Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995

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Director's Foreword

The Van Gogh Museum shortly after its opening in 1973

For those of us who experienced the foundation of the Van Gogh Museum at first hand, it may come as a shock to discover that over 20 years have passed since Her Majesty Queen Juliana officially opened the Museum on 2 June 1973. For a younger generation, it is perhaps surprising to discover that the institution is in fact so young. Indeed, it is remarkable that in such a short period of time the Museum has been able to create its own specific niche in both the Dutch and international art worlds.

This first issue of the *Van Gogh Museum Journal* marks the passage of the Rijksmuseum (National Museum) Vincent van Gogh to its new status as Stichting Van Gogh Museum (Foundation Van Gogh Museum). The publication is designed to both report on the Museum's activities and, more particularly, to be a motor and repository for the scholarship on the work of Van Gogh and aspects of the permanent collection in broader context. Besides articles on individual works or groups of objects from both the Van Gogh Museum's collection and the collection of the Museum Mesdag, the *Journal* will publish the acquisitions of the previous year. Scholars not only from the Museum but from all over the world are and will be invited to submit their contributions.

This volume of the *Journal* is, in many ways, retrospective. The transition from state museum to independent foundation offers the opportunity to look back over the achievements of the first decades. It is no secret that the Van Gogh Museum had a rough start: unclarity about policy, exhibitions, and interpersonal conflicts all led to a general feeling that the institution was a kind of ill-behaved child. The difficulties of these early years have, however, been resolved, and the Van Gogh Museum is now flourishing. The proof lies not only in the astounding number of visitors, but also in the widespread recognition for recent exhibitions and, last but not least, in the breadth and quality of newer publications.
Because of its partially historical nature, the *Van Gogh Museum Journal* for 1995 contains several articles pertaining to the foundation and early years, collected under the heading ‘The Museum in Perspective.’ The Introduction reviews the development of the Museum's acquisitions and exhibition policy, while the article by Gerard van Bronkhorst recounts the Museum's prehistory and the special role of Dr Vincent Willem van Gogh. The formation of the library - an absolute necessity for any truly functional research centre - is also examined. The heart of this issue of the *Journal* is also retrospective in character: the catalogue of acquisitions made by the Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh - that is, all paintings purchased or donated since the Vincent van Gogh Foundation was established in 1962. It is an interim publication, forming the basis for a complete catalogue of the collection. The following issues of the *Journal* will include similar catalogues of the collections of drawings, prints, and sculptures.

‘Van Gogh Studies,’ a recurring rubric in the *Journal*, examines the works of Vincent Van Gogh - not only those executed with a paintbrush - from various perspectives. In ‘Acquisitions in Context,’ again a category to be repeated, the authors look closely at a selection of the Museum's more important recent acquisitions.

Much interesting work in art history today is brought to the attention of both specialists and the general public through the medium of exhibition catalogues. The facts and ideas presented often expand on more specialised publications, and it is in this context that the *Van Gogh Museum Journal* should be seen. The proper channels for the spread of knowledge about the various facets of museum collections are often lacking. Museums should thus actively seek ways to bring their works to the attention of scholars apart from the vehicle of the exhibition catalogue, and to give an impulse to research into them. Without such an outlet, much of what we know about the objects we protect is doomed to a fruitless existence in the archives or to remain untapped in the heads of curators.

This publication is definitely object-oriented. Only when a work has become the subject of serious investigation does it truly become part of the history of art. It is our ambition, then, that with the works of art presented here a contribution can be made which goes beyond the specific context of the Van Gogh Museum. It is also hoped that until a more general publication for the art-historical studies of the 19th century is created the *Journal* can help fill the gap. This first volume consists mainly of contributions by the staff of the Van Gogh Museum. We hope that in the future the *Journal* will become an international forum for broad and in-depth research into the collection, and are thus counting especially on our readers' participation.

*Ronald de Leeuw*
*Director*

*Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995*
fig. 1 Rietveld's original model for the Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh
On 2 June 1973 Her Majesty Queen Juliana officially opened the Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh. 21 years later, on 1 July 1994, the Museum gave up its status as a state-run organisation and - together with all other Dutch national museums - became an independent foundation. The Museum's official name is now ‘Stichting Van Gogh Museum’, but it operates under the title ‘Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam’. The former Rijksmuseum H.W. Mesdag in The Hague, under the directorship of the Van Gogh Museum since 1990, is now called ‘Museum Mesdag’.

In the two decades that have elapsed since its foundation, the Van Gogh Museum has grown into one of the most popular institutions of its kind in Europe, a place of pilgrimage for millions seeking the unique experience of standing face to face with one of the 19th century's most fascinating artists. When, during a three-day excursion to Amsterdam in October 1885, Vincent van Gogh paid a visit to the recently opened Rijksmuseum, the young artist could not possibly have imagined that in less than a century an entire museum on Amsterdam's Museumplein would be dedicated to his own artistic legacy.

The collection of the Van Gogh Museum is by far the largest and most representative of the artist's oeuvre in the world. In addition to over 200 paintings and 580 drawings, it includes 7 sketchbooks and some 600 original letters from Vincent to Theo, all on permanent loan from the Vincent van Gogh Foundation. The Museum also houses work by Vincent's friends and colleagues, which the brothers either purchased or acquired through exchange. In the past, this allowed the Museum to present Van Gogh's works in a broader context; more recently, it has also formed the basis of acquisition policy.

At the time of the Van Gogh Museum's foundation, a museum dedicated to a single artist was still something of an anomaly. Since then, establishments like the Musée Picasso in Paris have dispelled any lingering doubts about the ‘one-man museum’ formula - provided, of course, that the appeal of the artist is sufficiently universal and that the quality of the collection does justice to his art. During the past decade, however, the Van Gogh Museum has been actively redefining itself, seeking - with Van Gogh as the pivotal figure - to present a broad panorama of European art of the later 19th century. In this respect, the Museum forms an ideal link between its neighbours on the Museumplein: the Rijksmuseum, devoted primarily to Dutch fine and applied art up to approximately 1900, and the Stedelijk Museum, with its international 20th-century collection.

Upon Vincent van Gogh's death in July 1890, his brother Theo inherited the entire estate. When, in turn, Theo died on 25 January 1891, his wife Jo van Gogh-Bonger decided to leave Paris, returning with her infant son Vincent Willem to her native Holland. As the widow of an art dealer, she naturally supplemented her income by occasionally selling works from the collection. In 1901, Jo married the painter and critic Johan Cohen Gosschalk, who wholeheartedly supported her tireless effort to promote her late brother-in-law's art. In 1905, both took an active part in organising
the large Van Gogh exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum that helped permanently establish the artist's reputation. In 1914, Jo van Gogh-Bonger, who had re-assumed her first husband's name after Cohen Gosschalk's death in 1912, published what could well be called her life's work: an edition of the entire corpus of Vincent's letters to Theo. As for the painting collection, with few exceptions, nothing more was sold until after Jo died in 1925.

Jo and Theo's son Vincent Willem had already become actively involved with the collection while his mother was still alive. In 1927, he and his wife settled in Laren. Twenty of Van Gogh's most famous pictures, the majority mounted in flat white frames, served as decoration; the rest were kept in a makeshift storage room. In 1930, following another major exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum, Dr van Gogh was asked to display his collection in Amsterdam on a
more permanent basis. With the exception of the war years - when the paintings were hidden in the dunes near the small town of Castricum - many of the works hung in the Stedelijk as long-term loans.

Eventually Dr van Gogh realised that if appropriate steps were not taken, the collection would be dispersed after his death. In late 1959, Dr H.J. Reinink, Director-General for the Arts at the Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences, presented him with a detailed proposal. The plan envisioned a museum in Amsterdam - to be provided by the Dutch government - to house the collection. To this end, the Vincent van Gogh Foundation was established on 10 July 1960. In 1962, with the consent of the Dutch parliament, the State purchased the entire collection on behalf of the Foundation, and the city of Amsterdam furnished the land on the Museumplein. The Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh was opened officially on 2 June 1973.

The Museum's first director was Emile Meijer (1973-75), formerly head of education services at the Rijksmuseum. Along with Dr Van Gogh, he played an important role in the preliminary phases of the Museum's existence. In the beginning, the Museum had only a small staff; until 1986 curator Han van Crimp (1973-91) was the only art historian besides the director. Meijer's lively policy - aimed at establishing the Museum within the capital's contemporary art scene - had both admirers and detractors. Eventually, the tension between Meijer and the Ministry of Culture became so great that in 1975 he was forced to resign. This marked the beginning of a period of managerial instability that lasted until the mid-1980s, at which time the Museum once again began to follow a steady course.

The first period of interim management ended in 1978 with the appointment of Johannes van der Wolk, formerly curator at the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen in Rotterdam. For most of his tenure, the overall responsibility for the Museum rested with Dr Simon Levie, general director of the Rijksmuseum. The Museum's overarching policy became strictly art historical. Once again, however, internal tensions and the difficulties arising from the termination of the Visual Arts Workshop (which was even subject to an intervention from parliament) brought Van der Wolk's directorship to an early end. Between 1982 and 1984 the museum was once again without a head. For the duration of 1985, Charles van Blommestein was designated interim director. In January

![fig. 2 The study collection on the second floor](image)

1986 the author, previously head of exhibitions and chief curator at the Netherlands Office for Fine Art (Rijksdienst Beeldende Kunst) in The Hague, was appointed. A new course was set that extended the Museum's scope to include the entire second
half of the 19th century for both acquisitions and exhibitions. An active staff of young art historians, including Louis van Tilborgh, Fred Leeman and Sjraar van Heugten, was engaged to bring new life to the exhibition program, while the institution's management was further professionalised with the selection of Ton Boxma as managing deputy director.

During 1990, just as the Van Gogh Museum was experiencing a hitherto unknown degree of activity, the operation of a second museum was entrusted to it. The Museum Mesdag in The Hague, devoted to the collection of Hague School and Barbizon painting assembled by the painters Hendrik Willem Mesdag and Sientje Mesdag-van Houten, had been an independent state museum since 1915, but in later years had been administered by the staff of the Royal Cabinet of Pictures, the Mauritshuis. Believing that the joint management of two museums devoted to international 19th-century art would benefit both institutions, the Ministry of Culture decided to transfer the directorship to Amsterdam as of 1 April 1990.
In 1991 it was possible to buy the house adjacent to the Museum Mesdag, once Mesdag's own residence. Both house and museum had, however, been allowed to deteriorate, so that major renovation was absolutely necessary. In order to accomplish this, the Museum Mesdag was closed in 1992 and is scheduled to reopen at the end of 1996. In the intervening years selections of the collection were exhibited in Amsterdam and in 1994 highlights of the Museum Mesdag toured the United Kingdom.

Rietveld's building

The choice of the Amsterdam Museum's architect was Dr van Gogh's. In 1963 he met for the first time with Gerrit Rietveld, one of the leading exponents of the De Stijl movement. Rietveld produced a number of sketches, but died in 1964, as did his successor J. van Dillen, two years later. At that time, their associate J. van Tricht was contracted for the definitive design of the building and its interior.

The founder's original intention had been to display the dark works from Vincent's Brabant period on the ground floor, while the sunnier French canvases were to be placed on the higher floors, nearer the skylight. For various reasons this has proved impractical. Today, a rotating selection of pictures by other 19th-century artists is usually displayed on the Museum's ground floor, with the monumental first floor entirely given over to a chronological presentation of Van Gogh's principal works. This enables the visitor to follow the artist's development through the various stages of his life, as he moved from Nuenen to Antwerp, then on to Paris, Arles, Saint-Rémy, and finally to Auvers-sur-Oise.

Originally, the second floor, which is protected from daylight, was set aside for a permanent selection of Vincent's drawings, as well as a choice from the Japanese prints he collected. The increasingly stringent standards of collection management, however, prohibit exposing works on paper to light - however weak - for extended periods of time. Van Gogh's drawings are now displayed only occasionally. Even stricter rules apply to his letters. Written for the most part in corrosive iron gall ink on inexpensive paper, these brittle sheets are extremely fragile. Only for the centenary exhibition in 1990 was an exception made and all the illustrated letters put on display. Part of the second floor is now reserved for a study collection, featuring a broad selection of Van Gogh's minor works and some of his Japanese prints.
In 1990, during the large-scale retrospective commemorating the centenary of Vincent van Gogh's death, no less than 865,000 visitors came to the Museum. To cope with these extreme conditions not only the air conditioning but also the lighting of the building were adapted. Under the guidance of architect Frank Wintermans, a number of
aesthetic adjustments were made, and the library and shop were expanded. The Van Gogh Museum was designed at a period when the modernist ‘white cube’ was the norm for museum interiors. During construction Dr Van Gogh fought hard, but without success, to have at least some of Vincent's darkest Nuenen paintings hung against a tinted background. Although today it is widely accepted that 19th-century paintings look best against coloured walls, and although the staff of the Van Gogh Museum shares this conviction, it has been difficult to find a solution which does justice to both the works and Rietveld's white interior. It has been mainly within the framework of temporary exhibitions that colour experiments seemed possible. Marijke van der Wijst, for example, who was responsible for the design of the exhibition *Franse meesters uit het Metropolitan Museum of Art* (1987) and the Van Gogh retrospective in 1990, created dark temporary partitions or painted the Museum's own walls, which helped anchor the quite small paintings to the existing stretches of unarticulated surface.

More recently, thanks to the new division of space created by architect Peter Sas, a solution to the colour problem has been found. The long walls are now broken by abutting traverse panels, which end considerably below the ceiling. The surfaces above them have retained the original colour of the building, a broken white, so that Rietveld's conception remains perceptible no matter what colours are used elsewhere. The transition from the (coloured) exhibition rooms to the large open atrium, itself unthinkable in anything but white, seems extremely natural.

Although since the beginning the Museum's floors were covered with wall-to-wall carpeting for acoustical reasons - a seeming necessity in such an open building - a decision was made to give the eyes preference to the ears and to replace the carpet with parquet wherever possible. This latest intervention, finished in early 1995, is not only an aesthetic success: the quality of light in the Museum as a whole has also been drastically improved. While the dark carpeting absorbed the daylight, the wood reflects it, greatly enhancing both the look of the Museum and the visitor's experience of the works of art.

The Museum building has had both fans and critics. In the past, its somewhat forbidding exterior and the lack of precision in the details have been the subject of justified criticism. With the improvements accomplished by Frank Wintermans in 1990 and the replacement of the carpet with wooden floors in 1995, the qualities of Gerrit Rietveld's architecture

fig. 4 The Museum Mesdag in 1989
- the spacious atrium, the fascinating intersecting spaces, the fine quality of the natural daylight - now clearly outshine the deficiencies.

Although in fact the Museum copes remarkably well with the heavy demands made on it, the steadily rising tide of visitors has left no alternative to the construction of a new wing in order to guarantee every interested individual an equally rewarding, relaxed visit. From the mid-1980s the rapid succession of temporary exhibitions has exacerbated the need for space designed specifically for this purpose.

In late 1989 the Amsterdam City Council granted the Van Gogh Museum permission to expand on the side facing the Museumplein. In the autumn of 1991, the financial requirements for the extension were met when the Yasuda Fire and Marine Insurance Company Ltd. donated 37.5 million Dutch guilders. The eminent Japanese architect Kisho Kurokawa was invited to design the new exhibition wing. Since then progress has been slow, due mainly to the inevitable red tape involved in city planning procedures. But from the standpoint of 1995, an opening date in 1998 still seems feasible.

The Van Gogh Museum as research centre

Apart from its most obvious function - displaying its collections - the Van Gogh Museum also serves as a centre for Van Gogh research. In addition to the numer-
ous sketchbooks, drawings and paintings of Vincent van Gogh, the Museum houses virtually all of the letters from the artist to his brother Theo. It also preserves his scrapbooks, several of the albums he filled with poetry for his siblings, and the hundreds of magazine illustrations he accumulated throughout his life as sources of inspiration. The Vincent van Gogh Foundation has lent the Museum a great deal of correspondence and archival material relating to Theo van Gogh and other members of his family. Last but not least, there is an extensive library that is particularly strong in the field of late 19th-century art (see the article by Anita Vriend in this volume of the *Journal*). These various holdings make the Van Gogh Museum the preeminent place to study the artist and the reception of his oeuvre.

Beginning already in 1970 - three years before the actual opening of the Museum - the results of research conducted by the staff were routinely published in the *Bulletin Vincent*, under the supervision of Dr Jan Hulsker. By the time the *Bulletin* was discontinued in 1976, a total of sixteen issues had been produced.

In 1988, with the support of the Vincent van Gogh Foundation, the Museum launched a new series of scholarly publications entitled *Cahiers Vincent*, which feature previously unpublished sources connected with the artist. Six volumes have been published thus far and have included everything from the poetry albums assembled by Vincent in the 1870s for his relatives and various friends to the letters of condolence Theo received following his brother's death, as well as research into the early provenances of Van Gogh's works. A study of Vincent's painting techniques and materials was also part of this series. In 1987 the Museum's documentalist Fieke Pabst published Theo van Gogh's address book in the catalogue which accompanied the exhibition *Van Gogh à Paris* at the Musée d'Orsay.

The correspondence around Van Gogh forms a major area of interest and research. Jo van Gogh and her son originally published what was to remain the standard edition of Vincent's letters until 1973. That year, Dr van Gogh ushered the last reprinting through the press, in time for the opening of the Museum. He himself was interested in editing the group of 45 letters from Gauguin to Vincent, Theo and Jo van Gogh, but could not finish the task before he died in 1978. It was then Douglas Cooper who published this collection in 1983, in cooperation with the Museum. In 1990, the Museum staff published a completely revised and considerably enlarged Dutch-language edition of all known letters to and from Vincent van Gogh, based on new transcriptions. Since 1994, in joint venture with the Huygens Institute for text-critical editions, the Museum has embarked on the preparation of a fully annotated edition of the entire correspondence.

### The development of the collection

When, in 1973, the Van Gogh Museum opened its doors to the public, the core of the collection of paintings was formed by some 200 canvases by Vincent van Gogh, together with another group of pictures by contemporaries of the artist, the majority of which had originally belonged to Vincent and his brother Theo. The brothers' role in creating this supporting collection and the fact that hardly anything of it has ever been dispersed is what makes the Van Gogh Museum unique. In acquiring further
works of art, Vincent and Theo's correspondence - which tells us in great detail about their taste - is an essential guideline. During the 1970s and early 1980s it was this that more or less entirely informed the Museum's...
purchases. During the last decade, however, the institution's position within the Dutch art world has begun to change and this has extended the scope and character of its acquisition policy.

For some years after the Van Gogh Museum opened, acquiring paintings by its namesake was still an option. Despite skyrocketing prices, the Museum did manage to purchase Van Gogh's *Avenue with poplars in autumn*, a major work from the Nuenen period, in 1977, and in 1979 it bought the marvellous drawing of the *Zouave*. In 1990 we were delighted to receive two small pictures from the estate of Mrs Elisabeth Ribbius Peletier, a bequest arranged by Dr Van Gogh before he died. Still more recently, Mrs Margot Refisch bequeathed an oil painting depicting a Nuenen peasant woman digging - a welcome addition to the group of works from Brabant which had so far lacked such a motif.

In the span of only a few short years Theo and Vincent van Gogh built up what amounted to a typical artist's collection, consisting of works they had received from close colleagues in exchange for Vincent's own. Only a small part of the works assembled - the group of works by Monticelli, most of the Gauguins, the Manet prints and the superb Seurat drawing - were actually purchased. We know the brothers lamented their failure to convince a number of the most prominent Impressionists to make a trade, and that Vincent had his heart set on an oil sketch by Seurat. As it happened, they lacked the financial resources - and ultimately also the time - that would have enabled their collection to fully mature: their deaths in July 1890 and January 1891 put an abrupt end to their efforts.

To be sure, the collection was subsequently cared for by the widow and son of Theo van Gogh, but as an ensemble it disappeared from public sight. Only some of its most outstanding works - such as Lautrec's *Poudre de riz* and the paintings by Gauguin - made occasional appearances in exhibitions or were illustrated in books. Not until the Van Gogh Museum opened in 1973 was it possible to study and enjoy the collection as a coherent whole, to discover its strengths as well as its weaknesses. Although it became known as *Theo* van Gogh's collection, it was - as Jan Hulsker recently pointed out again - most definitely a joint effort.

Thanks to the foresight of Dr Vincent Willem van Gogh, the collection was never approached as an absolute, historical entity frozen in time. In contrast to many other private collections that have subsequently become museums, Dr Van Gogh always took the position that it should be allowed to grow. Indeed, between 1962 and his death in 1978, he himself played an important role in purchasing works, not only by Vincent, but also by his contemporaries, and he actively solicited gifts and donations.

Through the Galerie Valentien in Stuttgart the Vincent van Gogh Foundation acquired a collection of paintings and drawings by minor French artists working in

![fig. 6 Jean-François Millet, *In the morning* (Le matin), acquired in 1983 (T 782 M/1993)](image)
Auvers around the turn of the century. The ensemble, which had belonged to Paul Gachet, Jr, the son of Van Gogh's friend and doctor, has, however, more documentary than artistic value. Similarly, in 1966, the Foundation accepted the bequest of H.A.D. Thomas, a collector in Amsterdam. It contained a Head of a peasant woman ascribed to Van Gogh that was included in the 1970 edition of De la Faille's oeuvre catalogue; since then its authenticity has been challenged, as has that of a canvas signed ‘Monet’. Of considerably more importance were the five Monticelli paintings which formed part of Thomas's collection and the donation of F.W.M. baroness van der Borch van Verwolde, the second wife of Jo van Gogh's brother Andries Bonger, who, on the occasion of the opening of the Museum presented Emile Bernard's Pont-Aven seen from the Bois d'Amour, as well as
the correspondence between her late husband, Theo van Gogh and Père Tanguy. Thus, it was Dr Van Gogh himself who set the stage for the presentation of Vincent's oeuvre in a lively dialogue with his artistic confrères.

French painting dominated the 19th-century art world, and in Van Gogh's personal pantheon artists of the generation of Delacroix, Millet, and the Barbizon School were given a place of honour. In fact, Theo and Vincent's collection contained no works by these painters, with the exception of the group of paintings by Adolphe Monticelli. Only in 1994, with the purchase of a landscape by Théodore Rousseau, did the Van Gogh Museum begin to create a basis for a more complete presentation of this important group of landscape painters.

Although the Museum's collection must still do without a major picture by Millet, it has been able to acquire important pieces by his contemporaries in the peasant genre such as Jules Breton, Jozef Israëls, and Léon Lhermitte. A representative figure painting by Millet's urban counterpart, Jean-François Raffaëlli, has been bought as well. In the realm of Realist still life, fine pieces by Philippe Rousseau and François Bonvin were acquired - a group to which Thomas Couture's programmatic satire A realist (1865) forms an ironic introduction.

The scant representation of Impressionism vero e proprio remains a conspicuous gap in the Museum's collection. To be sure, the acquisition of works by two of the movement's forerunners, Paul Guigou and Johan Barthold Jongkind, have brought some consolation, but the work of the great masters of the period are simply beyond the financial reach of the Museum.
Besides the works by Van Gogh himself, the group by Post-Impressionists such as Gauguin, Bernard and Toulouse-Lautrec - whom Van Gogh dubbed ‘les impressionnistes du petit boulevard’ - forms the essential core of the collection. Emile Bernard is broadly represented thanks to the Elin Ekström gift of 1990; further, an early (and rare) pointillist work by Vincent's ‘copiaing’ that once belonged to Andries Bonger could be acquired. By contrast, the Museum did not own a single painting by Vincent's friends Louis Anquetin and Paul Signac until 1986. The acquisition of two landscapes and a portrait by Emile Schuffenecker also fits well with this ensemble of epoch-making artists around Van Gogh and Gauguin.

In recent years, the Van Gogh Museum has also laid the foundation for a collection of Symbolist paintings. This was prompted by the acquisitions in 1986 and 1987 of two splendid pastels by Odilon Redon which had once been part
of the Bonger collection. Since then, a landscape in oil by this artist has been added as well. Within only a short period, the Museum has been able to gather a number of highly representative works in both oil and pastel by such leading figures of the Symbolist movement as Eugène Carrière and Maurice Denis, as well as by lesser known artists such as Edmond Aman-Jean, Louis Welden Hawkins, Armand Point, and Carlos Schwabe. The Museum was particularly fortunate to have been able to bring together a trio of pictures by Pierre Puvis de Chavannes. The French artist meant a great deal to the generation of the Post-Impressionists and not least to Van Gogh, particularly in the last months of his life (see the article by Aimee Brown-Price in this volume of the Journal).

Because of the Rijksmuseum's proximity and specialisation, the representation of Dutch painting in the Van Gogh Museum has been limited to only its most outstanding masters and several of Vincent's closest contemporaries. The Museum purchased Matthijs Maris's poetic masterpiece Girl with goats - a work of 1875 - in part because Vincent was in close contact with the artist at that time; Jozef Israëls's Peasant family at table of 1882 was acquired because its theme anticipated that of The potato eaters. Among the purchases of works by Dutch artists of Van Gogh's own generation, Jan Toorop's youthful Self-portrait and the animated Poppies by Floris Verster certainly belong to the most striking.

The Van Gogh Museum has recently begun to draw the consequences from the reevaluation on non-French 19th-century art, if only modestly thus far. Belgian art, for instance, until recently only represented by a painting of the Borinage by Van
Gogh's friend Eugène Boch, is now complemented by a pastel by Fernand Khnopff and bronzes by Georges Minne and Constantin Meunier. Italy is manifested in works by Vittorio Corcos and the sculptor Vincenzo Gemito, while the Austrian painter Felician Freiherr von Myrbach-Rheinfeld (see the article by Edwin Becker in this volume of the 
Journal) and Munich-based Franz von Stuck stand for the German-speaking countries.

Most of the Museum's purchases are made with income generated by the Museum Shop, and by - or with the support of - the Vincent van Gogh Foundation. Government funds and the Vereniging Rembrandt have also helped out
from time to time. In addition, the Museum has received gifts and bequests from private individuals, the business community, and the Friends of the Van Gogh Museum.

In cases where the Museum has lacked the necessary funds to acquire the works of ‘expensive’ artists, permanent and long-term loans have offered a solution. Since 1991, for example, the Barbizon School and other artists of the mid-19th century have been represented in the collection via the loan of several dozen paintings from the Rijksmuseum, the Amsterdam Historisch Museum, the Museum Kröller-Müller, and the Netherlands Office for Fine Art. Thanks to these collegial gestures, the Museum is now in a position to display works by such artists as Corot, Courbet, Daubigny, Decamps, Delacroix, Diaz, Fantin-Latour, Millet and Scheffer, thus illustrating the wellsprings of Vincent's art. Moreover, having never or rarely been exhibited by their former caretakers, these fine works are now accessible to the public.

The under-representation of true Impressionist masters remains a thorn in the Museum's side, but the great artists of the movement are simply beyond financial reach. When, therefore, in 1991 the Netherlands Office for Fine Art lent Claude Monet's *Tulip field* of 1886, a painting once marketed by Theo van Gogh, our joy was that much more intense - particularly since this was probably the first work of Monet's Vincent saw when he arrived in Paris.

But not only our Dutch colleagues have come to our assistance with loans: representative works by Camille and Lucien Pissarro, Odilon Redon, Charles Angrand, and Pablo Picasso have, over the last few years, been deposited in the Museum by private lenders from both Holland and abroad. Their presence has helped the Museum to give a more complete picture of 19th-century European art.

**Exhibitions**

When the Van Gogh Museum was established, Dr van Gogh stipulated that it operate according to the most advanced standards, but he was equally concerned that it be a lively institution. Visitors, he thought, should not only be confronted with the work of Van Gogh but also with that of other 19th-century artists, in either the permanent collection or in temporary exhibitions.

After the opening of the museum, the first director, Emile Meijer, was quick to introduce the fledgling institution to Amsterdam. Rather than limiting himself to Van Gogh and 19th-century art, he launched a wide range of activities, including concerts and theatrical productions. Within the framework of a visual arts workshop, courses were offered to the public on drawing, painting and photography. During Johannes van der Wolk's tenure as director, the Museum charted a more strictly art historical course; his exhibitions shed valuable light on the artistic context in which Van Gogh worked. Since 1986, the Museum's focus has expanded to include the entire second half of the 19th century, approached, moreover, not from a Dutch or French, but from an international perspective. Van Gogh, however, has remained the central focus of the Museum's program.
In 1986 a separate department was created within the Museum to handle temporary exhibitions, with Fred Leeman as its first head, Louis van Tilborgh as exhibitions curator and Aly Noordermeer as exhibitions coordinator. In 1990, during the Van Gogh centennial, both Leeman and Van Tilborgh were reassigned to the permanent collection and Stefan van Raaij became the new head of exhibitions. In 1993 he was succeeded by Andreas Blühm.

Responsibility for the organisation and scholarly research involved in the temporary exhibitions resides with both the department and guest curators. In the past these latter have come from the art history institutes of the University of Amsterdam and the Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam, as well as other European countries and

![Fig. 11: Erik Andriesse, Frank Auerbach and Ronald de Leeuw at the opening of the Auerbach exhibition in 1989](image-url)
fig. 12 Poster designs by (l. to r.) Total Design, 1980; Misha Bensa, Publices Intermarco, 1986; Anthon Beeke and Swip Stolk, 1986; Pieter Roozen, 1994
America. A complete listing of the Museum's exhibitions since 1973 is given at the back of this issue of the Journal.

In the beginning, the Museum had no specific policy regarding exhibitions. Emile Meijer organised a number of shows of both 19th-century and contemporary art, with the latter dominating the program. In 1984 the Museum offered its space for an exhibition organised by the departing director of the Stedelijk Museum: De Nederlandse identiteit in de kunst na 1945. Between 1987 and 1989 a number of artists were invited to exhibit whose work involved a kind of dialogue with that of Van Gogh: Arie van Geest, Pat Steir, Erik Andriessen and Frank Auerbach. During the exhibition Neo-impressionisten: Seurat tot Struycken in 1988, a photomontage by Peter Struycken - installed as a frieze over the work of his 19th-century colleagues - was given prominent place. Between 1991 and 1993 several exhibitions were organised which explored the relationship between contemporary art and the artistic legacy of the 19th century. In 1992, for example, Frantisek Lesák exhibited sculptures and drawings inspired by Claude Monet's haystacks.

It is perhaps surprising to discover that in the Museum's early years only a few exhibitions were devoted to the institution's namesake. One of these was English influences on Vincent van Gogh in 1975, an exhibition originally circulated in England; another was Evert van Uitert's De roem van Vincent van Gogh in 1977. During Emile Meijer's tenure, two exhibitions were devoted to Van Gogh's Dutch contemporaries, namely George Hendrik Breitner and Anthon van Rappard. These set the stage for future shows exploring Van Gogh's artistic milieu: Vincent van Gogh in zijn Hollandse jaren (1980) and Van Gogh and his French friends: Cloisonnism as a style, 1886-1891 (1981). These shows, conceived with the help of guest curators Griselda Pollock and Bogumila Welsh, helped establish the Van Gogh Museum as a centre for international Van Gogh research.

Since the end of the 1980s, Louis van Tilborgh, in close cooperation with Sjraar van Heugten, has curated several important Van Gogh exhibitions: Van Gogh and Millet (1989), which focused on Van Gogh as a peasant painter; the major centennial retrospective in 1990 - with 133 masterpieces united under its roof a milestone in the Museum's history; and two smaller thematic shows dedicated to The potato eaters (1993) and Van Gogh's Parisian self-portraits (1994), which was also shown in Hamburg in the spring of 1995. In 1990, Van Heugten was responsible for the very moving exhibition Sketches from the letters of Vincent van Gogh, while Fred Leeman and German guest curator Roland Dorn organised Vincent van Gogh and the modern movement, 1890-1914, which was shown in both Essen's Museum Folkwang and Amsterdam, where it concluded the Van Gogh centennial year.

The Van Gogh Museum has also been instrumental in organising a number of shows abroad, sometimes in close cooperation with the Kröller-Müller Museum. The Japanese in particular have shown a great fondness for Van Gogh exhibitions, the first of which the Museum organised in Tokyo (The National Museum of Western Art) in 1976. Since 1993 the Museum has planned five concise, thematic Van Gogh exhibitions for the Seji Togo Memorial Yasuda Kasai Museum of Art in Tokyo. Of course, the Museum was also a major lender to the important Van Gogh retrospectives in Paris and New York in the 1980s, and in 1988 it organised Mostra van Gogh at the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna in Rome.
The Van Gogh Museum has, since its inception, taken a particular interest in artists whose work has rarely if ever been shown in the Netherlands, or, for that matter, elsewhere. It devoted retrospectives to painters as diverse as Emile Bernard, Georges de Feure, Adolphe Monticelli, Anthon van Rappard, John Russell, Arnold Schönberg, Walter Sickert, August Strindberg, Felix Vallotton, Jan Verkade, Edouard Vuillard, and Stanislaw Witkiewicz.

