valtat, and Signac. It also included the works

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<sup>280</sup> Jane Block, "Les XX: Forum of the Avant-garde," in *Belgian Art: 1880-1914* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1980), 21.

<sup>281</sup> Block, 21-22, 31.

of the deceased Cross, Cézanne, Van Gogh, and Eugène Boudin. Madeleine Maus reminisced in her 1926 memoir that the theme of the Midi was chosen in recognition of its importance to the development of modern art: “le Salon de 1913 resplendit de cette lumière dont tant de peintres qu’elle a révélés et défendus ont criblé leurs toiles. Ce thème: *le Midi*, n’est donc point arbitrairement choisi.”<sup>283</sup> The exhibition “se rendait compte de l’attrance extraordinaire exercée par le Midi sur les peintres depuis les dernières années.”<sup>284</sup> In addition, Maus points out that “A Maurice Denis seulement, . . . et à K.-X. Roussel. . . le cadre provençal avait suggéré l’évocation des légendes mythologiques.”<sup>285</sup> Thus, it seems that the majority of paintings depicting the Midi were not in this renewed classical tradition.

The recognition by Octave Maus of the importance of the theme of the Midi in the development of modern art underlines its complexity. Maus’s political views would have prevented him from putting on an exhibit that was identified solely with the political right, and yet neither was the exhibition promoted as a refutation of such nationalist politics. The exhibition indicates that pre-war French avant-garde artists could portray an idyllic Mediterranean replete with nude bathers without invoking political conservatism. The theme of the Midi cannot be so easily brushed to one side of the political spectrum.

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There was an alternate vision of the Mediterranean south to that associated with the political right. In the tradition of writers, such as Stendhal or Maupassant, geographers,

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<sup>282</sup> Madeleine Octave Maus, *Trente Années de Lutte Pour l’Art: Les XX, La Libre Esthétique, 1884-1914* (Brussels: Editions Lebeer Hossmann, 1980), 161.

<sup>283</sup> M. Maus, 452.

<sup>284</sup> M. Maus, 453.

<sup>285</sup> M. Maus, 454.

such as Reclus and Kropotkin, or regionalists, the region was seen as distinct from the rest of the nation. It was associated with liberty, and with a tradition of communal franchise, which many anarchists valued as a form of government better suited to the development of liberty. When Signac went to the south, he painted two major canvases, *Jeunes Provençales au Puits*, (*Décoration pour un panneau dans la pénombre*), Opus 238 (Figure 62) and *Au Temps d'harmonie* (Figure 75), that, I have argued, engage with that tradition of place and with the tradition of the pastoral landscape, to picture a harmonious community. Signac, I suggest, continued to use Henry's general idea of harmonious aesthetics, which accorded with his own sense that pictorial harmony would help bring on social harmony. Moreover, I suggest that Matisse engaged both formally and thematically with Signac's re-working of the pastoral tradition, especially in his juxtaposition of clothed and naked in *Bonheur de vivre*.

My examination of the criticism of both Neo-Impressionism and Fauvism after the turn of the century indicates that classical elements within Neo-Impressionism--no longer stylistically on the forefront of the avant-garde--were increasingly championed. Yet, the pictorial radicalism of Fauvism prevented its use of classical conventions from being discussed. I conclude that, in the same way that Neo-Impressionism's technique a decade earlier had signified its radicalism, the formal qualities of Fauvism preclude us from associating the movement with the political right.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

My study situates the avant-garde turn to the south of France within the larger discourse that was defining nation and region, centre and periphery, tourist and toured. It contributes a new appreciation of the role that regional culture played in the formation of national culture, and it shows their mutually reliant natures. Despite the dominant cultural geography that situated Provence and Provençals as peripheral, I show that the local population did, in fact, negotiate a space for themselves within the national identity. Museums, expositions, tourist advertising posters, and art were all significant sites for the negotiation of identity. Yet, regional identity was framed by national identity; local museums, for example, were created in response to increasing control over national museums. The regionalist construct of Provence evident in these sites incorporated a vision of the past that emphasized the region's history as distinct from France, its former locally autonomous governments, and its artistic heritage. My examination of this discourse reveals that this cultural geography influenced modernism, most significantly in the work of Paul Signac, who, in turn, contributed an anarchist variation to mythologizing constructs of the Mediterranean.

My consideration of local representations of the region, its history, and its symbols makes clear the politics of these versions of history. Frédéric Mistral's museum responded to the national museum system. In some instances, the Museon Arlaten reconfigured the dominant hierarchies, for example, in its embrace of a wider definition of culture; in other instances, such as its gender roles, it reinforced them. The same is

true of both Jules Charles-Roux's Colonial exposition and the tourist posters. Although the constructs of national and regional identities are mutually reliant, there are significantly different subjects in indigenous and Parisian representations of the region.

Perhaps the most notable significant difference is the role of the figure, especially the *Arlésienne*. While the local figure in 'traditional' costume occupies a significant role in local self-representation (and also in Parisian depictions of other regions, such as Brittany), most visiting avant-garde painters generally concentrated on landscape. As John House notes, "for the painters we have examined, color and light conveyed the essence of the South: few of them, though, painted the people who lived and worked there."<sup>1</sup> In the south, artists were not generally concerned with locating "authentic" regional customs in the same way that the Breton pardon, for example, was painted in the 1880s. Indeed, there are few examples of regional culture being represented. Instead of depicting the *Arlésienne* who stood for a centuries old cultural tradition, or even antique ruins, the majority of avant-garde artists ignored regional culture and history. This iconography differs from earlier nineteenth-century traditions of representing the nation, in which monuments took center stage and the 'natives' were relegated to supporting roles. It seems to indicate a newer conception of the region as untouched by the modern world and outside historical progress. This construction of a pre-modern world widens the gap between the center and the periphery; indeed, it equated a geographic distance as a temporal one.

In contrast, the *Arlésienne* played a central role in Mistral's construction of a mythic Provence, and was seen as forming an unbroken link to the ancient Greeks and



Romans. She also played an essential role in representing the region in Paris and in Marseilles, with little dispute coming from other parts of Provence which were not depicted as emblematic.<sup>2</sup> This affirmation of a unique cultural identity most often symbolised by the *Arlésienne* indicates the widespread interest within Provence in the creation of a symbol of difference that, unlike other symbols such as the fisherman, implied strong historical and cultural traditions. Yet, it also indicates the limited means of representation available to peoples deemed peripheral. To negotiate a role for themselves within the national spectrum that maintained a separate identity, they relied on the past. While figures associated with colonialism in Marseilles, such as Charles-Roux, did look to the future in associating the city with the colonies, they still relied on Provence's artistic and literary heritage to situate the region hierarchically within the spectrum of centre, periphery and colony.

This subject matter also differs in its concentration on place. Whereas Vincent Van Gogh and Paul Gauguin had stayed in Arles, a traditionally important inland center, most later artists settled on the coast, despite the example of Paul Cézanne. In contrast, the regional self-representation often emphasized inland settings, with the exception of tourist posters that were outwardly directed. Indeed, my research suggests that Cézanne's importance in attracting artists has been over-estimated; neither his location nor his motifs were dominant attractions for later artists. Moreover, his use of a classicizing style was not unique. The classical tradition had long been associated with the south, and

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<sup>1</sup> John House, "That Magical Light: Impressionists and Post-Impressionists on the Riviera," in *Impressions of the Riviera: Monet, Renoir, Matisse and their Contemporaries*, by Kenneth Wayne with essays by John House and Kenneth E. Silver (Portland, Maine: Portland Museum of Art, 1998), 24.

<sup>2</sup> Although as I have discussed in other chapters, there were some disputes within the *Félibrige* that Mistral was promoting his version of the language as authoritative, rather than the diversity of regional dialects that were truly representative of the rich heritage.

its potential for critiquing society was exploited by Paul Signac who provided the Fauves with a more direct precursor than either Cézanne or Van Gogh. My examination of the changing history of tourism indicates the significance of the shift; when Henri Matisse visited Provence, he did so as a tourist largely uninterested in the specifics of the region, but interested in the coastal scenery, which was associated with modern classicism.

Signac's two important works, *Jeunes Provençales au Puits* and *Au Temps d'Harmonie*, are significant exceptions to these generalizations. I have argued that their view of the region accords with anarchist theory, picturing communal ownership, mutual aid, and the integration of work and leisure. Signac's use of the pastoral tradition shows a deliberate reworking of tradition to critique society's norms. In his portrayals, regional life and modernity are not mutually exclusive. Although Signac is more concerned with local culture than other artists, such as Claude Monet, his portrayal of Provence is not that of the regionalists.<sup>3</sup> It is distinguished from their view by looking forward, rather than backward. His understanding of coastal Provence as idyllic, rather than savage or foreign, was part of a larger re-envisioning of the region that made it attractive to a wide range of tourists.

The strong current of classicism within the avant-garde tradition, which has previously been recognized primarily in the twentieth century, dates back at least to the 1880s. Neo-Impressionism's essential part in reinvigorating this tradition has been overlooked, yet it is connected both pictorially and socially with significant twentieth century movements. Moreover, in light of the Neo-Impressionist use of the pastoral tradition to critique contemporary society from a radical perspective, the use of the

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<sup>3</sup> On Monet's Mediterranean paintings see Joachim Pissarro, *Monet and the Mediterranean* (New York: Rizzoli and Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth, 1997).

pastoral tradition in the twentieth century must be more complex than has been recognized.<sup>4</sup> The tradition includes resistance to the modern world, often in the form of utopian nostalgia which valorized the provinces. Yet in the south, this tradition was not exclusively associated with the political right. In its most sophisticated form, this utopian vision could recognize that the provinces were equally a part of the modern world, and it offered a model of how modern life might employ the best of both past and present. Signac's combination of classical motif and avant-garde style is the perfect medium for this message of past and present, which reconfigures the hierarchies of France's cultural geography.

My analysis intersects with recent art historical discourse, which has been in the process of reevaluating classicism's role in the early twentieth century. As discussed in Chapter Four, I disagree with aspects of James Herbert's argument, especially his suggestion of Matisse and Derain's supposed neo-naturalism, and their supposed affinity with the nationalist right.<sup>5</sup> Herbert concludes the Fauve's "seemingly crude application of paint made the artists appear as unsophisticated as the locals in front of them."<sup>6</sup> My reading of the reception of Matisse's Fauve works indicates that he was not seen as naturally representing the land but, instead, was seen as a theoretical painter. Moreover, Matisse's choice of subject matter, location, and viewpoint consistently emphasized his

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<sup>4</sup> For an example of the reductive account of modern art being anti-classical until 1905 see Pierre Daix, "Classicism Revisited in Modern Art," in *Canto d'Amore: Classicism in Modern Art and Music, 1914-1935*, ed. Gottfried Boehm et al, 74-84, (Basel: Kunstmuseum, 1996), 74-75.

<sup>5</sup> James D. Herbert, *Fauve Painting: the Making of Cultural Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 112-45.

<sup>6</sup> James D. Herbert, "Reconsiderations of Matisse and Derain in the classical landscape," in *Framing France: The representation of landscape in France, 1870-1914*, ed. Richard Thomson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 179.

role as a tourist, and the arcadia he depicts in *Bonheur de Vivre* is clearly presented as fantasy.<sup>7</sup>

My work also suggests that what David Cottington calls the “broad classical revival that was manifested across all the arts in France in the period after 1900,” and which he examines with respect to cubism, was in fact part of a much earlier movement.<sup>8</sup> The critical potential of the pastoral was revived in late nineteenth-century avant-garde painting, and, as Mark Antliff has shown with respect to celtic nationalism revived by the Puteaux Cubists, the politics of classicism were not exclusively associated with the political right.<sup>9</sup> Cottington’s essay also reveals the complexity of the political right, which is often portrayed as monolithic. Yet despite his references to regionalism and a multifaceted right, he still problematically collapses Maurrassian anti-Republicanism and constructs of a Mediterranean heritage. Cottington writes:

For Maurras, born and raised in Provence, nationalism was rooted in the continuity of the classical culture of the Mediterranean. The cultural heritage of France began in ancient Greece, passed through Rome and the Renaissance, to reach its zenith in the seventeenth century, and it was therefore to this age that the present should look for its moral, aesthetic and above all political precepts.<sup>10</sup>

He immediately goes on to characterize this as an “exclusive and anti-Republican ideology.”<sup>11</sup> As I have written throughout the thesis, the assumption that any support of Mediterranean culture is inevitably linked to Maurrassian politics is impossible to sustain

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<sup>7</sup> Indeed, Matisse chose to visit and paint coastal Provence, ignoring inland sites, such as Mont Sainte-Victoire; see Paul Smith, “Joachim Gasquet, Virgil and Cézanne’s landscape: ‘My beloved Golden Age,’” *Apollo* 148, no. 440 (October 1998): 11-23 who reads Cézanne’s pastorals as sharing the same ideology as Joachim Gasquet’s racist Latinism; Matisse’s allegiance to a different tradition is clear.

<sup>8</sup> David Cottington, “‘Ce beau pays de l’avenir’: Cubism, nationalism, and the landscape of modernity in France,” in *Framing France: The representation of landscape in France, 1870-1914*, ed. Richard Thomson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 194.

<sup>9</sup> Mark Antliff, *Inventing Bergson: Cultural Politics and the Parisian Avant-Garde* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.)

<sup>10</sup> Cottington, 198.

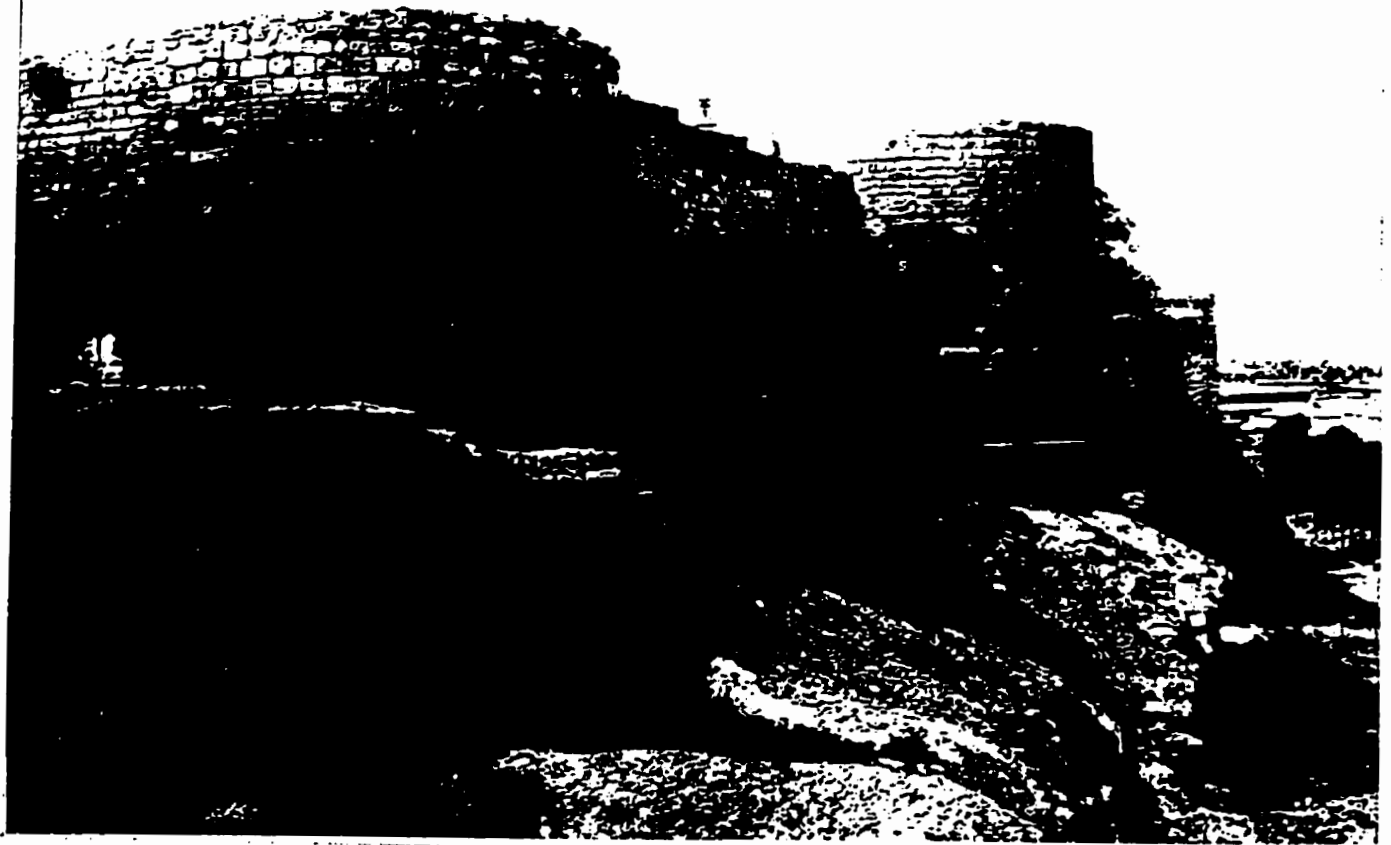
<sup>11</sup> Cottington, 198.

if the historical situation of the 1890s is considered; consequently a singular reading of the pictorial tradition that intervened in this discourse would be similarly reductive. Indeed, I suggest that there is an alternative lineage of the classical tradition. The renewed classical tradition invoked more than just Poussin as it weaved its way through Neo-Impressionism, Fauvism and Cubism. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the legacy of Neo-Impressionism is visible in works that invoke the classical tradition while using avant-garde techniques to imagine the future.

***ILLUSTRATIONS***

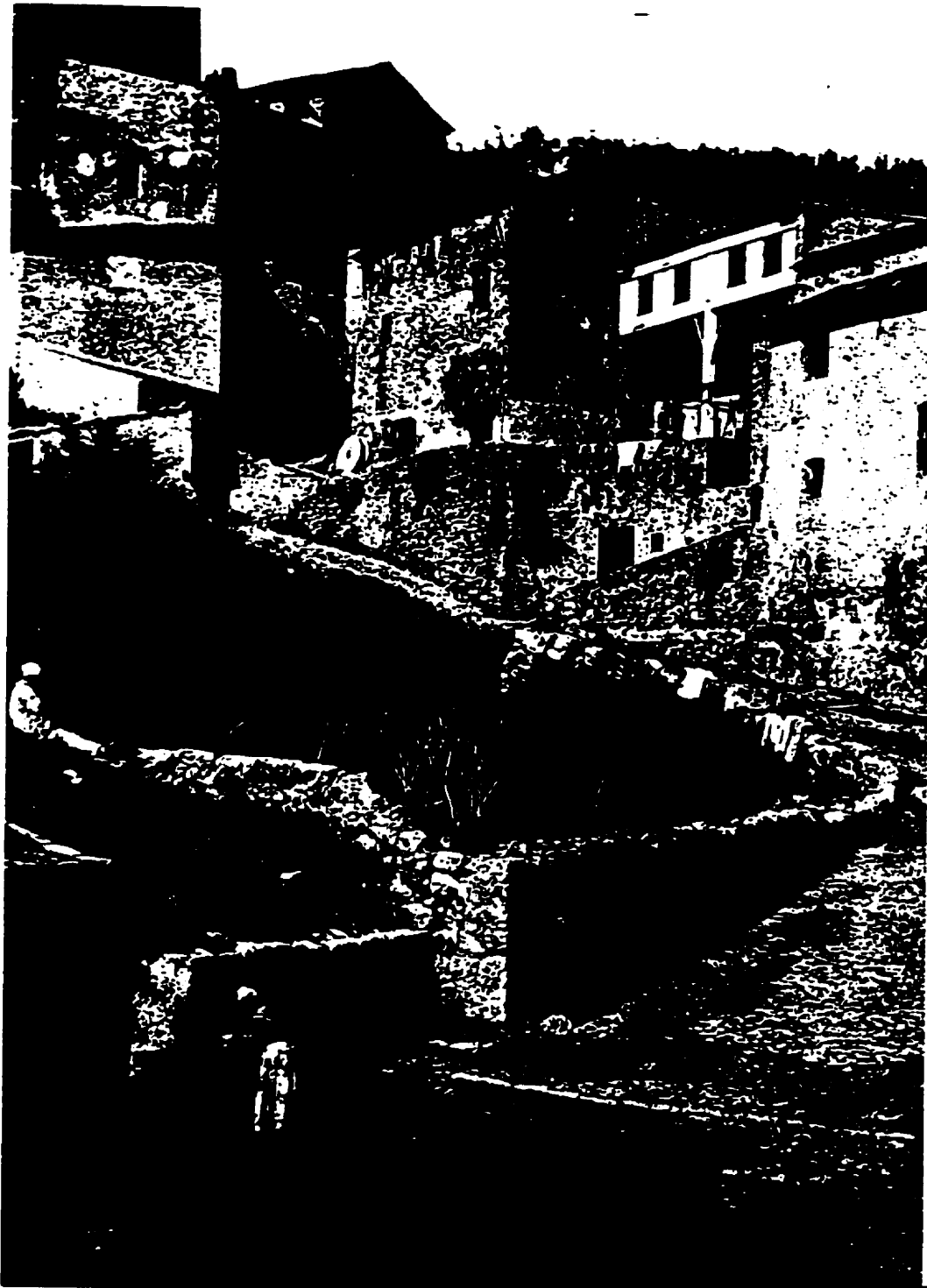


1. Gustave Le Gray and O. Mestral, *Ramparts of Carcassonne*, photographed 1851. Calotype, 33.3 x 23.5 cm. As reproduced in André Jammes and Eugenia Parry Janis, *The Art of French Calotype* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983), plate 40, p. 63.

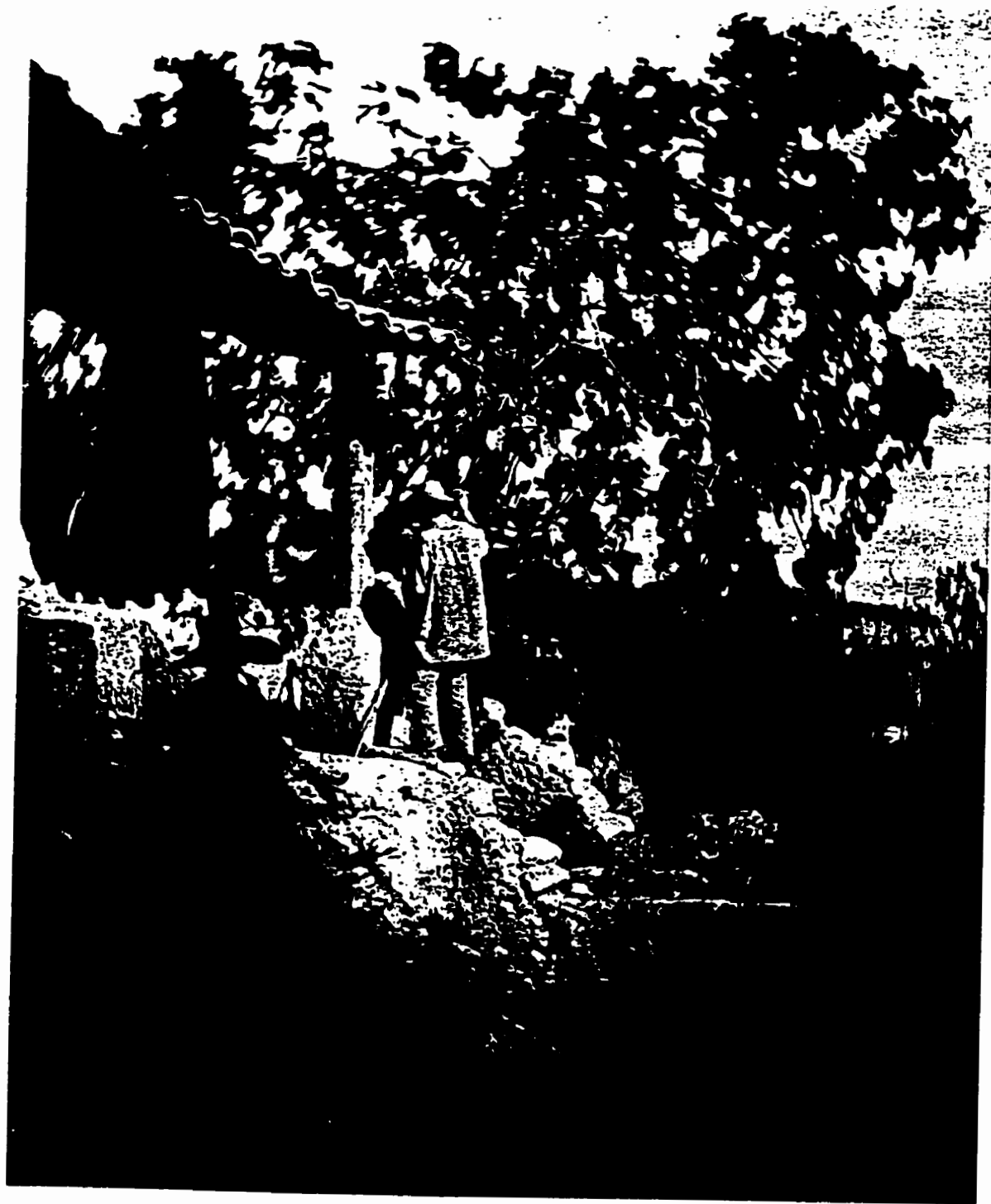


2. Charles Nègre, *Arles: Roman Ramparts*, 1852, identical to one in *Midi de la France*, 1854. Salted paper print, 23 x 32.4 cm. As reproduced in James Borcoman, *Charles Nègre 1820-1880* (Ottawa: National Gallery, 1976), plate 67, p.122.





3. Charles Nègre, *Oil Presses at Grasse*, 1852. Salted paper print, 32.6 x 23.6 cm. As reproduced in James Borcoman, *Charles Nègre 1820-1880* (Ottawa: National Gallery, 1976), plate 37, p.93.

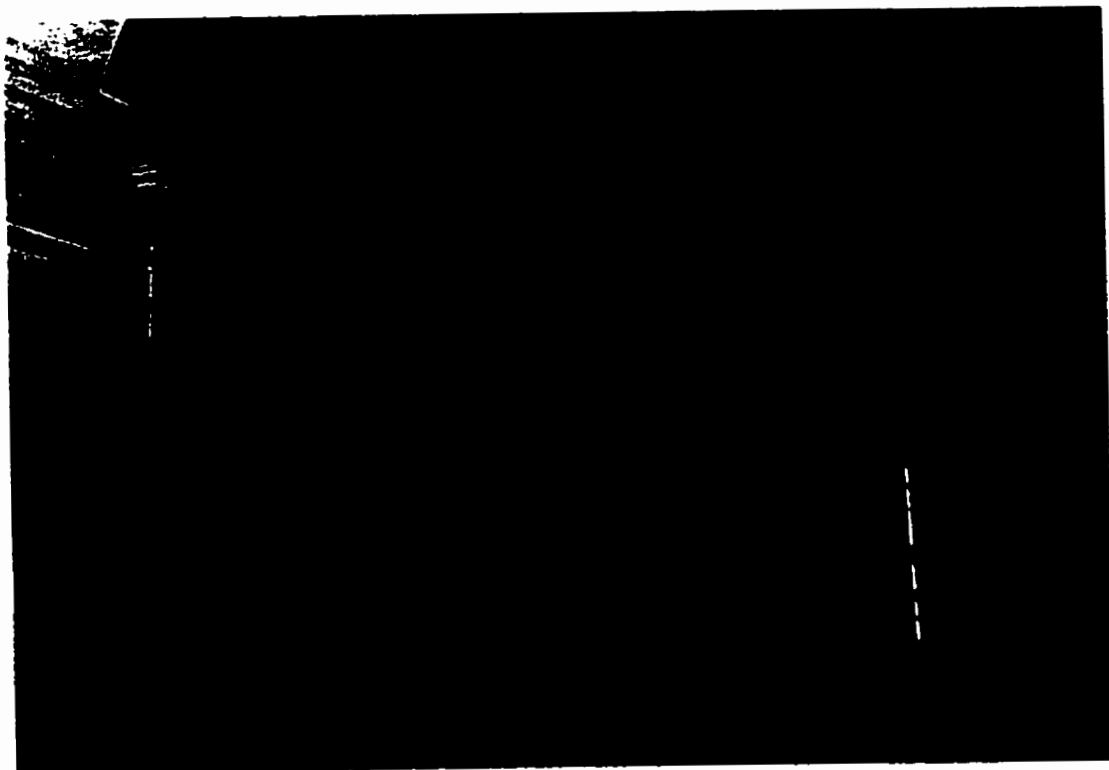


4. Charles Nègre, *Grasse: A Miller at Work*, 1852. Salted paper print, 20.4 x 16.0 cm. As reproduced in James Borcoman, *Charles Nègre 1820-1880* (Ottawa: National Gallery, 1976), plate 39, p.95.