Most exhibitions in the Van Gogh Museum naturally revolve around French artists, who not only set the tone in 19th-century Europe but also the standard by which Van Gogh judged art: ‘don't they form the heart of this century as far as painting is concerned?’, he asked. The exhibitions Monet in Holland in 1986 and Franse meesters uit het Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1987 were particularly successful. Nonetheless, the Museum has also devoted attention to art from other European cultural centres, as in Ottocento/Novecento: Italiaanse kunst, 1870-1910 (1988), Hard Times (1988), which focused on Victorian social-realist art, or Glasgow 1900: art & design (1992). Dutch Naturalist, Impressionist and Symbolist painting of 1880s and early 1890s was given a broad survey in De Schilders van Tachtig in 1991, which - in a reduced version - had first been seen at Glasgow's Burrell Collection in 1990 under the title The age of Van Gogh.
Whenever possible, the Museum has sought to highlight its own collection. In order to create an ideal context for the introduction of new acquisitions to the public, the Museum initiated a series of four exhibitions entitled *19th-century masters* in 1993, which feature largely forgotten artists like Philippe Rousseau and Louis Welden Hawkins. On a larger scale, the major retrospectives of 1994 and 1995, *Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, Odilon Redon and Maurice Denis* are cases in point.

Since the mid-1980s, the Museum has also frequently presented various facets of late 19th-century graphic art. It has been privileged to collaborate on such projects with the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Jane Voorhees Zimmerlee Museum in New Brunswick and the Josefowitz Collection. Monographic exhibitions have addressed the works of Félix Bracquemond, Honoré Daumier, Edvard Munch, Félicien Rops, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, and James McNeill Whistler, while broad surveys have examined the graphic art of the School of Pont-Aven and the Nabis. Selections from the Museum's own collection of works on paper are also regularly presented, such as its Manet prints, English wood-engravings or Japanese woodcuts.

During the Museum's early years in particular a large number of exhibitions were devoted to photography. From 1974 to 1979 the annual exhibition of World Press Photo took place in the Museum each spring. During these
years exhibitions were held on the work of Emmy Andriesse, Diana Arbus, Maria Austria, and others. The Museum began to exhibit photography once again in 1986. Works by Emmy Andriesse, Pat Bognar, Paul Huff, Gerard van Keulen and Toon Michiels - all of which had a relationship to Van Gogh - were presented. Soon, however, the emphasis shifted to the 19th century itself. Photographs of peasants from the Kempen area accompanied *The potato eaters* show. Works by the Victorian photographer Henry Peach Robinson and such artists as August Strindberg and Edouard Vuillard were also displayed. In the 1980's two important collections of photographs, assembled by Bert Hartkamp and Willem Diepraam, were acquired by the Netherlands Office for Fine Arts in The Hague on behalf of the State in order to form the nucleus of a national photographic collection. In early 1994 it was decided that these collections were to be deposited permanently at the Rijksmuseum, and that they were to be presented to the public in cooperation with the Van Gogh Museum. Beginning in the spring of 1996, the Museum will organize annual exhibitions of the 19th-century photographs from these holdings.

**Publications**

The Museum staff is continually busy gathering documents and information, with the aim of periodically publishing new catalogues of the collection. In 1987, a volume entitled *The Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh* appeared, edited by Professor Evert van Uitert of Amsterdam
University. It contains a concise, but fully illustrated catalogue of the paintings and
drawings, as well as articles on various other aspects of the collection and the
Museum's history. A supplementary catalogue of acquisitions from the period 1986-91
followed, which also lists the numerous loans the Museum received from other public
collections. In 1994, the author published *The Van Gogh Museum: paintings and
pastels*, a work intended for the general public featuring over 380 colour illustrations
chosen from the Museum's holding of paintings, pastels and watercolours. In 1978,
Dr Willem van Gulik prepared the first catalogue of the Museum's holdings of
Japanese woodcuts. In 1991, a new edition of the catalogue, which was entirely
revised and supplemented as well as fully illustrated, was published by Charlotte
van Rappard.

In this context it should also be mentioned that over the last few years the Museum
has published most of its catalogues and other written material - such as this *Journal*
- in the English language, not out of any disrespect for the Dutch public, but because
the majority of visitors to the Museum are foreigners. Moreover, we have sought to
make the fruits of the long years of research contained in our publications available
to our colleagues and interested amateurs abroad.

From its inception, the Museum has worked with distinguished graphic designers
for its catalogues, posters, and signage. One of the first was Harry Sierman, who
designed the issues of the *Bulletin Vincent*. The agency Total Design, particularly
Jolijn van de Wouw, was responsible for the Museum's first ‘corporate identity’ and
signage.
Total Design was again invited in the late 1980s to create a new logo, as well as the signage for the 1990 Van Gogh centennial exhibition.

The list of designers involved with the Museum's publications - including Anthon Beeke, Gijsbert Dijker, Robert-Jan Hofhuis, Paul Hofman, Walter Nikkels, Thelma van Oordt, Guus Ros, Robert Schaap, Gijs Sierman, Marjo Starink, Swip Stolk and Harry Veltman - reads like a short history of Dutch graphic design in the 1980s and 1990s. Many of these were also responsible for the striking posters with which the Museum has enlivened the Amsterdam cityscape. Pieter Roozen, invited in 1994 to redesign the Museum's ‘look’ for the remainder of this century, has made an impressive start with his designs for the catalogues of *Puvis de Chavannes* and *In Perfect Harmony: picture and frame, 1850-1920*.

With the exception of the activities of the Werkplaats Beeldende Vorming (Visual Arts Workshop), which continued until 1990 (see the article by Gerard Bronkhorst in this volume of the *Journal*), the Van Gogh Museum has never been particularly didactic. Wall texts in the permanent collection have been kept to a minimum - in the perhaps optimistic belief that pictures, when well arranged, could tell their own story. In general, the temporary exhibitions had somewhat more supportive material, but here, too, discretion was the motto. The visitor who wished for more information, however, has always been well served. Aside from the bilingual (Dutch and English) wall texts and labels, nearly every exhibition has been accompanied by a complete catalogue and an issue of the *Van Gogh Bulletin*, which contains all pertinent information in
Some exhibitions were also equipped with an audio tour in various languages.

Regularly, series of lectures or symposia - to which both Dutch and foreign speakers have been invited - were organised to accompany temporary exhibitions. In the last several years such well-known scholars of 19th-century art as Albert Boime, Françoise Cachin, Voitech Jasiutinsky, Linda Nochlin, the late John Rewald, Pierre Vaisse, Peter Vergo and Gabriel Weisberg have addressed an international audience. Among these were also such renowned Van Gogh specialists as Roland Dorn, Walter Feilchenfeldt, Jan Hulsker, Ronald Pickvance and Evert van Uitert. Particularly successful were the International Van Gogh Symposium in 1990 and the symposium devoted to Charles Rennie Mackintosh in connection with the exhibition *Glasgow 1900: art and design*.

In 1994 and 1995 the Van Gogh Museum has offered seminars within the Amsterdam Summer University program. In 1994 the course was entitled 'Symbolism: towards a definition,' and in 1995 'Collecting 19th-century art.' These meetings for national and foreign post-graduates were organised by Ineke Middag, who since 1991 has also been in charge of special events. Among these, and relative to the various themes of the exhibitions, were a public ballet lesson given by members of the National Ballet in conjunction with *Degas sculptor* and a Music Hall performance during Walter Sickert. During two seasons violinist Edwin Blankenstein was responsible for the adventurous programming of a series of Sunday morning concerts.

**Future directions**

The purpose of the change in status of the state museums, which began in July of 1994, was to give these institutions more independence and to free them from certain formal restrictions which had, in some sense, hindered their growth and operation. The tasks of both the government and the museums have been newly distributed, allowing the museums, in accordance with the overall policy of the Ministry of Culture, to seek their own way within the scholarly and public world.

On matters of budget and general policy the director of the Van Gogh Museum is responsible to a five-member supervisory board (Raad van Toezicht), appointed by the Minister of Education, Culture and Sciences. The collection, partly the property of the Vincent van Gogh Foundation, partly of the State of the Netherlands, has been given on 30-year loan. The Museum's new status does not imply that the government
has withdrawn its considerable financial support. Every four years the Ministry will
grant the Museum a subsidy for a substantial part of its running costs.

It was hoped that one of the effects of this move would be to make Dutch museums
still more aware of their responsibility to the general public, and that they would
carry out their cultural mission in lively dialogue with their visitors. This does not
necessarily mean that the public will determine future policy or that commercial
interests will get the upper hand. The newly independent museum should offer the
visitor seriously interested in the fine arts an intellectually satisfying and inspirational
experience without, however, alienating the one who sees a visit as simply a pleasant
way to spend his free time.

The Van Gogh Museum, already for a number of years second only to the
Rijksmuseum in terms of numbers of visitors, has always had excellent relations
with the public. If at first it was feared tourism would dominate, the lively exhibition
program of the last decade has made the Museum a highly respected and - in the
field of 19th-century art - innovative institution. Thanks to its consistent policy, the
Museum has developed a following at home and abroad. The Museum has not made
it easy on itself: in both exhibitions and acquisitions it has often chosen to travel the
road less taken in 19th century art history. Considerable energy has also been devoted
to the scholarly quality of its publications. Located between the Rijksmuseum and
the Stedelijk on the Museumplein - the artistic heart of The Netherlands - and with
the wonderful collection of Van Goghs as its
(economic and thematic) focal point, the Museum has now thoroughly established itself.

A number of larger projects are scheduled for the coming years. As mentioned above, the Museum has recently begun to work on the scholarly edition of Van Gogh's letters, and Han van Crimpen, the Museum's first curator, is about to publish the correspondence between Jo and Theo van Gogh, one of the great ‘hidden treasures’ in the Van Gogh Foundation's archives. An in-depth scholarly catalogue of Van Gogh's works in the Museum, to form part of a group of catalogues of the collection as a whole, is planned for the second half of the 1990s. In the summers to follow, exhibitions will accompany the serial publication of the catalogues of drawings, each one reflecting the subject of the new book, a demonstration of how scholarship and public presentation can go hand in hand. A completely new catalogue of the collection of paintings and drawings will also accompany the reopening of the Mesdag Museum in The Hague.

Since 1994, the Van Gogh Museum, as one of the first museums in the Netherlands, has participated in the Research School for Art History, a cooperative organisation of the advanced art history programs of four Dutch universities, the Rijksmuseum and the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RKD).

The Museum's exhibition program is set to continue its efforts of previous years, and the future looks very promising. Besides retrospective exhibitions of such diverse artists as Lawrence Alma-Tadema and Paul Signac, thematic exhibitions are also planned, one of the most intriguing of which will focus on polychrome sculpture in the 19th century (1996). When the new wing is completed there will also be more room in the Rietveld building for the permanent collection.

The new independent status of the Museum, the renovation of the Museum Mesdag, and the projected extension of the Van Gogh Museum by architect Kisho Kurokawa are guarantees that the next few years will be turbulent ones for our institution. Between now and the 21st century there will be little time for a languorous fin de siècle. The Van Gogh Museum now stands at the beginning of a new era, where the breadth, quality, and influence of its activities will - one hopes - equal that of its unique collection.
fig. 1 Vincent Willem van Gogh in the garden of his house in Laren, 1950
**Vincent Willem van Gogh and the Van Gogh Museum's pre-history**

*Gerald van Bronkhorst*

Articles dealing with Vincent van Gogh's reputation and the history of Theo's collection generally give the impression that the attitude of Theo's son, V.W. van Gogh, towards his uncle's artistic legacy was entirely in tune with that of his mother, Johanna van Gogh-Bonger. Following her example, he is portrayed as developing almost automatically into an equally unquestioning guardian of his uncle's reputation. This version completely overlooks the fact that Vincent Willem's position was totally different from his mother's. When Johanna inherited her husband's collection in 1891, her brother-in-law was virtually unknown, but he was a very famous artist indeed by her death in 1925, when the works passed to her son. As a result, Vincent Willem's attitude to his uncle was governed by the problems associated with the sons of famous fathers, as was suggested by A.M. Hammacher, former director of the Kröller-Müller Museum in Otterlo, who wrote after Vincent Willem's death in 1978: ‘His unconventional, slightly awkward, stiff and obstinate behaviour must certainly be due in part to the fact that he was fatally bound up with that [Vincent's] fame and, being the nephew, had to show respect while at the same time wanting to prove to himself and the world that he was someone in his own right, irrespective of artistic values.’ How the ‘Engineer,’ as he was later known, dealt with this problem is the subject of this essay.

**Biography**

Vincent Willem van Gogh was born in Paris on 31 January 1890. Both the uncle after whom he was named and his father died before he was one year old. His mother, Johanna (Jo) van Gogh-Bonger, moved back to the Netherlands in January 1891, where she opened a boarding house in Bussum called Villa Helma. It was here, surrounded by his uncle's paintings, that Vincent Willem spent his childhood. Hanging above the mantelpiece in the living

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This article is an adaptation of my graduate thesis for the University of Utrecht. I am indebted to Peter Hecht for his guidance, and would also like to thank J. van Gogh, A.M. Hammacher, Hendrik Henrichs, Emile Meijer, Louis van Tilborgh, and especially Han Veenenbos, who did a great deal of archival research for me.

The potato eaters, ‘facing it, above the large cupboard, was *The harvest*, over the door was the *Boulevard de Clichy* [...]. On the edge of the white porcelain shade of the paraffin lamp hung a couple of Japanese prints [...]; in the bedroom the *Branches of an almond tree in blossom*, the *Pietà*, *La Veillée*.

The young Van Gogh's world was tinged by his uncle's artistic legacy, not just in the shape of the paintings he saw all around him but above all because his mother had

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given herself the task of making Vincent's reputation. In November 1891 she wrote: ‘Theo taught me a lot about art, no, I should say that he taught me a lot about life. Apart from the care of a child, he left me with another task, Vincent's work, to have it seen and appreciated as widely as possible.’

The cultural and political values that Jo instilled in her son were bound up with the socialist movement in the Netherlands around the turn of the century, of which she was part. Above all, the idea that the cultural education of the masses was of prime importance left a permanent mark on him. Soon after settling in Bussum, Jo became a member of the newly founded Social-Democratic Labour Party (SDAP). It was through the party that she became friendly with the politician F.M. Wibaut, whom she probably got to know when he was the editor for social and economic affairs for De Kroniek, a progressive weekly for which Jo made translations from English and French.

Unlike Theo, Johanna's views on art seem to have been influenced mainly by the members of the Eighties Movement (De Tachtigers). She was certainly attracted to their love of pathos, and in the years following Theo's death it seems that this led her to take her veneration of Vincent somewhat to extremes. Roland Holst criticised her sharply in a letter to Jan Toorop of 1892: ‘Mrs Van Gogh is a charming little woman, but it irritates me when someone gushes fanatically on a subject she knows nothing about, and although blinded by sentimentality still thinks she is adopting a strictly critical attitude. It is schoolgirlish twaddle, nothing more. [...] The work that Mrs Van Gogh would like best is the one that was the most bombastic and sentimental, the one that made her shed the most tears; she forgets that her sorrow is turning Vincent into a god.’

The young Vincent Willem was to rebel against his mother's lofty aesthetic sentiments and those of her friends. He wanted to strike out on his own, free of the reputation of his uncle, who had been becoming increasingly famous since the beginning of the century. After attending secondary school in Amersfoort and Amsterdam for five years, Vincent Willem entered the College of Technology at Delft in 1907, from which he graduated as a mechanical engineer in 1914. This was a deliberate choice: ‘My friends and I realised that our future did not lie in the area in which our fathers (to put it that way) worked. We didn't want to think about aesthetics all the time. We preferred to occupy ourselves with more concrete matters

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3 Ibid., p. 244.
and work in society.’” He was even more outspoken in his diary for 1972, in which he wrote about his reaction to the subjective ideal of beauty that had dominated his youth: ‘At home it was rapture, rapture all the time, with no attempt to justify oneself. I was never taught how to understand art (paintings, music). I cared nothing about it. I respected it, but regarded it as a sort of sorcery that was not for me.’

Soon after finishing his studies at Delft he put his desire to free himself of his parental surroundings into effect. In 1915 he married Josina Wibaut, daughter of his mother's friend, and the couple left for the United States that same year. On his return to the Netherlands in 1920 he set up as a consulting engineer for industrial organisations - an area in which he carried out pioneering work.7

5 Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum, Address delivered by V.W. van Gogh in the Van Gogh Museum on 1 February 1975, on the occasion of his 85th birthday, transcript of the tape recording.
7 All the information on Vincent Willem's career is taken from J. van Gogh's memorandum to the museum on the subject, September 1995 (Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum).
The heir

Johanna van Gogh died in 1925, and as her sole heir Vincent Willem inherited her collection. At first this had no effect on his attitude to art: detachment was still his watchword. Unlike his mother, he preferred not to talk about his uncle's work. This emerges clearly in an address he gave in 1931: ‘From his very earliest youth, the speaker [...] quite literally got up and went to bed surrounded by them [Vincent's paintings], so that his opinion about them is based too much on sentimental considerations for it to be sufficiently important to be expressed here.’

Although he clearly differed from his mother in this respect, he did uphold her policy on another front, albeit without taking much of the initiative himself. In 1909 and 1917-1919 Johanna had loaned parts of the collection to the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, and her son evidently intended to continue this practice. In 1926, he and W.J. Steenhoff, Director of the Mesdag Museum but previously the curator in the Rijksmuseum who had persuaded Johanna to allow paintings out on loan, came up with a plan to exhibit a selection of Vincent's works in his museum in The Hague. Van Gogh was even prepared to give the museum several on long-term loan. Mesdag's descendants, however, did not take kindly to the idea of changing the nature of the museum, and refused permission for the exhibition to take place.

A loan to another museum would have solved a practical problem, for after the rejection by the Mesdag Museum Van Gogh had no clear idea how the collection should be administered. It had always been kept in the family home in Laren, where about 20 works hung on the walls. Due to lack of space the rest were stored in an un-heated room that was rarely visited. A solution was found after the highly successful Van Gogh retrospective of 1930 in Amsterdam. Partly due to Josina van Gogh-Wibaut, who strongly felt that the collection should be accessible to the public, Vincent Willem transferred the bulk of his collection on loan to the Stedelijk Museum. A board of trustees was appointed to administer the collection while it was in

![fig. 4 V.W. van Gogh and his second wife, Nelly van der Goot, 1961](image)

the museum. The board consisted of Van Gogh, three members appointed by the City of Amsterdam, Josina van Gogh-Wibaut and Steenhoff. This situation lasted only a very short time, however, for Steenhoff died in 1932 and Josina van Gogh a

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8 In fact the collection, or part of it, had already been bequeathed to him after Theo's death; see Johan van Gogh, ‘The history of the collection,’ in Evert van Uitert and Michael Hoyle (eds.), *The Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh*, Amsterdam 1987, p. 3.
9 *Het Volk*, 16 February 1931.
11 Ibid., pp. 212-17.
year later. From then on Van Gogh conducted the discussions with the museum alone.\textsuperscript{12}

His involvement with the collection certainly increased, as became evident in 1937, when he published an article in *De Socialistische Gids* (an organ of the SDAP) in which he set out a view of the function of museums that was quite advanced for its day. In the article, which was written from the idealistic viewpoint of ‘educating the working classes,’ he argued forcefully for staging exhibitions and for rotating displays from a museum's permanent collection. Only then would the layman be able to appreciate the differences between the works, resulting in a lively museum. ‘A good way of combining a small exhibition gallery and large collections,’ he wrote, ‘is to rotate the displays systematically, each quarter, for instance. However, not all the space available need be used for the temporary exhibition. A good unity will be achieved by having a permanent

\textsuperscript{12} For this information see Van Gogh, op. cit. (note 8), p. 5, and J. van Gogh's memorandum to the museum of August 1993, p. 3.
Changes

Although he was displaying an interest in museum policy, Van Gogh continued to maintain his detached stance towards his own collection. When asked, he was generous in loaning out works from the Stedelijk Museum to major exhibitions, but he took no steps to organise exhibitions of his own collection elsewhere. Nor did he write about his uncle's artistic achievements. Or as his son, Johan van Gogh, later said: ‘In the period 1920-40 my father was absolutely convinced that he should not live off his famous uncle's name. Keeping the collection together, fine. [...] But nothing more than that.'

This attitude, however, changed dramatically after the Second World War. Van Gogh's reservations made way for a very active involvement with his uncle's works. Using his loans to the Stedelijk Museum, he organized numerous exhibitions at home and abroad - in Sweden, France, Belgium, and later in America. These were generally held in the winter months so that the collection could be seen during the summer at its home base in the Stedelijk Museum. Some of these exhibitions, such as those in New York and Chicago in 1949-50, were undertaken jointly by Van Gogh and the Kröller-Müller Museum in Otterlo. These efforts are all indications that Van Gogh was increasingly coming to regard himself as the guardian of Vincent's art and the Upholder of his mother's tradition. The family pride, the realisation that he was representing Theo and Vincent and was thus following in his mother's footsteps by fighting for their ‘cause’ was certainly a determining factor in Van Gogh's life from now on.

This new stance undoubtedly had something to do with the fact that it would now have been difficult to accuse him of ‘living off his uncle's name,’ for he had proved himself as a person by making a career in his own chosen profession. His firmer sense of identity must also have been due to the analysis he underwent in 1941 with the Freudian psychiatrist H.G. van de Waals. He took this step at the prompting of

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14 Reply from J. van Gogh from March 1993 to a letter from the author (23 February 1993).
his second wife, Nelly van der Goot (1899-1967), who took a keen interest in psycho-analysis.\textsuperscript{15}

It is not known precisely what this analysis meant for the Engineer personally, but it definitely left its traces on his approach to art. Where previously he had considered it ‘sorcery,’ he now began to explain art from a psychoanalytical point of view. ‘A museum,’ he said in an address in 1955, ‘can be likened to a psychological laboratory (as can an exhibition). After hundreds of years one still finds material for the study of an artist’s personality. We can see which fundamental emotions stirred him; we can observe his feelings of fear and guilt, as well as his defence against

fig. 6 V.W. van Gogh in front of the Pavillon de Vendôme in Aix-en-Provence, 1959

\textsuperscript{15} Diary of V.W. van Gogh, 21 July 1972; see note 6. He married Nelly van der Goot in 1942.
them, and also the causes of the impediments to his development.\textsuperscript{16} It was thus that he found a way of assimilating his uncle's art, and this is most clearly expressed in an article that appeared in the \textit{Scottish Art Review} in 1955. Using the example of \textit{The potato eaters}, Van Gogh tried to explain in a methodical way why a significance could be attributed to a work of art that the artist had not himself put into it. \textit{The potato eaters}, he wrote, could be seen either as a painting that expressed happiness at the security of family life or its very opposite: the depressing social circumstances of a peasant family.\textsuperscript{17} He remained a true advocate of the psychoanalytical approach to art for the rest of his life, and was on friendly terms with a number of the ‘analysts’ who later placed Vincent van Gogh on the psychiatrist's couch, such as H.R. Graetz, Albert J. Lubin and Charles Mauron.\textsuperscript{18}

**The dream of a museum**

In the mid-1950s, with old age approaching, he began thinking about the future of his collection. Although the prices for Vincent's works were rocketing, he was determined to keep the collection together. He evidently cherished a dream of founding a separate museum, although he had not got to the stage of making hard-and-fast plans. He originally thought of transferring the collection to the Kröller-Müller Museum in Otterlo, but Hammacher, the director at the time, was not interested in a collaboration.\textsuperscript{19} Another location Van Gogh considered, at least according to Hammacher, was Zundert, the village near the Belgian border in the

\textsuperscript{16} Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum, Foundation Room, Samenvatting van een voordracht over Vincent van Gogh, gehouden 18 maart 1955 door Ir. V.W. van Gogh te Antwerpen aan de boord van de Flandria XVI, voor de Vrienden van de Flandriaboten, lectures file.


\textsuperscript{19} Interview with A.M. Hammacher on 28 January 1994.
province of Brabant where Vincent van Gogh was born in 1853.\textsuperscript{20} No firm plans are known for the construction of a museum in that remote spot, but perhaps he gave more serious consideration to Laren, where he had been living since the 1920s, as the new home for his collection.\textsuperscript{21}

It is difficult to say how serious all these plans were. It looks as if Van Gogh was putting out feelers without having a real alternative himself. However, in his attempts to create a museum he was becoming increasingly disappointed by the

\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{21} Plans were certainly laid by people other than V.W. van Gogh; see Emma Brunt, ‘Geen kans op Larense renaissance,’ \textit{Het Parool}, 4 June 1992, and minutes of the 12th family council of the Vincent van Gogh Foundation, 21 September 1957: Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum, Foundation Room, Family council minutes (1949-1960).
lack of initiative on the part of the Dutch state. In 1959, after the funeral of Baart de la Faille, the author of the catalogue raisonné of Vincent's works, he vented his frustrations to Hammacher: ‘In the car he said: “What happened to De la Faille could happen to me tomorrow.” He was very serious, and said: “Nothing has been arranged, and I am beginning to think that I will take them [the paintings] somewhere else [...]. I can have an immediate success on the art market, of course [...]. There has still been no approach from either the burgomaster [Van Hall] or Reinink [Director-General for the Arts at the ministry]. They all behave as if everything will turn out all right in the end, but it's not turning out all right at all [...].”’ Following this outburst, Hammacher vowed to take action himself.

This sounding of the alarm quickly produced results. Only a few months after De la Faille's funeral a meeting took place during the Van Gogh exhibition that was held at Aix-en-Provence in the autumn of 1959. Mr and Mrs Van Gogh were approached by H.J. Reinink and A.M. Hammacher, who asked them how the collection could be kept together for the benefit of the nation. The outcome of the conversation was very satisfactory for Van Gogh and his children. In the first place, the Dutch state declared that it was prepared to buy the collection (for a price to be agreed upon later), and secondly, a body would be set up to ensure the family's lasting involvement with the collection. The site for the new museum would be decided upon in consultation with the family, and Van Gogh himself would take part in its construction. The fourth and final point was that the museum would contain a studio for visual self-expression.

Although an agreement in principle was reached at Aix-en-Provence, the actual negotiations still had to take place. On 16 November there was a meeting between Van Gogh, Reinink and Burgomaster Van Hall. The latter, who had been told of the developments in Aix by Reinink, was asked whether he and his aldermen were prepared to keep the collection in Amsterdam. Their willingness to do so was immediately apparent; indeed the speed with which the discussion moved on to the subject of the museum's location betrayed nothing short of eagerness. After the meeting Van Gogh noted: ‘Discussion in the burgomaster's office with Henk Reinink

22 Hammacher interview, cit. (note 19).
23 This proposal also dealt with the problem of inheritance tax. On the Engineer's death the tax on his collection would have been so high that works would have had to be sold to pay it. Moreover, this arrangement meant that the collection would not have to be divided among the heirs, as required by Dutch law, with would have led to it being split up and possibly dispersed
present. Reinink had told Van Hall of our conversation in Aix about the conditional sale of the collection. Amsterdam could build a museum on the corner of Vermeerstraat. I said that it would have to contain something more in order to make it lively. Principal question: how is it to be organised and what is the sum involved? [...] They paid two million for those paintings of Regnault's. I did propose the alternative of selling some of the paintings for large sums (to America).’ On 20 November 1959, shortly after the discussion with Van Hall and Reinink, he wrote: ‘Conversation with Sandberg [director of the Stedelijk Museum]. Have told him the news. Told him what we would like best: under our own control with the government paying us a lump sum, for which we undertake to exhibit the collection for many years in a state museum. [...] Discussing the sums he made the rough calculation of 100 paintings at

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an average of 100,000 guilders apiece equals 10 million, in other words he estimated them at half the appraisal value. According to him that puts the price somewhere between 10 and 20 million guilders. I also told him: the more say we have the less the government has to pay. A very satisfactory conversation.\textsuperscript{25} In 1962, as a result of these informal talks, Van Gogh's collections were transferred to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation for 18,470,000 guilders.\textsuperscript{26}

Now it was the turn of the Amsterdam City Council to decide on the construction of a national museum on its land. Since everyone realised the quite obvious importance of keeping the Van Gogh collection in the city, it was really just a question of formalities. On 10 October 1962 the motion submitted by the College of Burgomaster and Aldermen to make a site for the museum available free of charge was approved without a show of hands. That afternoon, all the parties represented on the council praised the agreement reached between Van Gogh and the government. Only a few members had comments to make on the aim of the museum, which also involved the function of the Stedelijk Museum. The question was: should the Stedelijk concentrate on contemporary art and as a result neglect the historic collection, or could it also display the classics of modern art?\textsuperscript{27}

Councillor Fisher of the Pacifist-Socialist Party, for example, began his speech with a remark on the effect of removing the Van Gogh collection from the Stedelijk Museum. Because the Van Gogh collection mainly attracted foreign visitors, he was afraid that they would no longer come to see the Stedelijk's own collection, much of which was not on view anyway because of a shortage of space. His suggestion was to supplement the Van Gogh collection with around 50 works of the same period from the city's collection. He specifically mentioned the French Impressionists, the School of Barbizon, Corot, Courbet, Millet, Gauguin and Redon. This would mean that the Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh would be somewhat broader in scope than

\textsuperscript{25} Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum, Foundation Room, Memorandum by V.W. van Gogh, 20 November 1959, memorandum file.
\textsuperscript{26} It should be added that the Engineer had agreed to donate Dfl. 1m to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation as working capital. Johan van Gogh kindly informed us that the collection was in fact bought for Dfl. 15m. The difference was the working capital and the sum that the heirs would have had to pay in inheritance tax; Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum, memorandum from J. van Gogh to the museum (August 1993).
\textsuperscript{27} On the political decision-making process surrounding the Van Gogh Museum see \textit{Gemeenteblad}, afd. 2, no. 11, 10 October 1962, pp. 851-69.

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planned, but it would give the Stedelijk the opportunity to show more of its collection of modern art.  

28 Ibid., pp. 851-54.
Le Cavalier, councillor for the Liberal Party, believed that the one-sided concept of the Van Gogh Museum was, on the contrary, an advantage. ‘This Van Gogh gallery will become a temple to a turbulent life, as it were, unlike other museums, which have been put together by individuals from the works of several people and as a result always express the personal taste of a collector.’

Verhey, of the Communist Party, was the only member critical of the plan as a whole. He said that Amsterdam had been forced to make a decision by the agreement between Van Gogh and the state. The city itself had no reason at all to change the present situation. On the contrary, he said, there was even a proposal for improving the display of the Van Gogh collection in the Stedelijk Museum.

The Van Gogh Museum

As part of the agreement between the state and the Vincent van Gogh Foundation, Van Gogh was appointed advisor for the construction of the museum. Although he was now over 70, he plunged with great vigour into the task of carrying out research on specific points of the construction programme. He supplied examples, and many of their features were included in the building plan.

In mid-1963 Gerrit Rietveld, the éminence grise of Dutch architecture, produced a design for the Van Gogh Museum. It was to be a daylight museum with a central hall open to the roof, which would serve as a light shaft. The design, produced in consultation with Van Gogh, was based on that of the Guggenheim Museum in New York. Although both Rietveld and Van Gogh were impressed by Frank Lloyd Wright's creation, it was not exactly a miracle of functionalism, which was what Van Gogh was after. In that respect he was more taken by the Musée-Maison de Culture in Le Havre and the Stedelijk Museum's daylight wing, which had been built under Sandberg.

The ensuing discussions of the advisory committee with the Government Buildings Department led to the framing of a list of requirements that would serve as a guide
for the construction stage. It was in this programme that the museum's functions were first set out. Apart from displaying the bulk of the permanent collection, it would have the following ancillary tasks: to mount temporary exhibitions; to organise lectures, film shows, guided tours and other forms of information; to provide facilities for leisure activities (self-expression); and to provide space for study and research in the library and archives. ‘The state,’ it was noted in the programme, ‘has declared that it will assist in enabling the museum to take a place in the social life of Amsterdam. Specific mention is made of the opportunity for self-activation, partly as a way of appreciating the artistic expressions of others.’

The stress placed on the ‘liveliness’ of the museum clearly came from Van Gogh himself. He had not disavowed his earlier ideas on the subject; they had become even stronger, largely due to the activities of American museums. In a letter of 1962 to Anne Vondeling, a member of the parliamentary Labour Party, he went to some lengths to explain his ideas on the subject, which were based on socialist principles. ‘A museum ought to have a place in the city's social fabric in its endeavour to educate the working
classes. Visits by schools and temporary exhibitions, however important they may be in themselves, are not enough in this respect [...] Museums in the United States do things that we haven't even thought of over here. There visitors are given the opportunity to participate themselves, and on a large scale. Everywhere there are classes in “self-expression” or “perception.” [...] It is [...] a powerful way of stimulating interest in the museum's collection. In addition, everything must be done to make a museum lively and alive. [...] This has always been a hobbyhorse of mine, and I hope that the Van Gogh collection will become a centrepiece in this development, which I consider extremely important for helping people better themselves.’

The museum in practice

Which of the ideals that Van Gogh had developed were actually put into effect when the museum finally opened its doors in 1973? The first director, Emile Meijer, certainly presided over a great deal of activity, with lots of exhibitions and events following one another in rapid succession, but most of them lacked the relation to the core collection envisaged by Van Gogh. The programming was considerably reduced under Meijer's successors, and there was little ‘liveliness’ to be seen. The Engineer's wish that the museum should contain a workshop for self-expression was respected even after his death in 1978, but here too the relation to the permanent collection was very tenuous. The average museum visitor certainly made no use of its facilities, and it was closed in 1991.

It is only in the past decade, thanks to a more varied exhibition programme covering the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, that one can speak of ‘a museum brought alive by temporary exhibitions,’ which may or may not be based on the museum's own holdings. And partly as a result of an active acquisitions policy the permanent Van Gogh collection has been given an increasingly rich frame of reference. The museum today appears to live up to the Engineer's ideals in many respects. It has proved extremely accessible to the general public, and each year it attracts visitors in numbers that would have exceeded his highest expectations.

fig. 1
Ex-libris of V.W. van Gogh, designed by J.H.G. Cohen Gosschalk
The Van Gogh Museum library  
Anita Vriend

The Van Gogh Museum maintains a specialized library numbering over 20,000 volumes. Besides literature about Van Gogh, it contains books and periodicals primarily regarding the visual arts of the latter half of the 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th.

Originally, the Museum's library was an amalgamation of what were once two private collections. The first books belonged to the engineer Dr Vincent Willem van Gogh (1890-1978), son of Vincent's brother Theo, and the Belgian art historian and man of letters Dr Mark Edzo Tralbaut (1902-1976). The library of V.W. van Gogh formed part of the agreement reached on 21 July 1962 between the Vincent van Gogh Foundation and the Dutch State whereby all works and documents belonging to the Foundation were placed on permanent loan to the State. Virtually every book from this collection is stamped IR. V.W. van Gogh Rozenlaantje 12 Laren N.H. A few volumes are signed by the engineer and some contain his ex-libris. The ex-libris was designed by his step-father, the artist Johan H.G. Cohen Gosschalk, presumably in 1907, the year Vincent Willem started studying in Delft. Hence the study with books and sets squares (fig. 1).

The first part of the family library, which later became known as the BVW collection (Bibliotheek Vincent Willem), was turned over to the staff even before the Van Gogh Museum opened. At first, the only additions were complimentary copies of books on Van Gogh, but from 1970 onward the Museum began buying new titles. Henceforth each acquisition was given a BVG shelf mark (Bibliotheek Vincent van Gogh). The goal was to make the greatest possible number of books and documents about Van Gogh available when the new museum opened its doors. 1970 also witnessed the appointment of the first librarian, Lili Couvé-Jampoller, who held the position until her retirement in 1980.

2 It was moved to Honthorststraat 16, where the offices of the Museum were temporarily housed. The documentation surrounding Van Gogh's oeuvre, used primarily for the purpose of authentication, was kept here as well (oral communication from Lili Couvé-Jampoller).
3 She was succeeded in 1980 by Fieke Pabst, who had worked in the library since 1976. When Pabst became the Museum's research documentalist in 1986, the author was appointed librarian, with Monique Hageman as her assistant.

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With the financial support of the Vincent van Gogh Foundation and the University of Amsterdam, the State purchased the archive of the Van Gogh scholar M.E. Tralbaut in May 1969. His archive comprised books and exhibition

A board was appointed to administer this archive, on which the various authorities involved were represented. Besides Emile R. Meijer, director of the Van Gogh Museum at the time, the commission comprised Prof. Hans Jaffée, Jan Hulsker and V.W. van Gogh, representing the University of Amsterdam, the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work, and the Vincent van Gogh Foundation respectively (note written by Lili Couvé-Jampoller on 1 November 1977, preserved in the documentation files of the Van Gogh Museum).
catalogues on Van Gogh, as well as newspaper articles and photographs of the places the Dutch artist had immortalised. Earlier that year, Tralbaut had won a prize for his ‘International Van Gogh Archive,’ as he called the collection, from the Algemeen Nederlands Verbond. Consisting of over 2,000 books and articles, the collection was assigned a separate status: every item was given a number beginning with a ‘T,’ for Tralbaut. Although the Belgian continued to expand the collection at the institution's expense, subsequent acquisitions were not given a T number, but a BVG shelf mark. To distinguish his own collection, Tralbaut had an ex-libris designed by the Hungarian artist Antal Fery (fig. 2), but the design was never carried out.

The books of Vincent, Theo and other family members

The second part of the Van Gogh family library, consisting of some 2,000 titles, was moved to the Museum two months after the opening. Thanks to the entry V.W. van Gogh penned in his journal on 18 August 1973, we know exactly when this occurred. Rather than simply incorporating these books into the pre-existing BVW collection, the library gave them a BVG number.

5 The ANV administered the Visser-Neerlandiaprijzen, which were designed to promote Dutch culture abroad: see ‘Uitreiking Visser-Neerlandiaprijzen 1968,’ Neerlandia: Algemeen-Nederlands maanblad 73 (February 1969), pp. 59-63.
7 ‘Yesterday was a great day. Gerlach, the shipping agent, came to pick up the books for the Museum. [...] The books of Theo and my mother have been taken to Amsterdam’; excerpt from the journal of V.W. van Gogh (quoted with the kind permission of the Vincent van Gogh Foundation).
This second shipment comprised the most interesting material. It contained the only book known with certainty to have belonged to Vincent: Edmond de Goncourt's novel *Chérie*, in which the artist wrote his name with a red crayon. Interestingly, he signed only with his first name (fig. 3), as in his paintings, drawings, and letters to Theo. The book, which is also stamped with the name of Theo's wife Jo van Gogh-Bonger, contains a pressed flower, probably put there by Jo. Judging from its inscription, a portfolio with six lithographs by Charles Emmanuel Serret must also have belonged to the artist: ‘à monsieur Vincent van Gogh en témoignage de bonne amitié, Charles Serret’. A third book of Vincent's re-entered the family collection in 1972 and thus later came into the Museum's possession: the *Recueil de psaumes et cantiques à l'usage des églises réformées* (1865) was used by the artist for his evangelical work in the Belgian Borinage. Van Gogh underlined or circled certain passages and also made some notes in it. The psalter has a mahogany case.

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8 It was not for nothing that Van Gogh signed this book. His letters indicate that he was struck by the parallels between the relationship of the brothers Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, described in the foreword to *Chérie*, and that of Theo and himself; see De brieven van Vincent van Gogh, ed. Han van Crimpen and Monique Berends-Albert, 4 vols., The Hague 1990, letter 561/450, February 1886 and letter 564/453, February 1886.

9 It originally was in the possession of Vincent's sister Elisabeth (or Lies) du Quesne-Van Gogh, who had been given it by her mother. In September 1925 Lies presented ‘ce pauvre petit livre,’ as she called it, to Pasteur Pierre Secretan-Rollier, a Swiss preacher who, between 1922 and 1926, had worked in the village of Petit-Wasmes in the Belgian Borinage (see letter from E.H. du Quesne-Van Gogh to P. Secretan-Rollier, Baarn, 16 September 1925; archive of the Van Gogh Museum). Lies had recently attended the unveiling of a memorial plaque on the house where Vincent lived in Petit-Wasmes and this may have prompted her to present the book as a memorial to her late brother. In 1972 Pasteur Secretan, now retired and living in Geneva, presented the Psalter in turn to V.W. van Gogh. In token of his gratitude, V.W. van Gogh donated 1,000 guilders to the parish of Petit-Wasmes (see letter from V.W. van Gogh to P. Secretan-Rollier, 24 November 1972; archive of the Vincent van Gogh Foundation, Amsterdam).

10 Several words at the top of page 153 (Psalm 118) have been crossed out and are now illegible. The number ‘110’ appears next to hymn 36, and one line below the first line of the hymn (subsequently extended with an arrow pointing to the left page). A reference is written in pencil above the title of hymn 72 (‘Amour fraternel’) - ‘1. Corinthiens XIII’ - and between the title and number of this hymn ‘La Charité.’ The number ‘70’ was written next to hymn 119. The first three lines of hymn 121 are underlined, to the right of which a double bracket
presumably of a later date, and was inscribed at the front and back by Pasteur Secretan (see fn. 9).

There may well be other books and periodicals that once belonged to Vincent but which can no longer be iden-

tified as such. By comparison, more of the original contents of Theo's library can be
distinguished. Two examples are a Bible his parents gave him in 1870 and Het boek
der psalmen, published in 1848, which contains his bookmark. His signature helps
identify others, such as the catalogues of the exhibitions devoted to Courbet and
Manet in 1882 and 1884, and a collection of poems by Carel Vosmaer entitled
Vogels van diverse pluimage of 1879. Likewise signed by Theo are Monsieur, madame
et bébé by Gustave Droz (1878) and Légendes des artistes by J. Collin de Plancy
(1842). The latter may have been given him by his brother, who wrote in 1877: ‘Do
you have De Plancy's Légendes des artistes, with wood engravings after Rochussen?
I hope to bring it for you.’ The library also contains two books dedicated to Theo
by their respective authors: Critique d'avant-garde by Théodore Duret (1885) and
Amoureux d'art by Jean Dolent (1888), with an original etching by Eugène Carrière.
Various books can be linked to Theo on the basis of notes by his son Vincent Willem
van Gogh: in a copy of Stendhal's Le rouge et le noir (n.d.), for example, Vincent
Willem wrote ‘This belonged to Theo van Gogh in Paris!’ Other volumes inscribed
with Theo's name are Contes de la reine de Navarre by L'Heptamérón (n.d.), a booklet
featuring snap-shots of Rouen, a French-English pocket dictionary, and an illustrated
guide to Paris in 1867. Finally, there are books Jo inscribed with nothing more than
‘Van Gogh,’ which of course does not tell us to which brother they belonged. Several
are mentioned in Vincent's correspondence, such as La faute de l'abbé Mouret by
Emile Zola (1878).

Dozens of books in the collection stem from Theo's wife Jo van Gogh-Bonger,
including various literary works. Despite the fact that they are stamped with her
name, some of them may once have been Theo's. One example is Alphonse Karr's
Voyage autour de mon jardin (1851), beautifully illustrated with hand-coloured
prints. Although stamped by Jo, Vincent's letter of 10 August 1874 suggests it was
originally Theo's: ‘With the money of mine that you have buy Alphonse Karr's Voyage
autour de mon jardin; don't forget, as I want you to read it.’ The most personal of
Jo's books is her illustrated birthday motto book and nature calendar, with dried
flowers still pressed between some of the pages. Besides members of her family, it
includes friends such as the artists Lizzy Ansingh and Eva Seelig, and Marie Sèthe,
wife of Henry van de Velde. Jo also owned the art critic Albert Plasschaert's Vincent
van Gogh: reproducties naar zijne werken (1898) and L'esthétique fondamentale et
traditionelle d'après les

12 Exhib. cat. Exposition des oeuvres de Gustave Courbet, Paris (Ecole des Beaux-Arts) 1882;
exhib. cat. Exposition des oeuvres de Edouard Manet, Paris (Ecole des Beaux-Arts) 1884.
13 Letter 113/94, 30 April 1877.
14 Letter 28/21, 10 August 1874.
maîtres de tous les temps (1910) by Emile Bernard, both gifts from their respective authors.¹⁵

Some books in the collection are valuable not only because they once belonged to Vincent's family, but also because of the notes they made in them. For instance, the copy of the book by Vincent's sister Elisabeth H. du Quesne-van Gogh, Vincent van Gogh: persoonlijke herinneringen aangaande een kunstenaar (Baarn 1910), is filled with corrections pencilled in by Jo. The tone of Lies's dedication is somewhat impersonal: ‘To my Sister-in-Law from the Author.’ Jo rejected many of Lies's assumptions about Vincent. Beside the statement ‘He was alienated from his brothers and sisters,’ for example, Jo wrote ‘Theo said he so enjoyed playing with Vincent.’¹⁶ In the same fashion, Jo dismissed as ‘nonsense’ Lies's claim that Vincent was averse to every form of influence and imitation.¹⁷ Characteristic of Lies's casual approach to history is the final paragraph of her essay, where she states that Van Gogh painted his sunflowers in Auvers. ‘Wrong,’ wrote Jo in the margin rather bluntly, ‘they were made in Arles.’¹⁸ Nor did De Hollandsche schilderkunst in de negentiende eeuw by G. Hermine Marius escape the critical gaze of the family: V.W. van Gogh denied that Theo ever made the statement about the Borinage drawings which the author attributed to him: ‘Now you'll see something! Vincent is busy drawing; someday he'll be a second Rembrandt!’ Beside it, the engineer wrote ‘imagination of Miss M.’¹⁹

The second part of the shipment also contained books from other Van Goghs. One of these, the Bible of Vincent's father Reverend Theodorus van Gogh, also passed through the hands of Elisabeth du Quesne-Van Gogh before being presented to the Museum in the 1970s by her granddaughter, Hubertine van Donk-Kooiman. In 1988 a second Bible, which also belonged to Reverend van Gogh, was permanently lent to the Museum²⁰; this is the same book Vincent immortalised in his still life Open bible, extinguished candle and Zola's ‘La joie de vivre’. Of all the religious books the painter knew, this particular Bible must have held the greatest significance for him. In this case it was not the scriptures that stirred his emotions as much as the fact that it had belonged to his late father.²¹ Shortly after finishing the still life Vincent sent the Bible to Theo.²²

17 Ibid., p. 54.
18 Ibid., p. 89.
19 See the library's copy of G. Hermine Marius, De Hollandsche schilderkunst in de negentiende eeuw, The Hague 1903, p. 504.
22 Letter 541/430, November 1885. Perhaps we should mention that there is still a Bible in Helvoirt that belonged to the artist's father; see Harrie Smulders, ‘Van Gogh in Helvoirt. De familie Van Gogh geschetst tegen de achtergrond van Helvoirt aan het eind van de vorige eeuw,’ De Kleine Meijerij 41 (1990), no. 1, pp. 12-13. Another, English edition of the Bible,
Of great value to Van Gogh research are the albums of early clippings. One such album contains cuttings about Vincent from the period 1890-1925, which were collected by his sister-in-law Jo. There are also six other books of this type. Two comprise articles about the artist, the one kept by Jo's brother, the art dealer Andries Bonger between 1890 and 1914, and the other by the family from the late 1930s and the mid-1950s. Two others were kept by the Van Gogh specialist J.-B. de la Faille, with articles from the 1930s about forgeries of Van Gogh's work; this is supplemented by a collection of clippings about a forgery that came to light in 1949. Finally, there is an album with newspaper cuttings from the period 1932-44. The library also preserves a scrapbook kept by Jo's second husband, Johan Cohen Gosschalk, with articles he had written.

Aside from these scrapbooks, there are also newspaper articles about Vincent van Gogh in the archive of the library. M.E. Tralbaut's contributions formed the basis of this collection, to which new information is constantly being added. Much of this material consists of documentation regarding Van Gogh exhibitions worldwide. Tralbaut's collection is far from complete in this respect, the majority of his cuttings dating from the mid-1940s or later. The older material in the library, comprising clip-

which Vincent van Gogh must have known personally, belongs to a private collector in England, and once belonged to Vincent's English friend, Harry Gladwell; see Louis van Tilborgh, 'Van Gogh in Engeland,' *Van Gogh Bulletin* 7 (1992), no. 3, p. 20.
pings about, catalogues of, and invitations to exhibitions, was gathered by V.W. van Gogh and his mother Jo van Gogh-Bonger.

A new direction

In the years immediately following the Museum's establishment, the acquisition policy of the library focused primarily on Vincent van Gogh. Hence the purchase of the archive of the American journalist Edouard Buckman (d. 1973) in January 1975. Although it did not contain much literature about Van Gogh beyond what the library already possessed, the collection did comprise a drawing by Vincent van Gogh which can be traced to the seventh and last sketchbook (fig. 4).\textsuperscript{23} Buckman, whose greatest achievement was the compilation of an exhaustive bibliography on the artist, had received the sheet from the son of Vincent's friend, Dr Paul Gachet. His correspondence with Gachet forms part of the archive.

The library's acquisition policy did not change until 1986, in concert with that of the Van Gogh Museum as a whole, which now focuses less exclusively on the Dutch painter. The library began to expand, purchasing both the newest literature on 19th century art in general and historical sources, such as \textit{Le Japon illustré} by Aimé Humbert (1870). Humbert's work complements the sources that were already in the library, such as Samuel Bing's \textit{Le Japon artistique: documents d'art et d'industrie} (1888-90). Another fine acquisition (1993) was Baudelaire's \textit{Les fleurs du mal} with prints by the Swiss Symbolist Carlos Schwabe (1866-1926) (fig. 5). The rarest of all the books illustrated by Schwabe, \textit{Les fleurs du mal} is considered the culmination of his work in this area. It appeared in 1900 in a limited edition of 77 numbered exemplars and was originally intended

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{fig5.png}
\caption{Carlos Schwabe, \textit{La Mort}, from Charles Baudelaire, \textit{Les fleurs du mal}, 1900}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{23} F 1654 recto/JH 2069; F 1654 verso/JH 2070; see Johannes van der Wolk, \textit{De schetsboeken van Vincent van Gogh}, Amsterdam 1986, SB 7/11-12.
only for friends of the artist. The Van Gogh Museum's copy belonged to the Swiss publisher Charles Eggimann, who collaborated repeatedly with Schwabe.

Apart from smaller acquisitions, the gap in historical source material was filled in part by the purchase of

the library of the Amsterdam artists' association Arti et Amicitiae in 1992. As other large art libraries were established in the course of the 20th century, the Arti library, founded in the 19th, gradually fell into disuse. Meeting the scholarly needs of the Van Gogh Museum gave it a new lease on life, allowing it to remain in the capital and not be dispersed. Indeed, the sale of the collection was contingent upon its being kept intact. Most of the books were bound by the Amsterdam bindery of Elias P. van Bommel and stamped in gold with the name of the association on the spine, but unfortunately they were not in very good condition. After the library was moved to the Van Gogh Museum, funds allocated especially for conservation by the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Cultural Affairs under the so-called Delta Plan were used to restore the leather bindings in particular. The work was carried out on the spot by a team of book restorers under the direction of Ada Teitler-Terweij.

Arti et Amicitiae and its library

Arti et Amicitiae was founded in 1839, the library less than a year later. The ‘absence in our country of a satisfactory public institution of similar nature’ was deemed sufficient reason for Arti to set up an art library on its own. It was thought that such a library would enable the association to influence the ‘cultural and spiritual development of its members, especially the artists.’ The acquisition policy reflected the educational purpose of the library and strictly avoided ‘contentious political and theological writings.’ The association had a special interest in professional literature beyond the financial reach of its membership. However, much of its budget was earmarked for periodicals, on which the members relied for news of the contemporary art world. The periodicals were freely available in the common room of the association. Starting in 1954 a portfolio with journals was even circulated among the members in Amsterdam. Although there are still many important periodicals in the collection, numerous issues have unfortunately been lost.

Arti experienced its greatest florescence between its foundation in 1839 and 1875. As one would expect, it was during this period that the core of the library was formed. The composition of the collection was largely determined by the first two generations of member-artists, especially the members of the board. The first group included such well-known personages and founders of the association as the portrait and history painter Jan Willem Pieneman, the French engraver A. Benoît Taurel, the history and genre painter Jan Adam Kruseman, the architect Martinus Gerardus Tetar van Elven and the sculptor Louis Royer, all of whom taught at the Amsterdam academy. These artists were followed in the 1870s by the painters Conradijn Cunaeus, Johan Conrad Greive, Jr, Jan Hendrik Maschhaupt, the engraver Charles

26 Verslag over het Maatschappelijke jaar 1853, p. 31.
Edouard Taurel and the architect Johan Harmanus Lehman, among others. It was these conservative artists who determined association policy until 1893.

The association often asked the membership to support the library. ‘It would be too costly and exceed our budget if we now had to purchase so many works at our own expense,’ was the board's usual justification. Particularly in the first years, the library owed its expansion to its generous benefactors. Many members donated books to Arti; in exchange the society published their names and the corresponding titles in its annual reports. The painter Valentijn Bing, for instance, one of Arti's first members, donated his Den eerste Boeck van Architecture Sebastiani Serlii / tracteerende van Geometrie (1606) to the library in 1856. In the same way, the portrait and genre painter Henri J. Zimmerman presented the library with a superb edition of the Gustave Doré Bible in 1877. Arti's first president, J.W. Pieneman, donated the fine Splendor magnificentissimae urbis Venetiarum clarissimus (n.d.). Others contributed to the collection frequently, such as the portrait and figure painter J.H. Maschhaupt, who served as librarian from his first year of membership in 1872 until 1895. He tended to stamp the books he gave with his name, and sometimes also signed them. Many of the older books in the Arti library belonged to him, including the artists' biography Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkonst anders de Zichtbare
Werelt (1678) by Samuel van Hoogstraten. The smallest, leather-bound volume in the collection, Nouveau traité de la civilité qui se pratique en France parmi les honnestes gens (1690), was also donated by him, as was a copy of Disegno by Anton Francesco Doni from 1549; it is described as rarissime in the annual report of 1876. Other generous benefactors were such prominent artists as Jac van Looy and August Allebé, who was director of the Rijksacademie van Beeldende Kunsten in Amsterdam from 1880 until 1906; the latter donated such works as the hermetic text Harmonie universelle (1861) by Louis Delbeke.

The annual reports also list many donations received from art-loving (as opposed to artistic) members. Although not a member, King Willem III donated a display copy of the 14-volume Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles (1849-76) by Charles Blanc in 1876. Art dealers also contributed to the library. The Amsterdam bookseller and art dealer C.M. van Gogh, for example, an uncle of Vincent's who organised viewings at Arti, donated a number of collection catalogues. From the art dealer H.G. Tersteeg, Vincent's superior during his employment at the Hague branch of the dealers Goupil & Cie, the association received the two-volume sale catalogue of the Secrétan Collection in 1889.

The board of Arti encouraged all writers to share the ‘fruits of their erudition and talent’ with the artistic community. This explains the library's possession of a number of privately published books, such as the three-volume Dutch edition of Dante's La divina commedia, translated by Johan Conrad Hacke van Mijnden in 1867, and the rare, two-volume Brieven en dagboek van A.G. Bilders of 1876, edited and published by Johannes Kneppelhout and presented to Arti by his widow. This latter is particularly interesting to the Van Gogh Museum, since Vincent knew the work and wrote about it at great length in a letter to Theo. Noteworthy, too, is the collection of articles about Arti (1891) with a cover-drawing by Charles Edouard Taurel (fig. 6). Many of the books in the library are signed by their authors, but this does not always mean they were donated by them. Souvenirs sur Théodore Rousseau (1872) by Alfred Sensier, for example, bears the author's dedication to the artist Jules Bounau, just as Causeries sur le paysage (1877) by the French painter and engraver Hector

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30 It unfortunately disappeared at some point after the catalogue of the Arti library was published in 1901, where it is listed under the heading Verzamelwerken van één Schrijver.
31 Verslag over het Maatschappelijke jaar 1850, p. 22.
fig. 6
Original drawing by Charles Edouard Taurel on the cover of an offprint from the ten-volume work C.E. Taurel, *Oud en Nieuw op het gebied van kunst en kunstnijverheid in Holland en België*, 1889-92

Allemand is dedicated to Johan Philip van der Kellen, director of the Rijksprentenkabinet at the time.

In the later years of the century, the arrival of a younger generation of artist-members, including exponents of the Hague School, the Amsterdam Impressionists and the so-called *Tachtigers*, heralded a period of unrest for Arti, marked by conflicts between the old and new guards. The innovators found it difficult to gain a firm foothold in the artists’ association, which was uncomfortable with their progressive ideas.33 That the leaders of the new groups, such as Jozef and Isaac Israëls, Jacob and Willem Maris and George Hendrik Breitner, remain unmentioned in the library's annual reports is therefore not surprising - although it should be noted that no reports were published between

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33 Reynaerts, op. cit. (note 28), p. 28.
1878 and 1886. Van Gogh himself bemoaned Arti's conservatism during this period in a letter to his sister, Wil, of June 1888: ‘You ask whether I sent something to the Arti exhibition. Certainly not! Only, Theo sent Mr Tersteeg a consignment of pictures by Impressionist painters, and among them there was one of mine. But the only result has been that neither Tersteeg nor the artists [i.e. of Arti], as Theo informed me, have seen anything in them.’

It was only two years after his death in 1890 - i.e. in 1892 - that Van Gogh's work was included in an exhibition at Arti, namely in the show which accompanied the celebrations the University of Amsterdam held every five years. The preface to the catalogue tells us something about the reason for this exceptionally successful exhibition: ‘This collection has been assembled to make us mindful of the strength of the art produced in the Netherlands over the past 20 years.’

Four months before the exhibition opened, Jo van Gogh-Bonger had held a viewing of Van Gogh's work, also at Arti et Amicitiae, a ticket to which is preserved by the Van Gogh Museum (fig. 7).

A changing of the guard at Arti in 1893, which was coupled with a new flexibility in policy, had no appreciable consequences for the library. The number of gifts had already declined in the course of the 1880s and this situation did not change. Little is known about the actual functioning of the library during this period. As of old, a librarian was elected or re-elected each year. From the foundation of the association until the turn of the century these were the artists Alexander Oltmans (1840-1853), Charles Rochussen (1853-1856), David van der Kellen (1856-1872), Jan Hendrik Maschhaupt (1872-1895), Ernst Witkamp (1895-1897), and Cornelis Gerardus ‘t

34 Letter 633/W4, c. 22 June 1888. 34 The letter continues: ‘Well, this is extremely comprehensible, for it is invariably the same thing all over again. One has heard talk about the impressionists, one expects a whole lot from them, and [...] when one sees them for the first time one is bitterly, bitterly disappointed, and thinks them slovenly, ugly, badly painted, badly drawn, bad in colour, everything that is miserable.’ Van Gogh wrote this from Arles, after having encountered the avant-garde in Paris and now thinking of ways to make his own contribution to the modern movement.

35 Catalogus der Keuze-tentoonstelling van Hedendaagsche Nederlandsche Kunst, bijeengebracht door een comité van schilders en studenten in Arti et Amicitiae, ter gelegenheid van de Lustrum-feesten der Amsterdamsche Universiteit, June-July 1892. There is an annotated exemplar of the catalogue with small composition drawings in the library of the Van Gogh Museum. It presumably belonged to the Van Gogh family.

36 Four years after resigning his post as librarian, Van der Kellen was made director of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam.

37 From 1894-97 Witkamp was also curator of the Museum Fodor in Amsterdam.
Hooft (1898-1918). Like the previous group of innovators, other early 20th-century artist-members felt little affinity with Arti. This was especially true of those who espoused new movements such as Fauvism and Luminism. Their lack of activity in the association is perhaps the reason why such famous members of the time as Jan Toorop, Jan Sluijters, Leo Gestel and Piet Mondrian are not mentioned in the annals of the library.

A brief survey of the collection

The library of Arti et Amicitiae can tell us a great deal about the sources the artist-members could draw upon in seeking to master their craft. One is immediately struck by the enormous diversity of the collection. The term ‘visual art’ was broadly conceived from the outset, as evidenced by

In 1897 Hooft was deputy director of the Rijksmuseum. He succeeded Witkamp as curator of Museum Fodor in 1898.

Reynaerts, op. cit. (note 28), pp. 41-44.
The library included not only the usual drawing, painting, and perspective manuals, but also histories, travelogues and books about archaeology, topography, architecture, anatomy, and physiognomy, as well as compilations on costumes and weaponry. The principal artists’ biographies, such as Carel van Mander’s Schilder-boeck of 1604, formed part of the collection, as did encyclopedic works, for example, Brockhaus’s Allgemeine Deutsche Real-Encyclopädie für die gebildeten Stände or Conversations-Lexicon (1851-55) and the Algemeene Nederlandsche Encyclopedie voor den beschaafden stand (1865-70), which is based on it. Nor were acquisitions limited to 19th-century literature. Dozens of 17th- and 18th-century sources were acquired, and even several dating from the 16th. Indeed, the oldest book in the collection is an annotated prescription book dating from 1571, De Secreten van den eervverdigen Heere Alexis Piemontois. Inhoudende zeer excellente en wel gheapprobeerde Remedien / teghen veelverhande cranckheden / wonden / en andere acciden: Met de maniere van te distilleren / perfumeren / confituren maken / te verwen / coleuren / ende ghieten (fig. 8).  

At first Arti’s library also comprised works of art, as indicated by the previously quoted report of 1840 and by the old stamp of the library, which read ‘collection of books and art works.’ The artworks involved were usually prints produced by members, but drawings are also mentioned, and there was even a portrait bust in plaster. None of these objects have remained in the collection. There is, however, a file with 14 anatomical drawings by Ploos van Amstel, along with a number of other books on the subject of anatomy, both human and animal. Rather bizarre are seven photographs of the so-called Verzameling van voorwerpen van
The ex-libris of the Amsterdam merchant, art collector and patron Josephus Augustinus Brentano (1753-1821) kunst, a colourful collection of, among other things, anatomical models, an ape skeleton and copies of ancient statues amassed by the Utrecht physician H.C.A.L. Fock.\(^4^3\)

Many of the works in the Arti library have a history of their own, which occasionally enhances the value of the collection. For example, there is the deluxe edition of *Rembrandt, sa vie, son oeuvre et son temps* by Emile Michel, presented by Arti et Amicitiae in 1896 to the association's departing second secretary, the artist Ferdinand G.M. Oldewelt.\(^4^4\) Another fine example of a book with an added value is the three-volume, 17th-century work by Joachim von Sandrart. The first two volumes contain his *Teutsche Academie der edlen Bau-, Bild- und Malereykünste*, while the third volume comprises the *Iconologia Deorum oder Abbildung der Götter*, as well as a biography of Sandrart (1675) and Carl van Mander's *P. Ovidii Nas Metamorphosis*, in German translation (1679). Before finding their way into the library of Arti et Amicitiae, the three volumes passed through the hands of various owners. The books originally belonged to the Amsterdam merchant, art collector and patron Josephus Augustinus Brentano (1753-1821), as evidenced by his ex-libris and signature (fig. 9).\(^4^5\)

A particularly interesting part of the Arti library is formed by the manuscripts, which total eight. One of them - the *Beschrijving der Schetsen in Olieverw betreffende de Geschiedenis van Nederland Beginnende met het jaar 40 en Eindigende met het jaar 1861* - was written by the Amsterdam art collector and patron Jacob de Vos, together with an explanation of the illustrated objects the photographs are enclosed in Fock's *Anatomie canonique ou le canon de Polyclète* of 1866, with prints by D.A. ten Holt and Charles Edouard Taurel. The treatise is based on Polyclitus's theory of proportions, which Fock describes. Both the book and the photographs were dedicated to the Arti et Amicitiae Society by the author.