2176 - Arles - La Fèsto Vièrginenco au Théâtre Romain - La Tribune des grains

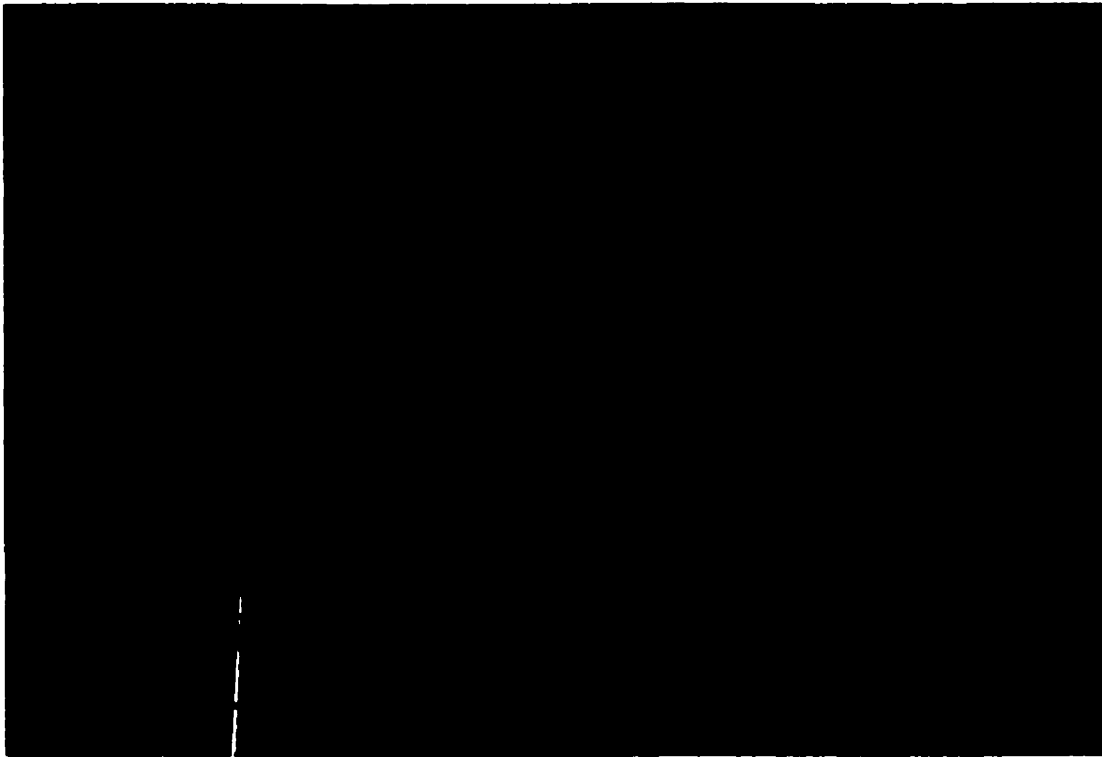
5. *Fèsto Vièrginenco*. Postcard. As reproduced in Jean-Paul Clébert, *La Provence de Mistral* (Aix: Edisud, 1980), 108.



6. Room in Museon Arlaten. Frescoes by Ollier and Patrizio Rogolini, c.1909.  
Photograph 1996, by author.



7. Room in Museon Arlaten. Frescoes by Ollier and Patrizio Rogolini, c.1909. Lunette depicting Roman Arena in Arles. Photograph 1996, by author.



8. Room in Museon Arlaten. Frescoes by Ollier and Patrizio Rogolini, c.1909. Lunette depicting Maison Carrée in Nîmes, and Triumphal Arch in Orange. Photograph 1996, by author.



9. Room in Museon Arlaten. Frescoes by Ollier and Patrizio Rogolini, c.1909. Wall with faux pilastres, and *Venus of Nîmes*. Photograph 1996, by author.



MUSEON ARLATEN — SALLE DE LA PROVENCE HORS LA PROVENCE

10. *Salle de la Provence hors la Provence*, photograph of same room in Museon Arlaten, before 1914. Illustration in Jules Charles-Roux, *Arles: Son histoire, ses monuments, ses musées* (Paris: Bloud et Cie, 1914), 219.





11. Antoine Raspal, *Portrait d'Arlésienne*, c.1785. ©  
Muséon Arlaten, Arles.



12. François Huard, *L'Arlésienne au ruban gansé*, 1834. Watercolour and gouache on paper, 23 x 16.2 cm. Museon Arlaten, Arles.



13. François Huard, *Une femme et une petite fille devant un bénitier pour la Chandeleur*, c.1834. Watercolour and gouache on paper, 17.2 x 12.3 cm. Private collection.

**VILLE D'ARLES**  
**CINQUANTENAIRE DE MIREILLE**  
 REPRÉSENTATION JUBILÉ DE MISTRAL  
 EXTRAORDINAIRE  
 AVEC LES SUJETS DE L'OPÉRA ET DE L'OPÉRA-COMIQUE  
**DE MIREILLE**  
 AUX ARÈNES le 30 MAI 1909. 4 heures après midi

**DIRECTION ARTISTIQUE A. SAUGE**

VINCENT... ED. CLÉMENT	OPÉRA-COMIQUE	MIREILLE... A. VALLANORI	OPÉRA-COMIQUE
QUINCE... DUFRANNE	L'OPÉRA	TAVEN... MARIE de LISLE	L'OPÉRA-COMIQUE
RAPON... VIEUILLE	OPÉRA-COMIQUE	ANDRÉ... VAN GELDER	OPÉRA-COMIQUE
ARONDE... COMPAN	L'OPÉRA de MIREILLE	CLAUDE... DOMPIERRE	L'OPÉRA-COMIQUE

14. Léo Lelée, *Ville d'Arles Cinquantiennaire de Mireille*, 1909. Lithograph, affiche Régionale, Marseille, 140.5 x 99 cm. Museon Arlaten, Arles. Reprinted as postcard, Besançon: Editions Clouet, 1992.



15. Augustin Dumas, *Arlésienne à la Vénus d'Arles*, c.1860. Oil on canvas, 95 x 77 cm.  
Muséon Arlaten, Arles.



16. *Type Arlésienne at St. Trophime*, c.1900. Postcard. As reproduced in Jean-Paul Clébert, *La Provence de Mistral* (Aix: Edisud, 1980), 104.



10. EN PROVENCE - Costume Provençal

11. EN PROVENCE - Type d'Arlesienne

10 En Provence

7 En Provence



12. En Provence



13. En Provence

17. *Arlésiennes*, c.1900-1920. Postcards. Museon Arlaten, Arles.



18. Jean-Joseph-Bonaventure Laurens, *Arlésienne au théâtre antique*, c.1850.  
Lithograph, 48.5 x 32.5 cm. Museon Arlaten, Arles.





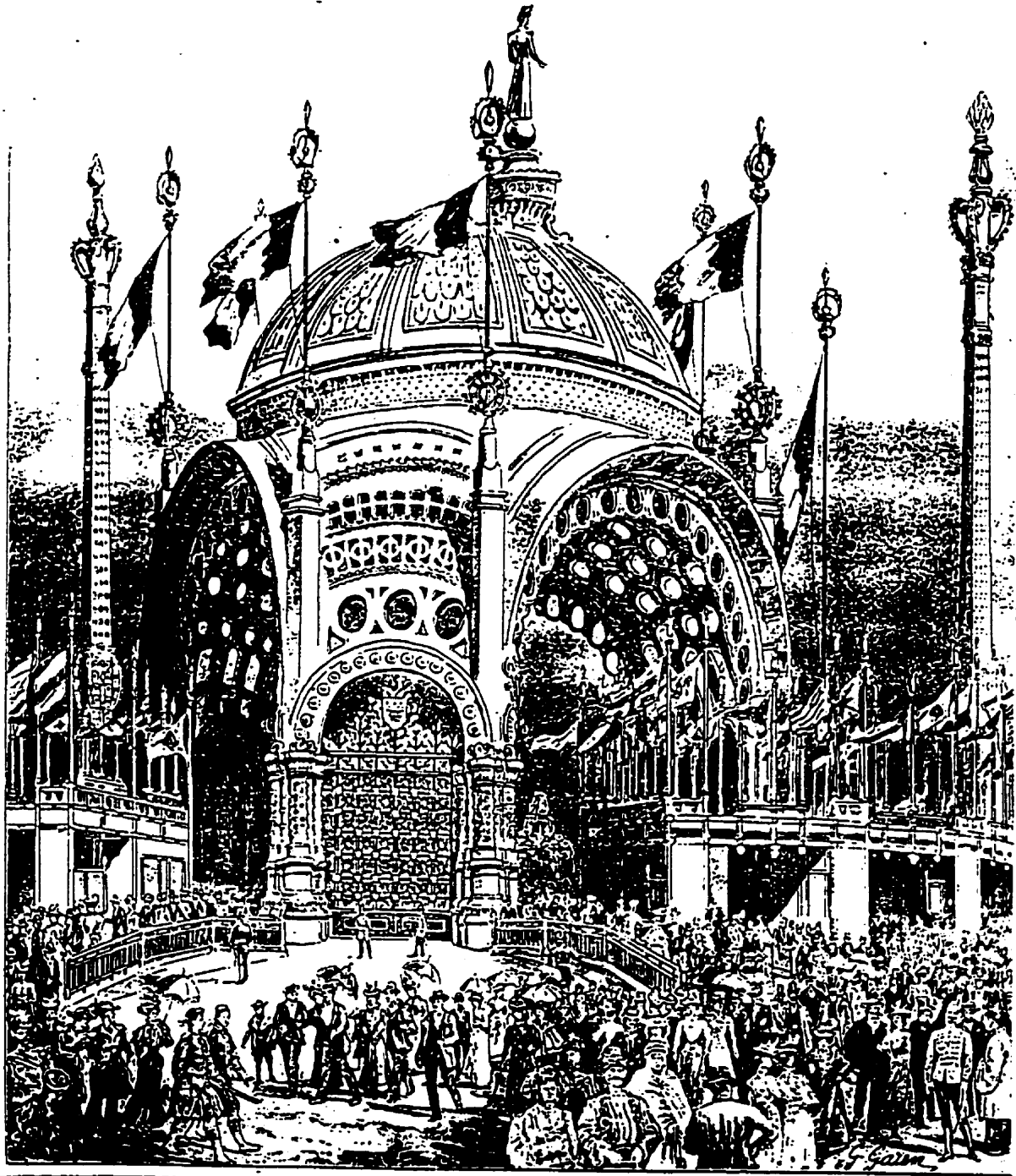
19. E. Lacour, *Portrait de Lilamandeto, la Mireille de Maillane*, 1900. Albumen print, 17 x 11.5 cm. Museon Arlaten, Arles.



20. Sculpture gallery, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Marseille, after 1898 rehangings.  
Photograph. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille.



21. *La Parisienne*, 1900. No longer extant. As reproduced in Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology and Style* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), 292.



22. *Porte monumentale*, 1900. No longer extant. Illustration in *L'Exposition de Paris (1900)*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Illustrée, Montgredien et Cie, 1900), 33.



23. Entrance to the *Palais de l'Industrie*, capped by Elias Robert sculpture: *France Offering Crowns to Art and Industry*, 1855. As reproduced in Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 6.

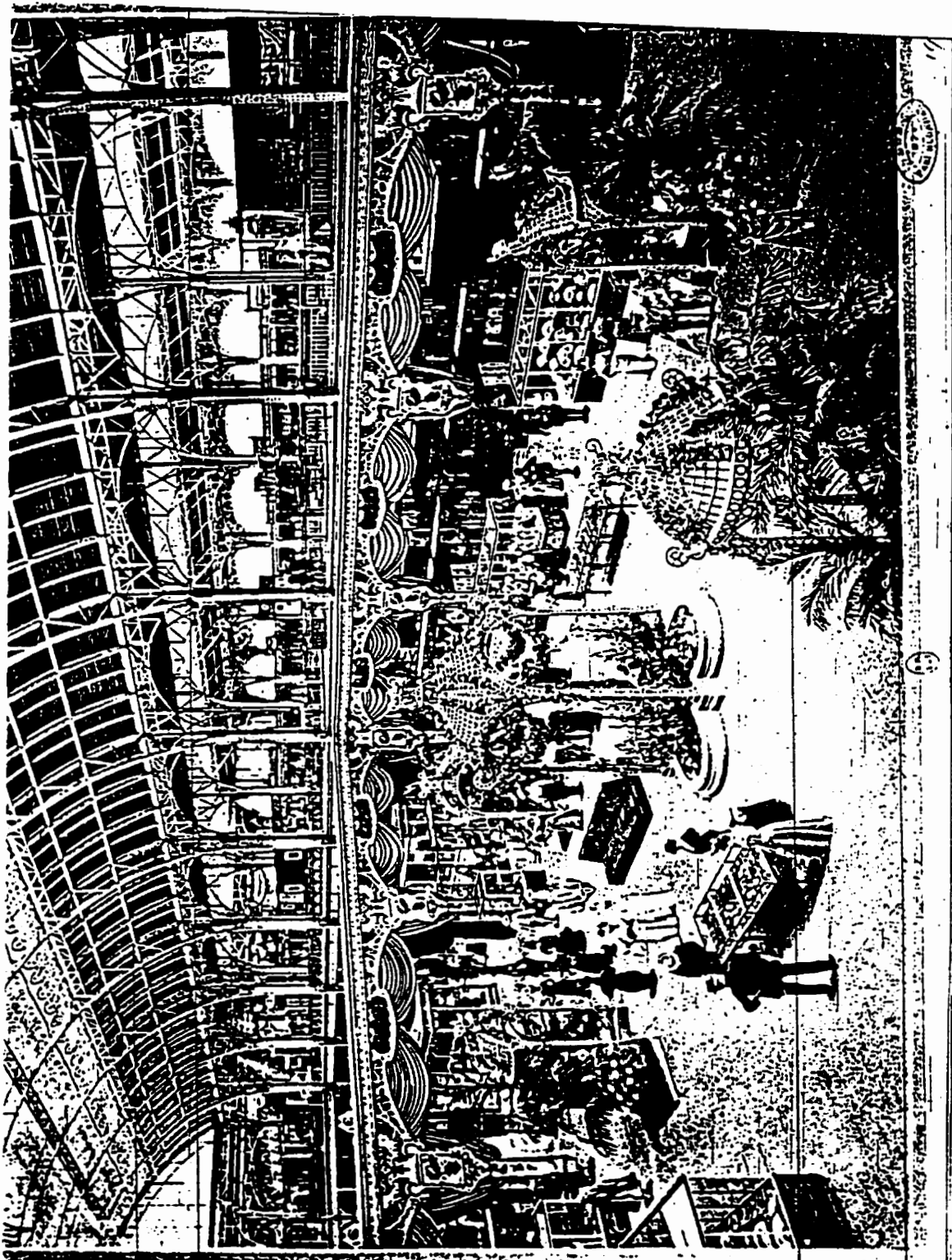


LA SCULPTURE DU PETIT PALAIS, « La Ville de Paris accueillant les Arts. » Haut relief de la voussure du pavillon d'entrée.

24. Paris protégeant les arts, Petit Palais, 1900. Illustration in *L'Exposition de Paris (1900)*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Illustrée, Montgredien et Cie, 1900), 31.

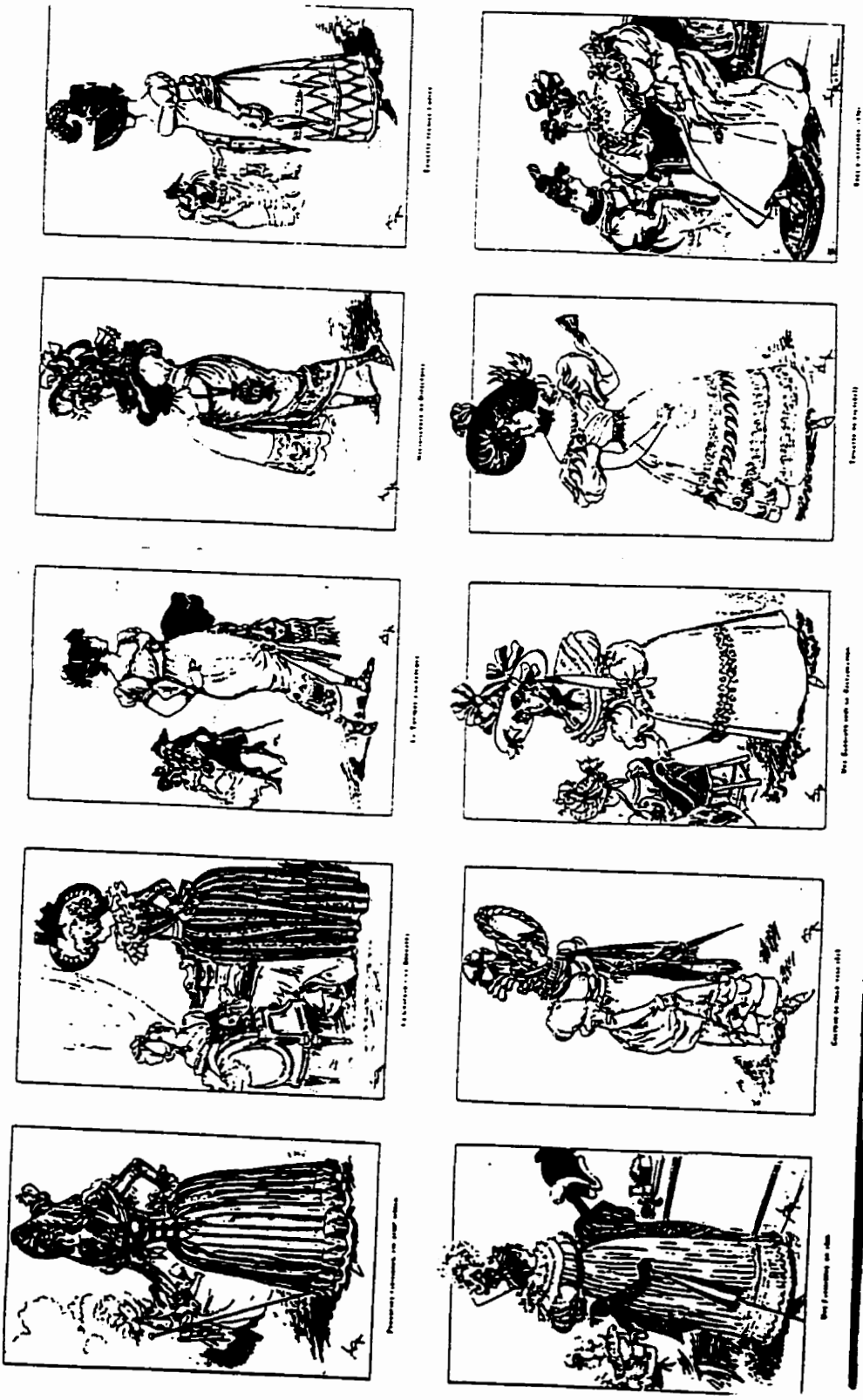


25. Detail of figure 22, *Porte Monumentale*, 1900. Illustration in *L'Exposition de Paris (1900)*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Illustrée, Montgredien et Cie, 1900), 3.



26. *Le Musée Rétrospectif du Costume*, 1900. Illustration from Bibliothèque Nationale, Estampes: Va 275d T.4 Paris VIIth Arrondissement, H57667, Paris.

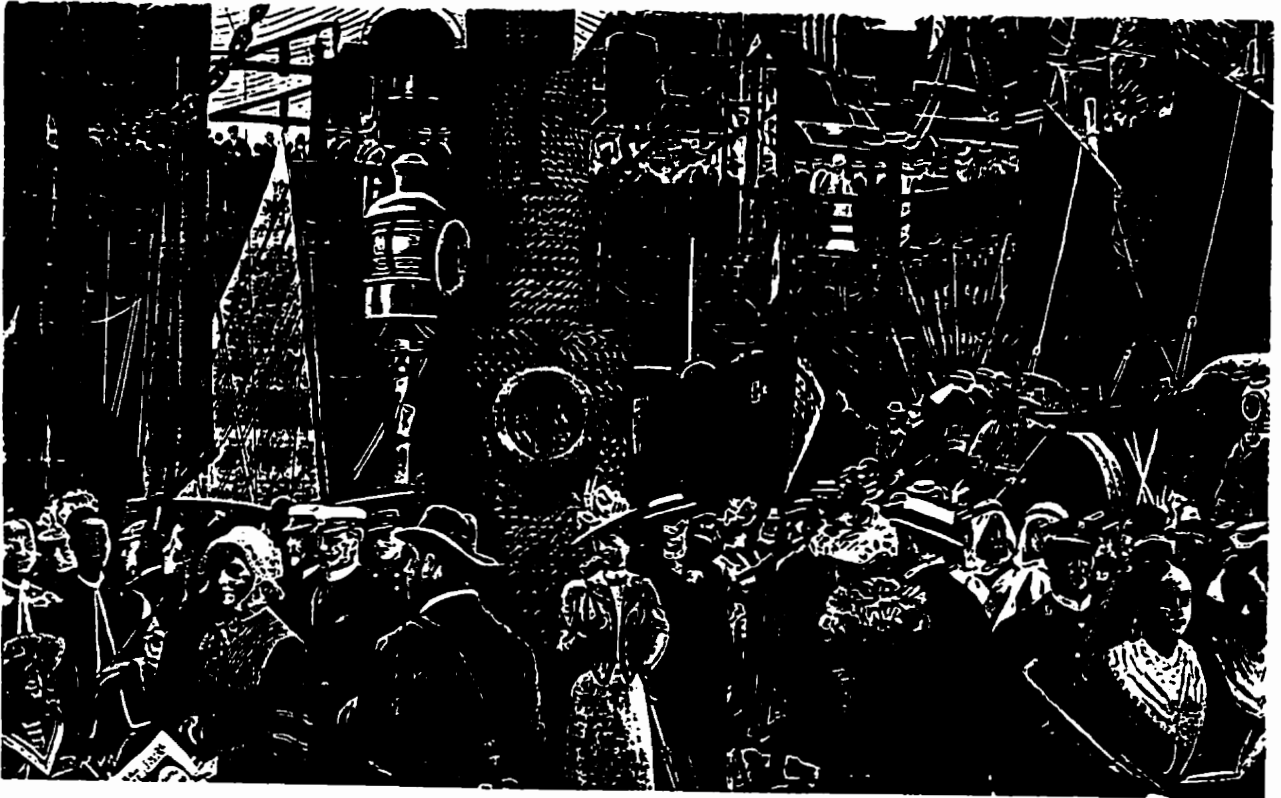




27. *La Mode et le Costume à travers le Siècle (1800-1830)*. Illustration in *L'Exposition de Paris (1900)*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Illustrée, Montgredien et Cie, 1900), between pp. 200-01.



28. *Musée Centennial des Costumes Français*. Illustration in *L'Exposition de Paris (1900)*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Illustrée, Montgredien et Cie, 1900), between pp. 312-13.



29. *Palais de la Navigation Commerciale – La Galerie des Sections Françaises.*  
Illustration in *L'Exposition de Paris (1900)*, vol. 2 (Paris: Librairie Illustrée,  
Montgredien et Cie, 1900), between pp. 248-49.

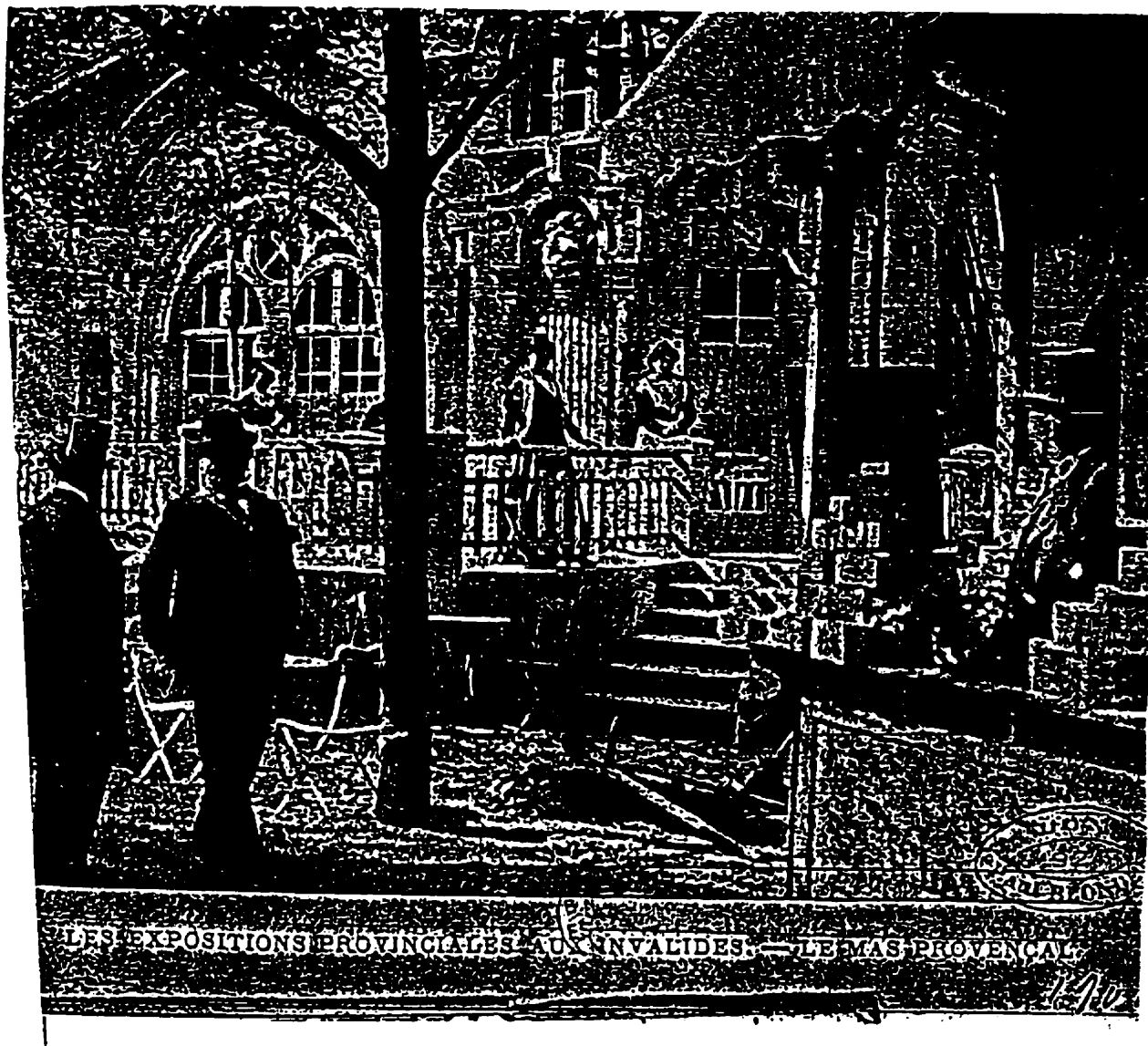


Le Vieux Paris. — Intérieur de Saint-Jean-des-Memriers.