In 1962 the book was returned to the association by his descendants. According to that year's report, it contains an ‘annotation of interest to Arti,’ namely the signatures of, among others, the genre and figure painter Carel Lodwyck Dake, president of the association in 1896, and the artist Hendrik Willebrord Jansen, at the time the second treasurer.

who became an honourary member of Arti in 1857. The text consists of a series of anecdotes based on Dutch history. They were written by De Vos as a commentary on his historical gallery, which consisted of 253 oil sketches and ten sculptures. We know Vincent van Gogh was acquainted with the collection: on 3 March 1878 he wrote to Theo: ‘Did you know Rochussen once painted the Siege of Leiden? I believe the painting now belongs to Mr De Vos.’ It was Charles Rochussen’s Relief of Leiden, executed in 1853, that Vincent had in mind. The art collection, commissioned by De Vos in its entirety, passed to Arti following the death of his widow, but was sold by the association in 1895. While Arti held on to the manuscript, the picture collection was acquired by the City of Amsterdam in 1897. Word and image were not reunited until 1991, in the catalogue that accompanied the exhibition Heroes of the nation in the Amsterdams Historisch Museum.

Of the remaining seven manuscripts, five originally derive from the collection of the 18th-century merchant Cornelis Ploos van Amstel (1726-1798). All five are translations of other works. It is known that Ploos van Amstel had

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46 Letter 141/120.
texts of friends and kindred spirits, as well as his own, written out in calligraphy, sometimes in several exemplars. How the manuscripts found their way into the Arti library is not known. We do know, however, that the collection was once much larger, for in 1948 more than 40 items were donated by the association to the Rijksprentenkabinet. Two of the manuscripts that remained with the library are contained in made-to-measure cardboard cases: the Verhandeling over de Schilderkunst door Leonard de Vinci uyt het Frans vertaald and the Historie der Kunsten die Betrekking hebben tot het Tekenen. Another manuscript, the Verhandeling over de Kunst eens Kenners, falsely registered in the Arti library as a separate publication, originally formed part of the Dutch translation of the Richardsons' Essay on the theory of painting of 1715, also in the collection and here entitled Over de schilder- en beeldhouwkunst. Finally, there are two manuscripts on architecture: Verhandeling over de natuur der Grondregelen van de Bouwkunst and Verhandeling over de Historie van de Bouwkunst.

The most sizeable manuscript in the library of Arti et Amicitiae is the nine-volume, anonymous Dutch translation of various works by the German founder of classical archaeology, Johann Joachim Winckelmann. Six volumes of the manuscript are devoted to his Geschichte der Kunst.

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49 J.W. Niemeijer and G. Ploos van Amstel, 'Bronnen en litteratuur, redevoeringen en publicaties', in Cornelis Ploos van Amstel, cit. (note 48), p. 293. These documents were probably not considered relevant for personal use and only that was kept which was of interest to Arti from an art historical point of view.

50 According to J.W. Niemeijer, Da Vinci's piece, presumably translated from the French edition of 1716, was partly copied down by Ploos himself. The history of drawing is a translation of the Histoire des arts qui ont rapport au dessin by P. Monier of 1698, and was copied by one of Ploos's anonymous scribes; see Cornelis Ploos van Amstel, cit. (note 48), p. 296.
des Altertums, here entitled *Van de Konst der Oudheyd*. One of the other texts in the series is Winckelmann's *Sendschreiben von den Herkulanischen Entdeckungen*, translated as *Zendbrief van de Herculiaansche ontdekkingen*. Although Niemeijer (see fn. 49) makes no mention of it, this manuscript could conceivably also have belonged to Ploos van Amstel, who was a contemporary of Winckelmann.

Another category of the Arti library is formed by sale and exhibition catalogues. It, however, comprises only a few Salon catalogues and most of the *Levende Meesters* volumes are also missing. Remarkably enough, the library does not even contain all the catalogues of the association's own exhibitions. These were almost exclusively kept in the association's archive. An exception is the catalogue of the Jacob Maris exhibition, held in December 1899. Particularly noteworthy in this catalogue are the interior photographs of the exhibition, with the names of the owners of the works written on them in pen and ink (fig. 10). There is also a similar album in the collection with photographs of the Rembrandt exhibition organised by Cornelis Hofstede de Groot - in co-operation with Arti et Amicitiae - on the occasion of Queen Wilhelmina's inauguration in 1898. The large deluxe edition of the catalogue, which appeared following the exhibition, was acquired by the library in 1899 (fig. 11). It comprises 40 loose-leaf photoengravings after Rembrandt's 'best pictures' and a text written by the organiser of the exhibition. The stunning portfolio containing the reproductions of the exhibited works with batiked parchment on the back and at the corners, was designed by Carel Adolph Lion Cachet, himself a member of Arti.

### Recently acquired literary sources for the works of Vincent van Gogh

Within less than a year of the purchase of the library of Arti et Amicitiae another important collection was acquired by the Van Gogh Museum: the collection of Vincent's literary sources which had been amassed by Jaap Brouwer, a Dutch antiquarian who lives in France. For years, the Van Gogh Museum had been actively reconstructing the artist's own 'library.' An avid reader,

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51 The archive still belongs to Arti and is housed in their building on the Rokin in Amsterdam.  
52 Pieter J.J. van Thiel, 'De Rembrandt-tentoonstelling van 1898,' *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 40 (1992), no. 1, pp. 11-93. The Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam preserves the original negatives of 12 of the 13 overview photographs. Copies of these photographs are also available at the Kunsthistorisch Instituut of the University of Amsterdam.
Vincent was very fond of literature, but the Van Gogh family library contained only a fraction of the books he is known to have read. Because this material is so indispensable to the study of the artist, there was no choice but to try and purchase the missing books. The very first catalogue of the permanent collection, *The Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh*, published in 1987, contains a complete list of the works known to Van Gogh, compiled by Fieke Pabst and Evert van Uitert. The list made it possible to start filling the gaps in the collection. With the purchase of Brouwer's collection, this process was finally completed in 1993.

When, in the mid-1970s, Brouwer did some research on Vincent's friend, the artist Anthon van Rappard, he realised what a handicap the lack of sources was. Indeed, this

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53 Fieke Pabst and Evert van Uitert, ‘A literary life, with a list of books and periodicals read by Van Gogh,’ in van Uitert and Hoyle, cit. (note 21), pp. 68-84.
is what prompted him to start collecting the books and periodicals Van Gogh knew. In the early 1980s he acquired the library of the art critic Albert C.A. Plasschaert (1874-1941). This was a stroke of luck, for Plasschaert himself had collected books that inspired the artist, with a view to writing a biography of him. The purchase of Plasschaert's collection, the individual contents of which are distinguished by his ex-libris, is what moved Brouwer to search for the same editions of the publications Van Gogh mentions in his letters. In most cases it was possible to find the editions the artist used, just as it was to buy those rare 19th-century periodicals which were important to him: The British Workman, Le Chat Noir, The Illustrated London News and L'Illustration. Only a few books and periodicals known to Vincent had to be photocopied elsewhere.

The identification of the literature Van Gogh quoted in his correspondence has already shed considerable light on the painter's work. A good example of this is the poetry of Thomas Hood, which inspired Vincent to make a drawing of a half-naked woman. The drawing itself, which he dubbed ‘The Great Lady,’ does not survive, but a sketch of it can be found in a letter to Theo from early April 1882 (fig. 12): "The little sketch enclosed is scrawled after a larger study which has a more melancholy expression. There is a poem by Thomas Hood, I think, telling of a rich lady who cannot sleep at night because when she went out to buy a dress during the day, she saw the poor seamstress - pale, consumptive, emaciated - sitting at work in a close room. And now she is conscience-stricken about her wealth, and starts up anxiously in the night. In short, it is the figure of a slender, pale woman, restless in the dark night."\(^5^5\)

Until now scholars have assumed Van Gogh was referring to Hood's poem *The song of the shirt*, but this is only true in part. To be sure, the poem talks about a poor seamstress, but the ‘great lady’ who cannot sleep does not figure in it. A study of *The poetical works of Thomas Hood* (n.d.), however, shows that Van Gogh mixed two poems: *The lady's dream*, about a woman who cannot sleep after a terrible nightmare, and the aforementioned *Song of the shirt* were conflated in Vincent's memory. Continued study of the recently acquired source material will doubtless lead to more such discoveries, further enhancing our understanding of Van Gogh's art.

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54 Bas van Lier, ‘De aardappeleters van Grundmann en het oor van pater Mouret,’ *NRC Handelsblad*, 1 March 1990, p. 6.
55 Letter 214/185, April 1882.
fig. 12
Vincent van Gogh, sketch of ‘The Great Lady,’ enclosed with letter 214/185 of early April 1882, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum (Vincent van Gogh Foundation)
George Henry Boughton, *Cod speed! Pilgrims setting out for Canterbury. Time of Chaucer*, 1874, oil on canvas, 122 × 184 cm, signed and dated 18 G.H. Boughton 74, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum
George Henry Boughton and the ‘beautiful picture’ in Van Gogh's 1876 sermon
Ronald de Leeuw

‘Association [...] was certainly Van Gogh's most important instrument of thought, something that could be used creatively: his thoughts (or pictures) are thus intimately linked to one another.’

Long before Vincent van Gogh began drawing and painting he produced a sermon, as it were his first work of art. After delivering it in the small Methodist church in the town of Richmond, near London, in late October 1876, he could hardly wait to break the news to his brother. ‘Theo,’ he wrote, ‘last Sunday your brother preached for the first time in God's house, of which it is written “In this place I shall give peace.” I'm enclosing a copy of what I said - may it be the first of many fruits’ [95/79].

For years Van Gogh had been preparing himself for that moment, fanatically studying the Bible and devouring all sorts of religious and semi-religious literature. So extensively did the preacher's son quote from these sources in his correspondence that when his sister-in-law Jo van Gogh-Bonger edited his Verzamelde Brieven in 1914, she shrank from publishing in full all the religious effusions of the young bigot. With some justification she feared that the zealotry of these early letters would stand in the way of the appreciation of the correspondence as a whole. Indeed, ever since the integral text of De brieven van Vincent van Gogh appeared in Dutch in 1990, we have finally been able to sympathise with her. Many letters - from the mid-1870s in particular - more than doubled in length, as all biblical excerpts, tracts, historical treatises, novel fragments, and poems were included without cuts. Thanks to the restoration of these pages, we can now form a much better idea of Van Gogh's reading and thinking.

Van Gogh's letters leave no doubt as to his literary gifts. From the moment the first selections from his letters were published in the 1890s they fascinated an international

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1 Roland Dorn, Décoration: Vincent van Goghs Werkreie für das Gelbe Haus in Arles, Hidesheim 1990, p. 16
2 The date on which the sermon was delivered has not been firmly established. De brieven van Vincent van Gogh, ed. Han van Crimp and Monique Berends-Albert, 4 vols., The Hague 1990, vol. 1, p. 176 give ‘after 29 October 1876’ as the date. Most previous authors indicate 5 November 1876, but in exhib. cat. Van Gogh in England: portrait of the artist as a young man, London (Barbican Gallery) 1992, p. 69, fn. 1, Martin Bailey opts for 29 October 1876.
fig. 2
Vincent van Gogh, first page of the sermon written out for Theo, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum
(Vincent van Gogh Foundation)
readership, among whom artists and art-lovers figured prominently. With the appearance of the collected letters in 1914 a much wider audience came to appreciate the letters as a kind of archetypal ‘painter's progress.’ As the son of a protestant preacher, Van Gogh had been raised on the Scriptures, and during the years he aspired to his father's profession he strove to improve his writing. The elaborate descriptions of landscapes and natural phenomena in many of his early letters clearly demonstrate a conscious effort to add a literary flavour to his prose. One example is his description of arriving in England in April 1876: ‘The following morning on the train from Harwich to London, it was lovely to see the black fields and green meadows with sheep and lambs and an occasional thornbush and a few large oaks with dark branches and mossy grey trunks in the early morning light. Still a few stars in the shimmering blue sky and a bank of grey clouds on the horizon. Even before the sun rose I heard a lark.’ [74/60]

The letter Vincent sent his brother about his sermon contains a similar passage about the harmony between Nature and Life: ‘It was a bright autumn day and a beautiful walk from here to Richmond along the Thames, which reflected the large chestnut trees laden with yellow leaves and the bright blue sky, and through the tops of those trees the part of Richmond that stands on the hill, the houses with their red roofs and uncurtained windows and green gardens and the grey spire above them, and down below the big grey bridge with tall poplars on either side, over which people were passing like small black figures. I felt like someone re-emerging from a dark underground vault into the friendly daylight when I stood in the pulpit [...]’ [95/79].

Van Gogh stated in the opening lines of this letter that the theme of his sermon was ‘that our life is a pilgrims progress - that we are strangers in the earth, but that though this be so, yet we are not alone for our Father is with us. We are pilgrims, our life is a long walk or journey from earth to heaven’ [96] (fig. 2). Rife with quotations from the Bible and other religious texts, the homily revolved around two visual metaphors. The first was a storm at sea, the second a ‘very beautiful picture.’

The American art historian Hope B. Werness identified the painting _God speed! Pilgrims setting out for Canterbury. Time of Chaucer_ (fig. 1), painted in 1874 by the Anglo-American artist George Henry Boughton, as the source of this second metaphor. Having belonged for many years to the Layton Collection (Milwaukee Art Center) in Wisconsin, the canvas was sold by that institution in 1960, at which point all trace of it was lost. Finally, in 1986, it reappeared on the London market. Thanks to a tip from the Van Gogh specialist Ronald Pickvance, the Van Gogh

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4 On the identification of the painting see Hope B. Werness, ‘Vincent van Gogh and a lost painting by G.H. Boughton,’ _Gazette des Beaux-Arts_ 106 (September 1985), p. 72. The author is quick to emphasise the differences between Van Gogh’s text and what the painting actually represents: ‘His insistence on connecting the painting with Rossetti's poem, the implied association with Bunyan's _Pilgrim’s progress_ and with Biblical passages, indicates a conflation of literal and visual images which may partly explain the discrepancies.’ Based on several contemporary reviews of _God speed!,_ Ronald Pickvance ( _English influences on Vincent van Gogh,_ London 1974, p. 23) also noted ‘that Vincent was confusing a spring evocation of Chaucer's pilgrims leaving a now distant London with an image of Bunyan's pilgrim striving towards the Holy City on an autumnal evening.’
Museum was able to acquire it and then, in 1987, to organise a small exhibition around the work.\(^5\)

Boughton's *God speed!* is a large canvas, measuring 123 × 184 cm. It was first exhibited as number 982 at London's Royal Academy in the summer of 1874. Two years later, in 1876, the painting formed a prominent part of the English submission to the Centennial International Exhibition in Philadelphia. *God speed!* was, originally commissioned by the Duke of Buckingham. It remained in his possession until 1889 and was then sold at Christie's for 162 pounds. It was then returned to the United States, where it came into the hands of Angus Smith, who presented it to the Layton Collection.

As the somewhat cumbersome title indicates, the theme of the painting derives from Chaucer's *Canterbury tales*, which had previously inspired English artists such as William Blake and Thomas Stothard in the early 19th century.\(^6\) What is striking about Boughton's treatment of the subject, as contemporaries did not fail to notice, is that the procession of pilgrims is relegated to the background. The central motif is instead a young woman offering refreshment to two pilgrims. No less important is the artist's meticulous rendering of and emphasis upon the landscape.

George Henry Boughton (1835-1905) became one of Van Gogh's favourite artists shortly after he arrived in

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6 Ibid., pp. 38-39.
George Henry Boughton, The heir presumptive, engraving, 16.7 × 10.1 cm, whereabouts unknown.

London. He was apparently well acquainted with Boughton's work, which is not surprising as he was employed by the English artist's dealer Goupil. But Vincent's admiration for Boughton went well beyond mere loyalty to his employer. Though he generally took a dim view of English painting, he admitted to having seen 'very beautiful works' by Boughton as early as 1873. He had admired his painting The heir presumptive (fig. 3) at the Royal Academy and even made a sketch of it for a friend in Holland. In October of that same year Van Gogh called the artist ‘one of the best painters here’ and, in a frequently quoted letter of January 1874, listed dozens of his favourite artists, including Boughton [17/13]. Indeed he placed the Anglo-American artist on a par with Corot, Millet, Breton and Israëls, all of whom strove for ‘the truly simple.’ Van Gogh's admiration for the artist continued into the 1880s: one moment he extolled his journal illustrations, the next his use of perspective.

Vincent was thus already very favourably disposed toward Boughton when he visited the annual exhibition at the Royal Academy in the summer of 1874 where God speed! was displayed. Later on he wrote his brother that he had enjoyed the exhibition very much, but did not single out Boughton by name [23/17]. The first, indirect, reference to the picture occurs in a letter he sent his parents after visiting them in Holland in April 1876. ‘We also passed Canterbury,’ he wrote, ‘a city that still has many medieval buildings, especially a splendid church surrounded by old elm trees. Often already I'd seen something concerning this town in paintings’ [76/62]. Boughton's was probably one of the pictures he had in mind.

Vincent explicitly referred to Boughton's God speed! for the first time on 26 August 1876. He apparently had not seen the canvas for quite some time, probably not since 1874. ‘Have I ever told you about that picture by Boughton, ‘The pilgrim's progress?’ he wrote his brother. ‘It is toward evening. A dirt road runs over the hills to a mountain on which one sees the holy city standing, illuminated by the red sun setting behind the grey evening clouds. On the road a pilgrim on his way to the city, already weary, asks a woman in black standing on the road, whose name is “sorrowful yet always rejoicing”: Does the road go uphill then all the way? “Yes to the very end.” And
will the journey take all day long? “From morn till night my friend.” The landscape the road runs through is so beautiful, brown moors with here and there birches and pines and patches of yellow sand, and in the distance, against the sun, mountains. It is really not a painting, but an inspiration’ [88/74].

What strikes the reader here is that several months before delivering his sermon Van Gogh had already dubbed Boughton's picture ‘Pilgrim's progress.’ Not only is the title different, but there are also visual discrepancies between the actual canvas and its evocation both in this letter of August 1876 and in the sermon of the following October. Some have taken this to mean that ‘Pilgrim's progress’ should not be identified with God speed!, while others simply blame the discrepancies on the artist's memory, which - understandable after two years - could well have failed him.

Though common sense would seem to favour the second explanation, we shall see that it is flawed. In late November 1876, several weeks after he had preached, Van Gogh saw another work by Boughton at Goupil's London branch that likewise dealt with the subject of pilgrims. As he wrote his brother: ‘I saw the picture, or rather sketch, by Boughton, “The pilgrim's progress,” at Mr Obach's [manager of Goupil's]. If you ever manage to get a copy of Bunyan's Pilgrim's progress, it's very worthwhile reading. As for

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7 Xander van Eck, ‘Van Gogh and George Henry Boughton,’ The Burlington Magazine 133 (August 1990), pp. 539-40, challenges the identification of Boughton's God speed! with the ‘beautiful picture’ in the sermon. Without this, however, it is still easy to see that God speed! differs in a great many details from what Van Gogh described in his sermon. Werness, Pickvance, and Leistra, op. cit. (notes 4 and 5) all draw attention to this. However, I agree with Van Eck's objections in so far that in both Werness's and Leistra's articles, the desire to make Boughton's picture fit the text of the sermon - and to explain (away) the differences - has led to too much emphasis on Van Gogh's having either ‘forgotten’ or ‘confused’ aspects of the painting. What the artist-to-be used for his sermon was the very essence of Boughton's picture: the meeting of a pilgrim and a woman in a sublime landscape.
myself, I love it dearly’ [99/82]. This passage, in which Bunyan's book seems to interest the author more than the painting, has suggested to some that there was indeed another work besides God speed!, actually called ‘Pilgrim's progress.’ Yet no one has managed to bring such a work by Boughton to light, nor has any other mention of it been found. To be sure, in New York in February 1994 a painting closely related to God speed! was sold under the title Refreshment for the pilgrims (fig. 4). This could have been the ‘picture, or rather sketch’ Vincent referred to inasmuch as its subject and composition correspond to God speed! in broad outline. Measuring 40.6 × 91.4 cm, it is of a much smaller format than God speed!, which could have suggested to Van Gogh that it was the sketch for the larger painting.

It is fair to ask whether Van Gogh ever fully mastered or even knew the exact, awkward title of Boughton's God speed! of 1874. That he substituted the much more concise ‘Pilgrim's progress,’ after the influential book by John Bunyan of 1678, is not surprising. He was presumably reading the book at that time, though he did not actually own a copy of it until 1877. The extent to which the aspiring preacher's view of the ‘sketch’ was coloured by his reading can be inferred from the previously quoted qualification he wrote in a letter to Theo: ‘It is not really a painting, but an inspiration’ [88/74].

The sermon

In Van Gogh's description of God speed! (‘Pilgrim's progress’) of 26 August 1876, the principal motifs of his late October sermon are already present, especially with regard to the landscape. In his own English the relevant passage in the sermon reads: ‘I once saw a very beautiful picture, it was a landscape at evening in the distance on the right hand side a row of hills appearing blue in the evening mist. Above those hills the splendour of the sunset, the grey clouds with their linings of silver and gold and purple. the landscape is a plain or heath covered with grass and heather, here and there the white stem of a birch tree and its yellow leaves, for it was in Autumn. Through the landscape a road leads to a high mountain far, far away. On the road walks a pilgrim, staff in hand. He has been walking for a good long while already

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8 Leistra, op. cit. (note 5), already pointed out the possibility that the sketch of 1876 was not identical with the work displayed at the Royal Academy in 1874; this did not imply, however, that the representation involved was essentially different from the canvas purchased by the Van Gogh Museum.

9 Refreshment for the pilgrims, sale New York (Sotheby's) 16 February 1994, lot 90. Van Eck, op. cit. (note 7), claims that in 1876, Van Gogh described Boughton's so-called ‘Pilgrim's progress’ at Goupil's ‘quite precisely as a sketch.’ Rather the opposite is the case. Martin Bailey (Young Vincent: the story of Van Gogh's years in England, London 1990, p. 95) concluded, for instance, that it might even have been a print. In fact, the text shows that Van Gogh hesitated slightly: ‘het schilderij,’ he wrote, ‘of liever schets’ (‘the picture, or rather sketch’). Although I would characterise Refreshment for the pilgrims as a ‘smaller variant’ of God speed! rather than a sketch, is it not more likely that Van Gogh, who was not yet an artist in his own right, used ‘sketch’ to indicate a painting smaller than the one he had originally seen?

10 It was not until September 1877 that Van Gogh had his own copy of John Bunyan's Pilgrim's progress, given to him as a gift from his friend Harry Gladwell (letter 129/109). Earlier, on 30 May of that year (letter 117/98), Vincent sent Theo a summary of another passage from Bunyan.
and he is very tired. And now he meets a woman, a figure in black that makes one think of St Paul's word: “As being sorrowful yet always rejoicing” [96].

Van Gogh seems to have had a transcription of the letter of 26 August on hand when he wrote his sermon, given the extent to which the two texts overlap. Indeed in this passage the sermon is simply a more elaborate version of the letter. We may therefore assume that by the time he took up his pen in October, the metaphor had long since crystallised in Vincent's mind.

What strikes one immediately about the description of the painting in the letter is that, far from being a straightforward exposition, it already has the tone of a sermon. This becomes especially evident when the author puts words in the pilgrim's mouth, words that have nothing to do with Boughton's painting or, for that matter, with Bunyan's text. The lines Van Gogh quotes in his description derive from sources he had already copied elsewhere. He transcribed Christina Rossetti's poem *Up hill* as early as October 1875, and quoted the famous phrase from St Paul's letter to the Corinthians - ‘sorrowful yet always rejoicing’ (2 Cor. 6:10) - for the first time explicitly on 19 June 1875 (but implicitly already on 9 February 1874). A year after delivering the sermon, on 30 October 1877, he combined Bunyan and Rossetti in precisely
the same way, without, however, mentioning the picture [132/122]. It would seem, therefore, that the interrelationship of these two texts interested the future artist more than the picture itself.

The discrepancies between Boughton's painting and Vincent's description of it in the sermon can easily be explained: in his sermon the Dutchman was intent upon ‘evoking’ a picture as opposed to describing one. He transformed a landscape, the central theme of which appealed to him, into a vision. After all, he was not addressing art historians in Richmond, or writing a catalogue entry. Since he did not identify the author of his ‘beautiful picture’ to his audience, he was free to elaborate, as he had already done in his August letter to Theo. Indeed, during this most religious period of his life Van Gogh frequently experimented with religious imagery in letters to his brother.

Metaphors

In Van Gogh's sermon of 1876 the theme of Psalm 119 - ‘I am a stranger in the earth’ - is elaborated in numerous texts borrowed from the Bible (which we will not go into here) and in two metaphors. The first metaphor is that of a ship tossed on the turbulent waves, the second that of a pilgrim. ‘The small boat on the stormy sea’ as a metaphor for ‘the storms of life’ derives from a text by Hugues de Lamennais. 11 On 7 October 1876, several weeks before the sermon, the lay preacher quoted Lamennais's text in French, inaccurately and without acknowledgement [92/76]. In the text of Van Gogh's sermon ‘Protect me o God, for my bark is so small and Thy sea is so great’ is his translation of Lamennais's ‘Protégez-nous, mon Dieu, car nos barques sont si petites et Ta mer est si grande.’ 12 While writing his homily one can imagine Van Gogh's gaze occasionally resting on the prints hanging on the wall of his room, including ‘the small boat on the stormy sea’ [98/81].

11 Letter 120/101, 12 June 1877.
12 The mistake was ‘ma barque’ instead of ‘mes barques.’
Textual analysis shows that the pilgrim metaphor, including many elements in the description of the ‘very beautiful picture,’ likewise stems from a variety of sources, both literary and artistic, and from Vincent's own experience. Several examples, all derived from the mid-1870s - the period that concerns us here - will serve to illustrate this point.

The journey of life

The image of the pilgrim had long fascinated Van Gogh. In 1875 he copied four verses from Ludwig Uhland's poem Der Pilger in the poetry album he assembled for the artist Matthijs Maris. In preparing his sermon, he may have drawn inspiration from the Dutch poet Petrus de Genestet as well (fig. 5). While Vincent was living in Paris, his father, Reverend Theodorus van Gogh, had given him a volume of De Genestet's verses, which we know he read in the autumn of 1876. De pelgrimstogt (The Pilgrimage), one of the poems he may well have read, is about a pilgrim's search for the heavenly city which an angel had promised him. As in the painting described by Van Gogh in his homily, the pilgrim catches sight of the city for the first time at sunset. Vincent made no mention of the poem in late 1876,

but did transcribe it in its entirety shortly thereafter, in a letter to Theo of 28 February 1877. He was probably familiar with it by the time he wrote his sermon, for only a few days before he preached in Richmond he quoted a similar poem by De Genestet which included related imagery: ‘steep path to nobler strife / steep path to better life’ [93/77].

‘... For it was in Autumn’

‘It seems remarkable,’ wrote Van Gogh in October 1873, ‘that the old masters almost never painted autumn whereas the modern ones have such a taste for it’ [14/11a]. Van Gogh shared his confrères' predilection, notwithstanding his claim that in fact every season was dear to him. From his Nuenen period it is the autumn landscapes which first come to mind and what best suited his tonal palette of that time. In the 1870s it was autumn landscapes, preferably at sunset, that stirred his emotions time and again. With evident affection he described examples of them by artists such as Adolf Schreyer, Louis Cabat and Jean-François Millet.¹⁴ Not far from the print with ‘the small bark on the stormy sea’ in Van Gogh's room at Isleworth hung an etching of an ‘autumn landscape [after Théophile Chauvel], view of the heath,’ which he had received as a birthday present from his friend Harry Gladwell (fig. 6) [98/81].

Van Gogh's literary interests in the 1870s also reflect his fascination with autumn. In August 1873 he devoured John Keats's Autumn [12/10a], for example, and in the summer of 1874 was completely absorbed in Jules Michelet's Les aspirations de l'automne: ‘that book was a revelation to me and immediately [became] a gospel,’ he wrote Theo on 31 July 1874 [27/20]. A number of contributions to the two poetry albums he made for his brother in 1875 were distinctly autumnal. Besides Michelet's texts he also transcribed three poems by Joseph Autran: La chanson d'octobre, Dernières feuilles and Les funérailles de l'année, as well as Sainte-Beuve's Pensée

¹⁴ See letters 61/49, 15 December 1875, 65/51, January 1876; and 72/58; 28 March 1876 respectively.
It was, however, undoubtedly Michelet who had the greatest impact on the sermon. In the autumn of 1876 he inscribed *Les aspirations de l'automne* in Annie Slade-Jones's visitors book.\footnote{All the texts are found in Pabst, op. cit. (note 13). With reference to a sermon by the Amsterdam preacher Laurillard, Vincent wrote Theo on 18 September 1877 (letter 130/110) that the clergyman had used a metaphor ‘in the spirit of Michelet or Rückert’: ‘He told how he had walked on a road where the leaves had already fallen from the trees [...] and how man, too, shall one day leave for a warmer country.’}

When Vincent described Boughton's painting in his letter of 26 August 1876, he did not specify the season.
Understandably he chose autumn for the sermon - instead of spring, which is blatantly depicted in the picture - because of that season's traditional connotations: autumn corresponds to the evening or end of life, to which he was referring. Since he was to preach in autumn, moreover, that season best suited the mood of the congregation. After all, it is a time-honoured rhetorical technique to engage one's audience by addressing them in terms appropriate to the time of year, Christmas tales being an obvious example. As Van Gogh himself put it in his sermon, ‘the heart has its storms, has its seasons’ [96].

‘A landscape at evening’

In his correspondence with Theo, Vincent frequently declared his predilection for what he called (in Dickens's words) ‘blessed twilight.’ One of the painters he was most fond of was Charles Daubigny, who excelled in the depiction of atmospheric landscapes at dusk. In the second letter he sent from England, addressed to his friends Willem and Caroline van Stockum-Haanebeek in The Hague, Van Gogh transcribed the poem *De Avondstond* (The Evening) from Jan van Beers's *De Bestedeling*, which is filled with passages such as ‘the clock that proclaims the end of the day's work far and wide’ and ‘the deep red sun, sinking away in the West, unleashed the entire wealth of its colours and magical radiance’ [10/9a]. And in 1876 he penned a cycle of four evening poems by Friedrich Rückert - *Abendfeier, O wie mild der Abendrauch, Das Abendlied vom Turme* and *Abendstille* - in Annie Slade-Jones's visitors book.17

Van Gogh's fascination with the setting of the sun is also reflected in two letters written shortly before the sermon. The first is dated 7 October (‘It was so beautiful when the sun set behind the grey clouds and when the shadows were long [...]’), while the second was written around 24 October (‘A couple of days ago I saw the sun go down there behind those elm trees with leaves now the colour of bronze’) [92/76 and 94/78]. Twilight, moreover, was Vincent's favourite moment for a walk, and the preeminent time for reflection. It was a sacred part of his day, especially ‘when two or three are gathered together in harmony.’18

To suit the gist of the sermon, and more especially the meaning of Christina Rossetti's poem, there was thus no choice but for the metaphorical picture to depict a landscape at dusk. The image of a wanderer finding a place to rest at the end of the day also occurs in the familiar hymn *Nearer my God to Thee*. The second verse of the hymn reads: ‘Though like a wanderer, / the sun gone down, / Darkness come over me / My rest a stone’ [53/41]. Significantly, Van Gogh included these lines in the same letter in which he quoted Christina Rossetti's poem *Up hill* for the first time.

The woman in black

16 Van Beers's poem was also copied by Theo van Gogh, at the front of the second poetry album that Vincent made for him in 1875. See Pabst, op. cit. (note 13), p. 21.
17 Ibid., p. 64.
18 See letters 119/100, 4 June 1877 and 130/110, 18 September 1877.
The central motif in Boughton's *God speed!* is an encounter between a pilgrim (‘staff in hand’) and a beautiful young woman who offers him a flask. In fact, Boughton's picture depicts two pilgrims, the one young, the other old, though the latter is partly obscured and therefore less conspicuous (fig. 7).

In his letter of 26 August 1876, Van Gogh already pictured the woman in black as he would in the sermon, but does not yet liken her to an angel. The same letter puts Christina Rossetti's words from *Up hill* in her mouth as well, and describes her with the words he loved so much from St Paul, ‘sorrowful yet always rejoicing.’

The most striking discrepancy between Boughton's *God speed!* and Van Gogh's text is that the woman who offers the flask to the pilgrim wears black, whereas Boughton dresses her colourfully after the fashion of the Pre-Raphaelites. One scholar has suggested that Van Gogh had conflated two different works by Boughton, and that the black figure in the Anglo-American's *The heir presumptive* (fig. 3) is actually the source of the woman in black in the sermon.¹⁹ The setting of *The heir presumptive* in an autumn

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¹⁹ Leistra, op. cit. (note 5).
landscape appears to strengthen the argument. Yet we would argue that Vincent deviated from Boughton's painting intentionally: in his private mythology there were at least two figures in black before he wrote his sermon; they could well have determined the colour of the woman's dress in his description of the 'beautiful picture.'

First of all, there was the famous ‘malheureux vêtu de noir’ mentioned in the 18th couplet from Alfred de Musset's poem *La nuit de décembre*. Vincent quoted the couplet in a letter of 6 April 1875. It must have been etched on his memory because it occurred to him thirteen years later in Arles, in December 1888.²⁰ Though De Musset's poem is about an encounter with a man, the mood corresponds perfectly to the image of the weary pilgrim finding refreshment: ‘Partout où j'ai voulu m'asseoir / Partout où j'ai voulu pleurer / Partout où j'ai touché la terre / Un malheureux vêtu de noir / Auprès de moi venait s'asseoir / Et me regardait comme un frère.’ Could the comforting ‘figure in black’ in Van Gogh's sermon possibly have been inspired by De Musset's ‘malheureux vêtu de noir’?

Yet the principal model for Vincent's woman in black is undoubtedly an anonymous *Portrait of a woman* in the Louvre. In his day the likeness was attributed to the 17th-century French painter Philippe de Champaigne (fig. 8), but there is no longer any certainty about the artist or, for that matter, the sitter. Van Gogh hung a reproduction of the portrait in his room in Paris in July 1875 and a copy of it to his sister, Anna, in October of the same year. He was aware that the portrait had inspired

²⁰ Letter 730/564, late December 1888. Evert van Uitert (‘A literary life, with a list of books and periodicals read by Van Gogh,’ in Evert van Uitert and Michael Hoyle [eds.], *The Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh*, Amsterdam 1987, pp. 68-69) remarks: ‘De Musset's poem must have made a very deep impression on him, for more than 13 years later he quoted from it in a letter from Arles, associating it with Delacroix's *Portrait of Alfred Bruyas* in the museum at Montpellier [730/564]. The poet tells of a black-clad companion who so resembles him that he could be his brother. The mysterious figure turns out to be loneliness, who has been with him in moments of great sadness ever since he was a child. This is yet another example of the way in which Van Gogh fused ideas from literature and painting. At the same time it demonstrates that a poem which is only mentioned once in the letters might nevertheless have had a profound effect upon him.’
one of the principal female characters in Jules Michelet's previously mentioned poem *Les aspirations de l'automne*, the first line of which reads 'Je vois d'ici une dame.' Vincent had transcribed the fragment as early as October 1873, when he wrote his friends Willem and Caroline van Stockum-Haanebeek from London. In the letter, he characterised the poem as ‘a picture of autumn,’ and described the woman who reminded Michelet of Champaigne's *Portrait d'une dame* amid ‘feuilles tombées,’ dressed in ‘la très-simple toilette de la dame, modeste, grave, ou la soie noire (ou grise) s'égaye à peine d'un simple ruban lilas [...]’. Elégante pour son mari & simple pour les pauvres.’ Michelet had remembered the portrait for thirty years, ‘Mais comment se nommait-elle?’ [14/11a]. Van Gogh believed the sitter to be the mother of a nun in another portrait by Champaigne, likewise in the Louvre (fig. 9) [38/31].

Vincent apparently sent Theo his interpretation of Champaigne's portrait, but unfortunately the letter has not survived. Yet it is possible to infer from other correspondence.
that in his eyes she was the embodiment of St Paul's 'sorrowful yet always rejoicing.'  

Significantly, in September 1876, just weeks before delivering his sermon, Vincent asked his brother not once but twice for 'that page from Michelet which begins “Je vois d’ici une dame”' - the very passage which, as we have seen, he penned in Annie Slade-Jones's visitors book.

The extent to which art and reality coincided in Van Gogh's mind, and the manner in which he associated the two, is illustrated by the very letter he sent his brother along with the text of his sermon. The letter describes a deeply moving walk he took in Richmond the evening before he preached. The imagery with which he conjures up the experience of this stroll echoes that of the sermon, as though life were imitating art. As he beheld the town of Richmond bathed in the light of the setting sun, a woman appeared: ‘An old lady (dressed in black) with beautiful grey hair was walking under the trees.’

Fusion or confusion?

In summary, the composite origin of the imagery Van Gogh used in his sermon indicates that the texts chosen were, as in the case of the beloved poem by Michelet, very much ‘autumn inspirations.’ Van Gogh needed evening and autumn as symbols, and Boughton's picture, which so impressed him in the summer of 1874, provided the visual framework for his vision. It served as his point of departure, nothing more nor less, and was ideal for incorporating a stock of texts, ideas, and images drawn from the Bible, literature, art, and experience.

In an article published in the Burlington Magazine in August 1990, Xander van Eck argues that Boughton's Amsterdam canvas did not inspire Van Gogh's sermon. Those who claim it did, he asserts, anticipate Van Gogh's mental illness by thirteen years. In his opinion, the reasoning 'required to connect painting (God speed!) and sermon, tends to distort our view of Vincent's personality and the way he perceived art.' Though he has no new evidence to

21 Champaigne's portrait did not have exclusive rights here. For instance, he also appears to have associated Bargue's print Anne de Bretagne, which hung in his room in England, with ‘sorrowful yet always rejoicing’ (letter 136/116, 9 December 1877).

22 Letters 89/82a-2 and 90/82a-l, both early September 1876. In the index of De brieven van Vincent van Gogh, op. cit. (note 2) these two mentions of Michelet's passage are erroneously grouped under L'amour instead of Les aspiration d'automne.

23 The sermon likewise includes the line ‘The hair turns grey.’ There are several references to grey hair in the letters in the context of ‘sorrowful yet always rejoicing.’ See the passage in letter 90/82a-l, early September 1876: ‘Wie heeft lust in grijze haren?’ (‘Who wants grey hair?’).

24 See notes 7 and 9.
Anonymous, French 17th century (formerly attributed to Philippe de Champaigne), *Portrait of a lady*, oil on canvas, 61 × 51 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre
fig. 9
Philippe de Champaigne, *L'ex-voto*, 1662, oil on canvas, 165 × 229 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre

stand on, Van Eck believes there was indeed another picture by Boughton called *Pilgrim's progress*, and that Van Gogh saw a sketch for the unknown work in December 1876.

We cannot be certain that Boughton's *Refreshment for the pilgrims*, sold recently in New York (fig. 4), is in fact the work Van Gogh saw in December 1876, but if it was, its composition obviously corresponds to Boughton's *God speed*! Despite the lack of certainty, it seems clear that confusion or loss of memory is not the central issue here. Simply dismissing *God speed!* as the inspiration for the picture in Van Gogh's sermon, without offering any substantiated alternative, is to ignore Van Gogh's penchant for association. In her book *De God van Vincent*, A. Verkade-Bruining writes that ‘Vincent's first sermon [...] demonstrates his thinking at the time, which proceeds subjectively, associatively and instinctively.’

As we know from many similar instances, Vincent was not so much inclined to confuse things as to amalgamate them. Admittedly, he mistakenly referred to a painting about pilgrims as ‘Pilgrim's progress,’ but that was because he had just been reading Bunyan's book by the same title. Nor is this by any means the only example of the artist's ‘confusion’ that comes to mind. One could point to other cases of fusion (as opposed to confusion) during this period as well. On one occasion, for instance, he credited his favourite artist, Millais, with *The light of the world*, which was of course painted by William Holman Hunt.

There is one other example that resembles ‘the Boughton case’ still more closely. On 15 July 1875 Vincent recommended that Theo read Thomas à Kempis's *L'imitation de Jésus Christ*. ‘This was probably the favourite book of that woman painted by Ph. de Champaigne; the Louvre has the portrait of her daughter, a nun, also by Ph. de Ch. [fig. 9]; she has L'imitation lying on a chair next to her’ [38/31]. The fact is, there is no title on the book in Champaigne's picture - which actually depicts two nuns - and yet there can be no doubt which painting Vincent had in mind.

26 Letter 822/614, 17 November 1889. For another instance of (con)fusion, see the article by Anita Vriend in this issue of *The Van Gogh Museum Journal*. 

*Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995*
A number of metaphors in Van Gogh's 1876 sermon are thus based on an amalgamation of ideas derived from texts, both religious and secular, he had long been familiar with. The Dutchman associated this range of ideas with a picture by Boughton and a book by Bunyan. We have seen that, in view of Van Gogh's purpose, the discrepancies between *Godspeed!* and the painting ‘described’ in his sermon do not disqualify Boughton's picture as a major source of inspiration. Rather, they indicate that Vincent simply used the work as a backdrop for his religious imagery; their complex, manifold origins are not limited to Boughton's 1874 *Godspeed!*

It seems highly improbable that the picture Van Gogh conjured in his sermon actually existed. Even if the Boughton ‘sketch’ mentioned in his letter of late November 1876 had nothing to do with that artist's *Godspeed!* or, for that matter, the *Refreshment for the pilgrims* recently sold in New York, it is highly unlikely that it corresponded to the ‘beautiful picture’ Vincent had in mind. In October 1876 he called Boughton's picture of pilgrims ‘an inspiration,’ which is exactly the purpose it served as he prepared to address the congregation in Richmond. If we are to believe Van Gogh, then references to works of art were not at all uncommon in the sermons of his day. As he later wrote to Theo: ‘Clergymen often introduce “things of beauty” into a sermon, but its dismal stuff and dreadfully stodgy’ [233/204].

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27 1 or 2 June 1882; translated by Arnold Pomerans.
cat. 8

_Basket of apples_, Nuenen, September 1885 The X-ray shows a bouquet of honesty in a pot and smoker's requisites belonging to Van Gogh's father
Radiographic images of Vincent van Gogh's paintings in the collection of the Van Gogh Museum

Sjraar van Heugten

After learning to paint in Holland and Antwerp, Vincent van Gogh developed into a truly modern artist in the course of a two-year sojourn in Paris. During those years of constant study and growth he is known to have painted over a number of works, apparently because he was dissatisfied with them. Raking light can occasionally give a rough idea of the earlier picture. At times this image corresponds to traces of brushstrokes beneath the paint bearing no relation to the composition on the surface. At other times there is no sign of the old impasto, even though the radiograph leaves no doubt that the artist had used the canvas before. The opposite is also possible: in the Still life with fruit in the Van Gogh Museum, brushstrokes can be seen with the microscope which evidently belong to an earlier scene, although there is no trace of the scene in the radiograph.

To determine which canvases in the collection of the Van Gogh Museum were reworked by Vincent, all the pictures dating from the period in question, some 130 in all, were examined with X-rays. In 20 cases - some 15% - works that had been covered over came to light. Two of these were simply earlier stages of the same composition (cat. nos. 1 and 2), while 17 others differ entirely from that which can be seen on the surface. One of the canvases stands alone: doubts raised about its attribution to Van Gogh were confirmed.

X-rays have also revealed hidden works in other collections. If the results of the Van Gogh Museum's research are any indication, however, there must be much more

1 See numbers 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 14 and 17 in the following catalogue.
2 The still life is F 383 JH 1339. Pigments appear in a radiograph in direct proportion to the density of the metals - e.g. lead, mercury, cobalt - they contain. Such pigments permit relatively little radiation to reach the film and therefore seem lighter. Less dense pigments permit more radiation to penetrate and thus look darker as a result. If there are no dense pigments in a given picture then of course they will not show up in a radiograph. The lack of such pigments in the now visible surface of several paintings described below (cat. nos. 3, 6, 10, 14, 16 and 17) makes it that much easier to read what lies below.
3 The radiographs were made by the Röntgentechnische Dienst of Rotterdam during several sessions at the Van Gogh Museum.
4 Several of these works are discussed below, in connection with pictures revealed by X-rays: see cat. nos. 4, 5, 6 and 18.

X-ray examination showed that a large painting with several peasant cottages (SP 1669 JH 825, present whereabouts unknown) conceals a ploughman Van Gogh painted in Nuenen as part of a wall decoration for Antoon Hermans; see Alan Bowness, ‘A Van Gogh discovery,’ The Burlington Magazine 111 (1969), 299-300. The diminutive Study of two hands (F 66 JH 743, private collection) is painted over the depiction of a cottage with a woman in peasant dress; see Sjraar van Heugten, ‘Detail studies,’ in Louis van Tilborgh et al., exhib. cat. The potato eaters by Vincent van Gogh, Zwolle 1993, pp. 105-07 and no. 29 (without ill. of the radiograph). The Self-portrait in the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut (F 268 JH 1299) covers a picture of a woman at the spinning wheel which the artist must have painted in Nuenen. This information notwithstanding, the portrait's authenticity was recently challenged by Roland Dorn and Walter Feilchenfeldt, ‘Genuine or fake?: on the history and problems of Van Gogh connoisseurship,’ in Tsukasa Kodera (ed.), The mythology of Vincent van Gogh, Tokyo 1993, pp. 290 and 296. Both the work and the radiograph are illustrated on p. 298.
Van Gogh painted the *Still life with two sunflowers* in the Kunstmuseum in Bern (F 376 JH 1331) over the portrait of a man wearing a straw hat, seated at a table and holding a glass in his left hand; see Anne Trembley, ‘Vincent van Gogh: Sonneblumen 1887,’ *Berner Kunstmitteilungen* 258/259 (1987-88), pp. 1-10; she raises the possibility that the concealed work is actually a self-portrait. To obtain a better image of it, radiographs, infrared reflectograms and photographs with light shining through the canvas from behind were made.
findings is self-evident: they shed valuable light on Van Gogh's subject matter, working methods, and early development. For example, the artist's correspondence tells us that he tried his hand several times at the theme of a shepherd with his flock. Though this motif does not occur in his mature oeuvre, X-rays show that he did indeed treat it more than once (cat. nos. 5 and 6). By the same token, we now know that certain works the artist mentioned in his letters are not lost, as has always been assumed, but simply covered with paint. Thanks to the radiographs, we have at least some idea of what the portrait of the shepherd, the woman at the spinning wheel, and the still life with the vase of honesty looked like (cat. nos. 4, 5 and 8).

Vincent never stated in his letters why he used a canvas a second time. Indeed, only in the case of Cottage at nightfall ('La Chaumière') did he even admit to painting a picture over another one (cat. no. 6). Financial necessity must certainly have played a role. The monthly allowance his brother Theo sent him would have been more than enough, had it not been for his high productivity and the cost of his models - a constant drain on funds. ‘The dark side of painting is the paint bill,’ the artist sighed in a letter of circa 7 December 1885 [475/388]; on another occasion he complained that ‘My paint bill is [...] such that I have to be a bit careful about starting on new things in a larger format, especially since the model will cost me rather a lot’ [454/372].

That Van Gogh was occasionally forced to recycle his canvases does not mean masterpieces were lost. He painted over the works described in the following catalogue either because they were studies of no commercial or artistic value, or because he was simply unhappy with them. Given what is known about his attachment to his work, Vincent would not have discarded anything of artistic interest to him. In Arles, when he really could not afford paint supplies, he turned to drawing, which was much less expensive. During the previous years of study in Nuenen and Paris, the painter was so eager to learn that he would not have been able to abide such delays; hence the care with which he used (and occasionally reused) his canvases.

In the case of approximately half of the works in the following catalogue, reasons can be given as to why Van Gogh opted to destroy them. For example, the picture of the Protestant church at Nuenen (cat. no. 2) initially contained all too obvious references to a painting by Millet. Or, as in the Two women in the peat-field with a wheelbarrow (cat. no. 1), he was unhappy with the composition. His various treatments of shepherds (cat. nos. 5 and 6) apparently fell short - and, indeed, the compositions are rather dull and repetitive. The flower still life in memory of his father (cat. no. 8) was simple at first; adding a new element to the composition seems to have spoiled it in the end. Something similar may have happened to the view on Montmartre (cat. no. 14): the artist probably overworked it, and then had no choice but to discard it altogether. As for the study of a plaster copy after Michelangelo's Young slave (cat. no. 12), Van Gogh doubtless decided the subject had too much space; he may also have been unhappy with the figure's proportions. The physiognomies of the shepherd and the spinner gave him trouble as well (cat. nos. 4 and 5); he seems to have overestimated his capabilities in choosing a rather large format for both (cat. nos. 4 and 5).
Two women in the peat-field with a wheelbarrow
Drenthe, October 1883
The X-ray shows the first version of this canvas, October 1883
Oil on canvas, 27.5 × 36.5 cm
F 19 JH 409

As revealed by the X-ray, at an earlier stage the composition of this canvas contained more figures and more piles of peat. The artist painted over several parts of it, as can be seen to some extent with the naked eye. The original composition was virtually identical to a letter sketch from Drenthe, but lacked the area to the left of the wheelbarrow in the drawing (fig. 1a). As the artist wrote to his brother, ‘I hope to make something of the women in the peat-field in the sketch on the back and am returning to that same field’ [396/331]. The initial design of our canvas may possibly have been the result of that plan. The X-ray shows that Vincent subsequently took it up again, simplifying the composition and also altering the colour scheme. The sky behind the women was originally pink, but Van Gogh changed this picturesque sunset into a depressing grey twilight. The composition revealed by the radiograph recurs as a detail in a drawing from Drenthe, where wheelbarrow, women, and piles of peat appear like silhouettes on the horizon.¹

fig. 1a
Vincent van Gogh, sketch in letter 396/331, 6–7 October 1883, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum (Vincent van Gogh Foundation)

¹ Based on observation with the naked eye, I previously suggested a link between this sketch and the painting; see exhib. cat. Vincent van Gogh and his time: Van Gogh & Millet from the Vincent van Gogh Museum and the H.W. Mesdag Museum, Tokyo (Seiji Togo Memorial Yasuda Kasai Museum of Art) 1993, no. 1.
² F 1095 JH 406.
2 Leaving the church at Nuenen, 
Nuenen, winter-spring 1884. 
The X-ray shows an earlier version of this canvas, 
January 1884. 
Oil on canvas, 41.5 × 32 cm 
F 25 JH 521

As in the case of the Drenthe landscape with toiling women, the radiograph indicates 
that changes were made to the original design of Leaving the church at Nuenen, and 
that here, in particular, these have important implications regarding the content of 
the work.¹

¹ The X-ray was made several years ago. The conclusions drawn from it were published by 
Evert van Uitert in Evert van Uitert and Michael Hoyle (eds.), The Rijksmuseum Vincent van 
fig. 2a Vincent van Gogh, sketch in letter 492/355, c. 24 January 1884, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum (Vincent van Gogh Foundation)
Where now a group of churchgoers stand, one of whom wears a veil, Van Gogh first painted a man with a spade over his shoulder. He appears in a drawing of about the same time, now in the Kröller-Müller Museum, Otterlo, and in a letter sketch of circa 24 January 1884 (fig. 2a) 1429/355].^2 As it was initially planned, the canvas quoted far more literally than is now the case from one of Van Gogh's favourite works by Jean-François Millet. The French artist's Church at Gréville, which at that time hung in the Musée du Luxembourg, likewise shows a man with a spade over his shoulder walking past a church. Having apparently decided that the quotation was in fact too literal, Vincent changed the design, also adding leaves to the originally barren trees. Judging from the paint surface, the underlying layer had undoubtedly dried by the time the foliage was painted.^1 Van Gogh, who was very fond of autumnal effects, apparently found this a more suitable setting for the aggrieved worshippers.

3 Still life with birds'nests
Nuenen, September/October 1885
The X-ray shows part of an interior with a loom, Nuenen, between January and July 1884
Oil on canvas, 31.5 × 42.5 cm
F 109r JH 942

Van Gogh seems to have gotten as much out of this particular canvas as he possibly could. First of all, he used both sides: the front for the Still life with birds' nests, painted while he was still in Nuenen, and the back for a self-portrait after moving to Paris. The X-ray reveals that it was originally used for yet another painting: it formed part of a larger picture of an interior with a loom.

Between January and July 1884, Van Gogh was fascinated by the theme of the weaver and his loom. The larger work from which the present canvas was cut must have been painted during this period. A corner of a window can be seen in the upper left of the X-ray, and part of a loom with a lamp suspended above it in the lower right. We may assume that a drawing in the Van Gogh Museum depicts the same

2 The drawing is F 1117 JH 446.
3 It is not clear exactly when Van Gogh altered the composition. Presumably, and in light of the autumnal effect, an October dating can be upheld. In his Vincent van Gogh: a guide to his work and letters, Amsterdam 1993, pp. 20-21, however, Jan Hulsker recently noted that the canvas was intended for the artist's mother. He would have needed her permission to change it, which, given his strained relationship with his parents in the autumn of 1884, would have been 'out of the question.' Hulsker therefore argues that Van Gogh reworked the canvas already in January of that year, 'whether of his own free will or at her [i.e. his mother's] request.' However plausible Hulsker's reasoning may be, January is not the only date that can be inferred from it. I prefer to maintain a somewhat wider margin by placing the final version of the canvas in the winter-spring of 1884.
Van Gogh painted only one other picture with a weaver showing a loom with beams supported in this way, a work which is now in Boston (F 29 JH 471). There, however, the position of the lamp is different.
The artist must have let this canvas sit for a long time. The *Still life with birds' nests* dates from September 1885, at least a year after he painted his weaver scenes. Since the thick layer of paint must have already hardened, it would have been difficult to conceal. Indeed, the impasto of both the window and the loom is visible; the paint of the supporting beam even comes to the surface. This probably explains why Van Gogh decided to reuse the canvas for smaller, less important studies instead of for a large new composition with which the impasto would have interfered. He even exploited the dark, underlying layer: instead of painting over the twigs jutting out from the birds' nests, he used their colour in the new painting.

The size of the original work is difficult to gauge with certainty. All four edges have suffered and may have been trimmed. Representing the entire loom would have required a canvas approximately three times the present width of 31.5 cm. Two of the artist's other canvases with weavers are indeed 93 cm wide. Since one of them is 68.5 cm high and the other 61 cm, our canvas may have originally been about 65 cm in height; a canvas of that size would have been one of the larger formats in Vincent van Gogh's oeuvre.

![Vincent van Gogh, *Weaver at his loom*, February 1884, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum (Vincent van Gogh Foundation)](fig. 3a)

4 **Jar, brass bowl and potatoes**

Nuenen, September 1885.

The X-ray shows a shepherd with staff, Nuenen, October 1884.

Oil on canvas, 65.5 × 80.5 cm

F 51 JH 925

The *Jar, brass bowl and potatoes* is painted over a large, three-quarter-length portrait of a man wearing a cloak with large buttons and holding a staff in his hands. The portrait can almost certainly be identified with that of the shepherd about whom Vincent wrote Theo circa 22 October 1884: ‘I am working on a figure of a shepherd wearing a large cloak, of the same format as the spinning woman. [...] If I have some luck with that shepherd, it will become a figure with something of the very old Brabant. Well, he's not yet finished and we shall see how he turns out’ [468/382].

The spinner in question is in all probability one of the two renderings of a woman at the spinning wheel, which are likewise only known as radiographic images. One of them lies beneath the work discussed under the following number in the present catalogue, which measures 78.5 × 65.5 cm. The other is concealed by *The Vicarage*...
garden under snow in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena (fig. 4a), which is 80.5 × 58.2 cm.\footnote{The X-ray of the work in Pasadena (F 194 JH 603) was published in a number of newspapers in 1972. It has also appeared in several scholarly publications: René Berger and Lloyd Eby (eds.), \emph{Art and technology}, New York 1986, pp. 15-27; Martha M. Op de Coul, ‘Nuenen and its environs in the work of Vincent van Gogh,’ in Evert van Uitert (ed.), \emph{exhib. cat. Van Gogh in Brabant: paintings and drawings from Etten and Nuenen}, Bois-le-Duc (Noordbrabants Museum) 1987, pp. 92-101 (ill. p. 98, reversed). And it was included in the press release about the exhibition \emph{Vincent van Gogh: painter, printmaker, collector}, Pasadena (Norton Simon Museum of Art) 1990.} The shepherd with staff is indeed approximately ‘of the same format,’ namely 80.5 × 65.5 cm.

The shepherd with staff was one of Van Gogh's first works in the series of portraits and figure studies of Brabant farmers he began working on in October 1884. He would continue working on them until the spring of 1885, preparing himself for the Antwerp academy. ‘But if I first paint some thirty more heads here, I will get more out of Antwerp-and on those 30 heads I am now starting, or rather, I have already started with a large bust of a shepherd,’ he wrote in late October 1884 [469/383]. As a three-quarter-length portrait of a strikingly large format, the work has no equivalent in Van Gogh's Dutch years. And, as the artist later realised - witness the overpainting - he may have overestimated his proficiency at the time: the man's proportions are unfortunate, the head in particular being inordinately small.

The shepherd here heralds the portraits of Patience Escalier that Van Gogh would paint at Arles in August 1888. It especially resembles the version in a private collection which shows Escalier leaning on a stick (fig. 4b).
fig. 4a

fig. 4b
5 Two baskets of potatoes
Nuenen, September 1885
The X-ray shows two works: a shepherd with his flock and a woman at the spinning wheel, Nuenen, 1884-85
Oil on canvas, 65.5 × 78.5 cm
F 107 JH 933

This canvas with a dark still life with baskets of potatoes was used twice previously by Van Gogh. Upside down, vis-à-vis the still life, the X-ray discloses a shepherd with his flock in the centre of the composition and, in the lower right corner, a dog. If we then rotate the canvas 90 degrees, with some difficulty we can see a woman at a spinning wheel. The radiograph becomes clearer if we compare it to that of the canvas from Pasadena (see cat. no. 4), which depicts another spinning woman beneath The vicarage garden under snow (fig. 4a). The compositions are virtually identical, even if the two works are reverse images of one another. The canvas in the Van Gogh Museum has the spinning wheel in the lower left corner. The spinner herself is difficult to distinguish, being all but obscured by sheep and potatoes, but the back of her chair can be seen on the far right.

Dating the two works is rather difficult. Judging from the letter quoted in cat. no. 4, the spinning woman was painted in October 1884 or somewhat earlier, but there are no clues to help us place the shepherd with flock (see also cat. no. 6). The X-ray reveals, however, that the shepherd image is painted over the barely legible and certainly scraped-down representation of the spinning woman.

Recent research carried out at Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum revealed that the Farming village at twilight (F 190 JH 492) in that collection covers a still life with two baskets of potatoes, and that the composition closely resembles the present work. The Rijksmuseum's canvas, however, is wider and shorter (57 × 82 cm) - a peculiar oblong format for a still life, perhaps, but perfectly suitable for a landscape. Van Gogh may well have adapted the format when he decided to paint the landscape over the previous image.

As a result of this discovery, the Rijksmuseum's picture should be redated. On stylistic grounds, it is usually situated in 1884 (late May of that year, according to Hulsker). Yet the artist's correspondence tells us that he was painting still lifes with baskets of potatoes in September 1885. He must therefore have made Farming village at twilight after that date - probably in early October since the trees still have their leaves.¹

¹ I am indebted to Wouter Kloek, Head of the Rijksmuseum's Painting Department, for pointing out to me that another representation is visible in the surface of the paint. Martin Bijl, Head Restorer of the Rijksmuseum, kindly made an X-ray of the work on my behalf.
In a letter to Theo of early June 1885, Vincent wrote that he had sent his brother a number of works, including *The old church tower at Nuenen* (‘*Cimetière de paysans*’) and *The cottage*. Later on, he reported that his first attempt at *The old church tower* had failed, whereupon he scraped off what he had done and started over again. ‘Now, and the other - that of the cottage - was originally a shepherd’ [510/411].

Only vague traces of an earlier painting are visible in either the impasto or the X-ray of *The cottage*. It must not have been long before Van Gogh destroyed the first painting, and the paint he used may have contained few pigments dense enough to block X-rays. By comparison, the ‘shepherd’ he covered with *The cottage* must have already been rather dry: the radiograph gives a clear image of it that is also still faintly visible in the impasto,¹ without, however, adversely affecting *The cottage*. The X-ray also shows why Van Gogh did not hesitate to paint a new picture over the shepherd with flock: the shepherd - who stands exactly in the centre of the canvas with a crook or branch over his shoulder - and his flock are rendered with thinly applied, sketch-like areas of paint. Having apparently realised the work was going poorly, he simply opted not to finish it.

The theme of the shepherd with his flock, so popular with the Barbizon painters and their Dutch followers of the Hague School, evidently interested Van Gogh more than anyone suspected. He chose it as an allegory of autumn in his design for a wall decoration with the four seasons, commissioned by Antoon Hermans, a goldsmith from Eindhoven. Unfortunately, that large sketch, known only from a photograph, is now lost. He painted over three other renderings of

¹ This was previously noted by Evert van Uitert in Van Uitert and Hoyle, op. cit. (cat. no. 2, note 1), p. 138.
fig. 6a X-ray of Vincent van Gogh's *Still Life with pottery and two bottles*, September-October 1885, Pasadena, The Norton Simon Museum.
The X-ray shows a shepherd with flock, 1884-85.
the theme as well: they are to be found underneath the *Two baskets of potatoes* in the Van Gogh Museum (see cat. no. 5) and the *Still life with pottery and two bottles* in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena (fig. 6a). The composition of all three works is very similar - the shepherd is always at the centre of the canvas, surrounded by his flock - but the Pasadena canvas is less ambitious than the others: its format is relatively small (40 × 56 cm) and the picture itself is less impressive than the two in the Van Gogh Museum. The shepherd with his flock beneath *The cottage* was far more monumental: the principal motif is placed prominently in the foreground and fills virtually the entire image.

7 Still life with three beer mugs
Nuenen, September-October 1885
The X-ray shows a portrait of a peasant woman,
Nuenen, April 1885
Oil on canvas, 32 × 43 cm
F 49 JH 534

The *Still life with three beer mugs* is generally grouped together with the other still lifes Van Gogh painted in November 1884. Yet the likeness of a peasant woman underneath this work doubtless belongs to the long series of peasant portraits Vincent produced between December 1884 and May 1885. The radiograph is so clear that the sitter is recognisable as the woman who sat for another portrait in the same group.¹ That work, which is now in the Van Gogh Museum, can be securely dated to late March-early April 1885; the portrait seen in the present radiograph was probably painted at the same time. The dating of the *Still life with three beer mugs* should therefore be revised: we now know it is one of the still lifes Van Gogh painted in September-October 1885, and that it could not have been made in November 1884.

¹ F 160 JH 722.
Although Vincent van Gogh's relationship with his father had been troubled for years, the preacher's sudden death on 27 March 1885 came as a heavy blow. Still mourning the loss, on 5 April he wrote to Theo about a new canvas: ‘a still life with honesty in the same style as the one you took with you. It's a bit larger, however, and the objects in the foreground are a tobacco pouch and a pipe of Pa's. If you'd like to have it, of course you're welcome to it’ [493/398]. The importance he attached to the still life is suggested by the accompanying letter sketch, one of the few he made in colour (fig. 8a). Before the vase lies what appears to be the tobacco pouch. The pipe, to its right, leans against another pouch, presumably designed to hold other smoking accessories. Van Gogh must have painted the work in memory of his father, whose attributes are as commonplace as they are meaningful. The artist loved pipes and portrayed himself on many occasions with one in his mouth. Similar objects serve the same symbolic purpose in the famous Van Gogh's chair (London, National Gallery); a sheet of paper with some tobacco and a pipe on a simple wooden chair function as tokens of the painter.