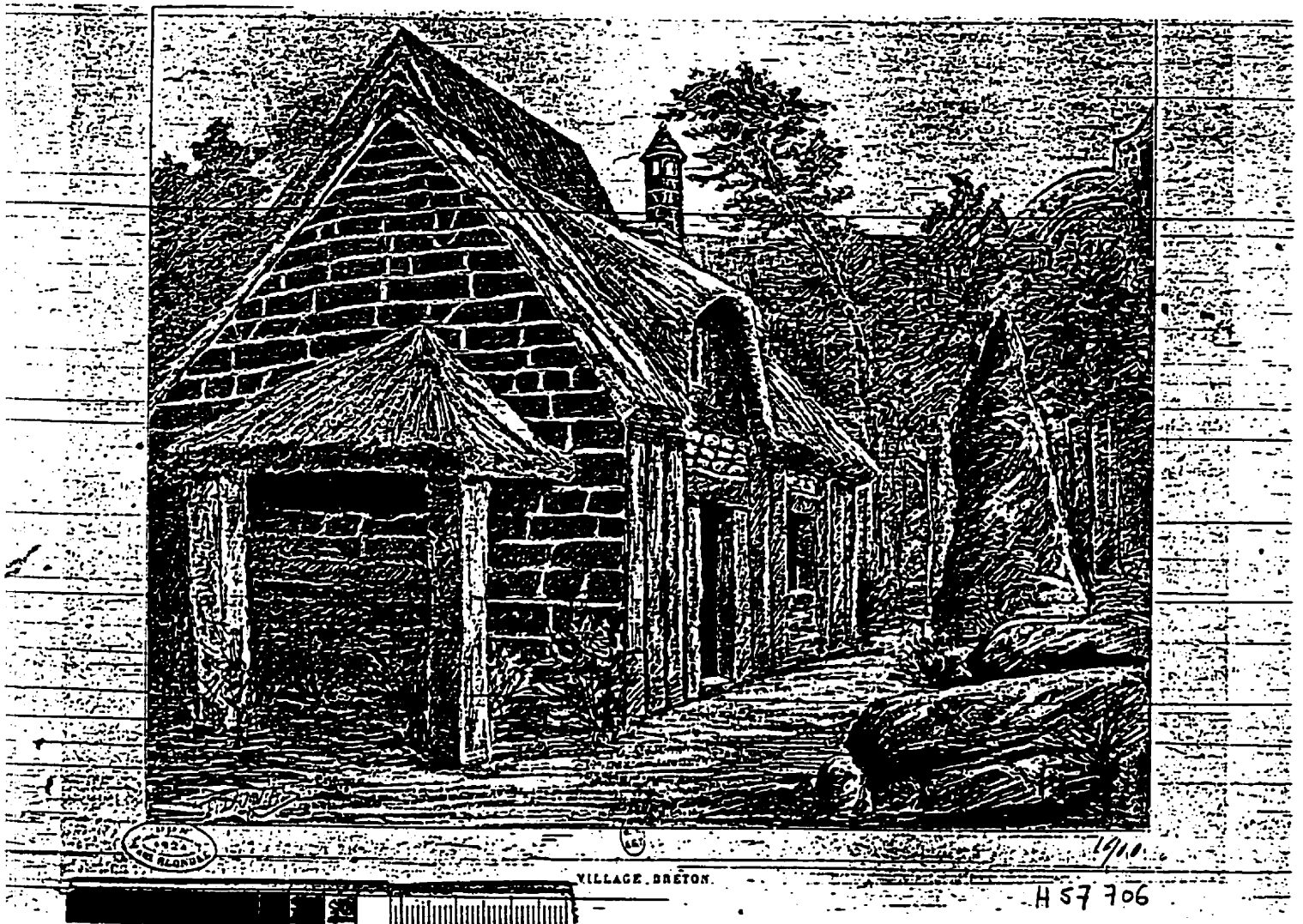


LE PAVILLON DE LA HALLE ROYALE  
où ont eu lieu les représentations de « La Déesse ».

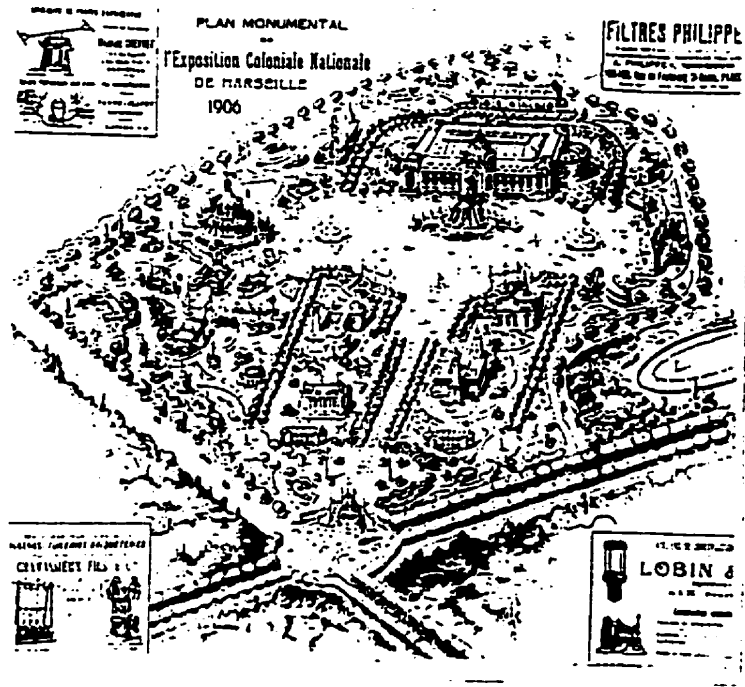
30. *Vieux Paris*. Illustrations in *L'Exposition de Paris (1900)* vol.2 (Paris: Librairie Illustrée, Montgredien et Cie, 1900), 11.



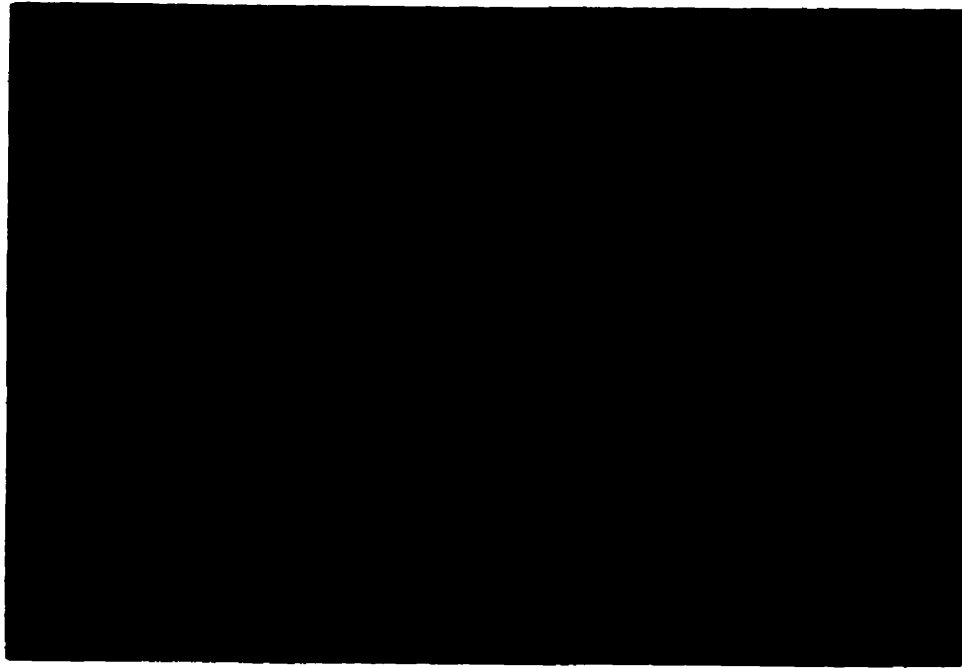
31. *Les Expositions Provinciales aux Invalides - Le Mas Provençal*, 1900. Photograph.  
Bibliothèque Nationale, Estampes: Va 275d T.5 Paris VIIth Arrondissement, H57707,  
Paris.



32. *Village Breton*, 1900. Illustration from Bibliothèque Nationale, Estampes: Va 275d  
T.5 Paris VIIth Arrondissement, H57706, Paris.

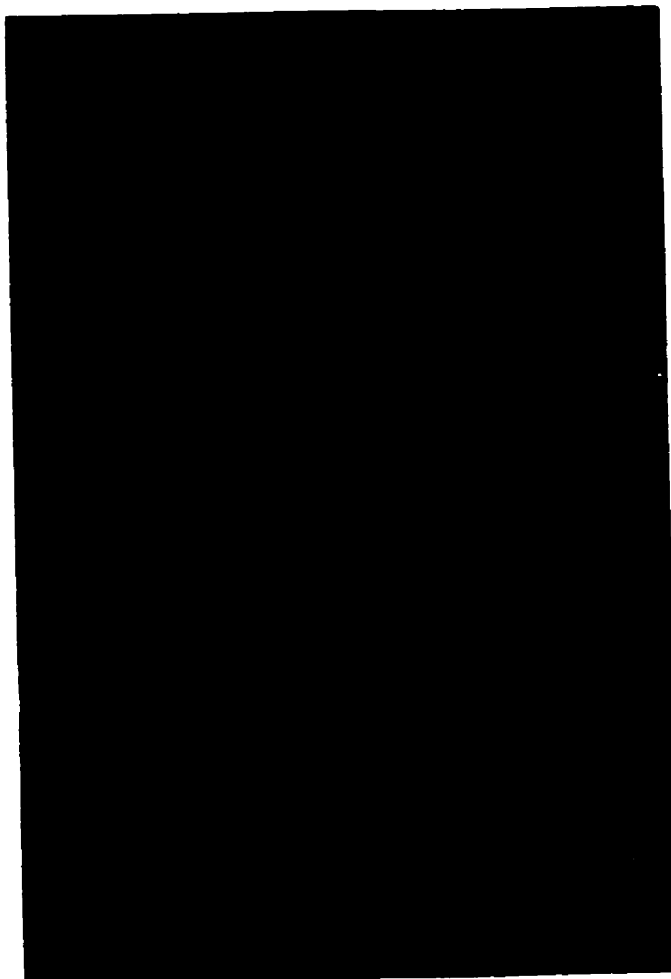


33. Plan of Exposition Coloniale, Marseilles, 1906. As reproduced in Sylviane Leprun, *Le Théâtre des Colonies: scenographie, acteurs et discours de l'imaginaire dans les expositions, 1855-1937* (Paris: Harmattan, 1986), plate 68.

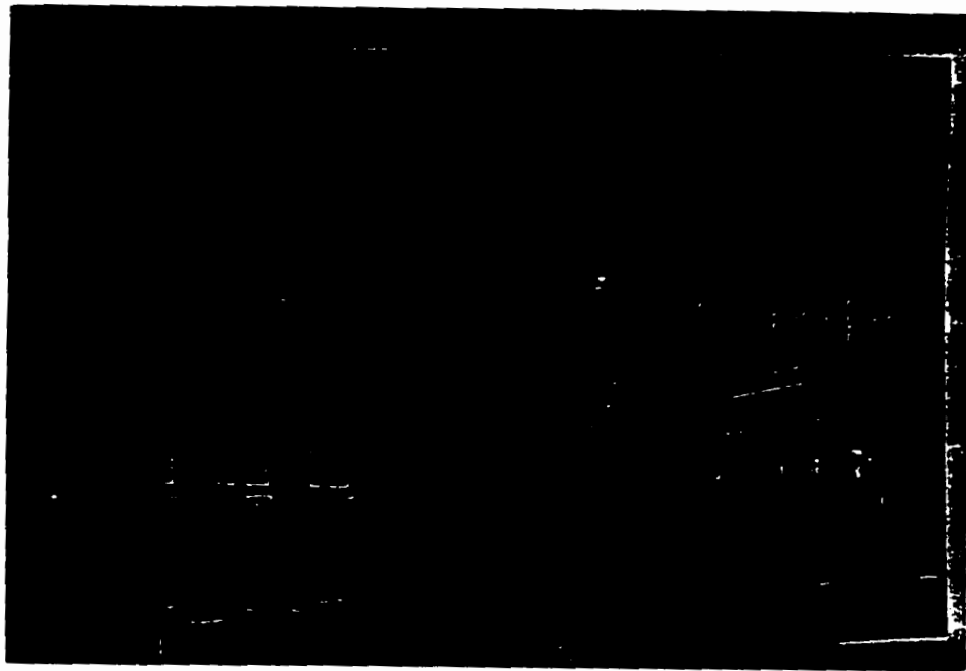


34. Grand Palais de l'Exportation, Marseilles, 1906, no longer extant. Illustration in *Album commémoratif: Exposition coloniale de Marseille* (Paris: Berthaud Frères, 1906), plate 9.