The assumption has always been that the painted still life was lost. The X-ray of Basket of apples, a work painted in September 1885, shows that this is indeed the case, but that the loss is less definitive than once thought. Van Gogh had also previously used that canvas for a still life, every detail of which is recognisable in the X-ray: the Cologne pot with honesty, the tobacco pouch lying before it (albeit less clear than in the little sketch), and the pipe and pouch on the right. To the left of the vase lie several flowers (apparently asters) that have fallen out of it; Vincent must have added them later, as they do not appear in the detailed sketch he made for Theo. Their addition suggests that Van Gogh was unhappy with the original composition, but the new element evidently failed to solve the problem. He may have decided that the fallen flowers - whether or not he was aware that they are a traditional symbol of transience - struck a note that was too ominous for what was otherwise a meaningful, yet restrained picture; he therefore reused the canvas for the Basket of apples.
fig. 8a
Vincent van Gogh, sketch in letter 493/398, c. 5 April 1885, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum (Vincent van Gogh Foundation)
9 Three bottles and pottery
Nuenen, September-October 1885
The X-ray shows a peasant woman preparing a meal,
Nuenen, probably June 1885
Oil on canvas, 39.5 × 56 cm
F 53 JH 538

The profile of a peasant woman wearing a bonnet can be seen to the right of centre, near the top of this radiograph. The rest of the image is more difficult to discern. With one arm outstretched, the woman seems to be bending forward. Steam appears to rise behind her arm, to the left of her face, recalling the scenes that Van Gogh painted and drew in June 1885 of women boiling water or preparing meals by the hearth. With the discovery of this work, the usual dating of the Three bottles and pottery to the winter of 1884-85 will have to be revised. Like the Still life with three beer mugs (cat. no. 7), it must be one of the still lifes Van Gogh painted in September-October 1885.
10 Self-portrait with pipe
Paris, spring-summer 1886
The X-ray shows a woman with loose hair,
probably Antwerp, December 1885-February 1886
Oil on canvas, 46 × 38 cm
F 180 JH 1194

With some difficulty, we may here distinguish a woman's portrait. Her loose hair appears strikingly white in the radiograph, meaning the paint is highly absorbent. Although X-rays cannot tell us the colour of whichever pigment absorbs the radiation, we may tentatively assume it is white lead or a yellow pigment containing lead, and that the model had fair hair.¹ As a type, she is related to the women of presumably loose morals whom Van Gogh portrayed in Antwerp.² She may, in fact, be the blonde he referred to in one of his letters: ‘I am looking for pieces such as for instance those blonde heads in Sainte Thérèse en Purgatoire. Precisely for the sake of Rubens I am searching for a blonde model’ [550/439]. Van Gogh probably took this portrait with him to Paris, later scraping down the canvas in order to use it for the self-portrait.

¹ A number of the pigments Van Gogh employed have a very high absorption factor. Among these are the white lead carbonate (lead white), the yellow lead chromate (chromo yellow) and lead antimonide (Naples yellow), and the red mercuric sulphide (vermilion cinnabar).
² See F 206 JH 972 and F 207 JH 979.
11 A pair of shoes
Paris, spring 1886
The X-ray shows a townscape (?), place and date unknown
Oil on canvas, 37.5 × 45 cm
Signed upper left: Vincent
F 255 JH 1124

Only the general outline of the picture revealed by the X-ray is visible; the reproduction is even less clear. Unfortunately, it sheds no light on the contested dating of the still life.¹ A large, two-storey house can be distinguished. There may also be other buildings, in which case the work could possibly be a townscape. The lack of any further topographical details precludes a more specific identification, and Antwerp, Paris, Amsterdam or Eindhoven (near Nuenen) are good possibilities.

¹ Though the canvas is usually assigned to the artist's Parisian period, one scholar has suggested it was executed in Nuenen: Mark Roskill, *Van Gogh, Gauguin and French painting of the 1880s: a catalogue raisonné of key works*, Ann Arbor 1970, pp. 9-10.
12 **Glass with roses**  
Paris, summer-autumn 1886  
The X-ray shows a plaster cast after Michelangelo's *Young slave*, Paris,  
spring-summer 1886  
Oil on pasteboard laid down on multiplex, 61 × 46 cm  
F 218 JH 1144  

At the apartment he shared with his brother Theo in Paris, Van Gogh kept various plaster statuettes on hand, models of ancient and Renaissance sculptures he had copied in accordance with academic tradition. Several of these models were passed down in the family and are now preserved in the Van Gogh Museum. One of them is modelled on one of the two versions of Michelangelo's *Dying slave* in the Louvre, of which there is no known painted or drawn copy by Van Gogh.¹  

Vincent must have also had a statuette after another of Michelangelo's slaves, the so-called *Young slave* in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Florence. Until now the copy was only known from a rather rubbed drawing, but the same statuette appears in the X-ray of *Glass with roses*.² Compared to the other copies he painted after such statuettes, the artist here surrounded it with too much space. The work has other problems, such as the inordinate size of the arm over the figure's head, which is probably what prompted him to abandon it.

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¹ For the plaster statuettes now preserved in the Van Gogh Museum, see Van Uitert and Hoyle, *cit.* (cat. no. 2, note 1), nos. 3.2, 3.3 (there simply entitled *Plaster statuette of a male nude*), 3.5 and 3.6.  
² To judge from the X-ray and the drawing, Van Gogh's statuette was more finished than the Florentine original is in reality.
13 Plaster statuette of a female torso
Paris, spring-summer 1886

The X-ray shows the lower half of a plaster statuette of a female torso, Paris, spring-summer 1886
Oil on pasteboard laid down on multiplex and pasteboard,
35 × 27 cm
F 216j JH 1059

The X-ray of this small study after a plaster torso on a round pedestal shows the same plaster model, but rotated 90 degrees, seen from behind, and cut off at the waist. The cardboard was probably twice as large originally and was simply bisected by the artist for further studies.
The dark *Self-portrait at the easel* is painted over what may perhaps be considered Van Gogh's earliest view of a windmill on Montmartre. Through gaps in the uppermost layer of paint and impressions in the impasto, a vague image of it had already emerged. The X-ray brought more details to light, but the work is still difficult to read. In the lower left corner of the canvas a house or shop with a door on the far left can be discerned (this can actually be seen more clearly with raking light). To the right of the door is a small window and what appears to be a text painted on the wall. Behind this structure stands a wooden windmill that seems to be crowned by a terrace. If this is indeed the case, the mill must represent the Moulin le Blute-fin, also known as the Moulin de la Galette. On the right side of the composition is a terrace on poles with a flag, with a man and woman standing below it. There was in fact a terrace with a view near the Moulin le Blute-fin, but it was adjacent to the windmill and not, as in this case, separated from it by a building. This makes it difficult to identify the topography; we can only be certain that a windmill on Montmartre is involved. Van Gogh may have painted the canvas on the spot, decided he was not happy with it, and then begun working on a somewhat different scene. Whatever happened, the X-ray shows that the composition was forced and overcrowded, which is probably what prompted the artist to abandon it and reuse the canvas for the self-portrait.

The likeness was generally considered one of the earliest pictures Vincent painted in Paris, but even Nuenen and Antwerp were not ruled out. With the discovery of the Montmartre scene, however, we can now be certain it was painted in the French capital. The artist is thought to have produced the first of his Montmartre scenes in the summer or early autumn of 1886. Van Gogh's difficulties with the present composition suggest it is the earliest of these townscapes, and was therefore made in June-July. The date of the self-portrait is equally uncertain: it was presumably painted in July-August.

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1 The heavy craquelure and paint loss led to the recent restoration of the canvas.
15 **Nude girl, seated**  
Paris, summer-autumn 1886  
The X-ray shows a still life with a glass of flowers,  
Paris, summer 1886  
Oil on canvas, 27 × 22.5 cm  
F 215 JH 1045

Beneath the study of the nude girl, who probably posed for Van Gogh and his fellow students in Cormon's studio, is a still life with a glass or small vase of flowers, possibly hyacinths. The brushstrokes to the left of the vase are illegible. One can imagine that this still life was of little commercial or artistic interest to Van Gogh, and that he therefore decided to use the canvas for another study.
The dating of this self-portrait has not, until now, been entirely resolved. Stylistically, it would seem to be an experiment: instead of painting with a loaded brush as he was wont to do, Van Gogh adopted a strikingly smooth manner, without the usual structuring of the background or much, if any, modelling in the clothing. As for colour, the canvas recalls the artist's earlier, dark palette, but lacks the expressive brushwork of his peasant portraits from Nuenen and peasant types from Antwerp.

Given its experimental character, the self-portrait was probably painted in Paris. The radiograph now enables us to date it even more precisely. The concealed full-length study of a female nude could have been executed in Antwerp. Vincent received training in life drawing at that city's Academy; we know, however, from letter 558/447 that he only occasionally painted from the model. It therefore seems more likely that the work was painted in Cormon's studio. Since it was of no particular interest to Van Gogh, and had no commercial value, it is not surprising that he decided to use the canvas again for a self-portrait study. It is not known when exactly Van Gogh studied with Cormon in 1886, but it was probably between late summer and November. Given the darkness of the self-portrait, the earliest possible dating - August-September 1886 - seems plausible.
17 Self-portrait with pipe and glass
Paris, early 1887
The X-ray shows a portrait of a woman with her hair up
and a bare breast, Paris, probably late 1886
Oil on canvas, 61 × 50 cm
Signed and dated upper left: Vincent 87
F 263a JH 1199

The Self-portrait with pipe and glass conceals a representation of a woman with
her left breast bared. Her right breast and shoulder are apparently covered by a shawl
or some other garment. Unlike the academic nude study beneath the self-portrait
with felt hat (cat. no. 16), this is a strikingly intimate study of the model. The relatively
large format betrays the artist's intention to create a work of some allure: it is one of
the largest bust-length portraits he would paint in either Antwerp or Paris; the Portrait
of a man with skullcap and the late Parisian Self-portrait with easel measure only a
few centimetres more. The Antwerp portrait of a woman with a red ribbon in her
hair is of virtually the same size.¹

Since the self-portrait painted over the woman's likeness is dated '87' we know it
was executed in the French capital, where Van Gogh lived from March 1886 till
February 1888. We may assume the portrait of the woman had dried by the time he
superimposed his self-portrait; otherwise he would have first scraped it off.
Consequently, the impasto of the first work is clearly visible on the surface of the
second, which is thinly applied and very cracked in some of the areas where it covers
earlier image. Indeed, near the forehead of the artist the underlying portrait shows
through. The woman's patently brown hair - which she wears up, to judge from the
X-ray - blends with both the background and Van Gogh's own hair, which therefore
seems to stand somewhat higher than in reality.

Though nothing is known about the woman's identity, her hairstyle, apparently
smiling mouth, naked breast, and highly particularised likeness call to mind the oval
nude portrait in the Barnes Collection and the identical sheet in the Van Gogh
Museum. The same woman, with a broad nose and her hair worn up, seems also to
have sat for a portrait in Basel.²

¹ The Portrait of a man with skullcap (F 289 JH 1203) measures 65.6 × 54 cm, the Self-portrait
with easel (F 522 JH 1356) 65 × 50.5 cm. The Antwerp portrait of the woman (F 207 JH
979) is 60 × 50 cm.
² The number of the Barnes nude is F 330 JH 1214, that of the drawing in the Van Gogh
Museum F 1404 JH 1213. The portrait in Basel is F 357 JH 1216.
The radiograph of the woman in the Café du Tambourin exposes a rather large, bust-length portrait of a woman with a round face, full lips, and what seems to be a short hairstyle. Below her neck, at the same level as the table top in the surface painting, is a light spot that must form part of her clothing. Van Gogh presumably scraped the canvas carefully: even though the woman at the table is thinly painted, there is no trace of the underlying impasto. This probably explains the rather atypical, seemingly hesitant touch revealed by the X-ray. In this respect, the work resembles a female likeness recently discovered beneath a view of Montmartre in the Bridgestone Museum of Art, Tokyo.
Judging from the radiographic image, this townscape appears to conceal another composition bearing little if any relation to it. Despite its illegibility it is included here for the sake of completeness.
Anonymous artist

**Still life with bottle of wine, two glasses and a plate with bread and cheese**

place and date unknown

The X-ray shows a portrait of a woman, place and date unknown

Oil on canvas, 37.5 × 46 cm

F 253 JH 1121

The authenticity of this still life, which entered the Museum as part of the Van Gogh family collection (to which it had always belonged), was recently challenged.¹ From a stylistic point of view it is indeed difficult to situate the canvas in Vincent's oeuvre. Only the handling of the bread is somewhat reminiscent of his free brushwork, whereas the rest is distinguished by a manner that is reserved, if not lacklustre. There is nothing of interest in the background or tablecloth, while the glasses, plate, and knife are arranged against them with no more than technical competence.

The X-ray gives support to the doubts raised about the attribution of the still life. Beneath the surface lies a woman's portrait that would seem to have little in common with Van Gogh's art. To be sure, the putative scraping of the canvas makes it difficult to say anything about the technique; yet brushstrokes are still clearly visible in the woman's garment. Though the artist was apparently working rapidly, again one cannot help but notice a certain dullness: the strokes lack both the strength and structure so characteristic of Vincent. Thus, the radiograph confirms that the canvas is not by Van Gogh.

fig. 1 Elisabeth Huberta van Gogh (1859-1936)
Notes on a donation: the poetry album for Elisabeth Huberta van Gogh

Louis van Tilborgh and Fieke Pabst

At the beginning of 1994 the Van Gogh Museum's archives was enriched with a donation from the descendants of Elisabeth Huberta du Quesne-van Gogh (1859-1936), Vincent's second sister (figs. 1, 3). Elisabeth made her debut as a poet in 1908, but it was not for her literary achievements that she became known but for her *Personal recollections of Vincent van Gogh*, which was first published in Dutch in 1910.¹ The donation consists of some 20 letters, a photograph album and a small book containing fragments of poetry and prose.

The descendants had already donated several documents to public institutions. In 1977, the Documentation Centre at Nuenen received Elisabeth's album with newspaper clippings about her brother, which she had compiled on the occasion of the unveiling of a memorial outside her parents' vicarage in 1930, and in 1993 several early photographs of topographical interest were given to the Rijksmuseum's print-room in Amsterdam. In the same year the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague was presented with several books from Elisabeth's library. They included a copy of Jacques Perk's *Gedichten* (Poems) with a handwritten recollection on the flyleaf by Elisabeth of the gifted poet's earliest efforts: ‘When I knew him he never wrote sonnets. His sister and I -she was my friend at boarding school - used to tear up the verses he sent us. We called them foolish and bombastic, and neither of us ever foresaw that he would become a poet.’²

Other documents remain in the family's possession until a decision is made about their final home. They include Elisabeth's own poetry album,³ and an absorbing chronicle

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¹ Elisabeth made her debut with *Gedichten*, Baarn 1908. Two years previously she had published a translated selection from a French anthology entitled *Bretonsche volksliederen: bloemlezing uit den bundel Barza-Breiz*, Amersfoort 1906.


³ The poetry albums of her two sisters, Anna Cornelia (1855-1930) and Willemina Jacoba (1862-1941), are in the Van Gogh Museum. They were donated to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation in 1992 by Anna's descendants; see Louis van Tilborgh, ‘Poetry albums,’ *Van Gogh Bulletin* 7 (1992), no. 2, p. 13.
by her mother, Anna Cornelia Carbentus (1819-1907). It was written on 20 March 1852, in the final days of her first pregnancy, as a record of ‘the special days and events from the beginning of our marriage.’ Ten days later she was delivered of a stillborn son.
Equally interesting for the family biography is a letter from Vincent's uncle, Jan van Gogh (1817-1885), in which he describes the death of his brother, Vincent's father (1822-1885). It gives more details of the clergyman's death than the only eyewitness account previously known, which is a letter from Vincent's sister Willemien to Line Kruysse.⁴ ‘After the meal [at the Tirions] he sat there so peacefully while Mrs Tirion played the piano for him,’ Jan wrote to his youngest sister Mietje (1851-1911). ‘At half past six he strolled back in the fine evening air. Spoke with various people on the way. Near the vicarage he greeted another acquaintance. He turned the handle of the front door. The maid in the corridor thought she heard him and went to meet him, and in the doorway he collapsed in her arms, as it were. He was suddenly dead, without a movement or sound. Wil[lemien] had gone to visit the Buijsman family nearby and came home immediately. She tried to restore life to the body in the back room. But it was ended.’⁵

The letter also contains the only known description of Vincent's reaction to his father's death: ‘Vincent is bearing up well enough, a little shy, of course, but tolerable all the same, for the rest a tendency to cool rationalisation.’⁶ Precisely what he meant by that emerges from the letter Vincent wrote to Theo after the latter had returned to Paris following the funeral: ‘Those were days we shall not easily forget. And yet the total impression was not terrible, only solemn. Life is not long for anybody; the only problem is to make something of it.’⁷

**Album**

The documents donated to the Van Gogh Museum last year also contain several new pieces of information. Two hitherto unknown photographs in the album are of

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⁵ Letter from Johannes van Gogh to Maria Johanna van Gogh, dated 28 March 1885. ‘Te half zeven wandelde hij met zacht liefweder terug. Sprak onderweg nog verscheidene personen. Vlakbij de pastorie groette hij nog een bekende. Voor de voordeur draaide hij aan de knop. De meid in de gang meende hem te hooren en ging er naar toe om juist op te vangen toen hij in de deur in hare armen als het ware in een zakte, zonder trekkings of geluid was hij plotseling dood. - Wil[lemien] was juist even naar de fam. Buijsman in de buurt en kwam dadelijk thuis en wilde in de achterkamer getrachten herleven in het ligchaam op te wekken. - Doch het was gedaan.’
⁶ ‘Vincent houdt zich wel genoeg natuurlijk wat schuw maar toch dragelijk, overigens neiging tot koel redineeren.’
⁷ Letter 492 (397)
Elisabeth and her father, the Reverend Theodorus van Gogh (fig. 2). The second one gives an even better idea than all the other known photographs why he was called ‘the handsome vicar.’ It also turns out from two of the letters that Vincent’s drawing, *Corner of Herengracht and Prinsessegracht in The Hague* (fig. 4), came from Elisabeth’s heirs - a fact not mentioned in De la Faille’s oeuvre catalogue. Given that provenance it is doubtful whether the sheet should still be regarded as one of those commissioned from Vincent by his uncle Cor, the art dealer Cornelis Marinus van Gogh (1824-1908), as has been assumed until now.

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8 The source of this information is Johanna van Gogh-Bonger, ‘Inleiding,’ in *De brieven van Vincent van Gogh*, ed. Han van Crimpen and Monique Berends-Albert, 4 vols., The Hague 1990, vol. 1, p. 3.

9 V.W. van Gogh to R.W. Riem Vis-du Quesne van Bruchem, letters dated 15 March and 5 July 1968. The drawing, F SD 1679, was acquired by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation in 1968.

The most interesting item in the donation is the album with poetry and prose fragments, which the family discovered by chance in 1993. It is a small book, measuring $16 \times 10.4$ cm and containing 32 pages, and is very similar to Vincent's three poetry albums, which were first published in 1989. Two of them were written by Vincent for his brother Theo, while the third was intended for the artist Matthijs Maris.

The newly discovered, marbled album is almost identical in size to the book that Vincent sent to his brother from London in February 1875, and it opens with the same motto. There is little change in the selection of authors quoted, who include Jules Michelet, Emile Souvestre and Ludwig Uhland. Most of the quotations are from French literature, with only two poems in German.

Because of these similarities and the handwriting, which closely resembles Vincent's, it was first thought that it was he who had written the album. However, one vital piece of evidence was overlooked: a letter from Elisabeth to Theo of 15 August 1875 in which she specifically attributes the manuscript to him, not Vincent. ‘How beautiful they are, those poems that you copied out for me. Do you know which ones I find so beautiful? ‘L'exilé’ and that piece about Jesus. What a powerful, sound opinion that is. I find it very beautiful. I had read that piece by Vincent before. He sent it to Papa and Mama in Dutch, but I find it even more beautiful in French.’ The fragments mentioned by Elisabeth confirm that the ‘beautiful poems’ were indeed the ones in the newly discovered album. ‘L'exilé’ is on page 16, the story about Jesus on pages 10-12, and the fragment she believed was by Vincent appears on page 5.

It is, of course, possible that the 16-year-old Elisabeth made a mistake. For example, Theo could have received the album from Vincent, who was in Paris at the time, and have simply sent it on to Elisabeth without a covering letter, leaving her with the impression that he

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13 Ibid., p. 19.
14 See note 11.
was the copyist. What militates against that theory is that it is difficult to imagine the conscientious Theo treating a gift from his respected elder brother so casually. In addition, Elisabeth is really very specific about the writer's identity.

Since Elisabeth's letter is the sole surviving statement on the album's origin, a study of the handwriting is the only remaining way of determining whether it was written by Vincent or Theo. The problem here is that both of them were taught the same form of handwriting, and this is compounded by the fact that there is only one extant

16 Jan Hulsker, who is convinced that the booklet was written by Vincent, has kindly suggested that Vincent included the album in a consignment of mail from Goupil in Paris to The Hague, where Theo was living at the time.
fig. 5 Letter from Theo to Vincent van Gogh, dated 7 September 1875, with a reply from Vincent on the same sheet, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum (Vincent van Gogh Foundation)

letter by Theo dating from the period when the album was written. The script in that letter of 1875 certainly looks coarser and more childish than that in the album (fig. 5), but it should not be forgotten that these are two very different types of manuscript. The letter was written off the cuff and with a fairly broad pen, whereas the fragments in the album was copied down in elementary calligraphic writing, where the emphasis was on perfection and appearance.

If one looks solely at the way in which the individual letters in both manuscripts are written one discovers that there are quite definite similarities. The t's, g's and d's are identical, whereas Vincent's are very different. The N's and the M's are also the same in the letter and the album. Although one occasionally finds the corresponding form of those capitals in documents by Vincent they are the exception rather than the rule. In short, there is nothing to suggest that Theo was not the copyist, and a case against it being Vincent.¹⁷

Taken as a whole, the most plausible theory is that the 18-year-old Theo compiled the album on the lines of those he himself had received from Vincent. One of the fragments is from the first of those albums and six are from the second, while at least one can be traced to a loose sheet that Vincent probably included with one of his letters. Six of the extracts are ‘new,’ and it is not inconceivable, if one can speculate about the source, that Theo took them from manuscripts by Vincent or other members

¹⁷ With thanks to Elly Cassee, Leo Jansen and Hans Luijten. In Pabst, op. cit. (note 12), pp. 18, 20-21, it is stated that four of the poems in the second album compiled by Vincent were also written by Theo. That is incorrect, for the handwriting is certainly not his. It could be either Anna's or Elisabeth's, whose hands were virtually indistinguishable at this time. Arguments for the attribution to Anna are that Vincent wrote the album in London when she was also staying there. It is less plausible, but not impossible, that the poems were not transcribed by Anna but by Elisabeth. In 1873, as recorded in letter 10 (9a), she had copied down Jan van Beers's poem ‘De avondstond’ on the eve of Vincent's departure for London. Since that poem is one of the four in the second album, it is possible that Elisabeth started the album for Vincent, and that the latter continued it two years later and sent it to Theo.
of the family, or even from a third, now unknown and perhaps lost album that had also been copied out by his brother.

**A man from Granville**

The fragment on pages 5-7 is particularly intriguing. It tells the story of the life of a man from Granville in France, and it is signed ‘Vincent’. Elisabeth assumed from this that her eldest brother was the author. In her letter of
thanks to Theo she spoke of ‘that piece by Vincent,’ and she later published the fragment in her volume of recollections of him: ‘This little bit of prose which the writer [Elisabeth] had from his own hand [emphasis added] by way of his brother [Theo] will demonstrate that the artist's art of description held even pace with his whole development, and will also show the extent to which he had mastered the French language.’

When the album surfaced in 1993 there were others who were convinced that this fragment was Vincent's own invention. Martin Bailey even went so far as to see in the story a veiled account of the Loyer family, with whom Vincent lodged in Brixton. This, though, is untenable. Van Gogh could not possibly have written it. The French is complex and grammatically impeccable, whereas Vincent's French was certainly not flawless (whatever Elisabeth may have thought), as his later letters to Theo show. Vincent must have copied the story down from an as yet unidentified source.

If that is the case, this is an extra argument for regarding Theo as the transcriber and not Vincent. The latter, knowing that the story was copied from another source, would never have put his own name to it. The more likely explanation is that Theo copied it down from a manuscript he had received from Vincent in which the source was evidently not given, with the result that he assumed, wrongly, that the author was Vincent himself.

Theo also attributed the motto at the front of the album to his brother by placing the letters ‘VvG’ below it. Although these lines, which are taken from Vincent's second album, are from a song which was very popular at the time, Theo evidently did not know it and thought that they had been composed by his brother because, unusually, Vincent had not specified the author in his second album.

Diplomatic copy

Theo's album is reproduced here in what is known as a diplomatic copy. This means that no punctuation has been added, and spelling mistakes and writing errors have been left uncorrected. The only omissions are an addition inserted by Elisabeth on p. 7 (see the note on that page) and translations of some English words on the last page.

This form of presentation may be unusual in a publication of this kind, but it has been chosen to match the approach adopted in Fieke Pabst (ed.), Vincent van Gogh's

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19 Bailey, op. cit. (note 11), pp. 16-17.

20 Memorandum of 26 July 1994 from Jan Hulsker to the museum.

21 It can be deduced from Vincent's letter to Theo written at the end of June 1875 that he had certainly sent him the story: ‘You know that Millet lived at Gréville. Well, I do not know whether it was at Gréville or Granville that the man whom I told you of died’ [letter 36/29]. See also note 7 to the text of the album.

22 The lines of verse came from an adaptation of a German song; see the note to the motto. Surprisingly, though, the traditional ‘van een snellen vliet’ was changed into ‘van een stillen vliet.’
poetry albums, Cahier Vincent no. 1, Zwolle 1988. There the texts were reproduced photographically, but due to complaints about their illegibility it was decided publish this new album in the form of a diplomatic copy.
[0]
Aan den oever van een stillen vliet
Een treurig meiske zat
VvG

[1]
L’aile

Des ailes! des ailes! pour voler
Par montagne et par vallée!
Des ailes pour bercer mon coeur
Sur le rayon de l’aurore!

Des ailes pour planer sur la mer
Dans la pourpre du matin!
Des ailes au-dessus de la vie!
Des ailes par delà la mort!

Michelet d'après Rückert²

L'hirondelle

Dela jeunesse, dela jeunesse,
Un chant me revient toujours...
Oh! que c'est loin! Oh que c'est loin
Tout ce qui fut autrefois

Ce que chantait, ce que chantait
Celle que ramène le printemps,
Rasant le village de l’aile, rasant le village de l'a
Est ce bien ce qu'elle chante encore?

[2]

Quand je partis quand je partis,
Etaient pleins l'armoire & le coffre
Quand je revins, quand je revins
Je ne trouvai plus que le vide.

1 ‘Aen d'oever van een snellen vliet,’ in J.F. Willems (ed.), Oude Vlaemsche Liederen ten deele met de melodiën, Ghent 1848, pp. 221-22. This verse is an adaptation of a German song of 1781 by Kaspar Friedrich Lossius, ‘An einem Fluss, der rauschend schoss.’ Also included in Vincent’s second poetry album for Theo (see Fieke Pabst (ed.), Vincent van Gogh's poetry albums, Cahier Vincent no. 1, Zwolle 1988, p. 20). Theo wrongly thought that the poem was by Vincent. On his point see the introductory essay and note 22 there.

Oh mon foyer de famille
Laisse moi seulement une fois
M'asseoir à la place sacrée
Et m'envoler dans les songes!

Elle revient bien l'hirondelle
Elle chante comme autrefois
Quand je partis quand je partis
Coffre, armoire, tout était plein
Quand je revins, quand je revins
Je ne trouvais plus que le vide.

Elle revient bien l'hirondelle
Et l'armoire vidée se remplit
Mais le vide de coeur reste, mais reste le vide de coeur
Et rien ne le remplira.

Michelet d'après Rückert

[3]

Le rouge gorge

je suis le compagnon
Du pauvre bucheron

Je le suis en automne
Au vent des premiers froids,
Et c'est moi qui lui donne
Le dernier chant des bois

Il est triste, et je chante
Sous mon deuil mêlé d'or.
Dans la brume pesante
Je vois l'azuor enor.

Qui ce chant te relève
Et te garde l'espoir!
Qu'il te berce d'un rêve!
Et te ramène au soir

Mais quand vient la gelée
Je frappe à ton carreau
Il n'est plus de feuillée
Prends pitié de l'oiseau

[4]

C'est ton ami d'automne
Que revient près de toi.
Le ciel, tout m'abandonne...
Bûcheron, ouvre-moi!

Qu'en ce temps de disette,
Le petit voyageur,
Régalé d'une miette,
S'endorme à ta chaleur!

Je suis le compagnon
Du pauvre bûcheron.

Madame Michelet⁴

Partout où j'ai voulu dormir,
Partout où j'ai voulu pleurer,
Partout où j'ai touché la terre:
Un malheureux vêtu de noir,
Auprès de moi venait s'asseoir.
Qui me regardait comme un frère.⁵

[5]

Il ya 25 ans environ, qu'un homme de
Granville partit pour l'Angleterre.
Après la mort de son père ses frères se dis
putaient l'héritage, & tâchaient surtout
de lui soustraire sa part. Las de se quereller,
il leur abandonna sa part & partit
pauvre pour Londres, où il obtint une
place de maître de Français à une école.
Il avait 30 ans lors qu'il se maria avec
une Anglaise bien plus jeune que lui;
il eut 1 enfant, une fille.
Après avoir été marié 7 ou 8 ans, sa maladie
de poitrine s'aggravait.

⁴ ‘Le rouge gorge,’ in Michelet, op. cit. (note 2), pp. 263-64. Michelet had stated that this poem was written by a woman, which explains why it is attributed to ‘Madame Michelet,’ who often collaborated with her husband.

Un de ses amis lui demanda alors s'il avait encore quelque désir, à quoi il répon dit, qu'avant de mourir il aimerait à revoir son pays.

Son ami lui paya les frais du voyage.
Il partit donc, malade jusqu'à la mort, avec sa femme & sa fille de 6 ans pour Granville.  

La il loua une chambre à des pauvres gens demeurant près de la mer.
Le soir il se faisait porter sur la grève & regardait le soleil se coucher dans la mer.
Un soir, voyant qu'il était près de mourir, les gens avertirent sa femme qu'il était temps d'envoyer chercher le curé pour qu'il donnat l'extrême onction au malade.
Sa femme qui était protestante s'y op posa, mais il dit ‘laissez les faire.’

6 Elisabeth later added the comment: ‘le Granville que je me rappelle si bien!’ She probably visited the town in 1886, when she toured in Normandy after giving birth to her illegitimate daughter, Huberta Normance, in Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte
Le curé arriva donc & le malade se confes
sa devant tout les gens de la maison.
Alors tous les assistants ont pleuré, en
entendant cette vie juste & pure.
Après il voulut qu'on le laissat seul
avec sa femme; & quand ils furent seul
il l'embrassa & dit 'Je t'ai aimée'
Alors il mourut...
Il aimait la France, la Bretagne surtout
& la nature & il y voyait Dieu; c'est à
cause de cela que je vous raconte la vie
de cet 'étranger sur la terre' qui cependant
en fut un des vrais citoyens.

Vincent van Gogh

J'aimais cette petite ville singulières
& un peu triste (Granville) qui vit de
la pêche lointaine la plus dangereuse.
La famille sait qu'elle est nourrie des
hasards de cette loterie, de la vie, de la
mort de l'homme.

Celà met en tout un sérieux harmonique
au caractère sauvage de cette côte.
J'y ai bien des fois gouté la mélancolie,
soit que je me promenasse en bas sur
la grève déjà obscurcie, soit que de la
haute ville qui couronne le rocher, je visse
descendre le soleil dans l'horison
un peu brumeux.
Son énorme mappement, souvent
rayée durement de raies noires et de
rayes rouges, s'abimait, sans arrêter
à faire au ciel les fantaisies, les paysages
de lumière qui souvent ailleurs

égayent la vue.
En Aout c'était déja l'automne.

7 Vincent probably copied this story from an as yet unidentified source (see the introductory
essay). A loose sheet by Vincent preserved in the Van Gogh Museum has virtually the same
text (see Pabst, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 84-86), but since the last paragraph differs in the album
version, the variant on the loose sheet cannot be the one transcribed by Theo. Moreover, the
latter opens with the words ‘à M[onsieur] Jules Breton’.
Elisabeth published the full text of the story in her album in Vincent van Gogh. Persoonlijke
herinneringen aangaande een kunstenaar, Baarn 1910, pp. 101-03. She substituted ‘et’ for
‘&’, failed to spot two misprints and corrected the grammar here and there - wrongly, as it
happens. It is translated in the English edition of her book, Personal recollections of Vincent
Il n'y avait guère de crépuscule.
Le soleil à peine disparu, le vent fraîchissait, les vagues couraient rapides, vertes & sombres. On ne voyait guère que quelques ombres de femmes dans leur capes noires doublées de blancs. Les moutons attardés aux maigres pâturages des glulis, qui sur plombent la grève de 80 ou 100 pieds l'attristaient de bâlements plaintifs

Michelet (La mer)⁸

Mon Dieu protégez-moi, mon navire est si petit & votre mer est si grande.

Emile Souvestre⁹

⁸ Jules Michelet, *La mer*, Paris 1861, pp. 14-15. In the second line the word ‘Granville’ was added. Also included in Vincent's first poetry album for Theo and on a loose sheet of paper; see Pabst, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 13, 87. This fragment was probably copied from the loose sheet, for the text is virtually the same.

Une haute notion de la Divinité,
qui semble avoir été de toutes pièces
la création de sa grand âme, fut

en quelque sorte le principe de sa force.
C'est l'idée d'un Dieu père, dont on entend
la voix dans le calme de la conscience et
le silence du coeur.
Dieu est en lui; il se sent avec Dieu et il
tire de son coeur ce qu'il dit de son père.
Jésus n'énonce pas un moment l'idée
qu'il soit Dieu.
Il se croit en rapport direct avec Dieu,
il se croit fils de Dieu. La plus haute
conscience de Dieu qui ait existé au sein
de l'humanité a été celle de Jésus.
Dieu conçu immédiatement comme
Père, voilà toute la théologie de Jésus.
Il aimait à prier, ou plutôt de mediter
sur les montagnes & dans les

lieux solitaires où toujours l'homme
a cherché Dieu
La vraie poésie de la bible, qui échappait
aux docteurs de Jérusalem, se relévait
plainement au beau génie de Jésus.
La poésie religieuse des psaumes se
trouva dans un merveilleux accord
avec son âme lyrique, ils restèrent
toute sa vie son aliment son soutien.
Cette sublime personne, qui chaque jour
préside encore au destin du monde
il est permis de l'appeler divine, en
cé sens que Jésus est l'individu qui
a fait faire à son espèce le plus grand
pas vers le divin. En lui s'est condensé
tout ce qu'il ya de bon & d'élevé dans
notre nature. Il n'a pas été impeccable,
il a vaincu les mêmes passions
que nous combattons, aucun ange de

Dieu ne l'a conforté, si ce n'est sa
bonne conscience, aucun Satan ne
l'a tenté si ce n'est celui qui chacun porte
en son coeur.
Heureux qui à pu voir de ses yeux cette
éclosion divine, et partager, ne fut-ce qu'un
jour, cette illusion sans pareille! Mais plus
heureux encore, nous dirait Jésus, celui qui
dégagé de toute illusion, reproduirait en
lui même l'apparition céleste, et sans
rêve millénaire, sans paradis chimérique
sans signes dans le ciel, par la droiture de
sa volonté et la poésie de son âme,
saurait de nouveau créer en son cœur
le vrai royaume de Dieu.

Jésus.

Renan 10

[13]

Vous m'avez dit: ‘A Paris jeune pâtre,
Viens suis nous, cède à tes nobles penchants.
Notre or, nos soins, l'étude, le théâtre
t'Auront bientôt fait oublier tes champs’.
Je suis venu mais voyez mon visage;
Sous tant de feux mon printemps s'est fané
Ah rendez-moi, rendez-moi mon village
Et la montagne où je suis né.

11, lines 1-2); pp. 11-12 (p. 11, lines 3-9); p. 258 (p. 11, lines 10-19, p. 12, lines 1-4); p. 118
(p. 12, lines 5-15). Also partly included in Vincent's second poetry album for Theo; see Pabst,
op. cit. (note 1), pp. 26-27. Interestingly, some of the passages transcribed here which do
not appear in the the second album for Theo are marked in the copy of Renan's *Jésus* that is
now in the Van Gogh Museum (BVG 1379). It emerges from letter 30 (23) that Vincent had
sent the book to Theo at the end of February 1875.
La fièvre court triste et froide dans mes veines
A vos désirs cependant j'obéis;
Ces bals charmants où les femmes sont reines,
J'y meurs hélas! J'ai le mal du pays.
En vain l'étude a poli mon langage.
Vos arts en vain ont ébloui mes yeux.
Ah rendez-moi, rendez-moi mon village
Et ses dimanches si joyeux.

[14]

Avec raison vous méprisez nos veilles.
Nos vieux récits & nos chants si grossiers.
De la féerie égalant les merveilles.
Votre opéra confondra nos sorciers.
Au Saint des Saints le ciel rendant hommage
De vos concerts doit emprunter les sons
Ah rendez-moi, rendez-moi mon village
Et sa vieillée & ses chansons

Nos toits obscurs, notre église qui croule
M'ont moi même inspiré des dédaïns.

Des monuments j'admire ici la foule
Surtout au Louvre et ses pompeux jardins.
Palais magique, on dirait une mirage
Que le soleil colore à son coucher.
Ah rendez-moi, rendez-moi mon village
Et ses chansons et son clocher.

[15]

Convertissez le sauvage idolâtre,
Près de mourir, il retourne à ses dieux.
Là bas mon chien m attend auprès de l'âtres;
Ma mère en pleurs repense à nos adieux.
J'ai vu cent fois l'avalanche et l'orage,
L'ours et les loups fondre sur mes brebis.
Ah rendez-moi, rendez-moi mon village
Et la houette et le pain bis.
Qu'entends-je o ciel! Pour moi remplis d'alarmes,
‘Pars,’ dites-vous, ‘demain pars au reveil
C'est l'air natal qui séchera tes larmes
Va refleurir à ton premier soleil.’
Adieux, Paris, doux et brillant rivage
Où l'étranger reste comme enchainé.
Ah je revois, je revois mon village
Et la montagne où je suis né.

PJ de Béranger

[16]

L'exilé.

11 ‘La nostalgie ou la maladie du pays,’ in Oeuvres complètes de P.J. de Béranger, 5 vols.,

Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995
A d'aimables compagnes
Une jeune beauté
Disait: Dans nos campagnes
Règne l'humanité.
Un étranger s'avance
Qui, parmi nous errant,
Redemande la France
Qu'il chante en soupirant.
D'une terre chérie
C'est un fils désolé
Rendons une patrie,
   Une patrie
Au pauvre exilé.

Près d'un ruisseau rapide
Vers la France entraîné
Il s'assied, l'œil humide,
Et le front incliné.

[17]

Dans les champs qu'il regrette,
Il sait qu'en peu de jours,
Ces flots, que rien n'arrête,
Vont promener leur cours.
D'une terre chérie
C'est un fils désolé;
Rendons une patrie,
   Une patrie
Au pauvre exilé.

Quand sa mère, peut être,
Implorant son retour
Tombe aux genoux d'un maître,
Que touche son amour,
Trahi par la victoire
Ce proscrit dans nos bois,
Inquiet de sa gloire
Fuit la haine des rois.
D'une terre chérie
C'est un fils désolé
Rendons une patrie

[18]

   Une patrie
Au pauvre exilé.

De rivage en rivage
Que sert de le bannir
Partout de son courage
Il trouve un souvenir
Sur nos bords, par la guerre
Tant de fois envahis
Son sang même a naguère
Coulé pour son pays
D'une terre chérie
C'est un fils désolé
Rendons une patrie
   Une patrie
Au pauvre exilé.

Dans nos destins contraires
On dit qu'en ses foyers
Il recueillit nos frères
Vaincus et prisonniers

[19]

De ces temps de conquêtes
Rappelons lui le cours
Qu'il trouve ici des fêtes
Et surtout des amours
D'une terre chérie
C'est un fils désolé
Rendons une patrie
   Une patrie
Au pauvre exilé

Si notre accueil le touche
Si, par nous abrité
Il s'endort sur la couche
De l'hospitalité
Que par nos voix légères
Ce Français réveillé
Sous le toit de ses pères
Croie avoir sommeillé
D'une terre chérie
C'est un fils désolé
Rendons une patrie

[20]

Une patrie
Au pauvre exilé

de Béranger

[21]

Abendfeier

Ein Schein der ew'gen Jugend glänzt
In's Erdenthal,
Die Höhn mit Offenbarung kränzt
Der Abendstrahl.
Die Lerche singt der Sonne nach
Von hohen Ort,
Dann wirt die Nachtviole wach,
Und dufted fort

O wie mild der Abendrauch

Dort aus Hütten steigt!
Ob es wohl im Innern auch
Sich so freundlich zeigt?
Ob es in dem Innern auch
Dümpf und düster schweiget;
Sei zufrieden, dasz der Rauch
Mild gen Himmel steiget

[22]

Vom Thurme bläst ein Abendlied
In Abendlerchen chöre
Was sagt es? dasz ein Mensch verschied;
Dazs nichts die Rüh’ ihm störe!
Sei er geschieden sanft und rein,
Wie dort die Sonne scheidet,
Und ruh’ in Friede wie der Hain
In Abendroth gekleidet!

Die Schwalbe schwingt züm Abendliede
Sich auf das Stänglein unter’m Dach
Im Feld und in der Stad ist Friede
Fried’ ist im Haus und im Gemach.
Ein Schimmer fält vom Abendrothe
Leis in die stille Strasz herein,
Und vor ‘n Entschlafen sagt der Bote,
Er wird’ ein schöner Morgen sein.

Rücken

[23]

Der wirthin Tochterlein

Es zogen drei Bursche wohl über den Rhein
Bei einer Frau Wirthin da kehrten sie ein.
’Frau Wirthin hat sie gut Bier und Wein?
Wo hat sie Ihr schönes Tochterlein?
Mein Bier und Wein ist frisch und klar
Mein Tochterlein liegt auf den Todtenbahr
Und als sie traten zur kammer hinein
Da lag sie in einem schwarzen Schrein
Der erste der schlug den Schleier zurück
Und schaute sie an mit traurigen Blick:
‘Ach lebest du noch du schone Maid!
Ich würde dich lieben von dieser Zeit.’

Der zweite deckte den schleier zu
Und kehrte sich ab und weinte dazu:
‘Ach dasz du liegst auf der Todtenbahr!
Ich hab dich geliebet so manches Jahr.’

Der dritte hub ihm wieder sogleich.  
Und kuszte sie an den Mund so bleich:  
‘Dich liebte ich immer, dich lieb ich noch heut  
Und werde dich lieben in Ewigkeit.’

Unland

[24]  
Le paradis

‘Jésus! combien grand sera le bonheur  
‘du ciel lorsque nous serons dans l'amour de Dieu!  
‘Je trouve le temps court, je n'ai plus de  
‘souffrances de coeur, en songeant nuit et  
‘jour à la gloire du paradis.  
‘Quand je regarde le ciel, je me dis:  
‘C'est là mon pays! et je voudrais y  
‘voler comme une tourterelle blanche!  
‘Mais hélas! je resterai encore ici  
‘jusqu'à l'heure de la mort, prisonnier  
‘sous une chair bien lourde à mon âme!  
‘Quand viendra l'heure de la mort,  
‘oh, quelle joie! Je verrai alors Jésus,  
‘mon véritable époux.  
‘Et aussitôt que mes chaînes seront

14 ‘Der Wirthin Tochterlein,’ in Ludwig Uhland, Gedichte, Stuttgart 1842, p. 286. Also included in Vincent's second poetry album for Theo and in his poetry album for Matthijs Maris; see Pabst, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 34, 42.
‘rompues, je m'enlèverai dans les airs
‘comme une alouette.
‘Je passerai près de la lune pour aller
‘reposer dans la gloire du ciel,

[25]
‘je serai porté par le soleil et les étoiles.
Alors je dirai adieu à mes frères,
aux enfants de mon pauvre pays, adieu
à toutes les souffrances, adieu aux
douloureux fardeaux!
Adieu à la pauvreté, adieu à l'orgueil,
adieu aux passions turbulentes, adieu
aux ardentes tentations.
Alors je ne porterai plus en moi le mauvais
esprit. Après l'heure de la mort,
plus d'erreur!
Et je chanterai avec joie dans ma tombe
Ma chaine es rompue, liberté maintenant,
liberté pour l'éternité!
Oh que ma part sera belle! d'avance
j'y songe et je l'aime.
Oh, mon cœur! cette pensée te con
sole dans toutes tes afflictions.’

Ce qui rend surtout ces chants sacrés
remarquables, c'est l'ardente foi qu'ils

[26]
révèlent. Sans doute, il faut que
les croyances existent pour que de
pareilles poésies soient composées;
mais on doit concevoir aussi combien
ces mêmes croyances s'entretiennent
et se passionnent par la popularité
de chants semblables. Les enfants
naissent, grandissent, au bruit de
ces cantiques; dès qu'ils peuvent
parler ils les apprennent, ils s'en
pénètrent, ils finissent par les chanter
sans s'en apercevoir, comme
ils respirent, comme ils marchent,
comme ils regardent. Souvent deux
pâtres assis sur deux roches élevées se
repondent et se renvoient alternativement
les strophes de ces poèmes pieux.
Alors la jeune fille, qui passe en
fredonnant un sône, penche la tête
pour les entendre; les laveuses suspendent
les coups de leurs battoirs au
bord des doués (lavoirs) ombreuses,
et le paysan qui siffle en conduisant
la charrue s'arrête au bout du sillon, et,
appuyé sur l'attelage, écoute les deux voix
lointaines.

E Souvestre\(^{15}\)
(Les derniers bretons)

**Le chant du pillawer (Chiffonnier)**

Il part, le pillawer, il descend la montagne, il
va visiter les pauvres du pays. Il a dit adieu
à sa femme et à ses enfants; il ne les reverra
que, dans un mois s'il vit encore!
Car la vie du pillawer est rude; il va par les routes
sous la pluie qui tombe, et il n'a pour s'abriter
que les fossés du chemin. Il mange un morceau
de pain noir, pendant que ses deux
chevaux broutent dans les douves, et il boit
à la mare où chantent les grenouilles.
Il va, il va, le pillawer; il va comme le
Juif errant. Personne ne l'aime. Il ne
trouve ni parents, ni amis dans le bas
pays, et l'on ferme sa porte quand on
le voit; car le pillawer passe pour un homme
sans foi.

\(^{15}\) Souvestre, op. cit. (note 9), pp. 168-70
Dimanche et fêtes il est par le chemins. Il n'entend jamais la messe ni les offices; il ne va point prier sur la fosse de ses parents; il ne se confesse pas à son curé; aussi disent ils dans le bas pays que le pillawer n'a ni foi ni paroisse. Sa paroisse est là-bas, près de son toit de genêt, mais il n'y retourne que pour quelques jours. Il est étranger dans le village où il a été baptisé. Quand il arrive les petits enfants ne crient pas son nom, les chiens n'aboient pas d'un air de connaissance. Il ne sait pas ce qui se passe dans sa propre famille. Il revient au bout d'un mois, et quand il s'arrête sur la porte, il n'ose entrer, car il ne sait pas ce que Dieu a mis chez lui: un cercueil ou un berceau! Et quand son fils aura douze ans, le pillawer lui dira un jour: - Viens apprendre ton métier, mon fils. Et l'enfant ira meurtrir ses petits pieds dans les chemins et il dira bien des fois à son père qu'il a froid et qu'il est fatigué.

Mais son père lui dira, en lui montrant le soleil: - Voila la cheminée du bon Dieu. Prie qu'il la rende chaude pour le petit pillawer: et il ajoutera, en lui montrant l'herbe verte: - Voilà le lit des pauvres gens; prie Dieu qu'il le rende doux pour un enfant des mon tagnes.

Va, pauvre pillawer, le chemin du monde est dur sous tes pieds; mais Jésus-Christ ne juge pas comme les hommes; si tu es honnête et bon chrétien, tes douleurs te seront payées, et tu te réveillera dans la gloire. Tu vois les haillons couverts de boue que portent tes maigres chevaux; et bien! Un jour, l'eau de la rivière les lavera; ils seront confondus sous les marteaux de la papeterie; et les hommes en feront un papier plus blanc que la plus belle toile de lin.

[28]

[29]

[30]
Ainsi de toi, pillawer. Quand tu auras laisse ton pauvre corps couvert de genêlles au fond de quelque fossé, ton âme s’en échappera blanche et belle, et les anges le porteront dans le paradis.

E Souvestre

[Acquisitions in context]

fig. 1
Thomas Couture, *A realist*, 1856, oil on canvas, 46 × 38.1 cm, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum
In 1865 Thomas Couture (1815-1879) painted a satire on the type of artist he considered his arch-enemy: *A realist* (fig. 1). As an advocate of an eclectic approach to art where realism and classical motifs were not mutually exclusive, Couture disliked artists like Gustave Courbet, who he felt narrowed the concept of realism to the point of banality. In his *Méthode et entretiens d'atelier* Couture explained the canvas as follows: ‘I am depicting the interior of a contemporary studio; it has nothing in common with studios of the past, in which fragments of the finest antiquities could be seen [...]. But thanks to modern progress in artistic matters, new gods have supplanted the old ones. Laocoon has been replaced by a cabbage, the feet of the Gladiator by a candlestick covered with tallow or a shoe.’ On the wall of the studio he hung the requisites of Realism: an old lantern, a candlestick, and a worn-out shoe. A true forerunner of Jeff Koons's sculpture *Ushering in banality* (Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum), Couture's Realist ridicule the classical tradition by portraying a pig - proverbially the most vulgar of animals - while sitting on a head of none other than the ruler of the gods, Jupiter.

Couture found the theme for his canvas in the art of an 18th-century predecessor, the painter Jean-Siméon Chardin (1699-1779). Interestingly enough, Chardin was revered by Couture's opponents, the progressive Realists. Chardin's repertoire includes charming parodies of his profession in the form of *singeries*, (fig. 2), and it is on these that *A realist* is based. Details such as the dark wine bottle on the floor beside the painter appear in many Chardin still lifes; in the context of Couture's work it is clearly an allusion to a Bohemian artist's way of life.

Although Chardin's legacy was never completely forgotten, thanks in particular to the work of his immediate followers Roland Delaporte (1724/25-1793) and Anne

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fig. 2
Jean-Siméon Chardin, *Le singe peintre*, 1740, oil on canvas, 73 × 59.5 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre
Vallayer-Coster (1744-1818), there was a noticeable revival of interest in his work around the middle of the 19th century.\(^2\) The collectors François Marcille, Laurent Laperlier, and Louis La Caze all amassed collections of his work, which were accessible to artists, and in December 1846 Pierre Hédouin published the first scholarly studies of the painter. The renewed appreciation for Chardin went hand in hand with a greater demand for still lifes by the wealthy bourgeoisie, a trend that had already set in during the reign of Louis Philippe. Although the official status of the genre remained low at best, critics of the Realist persuasion - such as Théophile Thoré and Jules Champfleury - took up the cause of the neglected 18th-century master. Chardin's meticulous rendering of commonplace objects was championed as a worthy model for artists of their own generation.

**Acquisitions**

Thanks to several recent purchases, as well as some long-term loans, the Van Gogh Museum now boasts an attractive array of 19th-century still lifes by such Realist painters as Gustave Courbet, Henri de Fantin-Latour, Georges Jeannin, Théodule Ribot, François Bonvin and Philippe Rousseau.\(^3\) Of these artists the last two in particular made a point of consciously developing Chardin's legacy. The genre they practised, known as the ‘humble’ still life, had a tremendous appeal for the artist after whom the Van Gogh Museum is named. In his monograph on Chardin, Philip de Leeuw, *The Van Gogh Museum: paintings and pastels*, Zwolle 1994, pp. 26, 30, 38-41, 88. The works of Jeannin and Ribot derive from the collection of Theo and Vincent van Gogh. Until recently Henri de Fantin Latour's *Gerbe de printemps* of 1877 (inv. S219 V/1962.11) was likewise thought to have originally belonged to Theo and Vincent. Han Veenenbos informed me, however, that Theo's widow Jo van Gogh-Bonger did not acquire the picture until 1908. She exchanged it with the dealer C.M. van Gogh for Vincent's portrait of *La Mousmé* (National Gallery, Washington) - not without additional payment!

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\(^2\) See *Amsterdam 1993*, pp. 35-46 and the bibliography on p. 71.

\(^3\) For colour illustrations see Ronald de Leeuw, *The Van Gogh Museum: paintings and pastels*, Zwolle 1994, pp. 26, 30, 38-41, 88. The works of Jeannin and Ribot derive from the collection of Theo and Vincent van Gogh. Until recently Henri de Fantin Latour's *Gerbe de printemps* of 1877 (inv. S219 V/1962.11) was likewise thought to have originally belonged to Theo and Vincent. Han Veenenbos informed me, however, that Theo's widow Jo van Gogh-Bonger did not acquire the picture until 1908. She exchanged it with the dealer C.M. van Gogh for Vincent's portrait of *La Mousmé* (National Gallery, Washington) - not without additional payment!
Conisbee may have characterised his art as ‘highly personal and essentially inimitable,’ but realists of the latter half of the 19th century such as François Bonvin (1817-1887), Philippe Rousseau (1816-1887) and Antoine Vollon (1833-1900) were undaunted. Bonvin in particular lost no time establishing a reputation as a follower of Chardin. His modest way of life and lowly motifs, which included genre scenes of the working class, made him - in the words of the critic Octave Mirbeau - a ‘Chardin contemporanisé.’

In 1991 the Van Gogh Museum received Bonvin's 1871 Still life with silver goblet and basket of strawberries (fig. 3) on long-term loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and in 1992 it purchased his Still life with drawing implements and books (fig. 4) of 1879 on the London market. For the principal motifs in Still life with silver cup and basket of strawberries - the silver goblet and the pile of fruit - Bonvin returned directly to examples by Chardin. A similar goblet figures in an entire series of still lifes by the 18th-century artist, just as the strawberries can be traced to Chardin's Le panier de fraises des bois (Paris, private collection), which belonged to Eudoxe Marcille and was admired by the critic Charles Blanc in 1862, who called it ‘un morceau exquis.’ Goncourt lauded the picture in two different publications, in 1863 and 1880.

The Still life with drawing implements and books,7 which was not yet known when Gabriel Weisberg published his catalogue raisonné of Bonvin, dates from 1879 and has a pendant in the form of a still life with painting instruments, last known to be in a Dutch private collection (fig. 5). Painted on zinc, its daring use of bright red in the principal motif is especially striking. Already in the 17th century, still lifes with attributes of the arts and sciences occur frequently, but it was Chardin who distinguished himself within this tradition with works such as The attributes of music (Paris, Musée du Louvre), The attributes of...
fig. 4
François Bonvin, *Still life with drawing implements and books*, 1879, oil on zinc panel, 25 × 36 cm, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum

fig. 5
François Bonvin, *The studio table*, 1879, oil on zinc panel, 25 × 36 cm, The Netherlands, private collection

fig. 6
Jean-Siméon Chardin, *The attributes of the painter*, oil on canvas, 50 × 86 cm, Princeton, The Art Museum, Princeton University, gift of Helen Clay Frick
A pendant pair in the Art Museum of Princeton University fig. 6) come very close in conception to the two works by Bonvin; attributed to Chardin by Rosenberg in 1979, they formerly belonged to the painter François Flameng (1856-1923).  

Philippe Rousseau

Besides the two Bonvins, the Van Gogh Museum also acquired three works by Philippe Rousseau (figs. 20, 21 and 24) in rapid succession. These additions were the motivation for a concise monographic exhibition devoted to the artist in 1993. In drawing attention to the Frenchman, the Museum upheld a long-standing tradition of Dutch interest in Rousseau. As De Groene Amsterdammer noted in an exhibition review of 3 March 1923, ‘His work is so prevalent on the Amsterdam market that, were his death in 1887 not an established fact, one would think he was living here.’ Indeed Rousseau is still well represented in the Netherlands, both in public and private collections.

The American art historian Albert Boime regards Rousseau, as well as his comrades Bonvin, Ribot, and Vollon, as simple ‘fellow-travellers’ of the artistic establishment of the Second Empire. He denounced their willingness to compromise and their half-hearted Realism, which the officials were only too happy to endorse. Gabriel Weisberg has taken a more benign view, particularly of Rousseau, pointing out that his art may have influenced his more progressive contemporaries, including Manet.

Unlike Bonvin, who was never particularly successful, Rousseau was celebrated for many years. During the Second Empire, the Imperial court and Baron James de Rothschild were among his clientele. He figured prominently in the Expositions Universelles of 1855 and 1867, and was made an officer of the Légion d'Honneur in 1870. Paul Lefort, who wrote a double obituary on Rousseau and

8 Rosenberg, op. cit. (note 6), nos. 31 and 32, pp. 152-54.
11 Gabriel P. Weisberg, ‘A magic of execution that can drive you to despair,’ Art News 78 (September 1979), no. 7, pp. 100-04.
Bonvin in 1888, acknowledged the affinity between the work of the two Realists, but also noted ‘the dissimilarities in their means of expression’ in essential points. Moreover, Rousseau's repertoire was broader. Depending on the motif he chose, the Frenchman drew inspiration from the work of Dutch or Flemish colleagues of the 17th century, or borrowed ideas from countrymen who were active in the 18th. In 1856 Théophile Gautier already associated Rousseau with such diverse forerunners as the Dutch artists Snyders and Weenix, and the Spanish painter Melendez. Indeed, there was hardly a type of still life he

did not master, from kitchen pieces to game, fruit, flowers and allegories. One moment he concentrated on just a few objects, the next creating bravura still lifes of great sumptuousness. His prodigious store of motifs set Rousseau apart from his confrères Bonvin and Ribot, who rarely ventured beyond humble subjects and had a much narrower artistic vocabulary at their disposal. Only Ribot's pupil Antoine Vollon could occasionally rival Rousseau in this respect.

Gabriel Weisberg once identified an Oudry-like painting of a lifeless black chicken (*La poule noire*) in the museum of Louviers, possibly dated 1836, as Rousseau's earliest still life.¹⁴ At the time of the Rousseau exhibition in 1993, however, an even earlier candidate was brought to the Van Gogh Museum's attention: a still life with eggs frying on a chafing dish (fig. 7). If the inscription on the back of the work is to be believed, it was painted around 1830, when the artist was only 14 years old.

It was not until the Salon of 1844 that Rousseau publicly displayed his still lifes, the genre that, along with animal pieces, would eventually form the bulk of his oeuvre. Gautier and Baudelaire immediately saw him as competition for the successful Simon Saint-Jean (1808-1860), who dominated the Salon with his rich flower and pronk still lifes.¹⁵ Rousseau's success at the Salon of 1845 signalled his breakthrough; from that moment his art became a permanent fixture in French artistic life. Although Rousseau's fame never matched that of his more illustrious contemporaries, he was firmly embedded in the artistic establishment; at the same time, he was never particularly criticised by the avant-garde. At worst, some reviewers were a bit less flattering towards the end of his career.¹⁶

As an *animalier*, Rousseau was most successful with his painted illustrations of La Fontaine's fables. His efforts in this field were clearly inspired by Gabriel Decamps (1803-1860) and, among 18th-century artists, more by Jean-Baptiste Oudry (1686-1755) than by Chardin. The earliest animal pieces in which Chardin's (albeit indirect) influence is manifest are a series of *singeries* from the 1860s (fig. 8). Having been popularised by David Teniers the Younger (1610-1690) in the 17th century, this type of picture was revived by Chardin in the 18th (fig. 2).

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15 See *Amsterdam 1993*, pp. 8-10.
16 Ibid. p. 59.
Decamps, whom Goncourt dubbed ‘the finest of Chardin's artistic heirs of our day,’ gave new life to the *singerie* in the 19th century, with works such as *Le singe*.

peintre (Salon of 1835, Musée du Louvre, Paris) and *The experts* (Salon of 1839, The Metropolitan Museum, New York). Rousseau did his part to uphold the tradition. In *The ape musician* (fig. 8), exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1862, he amalgamated it with still life, as Chardin and Oudry had already done. In similar fashion, Chardin had combined bagpipes and sheet music in a picture in 1732; two versions of the canvas survive, both of which belonged to Parisian collections in the 19th century.¹⁸ Oudry had incorporated bagpipes in a still life a decade before Chardin; that work, too, was very popular, as evidenced by the various replicas in existence. Bagpipes were the pre-eminent pastoral instrument in the 18th century, which is precisely the connotation they have in Rousseau's large-scale Oudry pastiche, now in the Utah Museum of Fine Arts in Salt Lake City (fig. 9). Years later, at the Salon of 1877, the instrument formed the principal motif in his *O ma tendre musette!!!*¹⁹

Chardin's significance for Rousseau at the outset of his career is not altogether clear. In the early 1860s it was probably not particularly great. His reliance on Chardin at that time, or on a barely interrupted Chardin-tradition upheld by his followers Roland Delaporte, Thomas-Germain Divivier (1735-1814) and Anne Vallayer-Coster, needs to be studied in greater detail. Still lifes with musical instruments by both Rousseau and Bonvin seem to echo several works by the master's late-18th-century disciples.²⁰ Furthermore, it stands to reason that for an artist who started out painting animals, the *animaliers* Alexandre François Desportes (1661-1743) and Jean-Baptiste Oudry would have been more important than Chardin. At the Exposition Universelle

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19 From the sale of his estate we know that Rousseau owned a ‘Belle Musette en ivoire avec soufflet. Epoque Louis XVI.’ See *Vente après décès de l’atelier de Philippe Rousseau*, Paris (H. Lechat and J. Chaine), 27 January 1888, lot 50. For another 18th-century example of bagpipes in a pastoral context see Jean-Honoré Fragonard's *The musical contest* in the Wallace Collection in London.
20 See, for example, Roland de la Porte's *Nature morte au violon* (Galerie Heim) illustrated in *Connaissance des Arts* (October 1975), p. 26 and *Musette sur un tabouret d’osier* (Galerie Heim), also illustrated in *Connaissance des Arts* (September 1976), p. 16.
of 1855, in two large dining room decorations commissioned by the French State, Rousseau had shown that he was perfectly capable of creating an elegant pastiche \textit{à la dix-huitième}. He supplied Baron James de Rothschild with similar works, also largely inspired by Oudry and Desportes. The brothers Goncourt may have treated Chardin and Oudry as polar opposites in
their articles on 18th-century art, but this did not stop Rousseau from gleaning ideas from both. His hunting pieces are clearly indebted to Oudry's 'retours de chasse,' just as some of his more formal flower pieces are reminiscent of the same artist. And in an otherwise overtly Chardinesque canvas such as the splendid Still life with a ham in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (fig. 10), the prominent laurel sprig appears to derive not from Chardin, but from Desportes's Still life with dog (fig. 11).

Until now, Rousseau's Still life with fruit in brandy in Amsterdam's Stedelijk Museum was considered the earliest work in which the subject can be categorically traced to Chardin. It was said to be dated 1860, the same year some forty works by Chardin were displayed at the Galerie Martinet in Paris. Since similar preserving jars figured in two canvases in that exhibition, it seemed reasonable to assume that the inspiration for the Stedelijk's

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21 Goncourt, op. cit. (note 17) p. 150: 'Oudry work[ed] with the trivial, dull, commonplace skill that produces mere deception, and Chardin by the personal methods of genius.'

22 A copy by Rousseau after a game piece by Oudry was sold at the Nouveau Drouot in Paris on 26 September 1986 (lot 34).

23 Comparable in Chardin's oeuvre is the orange-tree branch with white flowers in the Still life with brioche of 1763 (Paris, Musée du Louvre; see Rosenberg, op. cit. [note 6], no. 118, which may have inspired another work by Rousseau (see fig. 22 in this article). The work by Chardin also influenced Manet's La brioche of 1870 (New York, The Metropolitan Museum); see exhib. cat. L'Impressionisme: les origines, Paris (Grand Palais) 1994, pp. 164-65 and Gary Tinterow, The new 19th-century European paintings and sculpture galleries, New York 1993, p. 80 (ill.).