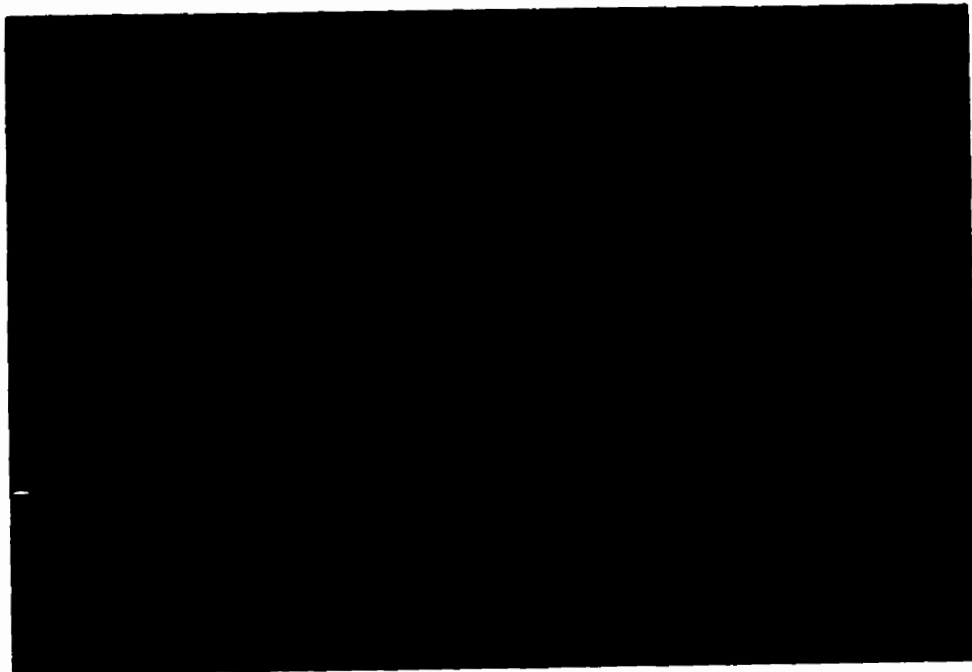




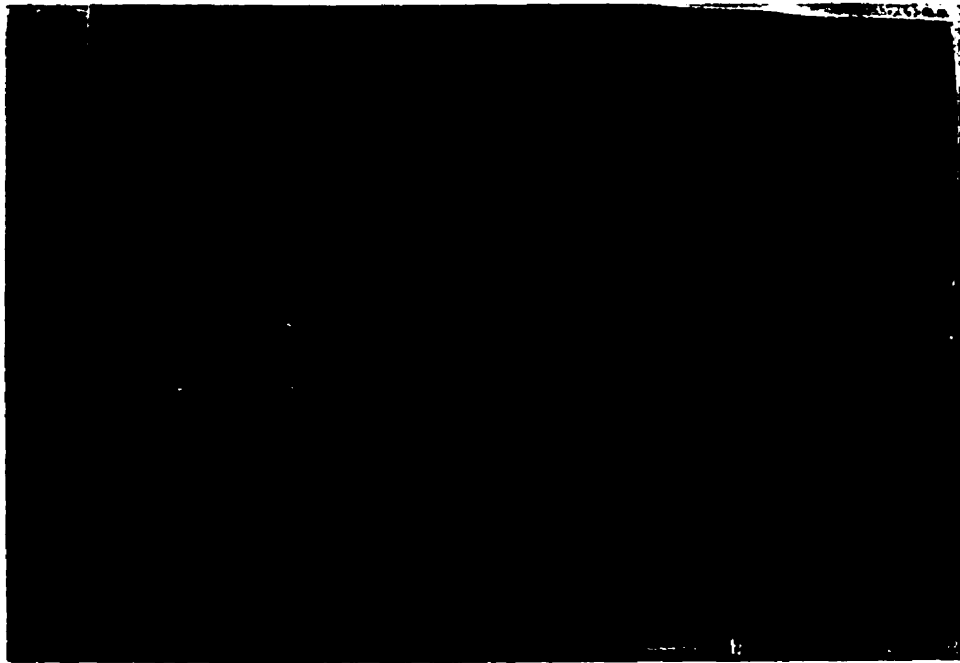
35. Detail of figure 34, central niche with *Massalia* and *Genie de l'Exportation*.  
Illustration in *Album commémoratif: Exposition coloniale de Marseille* (Paris:  
Berthaud Frères, 1906), plate 11.



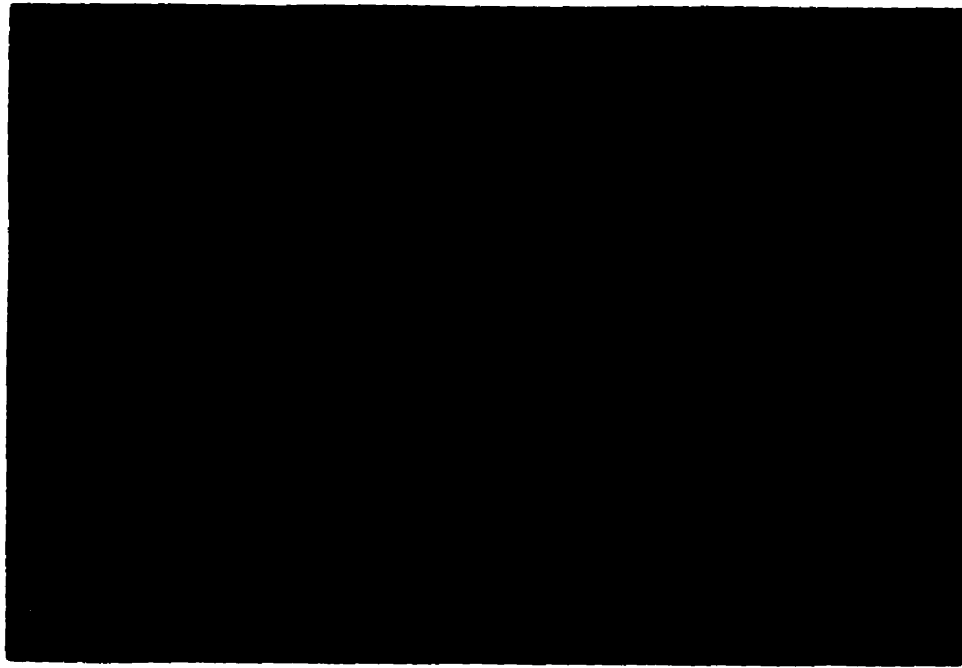
36. Interior of figure 34. Illustration in *Album commémoratif: Exposition coloniale de Marseille* (Paris: Berthaud Frères, 1906), plate 12.



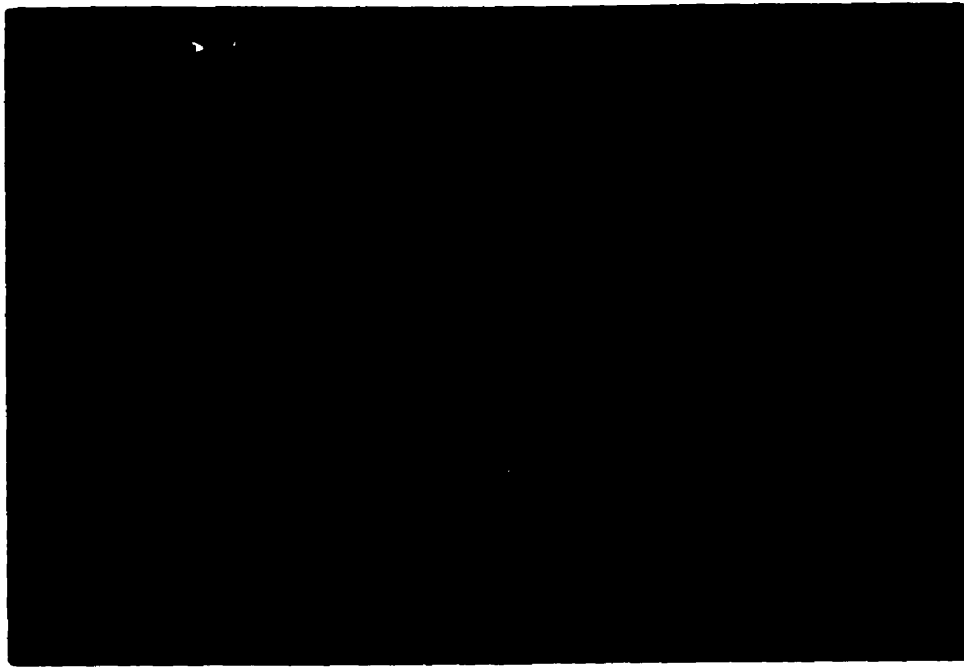
37. Interior decoration of figure 34, showing painting by Frédéric Montenard, *Marseille colonie grecque*. Illustration in *Album commémoratif: Exposition coloniale de Marseille* (Paris: Berthaud Frères, 1906), plate 13.



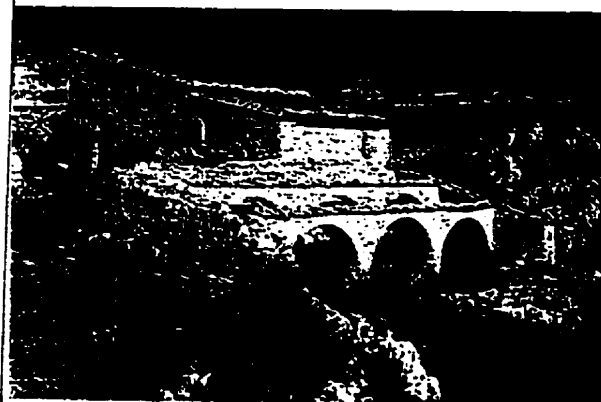
38. Palais du Ministère des Colonies et des Beaux-Arts, Marseilles, 1906, no longer extant. Illustration in *Album commémoratif: Exposition coloniale de Marseille* (Paris: Berthaud Frères, 1906), plate 53.



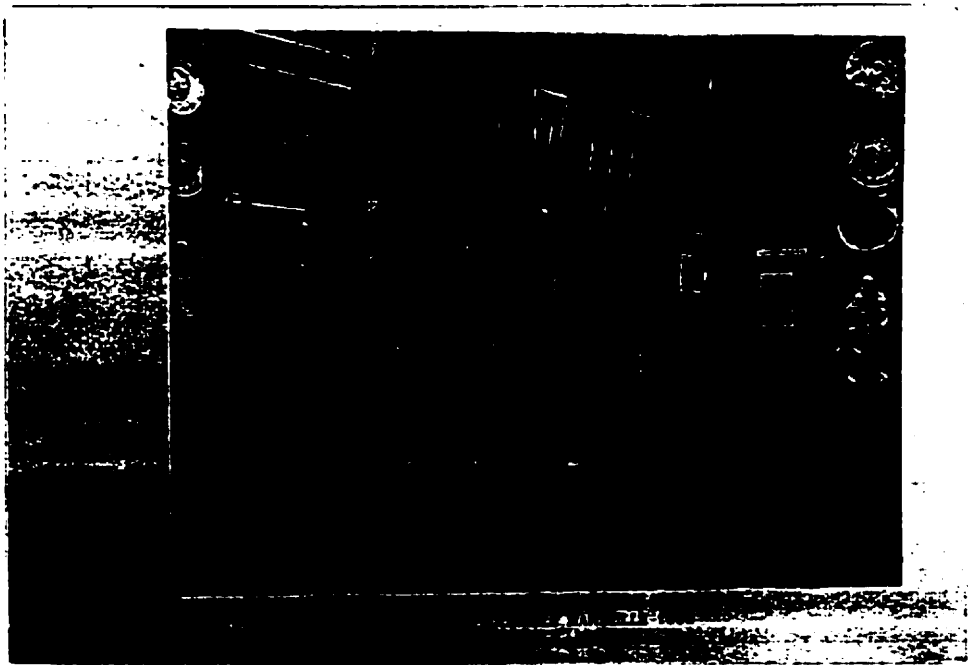
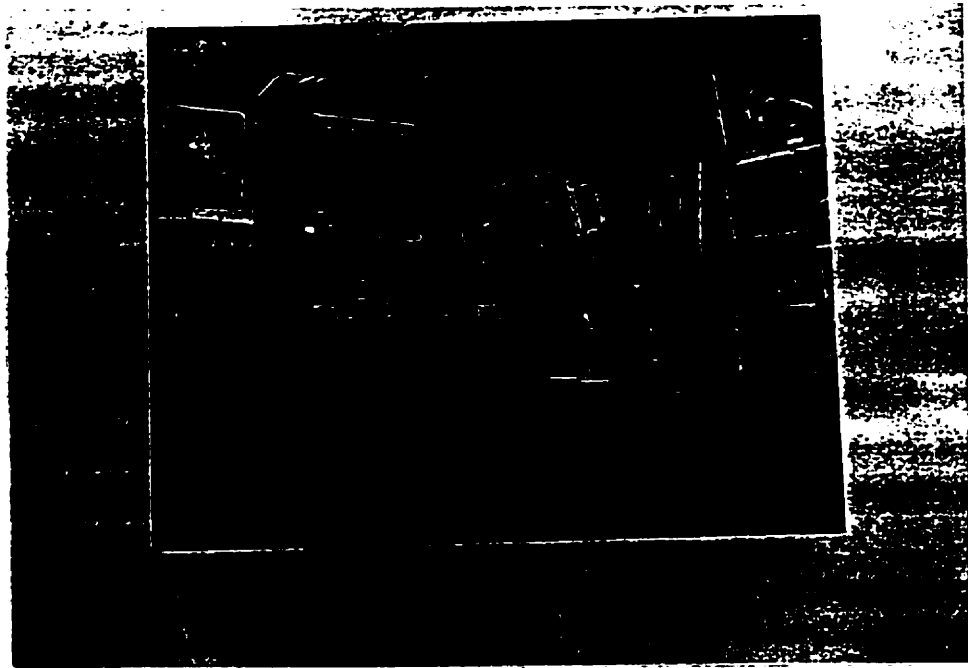
39. Plan of *Mas de Provence*, Marseilles, 1906, no longer extant. Illustration in *Album commémoratif: Exposition coloniale de Marseille* (Paris: Berthaud Frères, 1906), plate 58.



40. Elevation of *Mas de Provence*, Marseilles, 1906, no longer extant. Illustration in *Album commémoratif: Exposition coloniale de Marseille* (Paris: Berthaud Frères, 1906), plate 58.



41. *Mas de Provence*. Illustration in *Michelin Tourist Guide: Provence* (Clermont-Ferrand: Michelin et Cie, 1989), 39.



42. Installation views of Exposition Historique de l'Art Provençal, Exposition Coloniale, Marseilles, 1906. Illustration in *Exposition Coloniale Marseille 1906: Art Provençal* (Marseille: C. Braun, 1906), unpaginated.





43. Frédéric Mistral in front of Provençal Mas at Exposition Coloniale, Marseilles, 1906.  
Photograph, 17.1 x 21 cm. Palais du Roure, Avignon.



44. Hugo d'Alési, *Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée Cannes Billets à prix réduits*, 1904.  
Lithograph, 108 x 79 cm. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Reprinted as postcard,  
Besançon: Editions Clouet, 1990.



45. Hugo d'Alési, *Chemins de Fer P.L.M. l'Hiver à Nice*, 1892. Lithograph.  
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.



46. *Cannes L'Hiver Gd. Hôtel des Pins*, c.1900. Lithograph. Reprinted as postcard, Besançon: Editions Clouet, 1993.



47. *Hyères Var Station hivernale à 16 heures de Paris Théâtre Municipal Casino-Concerts Promenades Superbes La ville est à 3 km de la mer [sic], late 19<sup>th</sup> C. Reprinted as postcard, Besançon: Editions Clouet, 1992.*



48. Hugo d'Alési, *Hyères*, c.1900. Reprinted as postcard, Besançon: Editions Clouet, 1993.



49. H. Gray, *P.L.M. Littoral de la Méditerranée*, 1897. Reprinted as postcard, Paris: Affiche publicitaire de la société PLM, 1993.



50. David Dellepiane, *P.L.M. Côte d'Azur*, c.1910. Imprimerie Moullot, Marseilles and Paris. Reprinted as postcard, Besançon: Editions Clouet, n.d.





51. David Dellepiane, *Syndicat d'Initiative de Provence*, 1903-04. Lithograph, Affiches artistiques Moullot fils aîné, Marseilles, 106.5 x 74.5 cm. Chambre de Commerce, Marseilles. Reprinted as postcard, Besançon: Editions Clouet, 1992.



52. David Dellepiane, *Fraissinet & Cie*, c.1900. Lithograph, Imprimerie Moullot, Marseilles, 125 x 90 cm. Reprinted as postcard, Edition C.C.I.M.P, n.d.

53. David Dellepiane, 25<sup>ème</sup> Centenaire de la Fondation de Marseille, 1899.  
 Lithograph, imprimerie Moullot fils aîné, Paris and Marseille. Musée d'Histoire,  
 Marseilles.



VILLE DE MARSEILLE

FÊTES DU 25<sup>ème</sup> CENTENAIRE  
 DE LA FONDATION DE MARSEILLE  
 DU 14 AU 22 OCTOBRE 1899

GRANDE COMMISSION HISTORIQUE, MUSEE DES SCIENCES  
 ET ARTS, REPRESENTANT MARSEILLE

UNIVERSITE DES SCIENCES

LE MINISTRE DE L'INSTRUCTION PUBLIQUE, PARIS

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**DÉPARTS de MARSEILLE pour :**

TUNIS (rapide) COTE D'ORIENTE TRIPOLI	Mercredi	6 <sup>h</sup> soir
GRAN MAROC	Jeudi	6 <sup>h</sup> soir
PHILIPPEVILLE (rapide) BONE	Vendredi	6 <sup>h</sup> soir
ALGER (rapide)	Samedi	6 <sup>h</sup> soir
ALGER (normal)	Dimanche	6 <sup>h</sup> soir
BIZERTE TUNIS PALERME	Lundi	7 <sup>h</sup> soir
CETTE PORT VENDRES ALGER	Mardi	8 <sup>h</sup> soir

**DÉPART de PORT VENDRES pour :**

GRAN (en 30 heures)	Mercredi	6 <sup>h</sup> soir
ALGER (en 24 heures)	Jeudi	6 <sup>h</sup> soir

Le service rapide entre PORT VENDRES et ALGER est en correspondance avec le train de nuit PARIS BARCELONE de la Compagnie Internationale des WAGONS LITS

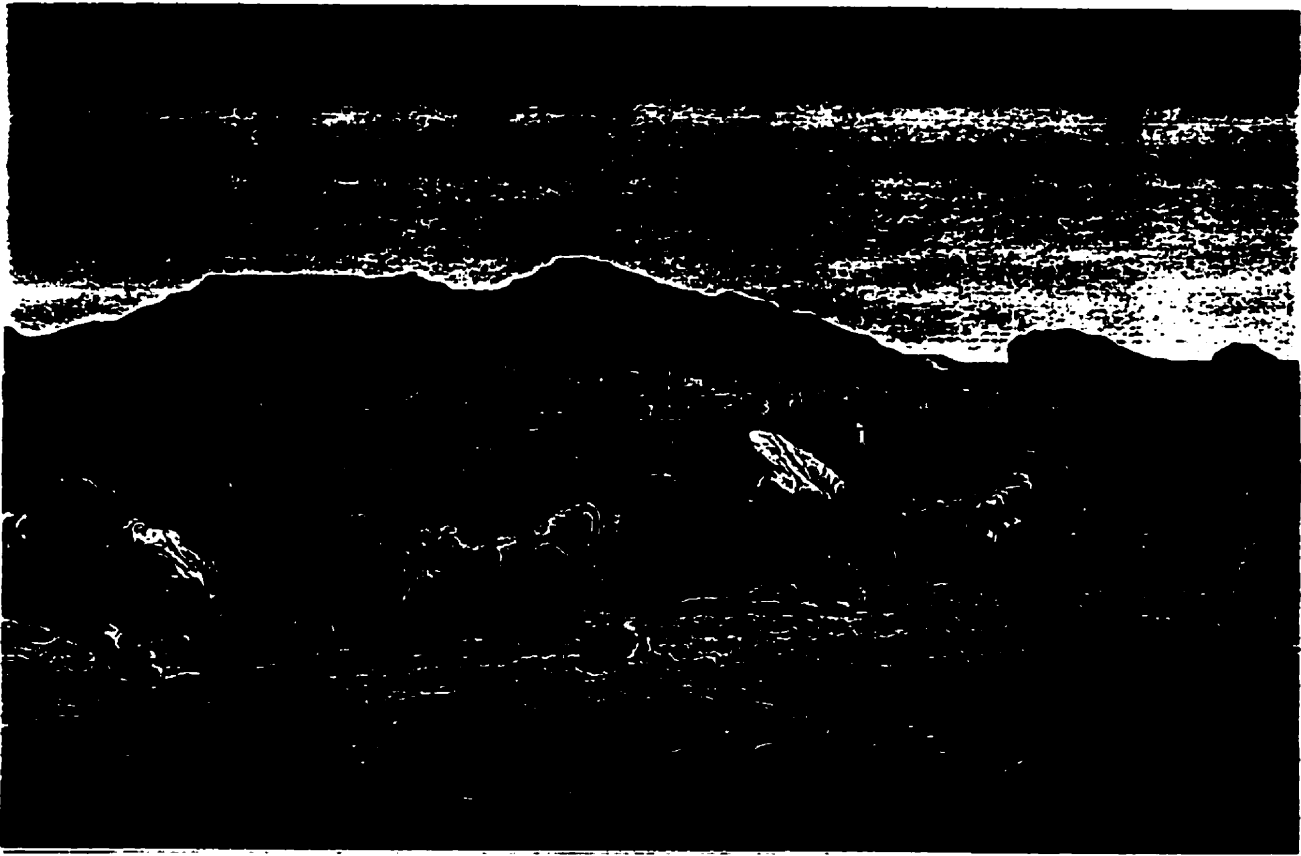
54. Anonymous, possibly by David Dellepiane, *Cie de Navigation Mixte*, c.1905. Lithograph. Reprinted as postcard, Besançon: Editions Clouet, 1992.



55. David Dellepiane, *Cie Fraissinet*, c.1905. Lithograph. Reprinted as postcard, Besançon: Editions Clouet, n.d.



56. Giorgione, *Fête Champêtre*, c.1509-10. Oil on canvas, 109.9 x 138.1 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



57. Emile Loubon, *Marseille vue des Aygalades*, 1853. Oil on canvas. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille.

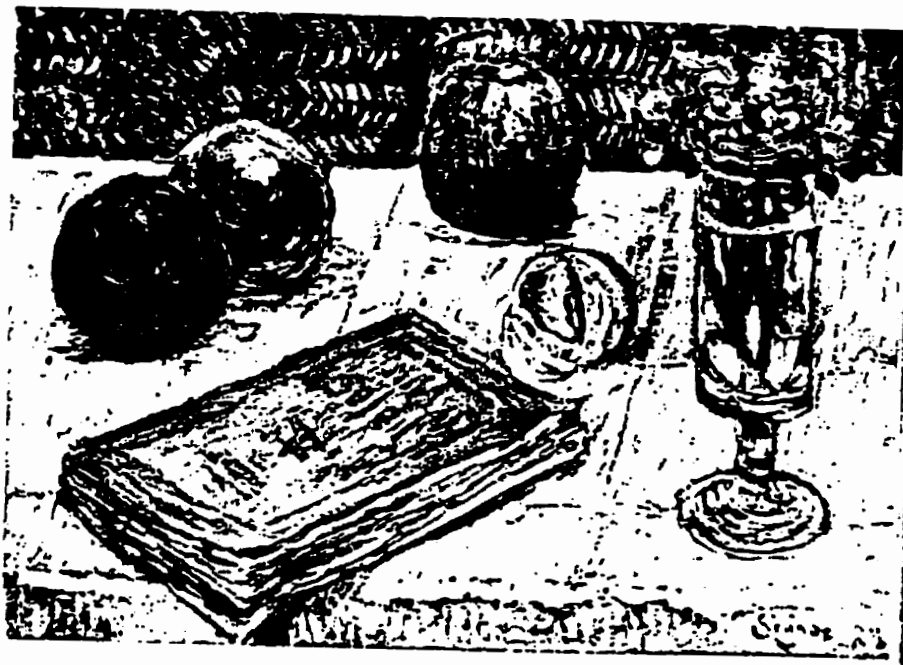


58. Auguste Aiguier, *Effet de soleil couchant*, c.1860. Oil on canvas. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Marseille.





59. Frédéric Montenard, *Le Port marchand de Toulon*, 1882. Oil on canvas, 220 x 147 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Toulon.



60. Paul Signac, *Still Life with Book by Maupassant*, 1883. Oil on canvas.  
Nationalgalerie, Berlin.



61. Frantisek Kupka, *Latins et germains*, Illustration for Elisée Reclus, *L'Homme et la Terre*, 6 vols. (Paris: Librairie universelle, 1905-08). As reproduced in Gary S. Dunbar, *Elisée Reclus: Historian of Nature* (Hamden CT: Archon Book, 1978), 117.



62. Paul Signac, *Jeunes Provençales au Puits*, (Décoration pour un panneau dans la pénombre), Opus 238, 1892. Oil on canvas, 200 x 136 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



63. Paul Signac, *Etude pour Les femmes au puits*, 1892. Watercolour and mixed media on paper, 19.6 x 28.7 cm. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, RF 37071, Paris.



64. Paul Signac, *Les femmes au puits, Esquisse II*, recto and verso, 1892. Oil on wood, 26 x 40 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



65. (a) Paul Signac *Étude pour Les femmes au puits*, 1892. Watercolour and mixed media on paper, 28 x 19 cm. Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, RF 37070, Paris.  
(b) Paul Signac, *Les femmes au puits, Esquisse IV*, 1892. Oil on canvas, 55 x 46 cm. Private collection, Paris.



66. Paul Signac, *Apprêteuse et garnisseuse (modes), rue de Caire*, 1885-6. Oil on canvas, 111.8 x 89 cm. Sammlung, E.G. Bührle, Zurich.





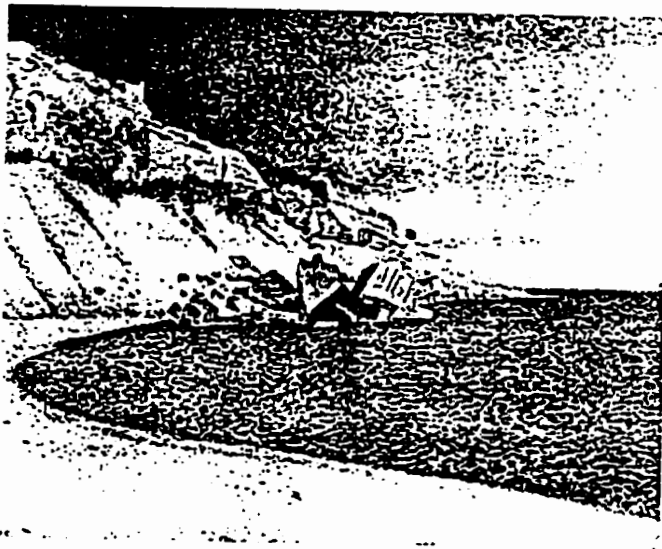
67. Paul Signac, *Le Dimanche parisien*, 1889-90. Oil on canvas, 150 x 150 cm. Private collection.



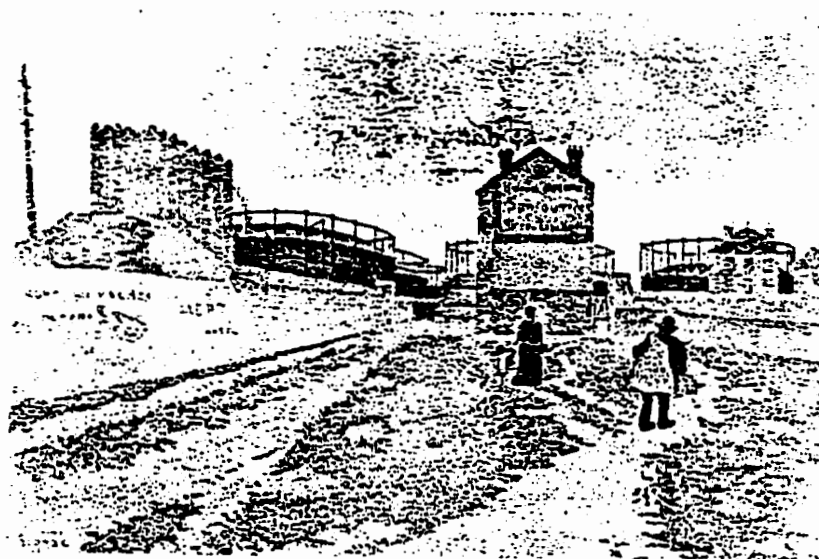
68. Paul Signac, *La Salle à Manger*, 1886-7. Oil on canvas, 89 x 115 cm. Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, Otterlo.



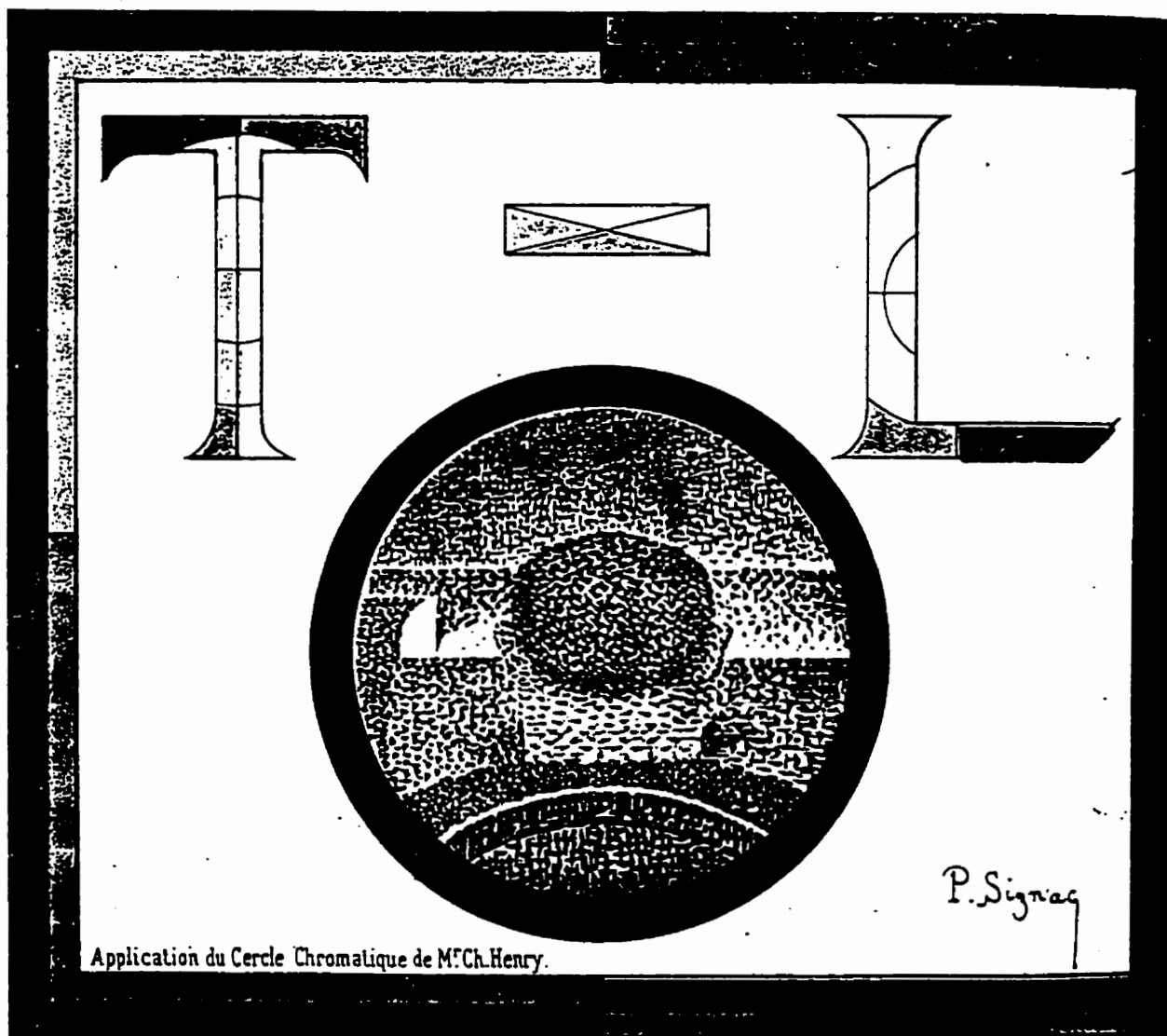
69. Paul Gauguin, *The Night Café*, 1888. Oil on canvas, 73 x 92 cm. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.



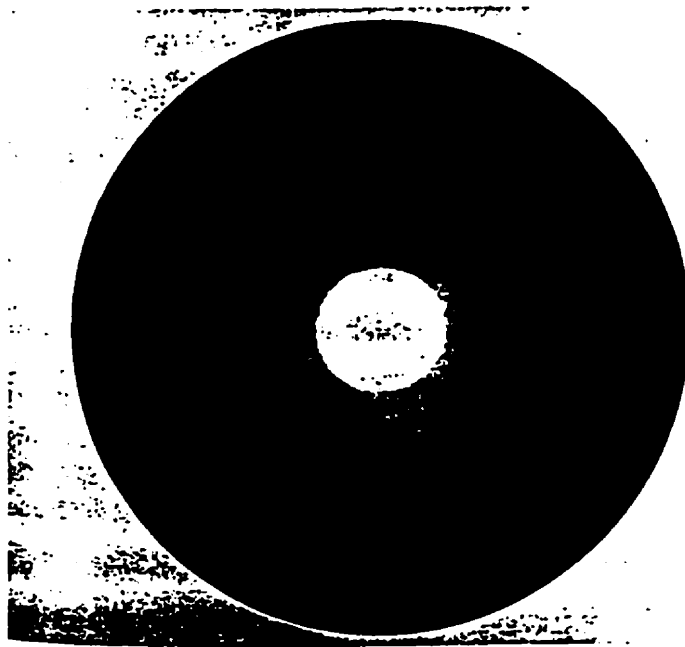
70. Paul Signac, *Cassis, Cape Lombard*, 1889. Oil on canvas, 66 x 81 cm. Collection Haags Gemeente Museum, The Hague.



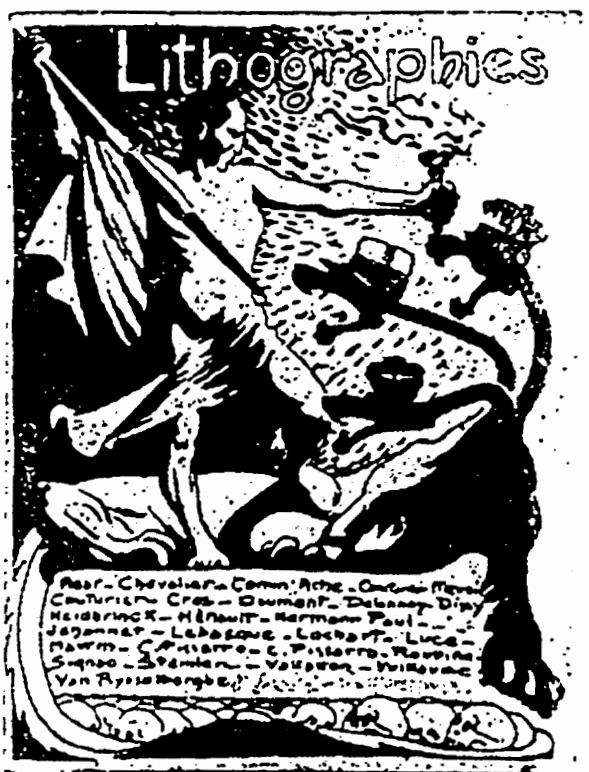
71. Paul Signac, *Le Passage du Puits Bertin, Clichy*, 1886-87. Pen and sepia on paper, on cardboard, 24.5 x 36.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



72. Paul Signac, *Application du cercle chromatique de Mr. Ch. Henry*, 1888-9. Colour lithograph, 16.2 x 18.7 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



73. Charles Henry, Colour circle from *Eléments d'une théorie générale de la dynamogénie* (Paris: Charles Verdin, 1889). Field Museum, Chicago.



74. Paul Signac, *Temps Nouveaux Lithographies*, c. 1897. Lithograph, used as poster and cover for the 1896-1900 *Temps Nouveaux* album. As reproduced in Robert L. Herbert and Eugenia Herbert, "Artists and Anarchism: Unpublished Letters of Pissarro, Signac and Others," *Burlington Magazine* 102 (November 1960), 481.





75. Paul Signac, *Au Temps d'harmonie*, 1895. Oil on canvas, 312 x 410 cm. Town Hall, Montreuil, Paris.



76. Georges Seurat, *Un Dimanche à la Grande Jatte* (1884), 1884-6. Oil on canvas, 207 x 308 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago.



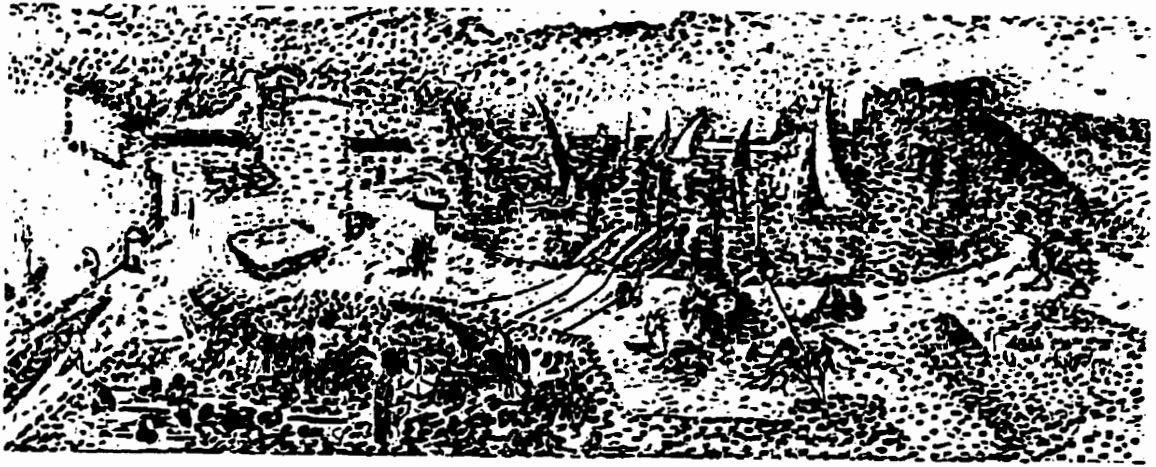
77. Paul Signac, *Saint-Tropez, the Parasol Pines at Les Canoubiers*. 1897. Oil on canvas, 65 x 81 cm. Musée de l'Annonciade, Saint-Tropez.



78. Henri-Edmond Cross, *L'Air du Soir*, 1893-4. Oil on canvas, 116 x 165. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



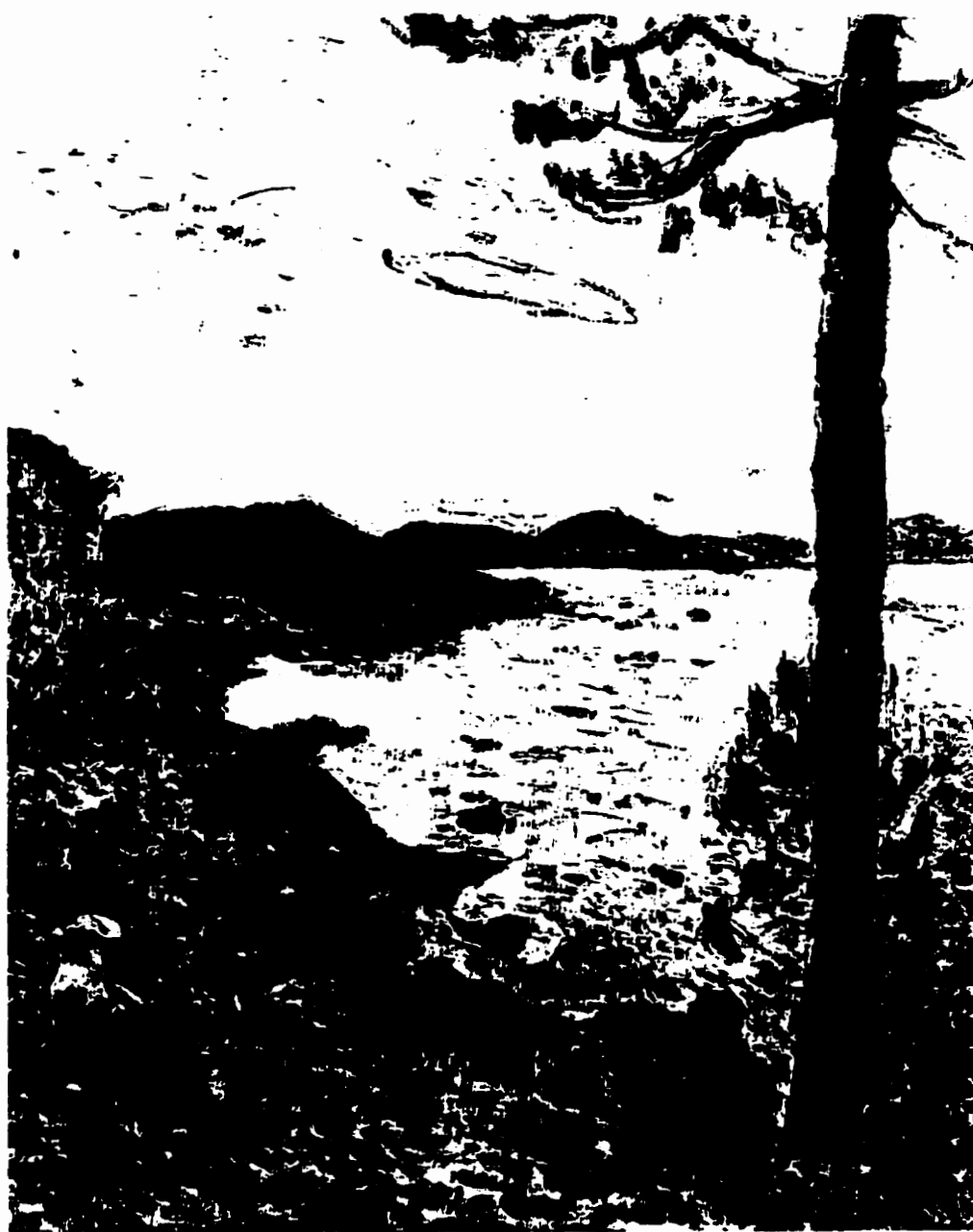
79. Henri Matisse, *Bonheur de Vivre*, 1905-06. Oil on canvas, 174 x 238.1 cm. Barnes Foundation, Merion PA.



80. Henri Matisse, *Le Port d'Avall*, 1905. Oil on canvas, 60 x 140 cm. Private collection.



81. Henri Matisse, *Luxe, calme et volupté*, 1904-5. Oil on canvas, 86 x 116 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.



82. Henri Matisse, *Le GouÛter (Golfe de Saint-Tropez)*, 1904. Oil on canvas, 65 x 50.5 cm. Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen, Düsseldorf.





83. Edouard Manet, *La Nègresse: Etude pour Olympia*, 1863. Oil on canvas, 61 x 50 cm.  
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