24 See Amsterdam 1993, no. 17 and Vier Franse Meesters, cit. (note 9), no. 41.
still life was to be found here. However, when the canvas was recently inspected there was no trace of a date and, given the style of the picture, it would seem to have been executed ten years later - by which time Rousseau was well under Chardin's spell.
Hommages à Chardin

Rousseau's passion for the dix-huitième was not confined to its painting. In his decorations and still lifes he constantly testified to his affection for the furniture and other decorative arts of the period. He displayed porcelain and copper work on the marble tops of elegant commodes, and arranged his bouquets against the backdrop of a gilt mirror in the Louis XVI style (fig. 12). In 1867 Rousseau paid homage to Chardin with an exceptionally monumental canvas (177.5 × 225 cm). As Courbet had done in his The studio of the painter, in the Salon piece Chardin and his models (fig. 13) Rousseau arranged a variety of objects - all of which derive from Chardin (or appear to do so) - as ‘models’ around the master’s self-portrait. Even the (by now proverbial) bagpipes are included, protruding roguishly from the 18th-century bureau plat on which all the objects are displayed. The idea for this canvas, somewhat too big for its own good, may have come from the sale of Chardin's pastel self-portrait, which had been auctioned in April 1867 - the year of the painting under discussion.
- along with the rest of the Laperlier Collection. A copy, likewise in pastel, from the hand of Mme de Nadaillac (1825-1887), still belonged to Rousseau's estate in 1888.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{25} \textit{Vente Rousseau 1888}, cit. (note 19), lot 48. Furthermore this catalogue mentions a watercolour copy after \textit{Les modèles de Chardin} from the hand of the Comtesse de Nadaillac. The mother of Mme de Nadaillac, Mme Delessart, was the wife of a police commissioner and mistress of the poet Prosper Mérimée. Rousseau presumably met Mme de Nadaillac at Baroness Nathaniel de Rothschild's.
The artist's studio (fig. 14), an allegorical still life that, as a type, is closely related to Chardin and his models, comprises attributes of both architecture and the fine arts. Dated 1871, the canvas is dedicated to Charlotte, baroness Nathaniel de Rothschild (1825-1899). As in Chardin and his models, but more prominently in this case, a palette and some brushes are shown in the foreground; these presumably refer to the artistic activities of the Baroness, who for years exhibited at the Salon and was a prominent member of the Société, des Aquafortistes. She was a pupil of Nélie Jacquemart who, together with her husband Edouard André, owned three superb Chardins (figs. 13 and 16). Charlotte herself amassed a collection of Chardins over the years, which was still further expanded by her grandson Henry de Rothschild.26

Jean-Siméon Chardin, The attributes of science, 1731, oil on canvas, 141 × 219.5 cm, Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André

Rosenberg, op. cit. (note 6), p. 78. Part of his collection was lost in a fire during World War II. A decorative piece by Rousseau, sold in 1987 as Hommage à Chardin (oil on canvas, 64 × 179 cm, Monaco [Sotheby's], 6 December 1987, lot 131), may have served as an overdoor for the Hôtel de Rothschild in the Rue du Faubourg Saint-Honoré, Paris. A palette is the central motif in that work as well, flanked by a sculpture, drawings, and a portrait of a masked lady. The canvas paraphrases an 18th-century decoration and, the title notwithstanding, has little to do with Chardin. For an illustration see Amsterdam 1993, p. 31, fig. 26.
Jean-Siméon Chardin, *The attributes of the arts*, 1731, oil on canvas, 140 × 215 cm, Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André
A number of elements in *The artist's studio* seem to have been inspired by two of the previously mentioned Chardin works which entered the Jacquemart-André collection at the time of the Laperlier sale of 1867. As in Chardin's *The attributes of the arts* (fig. 16), a bust at the left dominates Rousseau's composition. The sculpture, adorned with an elegant drapery, can probably be identified with Coysevoix's portrait of Le Brun.\(^{27}\) In the background, amid rolled-up drawings, rises a characteristic Japanese vase-cornet, such as that found in Chardin's *The attributes of science* (fig. 15). One particularly notable motif is the gleaming yellow ribbon of an official decoration lying beside the palette. It seems to allude to Chardin's allegory of art in the Hermitage, St Petersburg.\(^{28}\) The title of that work refers explicitly to the insignia of the *Ordre de St Michael* that are depicted in it: *Les attributs des arts et les récompenses qui leur sont accordés*. Could the decoration in Rousseau's canvas be meant to recall some honour the Baroness received?

Together with Princess Mathilde Bonaparte and Baron James de Rothschild, Baroness Nathaniel de Rothschild was one of Rousseau's most illustrious clients. She owned two of his most celebrated still lifes, *Les confitures* and *L'office*, shown at the Salons of 1872 and 1873 respectively. The composition of the former canvas (fig. 17), with the

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28 Rosenberg op. cit. (note 6), no. 125, pp. 344-47.

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fig. 17
Philippe Rousseau, *Les confitures*, 1872, oil on canvas, 97.5 × 130.5 cm, The Netherlands, private collection

fig. 18
Jean-Siméon Chardin, *The silver goblet*, c. 1730, oil on canvas, 42.9 × 48.3 cm, St Louis, The Saint Louis Art Museum
copper pan and the skimmer (or écumoire) arranged diagonally, is reminiscent of similar compositions by Chardin of the 1730s. It was exhibited again at the Exposition Universelle of 1878, where it was hailed - somewhat ironically - by the critic Paul Mantz as Rousseau's masterpiece: he called it a ‘poem that will gently stir the hearts of housewives.’

29 The principal motif, a porcelain tureen, also figures prominently in the *Still life with prunes* (Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum), painted by Rousseau in 1869.

30 The lessons of Chardin

Meanwhile the Chardins belonging to La Caze had entered the Louvre as a bequest. Rousseau is said to have been transfixed by Chardin's early, still somewhat Desportes-like *Le buffet* (Paris, Musée du Louvre). Yet the compositions of, and motifs in, his still lifes - the preserving

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29 Paul Mantz quoted in Lefort, op. cit. (note 12), p. 138. The Salon piece of 1872 subsequently entered the museum in Dieppe, before being acquired by the Dutch dealers Huinck and Hoogendijk. It is now probably still in a Dutch private collection.

30 See *Amsterdam 1993*, no. 6. For the motif of the tureen there are also numerous precedents in Chardin's oeuvre: see Rosenberg, op. cit. (note 6), nos. 103, 104, 114, 118 and 122.
Philippe Rousseau, *Still life with peaches, prunes, grapes and a silver tureen*, oil on canvas, 73 × 92 cm, whereabouts unknown (formerly Alfred Brod, London)

jars, the silver goblet, the open drawer - are evidence that he was no less susceptible to such canvases as *Le bocal d'olives* (Paris, Musée du Louvre), *La table d'office* (Paris, Musée du Louvre) and *The silver gobelet* (fig. 18).

Rousseau himself owned at least three still lifes by Chardin. The aforementioned *Silver goblet*, now in the St Louis Art Museum, was in his possession briefly between 1867 and 1873. Chardin's *Nature morte avec un quartier de côtelettes* of 1732, which was lot 32 in the posthumous sale of Rousseau's studio in 1888, is now one of the masterpieces of the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris. It previously belonged to the famous Chardin collection of Camille Marcille (1816-1876), which was sold in 1876. A third Chardin, *Maquéraux attachés avec quelques brins de paille et accrochés à un mur*, was listed in the catalogue of the Rousseau sale of 1885 as a ‘belle esquisse.’

What Rousseau most admired in Chardin's art was the great intimacy and loving accuracy with which he rendered different textures. The critic Haussard had praised Rousseau's Salon submission of 1846 for its ‘observation rare et fine,’ ‘délicatesse des formes’ and ‘subtilité de la touche.’ While the line and colour of his early still lifes had occasionally been rather hard, the lessons he learned from Chardin in the 1860s enabled Rousseau to achieve a more distinguished palette and composition. Like his eminent model, he preferred backgrounds that harmonised in grey, brown, and green tones, thus creating the *ton neutre* he desired. In imitation of Chardin, moreover, Rousseau was fond of arranging objects on a table or plinth, parallel to the edge of the canvas. The marble top of an 18th-century commode often served this purpose (fig. 19).

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31 See Rosenberg, op. cit. (note 6), p. 43, fig. 42. The canvas was sold in 1876 as lot 16 in the *Vente Marcille*, and acquired by Baron Henry de Rothschild. La Caze also owned a version of this work, the authenticity of which has been questioned.


33 *La Nation*, 12 May 1846.
Rousseau felt just as much at home in the field of Chardin's austere kitchen and hunting still lifes as he did in that of allegories, ostentatious still lifes, and richly laid tables. One such ambitious canvas is the *Still life with melon* (fig. 20), which the Van Gogh Museum received on permanent loan in 1991.\(^{34}\) The background with floral motifs is similar to that in the *Still life with a ham* in The Metropolitan Museum, New York (fig. 10), but unfortunately neither canvas is dated. Against the background of a chest containing a gilt dinner service, we see a variety of objects and fruit arranged on a marble table top. The principal motif is a carved melon in a silver chalice. Chardin had depicted this motif (*Le melon entamé*, Paris, private collection) as well, albeit on a much smaller scale. The other objects shown are, from left to right, a silver covered dish, three peaches, a sugar sprinkler, the key to the wine cellar, and an assortment of bottles, including preserving jars filled with cherries and peaches. Rousseau signed his canvas by ‘embroidering’ his monogram in red on the napkin. Still more peaches - a fruit whose soft skin has tempted so many still-life painters - are piled high in a scalloped blue Meissen bowl trimmed with gold.

**Pastels**

Among Chardin's most intimate works are several pastels the artist executed toward the end of his life, mostly portraits of himself and his wife. Goncourt described these works as nothing less than ‘the supreme triumph of the elderly painter.’\(^{35}\) As we have

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\(^{35}\) Goncourt, op. cit. (note 17), p. 142. Vincent van Gogh was particularly impressed by Goncourt's remarks about the technique of Chardin's self-portrait: ‘Comment surprendre - comment dire de quoi est faite cette bouche démêblée qui a d'infinies délicatesses, Cela n'est fait que de quelques traînées de jaune et de quelques balayures de bleu!!!’; see *De brieven van Vincent van Gogh*, ed. Han van Crimen and Monique Berends-Albert, 4 vols, The Hague 1990, letter 542/431, c. 8-12 November 1885.
seen, the pastel self-portrait formed the centrepiece of the composition of Rousseau's *Chardin and his models* (fig. 13).

From the 1850s Rousseau, too, often worked in pastel, primarily for flower studies and still lifes, genres in which Chardin himself had never employed the medium. Although Rousseau's pastels appear on the market only sporadically, he must have executed a considerable number of them.\(^36\) There were eight at the studio sale held following his death, among them studies of fruit and birds, as well as designs for a folding screen. The pastel *Still life*
with peaches (fig. 21) that was donated to the Van Gogh Museum in 1990 can almost certainly be identified with a work sold at posthumous sale of 1888. The subject and dimensions of lot 17, a pastel entitled Pêches au vin, correspond perfectly. The work fetched no less than 770 francs - a respectable sum indeed in those days.

What makes this pastel so impressive is the distinguished simplicity of the composition and its serene emptiness. There is nothing on the white linen tablecloth except some peaches, a bowl, a porcelain plate of peaches, a silver goblet, a bottle of wine, and a corkscrew. Although the silver goblet forms the pivot on which the composition turns, the most striking feature is, once again, a blue bowl with a gilt scalloped edge. When the pastel was auctioned in 1968, this object was described as a ‘metal jardinière’; the gallery through which the Museum acquired the work in 1990, however, called it a Sèvres bowl. As in Still life with melon (fig. 20) and The artist's studio (fig. 14), the bowl is piled high with ‘the shaggy velvet of the peach.’

Rousseau depicted the same object on several other occasions, using it as a cooler for champagne and glasses, or what is called a

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37 Inv. D 1008 M/1990. Two related still lifes with peaches and a silver goblet - but without a bowl - are known: Still life with fruit, dated 1886, oil on canvas, 43 x 58.5 cm, London (Sotheby's) 4 May 1988, lot 182; and Still life with peaches, undated, oil on canvas, 50 x 61 cm, formerly collection H.E. ten Cate, Almelo.

The object may not occur in Chardin's work, but it does have strong 18th-century associations. It appears in half a dozen of Rousseau's pictures and, to judge from the visual evidence, the artist had at least two different exemplars at his disposal. The bowls in *Still life with melon* and the pastel in the Van Gogh Museum appear to be identical: they are blue, and the trim and decoration are gilt. In both cases, however, the image is difficult to read. Similar bowls appear in a still life of 1869 (London, private collection) and in the *Still life with brioche and champagne* that was on the London market around 1982 (fig. 22) - the latter decorated with a *chinoiserie* in a cartouche with a light background.

The small silver goblet which often figures in Chardin still lifes from the late 1760s on, intrigued many a 19th-century imitator. Goncourt's remark that 'A silver goblet and a bit of fruit are all it takes to create an admirable work' certainly applies to Rousseau's pastel. Officially, the goblet is called a *timbale tulipe à piédouche*. Not only Rousseau but also Bonvin included this austere

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39 For a typical *verrière* see *Connaissance des Arts* (September 1976), p. 45.
40 Oil on panel, 52.5 × 76.5 cm, dated 1869, London, Collection Hofland, and London, Art Gallery Noortman, c. 1982. The last work is possibly identical with *Brioche et champagne*, exhibited at the Paris Salon of 1885 under no. 2145.
cup, with its distinguished gleam, in several still lifes (fig. 3). Goncourt admired Chardin's rendering of the object and gave a lyrical description of it in his *L'art du XVIIIe siècle*: ‘The brilliance, the sheen of the goblet is rendered with a few touches of stencilled, impasted white, while in the shadows there is a multitude of tones and colours, threads of an almost violet blue, streaks of red which are the reflections of cherries against the goblet, and there is a reddish-brown, faded and as though stamped in the shadow of the metal, and points of yellowish-red playing among touches of Prussian blue. There is, that is to say, a continual recall of the circumambient colours glancing over the polished surface of the goblet.’ At the Salon of 1863 Jules de Goncourt exhibited an etching of the detail of the silver goblet (fig. 23) in Chardin's still life in St Louis (fig. 18).

‘Mon vrai maître’

Shortly before his death in 1887 Rousseau was interviewed by Paul Eudel. ‘Ah!’, exclaimed the artist at one point, ‘Chardin, that great painter, that marvellous artist,
the king of realists [...]. If you want to please me,’ he continued, ‘speak of Chardin [...]. He is my true master, and one can never be too enthusiastic about that man, once so disdained, whose work has only been known and admired again for such a short time. Chardin is not only one of the purest glories of France, but of Art in general.’

Rousseau's obituary in the Courrier de l’Art declared that ‘French art has just lost its modern Chardin.’

At the Salon of 1864 Rousseau exhibited a Lièvre morte (whereabouts unknown) that reminded the critic Théophile Thoré of Chardin. In 1887, the year of his death, the artist finished Still life with game (fig. 24), which seems to be a résumé of his passion for Chardin. Presented to the Van Gogh Museum by the Friends in 1993, it combines the artist's two great loves, the still life and the animal piece. The work comprises familiar motifs such as the silver goblet, the dark bottle, and Chardin's intriguing halfopen drawer. The combination of dead game and copper work distinguishes many canvases by Chardin, but as usual Rousseau did not borrow a single motif directly. Although he observed every object in the light of Chardin, the touching attitude of the lifeless rabbit in the foreground is entirely his own. It attests to a certain inventiveness within the framework of a tradition that had, in fact, originated centuries before Chardin.

fig. 24
Philippe Rousseau, Still life with game, 1887, oil on canvas, 115.5 × 88.5 cm, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum

45 From Paul Eudel, L’Hôtel Drouot et la curiosité en 1887-1888, Paris 1889, quoted in Rosenberg op. cit. (note 6), p. 168: ‘Chardin le grand peintre, le merveilleux artiste, le roi des réalistes [...]. Si vous désirez m’être agréable parlez de Chardin [...]. C’est mon vrai maître celui-là et l’on ne prononcera jamais d’éloges assez enthousiastes sur ce dédaigné qu’on connaît et qu’on admire sincèrement depuis si peu de temps. Et cependant Chardin est une des plus pures gloires non seulement de la France mais de l’Art entier.’


fig. 1
Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer*, 1875-76, oil on paper, 136.5 × 76.2 cm, signed and inscribed at lower left: *au Comte Joseph Primoli affectuesement P. Puvis de C*, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum
Pierre Puvis de Chavannes: *Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer*

*Aimée Brown Price*

With the acquisition of the splendid *Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer* (fig. 1),¹ a painted study for an 1877 mural for the Paris Panthéon (fig. 2),² the Van Gogh Museum has made a significant addition to its collection of paintings and drawings by Pierre Puvis de Chavannes (1824-1898). The Museum thereby also anticipated its 1994 retrospective of works by this important artist.

One of the best known painters of his time, Pierre Puvis de Chavannes's career spanned the last half of the 19th century. Despite his fame, his originality, and the fact that he was deeply admired by such innovative artists as Van Gogh, Gauguin, Seurat, Denis and Vuillard, and his images emulated also by Picasso, Matisse and Modigliani, his work has remained largely unfamiliar in the late 20th century. Puvis may be best known as the most prominent muralist for French public buildings during the later Second Empire and early Third Republic. His majestic wall paintings, executed on canvas, were routinely exhibited at the Salon before being dispersed to be installed in museums (Amiens, Marseilles, Lyons, Rouen), city halls (Poitiers, Paris), and other civic buildings (the Panthéon, Paris; the public library at Boston). Besides his monumental works, Puvis also regularly exhibited his easel paintings, along with a great corpus of studies, watercolours and drawings, many of which remain in the private collections of his collateral descendants and are therefore virtually unknown today. Other works, such as the *Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer*, were given to or purchased by some of the most sophisticated and interesting collectors and connoisseurs among his contemporaries.

Puvis de Chavannes's *Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer* in the Van Gogh Museum approximates the mural configuration (fig. 2). The work depicts a young girl - seen in profile - kneeling in an attitude of rapt prayer before a crudely made cross tied to the trunk of a tree. She is placed near the centre of a relatively high and narrow, vertically ranging landscape composition. In the foreground, a rustic couple with a baby turn to observe her, while a farmer, half hidden behind a tree, watches her from the background. The artist has indicated a simple, rural community and figures at their chores: a woman with a child, a man whose faggot of twigs is at his feet, a peasant with his oxen readying furrows for planting; Genevieve's own pastoral duties are hinted at by the presence of sheep.

A cartouche inscribed in graphite at the bottom spells out the textual meaning: ‘From the tenderest age Saint Genevieve showed the signs of an ardent piety; continually in prayer, she struck surprise and admiration in all those who caught sight of her.’³ This kind of extended caption, of which Puvis was not fond, nonetheless

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² Although the definitive wall painting (oil on canvas, 462 × 221 cm) bears the date of its installation, 1877, it was presented at the Paris Salon of 1876 (no. 1694). The Van Gogh Museum study would date from c. 1875-76.
³ ‘Dès son âge le plus tendre \ sainte Geneviève donna les marques d’une \ ardente piété sans cesse en prière \ elle frappait de surprise et d’admiration tous ceux qui l’apercevaient’. The final text as written on the mural would be slightly modified: ‘Dès son âge le plus tendre, sainte Geneviève donna les marques d'une piété arudente. Sans cesse en prière elle frappait de surprise et d'admiration tous ceux qui la voyaient’.

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liberated him from having to transmit detailed narrative information pictorially, while still providing the viewer with important historical data. Puvis himself declared he had sought in the young praying Genevieve to indicate several levels of reality, not only the episode, but its significance. In his words: ‘I believe I was able - in order to avoid realism and in the interests of the emotional effect - to give the child in prayer a form and garb more appropriate to an angel than to a real being, something more visionary than real; the halo that
fig. 2
Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer*, 1877, oil on canvas, 462 × 221 cm, Paris, Panthéon (photograph courtesy of the Caisse nationale des monuments et des sites, Paris)
circles her head completes the illusion. It is thus that she appears to the *naively astonished* group.  

Like many of Puvis's best painted studies and oil sketches for murals, the Van Gogh Museum version of *Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer* has a special immediacy and ardour, a sense of the artist's presence in the agility and bluntness of the strokes themselves that is missing from the more careful, drier final mural. Such a work also permits the viewer the special pleasure of examining areas left less than finished, to understand the process of the picture's making, to glimpse the defining lines of the underlying bistre drawing and the hatchings that are key to the minimal shading, as under the thin layer of paint on the woman's arm. One can see the viscous pigment strokes, the dragged and patched colour and the definition of thinned sepia lines that were added with some prowess. The artist's proficiency with a broad technique becomes particularly clear when one examines the sheep and the outlined rocks in the middleground.

Although a preparatory work, the *Saint Genevieve* has the prominent borders upon which the painter set such great store, believing they helped create a special, decorative aesthetic in his work. He first introduced them on independent paintings in the 1867 reduced versions of his first four murals for Amiens. Presentational devices, they permanently frame the imagery and reinforce the idea of adornment for an interior space. They also bring pictorial interest and weight to the far perimeters of the composition. They prepare the way into the work from the exterior wall and bear elements from the central imagery (in abstract form) to its outer edges; further, they give the work a sense of self-sufficiency and completeness. Their ornamentation is an intermediary level of pictorial representation, a halfway place between the exterior world of the architectural and the interior world of figurative tradition. That is, they are a kind of pictorial pivot. Puvis adamantly insisted that such borders were an integral part of his paintings. The borders bracketing the Genevieve imagery are made up of ornamental greenery, ovals and diamonds in a creamy-white field; the last echoes the whites of the sheep, Genevieve's dress, the sky and the foreground rocks, while the gold designs hint at a fleur de lys, the royal flower of France.

Puvis warmly inscribed this independent work at the lower left: 'au Comte Joseph Primoli affectueusement P. Puvis de C'. The bookish Count Joseph (or Giuseppe) Napoleon Primoli (1851-1927), was a Napoleonic descendant through his mother,
Carlotta Bonaparte Primoli. A great connoisseur and art collector, he was also a fascinating photographer, recording both the poor of Naples and the rituals of the nobility. He ultimately bequeathed part of his important collection to the city of Rome, thus forming the basis for the Museo Napoleónico. Whether Puvis painted this work for the Count Primoli or dedicated a pre-existing painting to him is not certain; what is clear is that this discerning collector acquired a wonderful painted work.

Since *Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer* is an independent version of a monumental mural for the Paris Panthéon, it can best be understood in the context of the project as a whole.

**The Panthéon commission: the first campaign**

Built on the site of a former abbey church dedicated to St Genevieve, the patron saint of Paris, the imposing monument known today as the Panthéon, designed by

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Jacques Germain Soufflot in the 18th century, was a church through most of its history. While it lost its religious status after the French Revolution, it was reconsecrated in 1851 under Napoleon III. Its religious designation remained in force until 1885. Under the patronage of Philippe de Chennevières, Director of Fine Arts from 1874 to 1878, some forty separate murals were commissioned from such diverse artists as Jean-François Millet, Alexandre Cabanel, Paul Baudry, Léon Bonnat, Jean-Léon Gérôme, Henri Lehmann, and Gustave Moreau.

In keeping with policies established during the Second Empire and the notion that the building was both a national monument and the basilica of Sainte Geneviève, its history and the change from religious to secularised edifice and back are succinctly described in Jane Mayo Roos, `Rodin's Monument to Victor Hugo: art and politics in the Third Republic,' The Art Bulletin 68 (December 1986), pp. 633-36.


III-health and death prevented the fulfilment of many of the commissions; for a complete list of those who were to contribute and their replacements see Chennevières, op. cit. (note 4), (October 1884), pp. 258-59 and also exhib. cat. Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, 1824-1898 Paris (Musée du Louvre) & Ottawa (The National Gallery of Canada) 1976-1977, pp. 134-36.

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Genevieve, as the Panthéon was then called, consists of ‘l'éducation de Sainte Geneviève’ rendered as a single, prefatory mural entitled Sainte Geneviève enfant en prière - the Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer - and three more murals read together as a triptych, The pastoral life of Saint Genevieve (fig. 3).\(^{15}\) The commission also included a four panel frieze to surmount the larger compositions. This last, similar to the so-called Panathénées chrétiennes (processionals of saints found in a number of Parisian churches), like the borders surrounding individual works,\(^{16}\) was required to help unify the commissions, products of the disparate styles of various painters.

Both of Puvis's Panthéon projects - this one and the one that would be commissioned in 1896 depicting Genevieve's feats in old age - consist of a single composition coupled with a triad of panels, the whole surmounted by a frieze. Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer, the introductory or prefatory panel to his first campaign scheme, is situated to the immediate right of the great main entrance to the Panthéon. Much about its composition may be explained by its position in relationship to the architecture and to the next three vertical panels, which, although separated by the building's monumental stone half-columns, were devised to appear as a single, interconnected, horizontal composition passing behind these columns.\(^{17}\) The praying Genevieve pays quiet tribute to the girl's private piety and is far more intimate than the nearby triad in which, at the centre of a crowd of figures, she is publicly recognised by St Germain, Bishop of Auxerre, and St Loup, Bishop of Troyes, as marked by God.

As they were completed, cartoons and canvases for the St Genevieve cycle were exhibited at the Salons of 1876, 1877 and 1878. Although Puvis's murals are imitative of fresco, as are the other wall paintings of his mature idiom, they were painted in oil (sometimes with wax additives) on canvas, a medium more suited to a damp northern climate. For his work at the Panthéon, Puvis was paid 50,000 francs.\(^{18}\)

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\(^{15}\) Alsoknownas La vie pastorale de la jeune sainte, it consists of three oil on canvas panels, signed at lower left of the left panel: ‘Puvis de Chavannes 1877'; left panel: 460 × 277.8 cm; centre panel: 460 × 343.1 cm; right panel: 460.6 × 277.8 cm, Paris, Panthéon; exhibited at the Salon of 1877, in the section ‘Monuments publics,’ n.n.

\(^{16}\) All the actual Panthéon borders were eventually executed by Victor Galland, an important peintre-décorateur.

\(^{17}\) Brown Price, op. cit. (note 1), pp. 147, 152-54.

\(^{18}\) Puvis was to be paid this standard fee, which Chennevières referred to as ‘relativement dérisoire,’ in four installments beginning in 1875 (contracts now in a private collection in France); see Chennevières, op. cit. (note 11) (February 1885), p. 100. One may compare Paul Baudry's 140,000 francs fee of these same years for the Opéra.
fig. 3
Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *The pastoral life of Saint Genevieve*, 1877, oil on canvas, 462 × 221 cm, Paris, Panthéon (photograph courtesy of the Caisse nationale des monuments et des sites, Paris)
The representation of Saint Genevieve

Only three years before Puvis's first Panthéon commission, the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War and siege of Paris had contributed to the revitalisation of St Genevieve in the French imagination. The story of Genevieve, like that of Joan of Arc, with whom she shared many characteristics, had a special appeal after 1870-71. Both were chaste young girls of simple, rustic origins - Genevieve's childhood was often described as a kind of pastoral - and both, driven by a powerful faith, were able to lead their imperiled country and save it from foreign invasion. During the Franco-Prussian War, many people prayed for extraordinary intervention, including the military Governor of Paris under the Government of National Defense, Trochu, a man of deep religious faith, who came to believe that St Genevieve would, as she had centuries before, miraculously reappear to deliver the city from the Barbarians.

According to legend, in the aftermath of a siege by the Franks, St Genevieve had rescued the starving citizens of Paris by seeing that provisions and food reached them, a deed that resonated all too well with the recent siege, and was to become the subject of Puvis de Chavannes's second round of murals at the Panthéon.

Puvis formulated his pictorial ideas for Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer during a moment of cultural and psychological retrenchment that sought to assert historical continuity in the aftermath of defeat. During a period of uncertainty and anti-clericalism, he emphasised the utter modesty, purity, devotion and remove of the young girl's vie pastorale, evoking the simple faith and chastity of earlier times. His settings depicted an idyllic, pre-lapsarian world of uncomplicated activities, earnest faith and natural virtues; they are thus quite closely related to Jean François Millet's depictions of peasants praying in the fields from two decades earlier, and to Paul Gauguin's later portraits of the faithful in Brittany.

Puvis's stylistic referents were also suitable to a motif of religious purity. In contradistinction to the classicising cum Renaissance style of his Amiens murals, his major effort during the 1860s, for the Saint Genevieve project he used a self-consciously pre-Raphaelite mode (first broached in his pair of murals for the Poitiers Hôtel de Ville in 1874) that not only reduced the impression of physical salience and actuality of his images, but created a psychic distance that enhanced the meaning of the religious pastoral. By the 1870s, certain styles were considered more appropriate than others to a religious subject, and a primitivising aesthetic, still viewed as curious in some quarters, was beginning to be considered respectable enough for use in certain contexts. The prolific Théophile Gautier, the first critic to champion

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19 See Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 3 vols., Paris 1955-59, vol. 3, p. 563. Over the centuries, legend had supplemented what was known historically about Genevieve. She was purportedly born 3 January (the saint's day) in 420/422 at Nanterre, near Paris. After the 14th century, her story mingled with the legend of St Marguerite and she began to be described as a shepherdess.


21 This second cycle, of 1896-98, was partially unfinished at Puvis's death and was completed by others. The three interconnecting murals are accompanied by the descriptive caption; ‘Ardent in her faith and charity, Genevieve could not be deterred by the greatest dangers from her task of revitalising Paris, besieged and menaced by famine’ (‘Ardente dans sa foi et sa charité Geneviève que les plus grands périls n'ont pu détourner de sa tâche ravitaille Paris assiégé et menacé de la famine’).
Puvis’s efforts in this direction, had praised Byzantine painting, Giotto and works of a ‘naïve’ elegance.\textsuperscript{22} And it was this kind of styling, in the best sense, that Puvis employed.

There is much about *Saint Genevieve* as a composition, and specifically the small slip of a girl, that harkens back to an earlier style, particularly to that of a Sassetta or Fra Angelico. Puvis had developed a type of understated, chaste, innocent young girl and presented it in more than one painting: his versions of *Hope* (Paris, Musée d’Orsay and Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery) of 1872 marked the debut of this kind of figure in his oeuvre. By the mid-1870s, Puvis had come to use older styles purposively for their associations. In response to the legend and in order to evoke the times of St Genevieve and miracles, Puvis chose an earlier, ‘primitive,’ quattrocento style that would connote innocence and faith much as his fellow Lyonais painter Louis Janmot had in his pre-Raphaelite religious canvases. Moreover, a style issuing from a time closer to that of the historical event must have been meant to lend a note of authenticity to the images.\textsuperscript{23}

Another aspect of Puvis’s archaising style is his use of colour, redolent of Giotto and Florentine painters such as Fra Angelico. The whitened skin of the figures and the blanched sky, the white-clad, blond Genevieve, the mauve-grey furrowed field and the apricot, white, red and

\textsuperscript{22} Théophile Gautier, *Paris Salon de 1847*, Paris 1847, p. 60.

\textsuperscript{23} The image of a young girl in profile at prayer was not uncommon in the repertory of ‘pre-Raphaelite’ French church decoration of the 1840s. Had Puvis looked to Théodore Chassériau’s compositions for a precedent - as he often did - he would have found a similar figure in the upper tier of *The conversion of Mary of Egypt* in the Parisian Church of St Merri (c. 1841-43), an analogous virgin in F.J. Heim’s *The presentation of the Virgin in the temple* (Paris, Eglise St Séverin) of 1849, or parallel figures in the work of Gabriel Tyr.
yellow flecks for flowers dotting the lime green of the grassy fields, as well as the red-orange skirt of the watching woman are tender, gentle and boldly novel. The cornflower-blue hills in the distance, green tree trunks and turquoise sky are harbingers of Post-Impressionism and even Fauvism. Intent on legibility, Puvis developed a matte, nonreflecting finish without the shading of chiaroscuro, which he abhorred, thus flattening figures and objects. An overall tonality of green, off-white, tan, beige and roseate shades contrasts to the blue tones of his second Panthéon campaign of the 1890s.

**Preliminary sketches, drawings and oils**

Puvis habitually produced many compositional sketches and drawings for various sections of a work, and one or more painted studies and a cartoon before actually embarking on his murals. His first Panthéon project, of enormous importance to his career, evinced a great many preparatory works. Beginning with several dashed off ideas, he worked towards an ever more carefully and tautly arranged picture, with emphasis on the pastoral surroundings and simple background. Some of the more interesting and telling of these works indicate how the artist progressively simplified his composition.

*Study for Sainte Genevieve as a child in prayer* (fig. 4),

includes a number of onlookers in the background. These were eventually reduced to the single figure bracketing the composition in a high zone at the back who, while facing the viewer, communicates with and makes him or her into a fellow witness and accomplice (figs. 1 and 2). Of the several landscape variations, one that is considerably flatter and barer includes two onlookers near a large tree in the middle distance. The sheep are already indicated, but Genevieve is not yet framed by the foreground figures (fig. 5).

An oil on paper, *Study for ‘The childhood of Saint Genevieve,*’ dedicated to Puvis's student and protégé, Henri Daras (fig. 6), is a vigorous painted sketch that also includes a number of onlookers and with many other similar elements

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24 See Brown Price, op. cit. (note 1), no. 72.
26 Inscribed: ‘à mon élève et ami H. Daras P. Puvis de Ch.’.
fig. 4
Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Study for Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer*, red and black chalk, 57 × 28.3 cm, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (F II 148)
it would seem to come after the Rotterdam drawing. The girl, dressed in rosy red, is shown amidst small white patches that we know with hindsight indicate grazing sheep. The daubed on colours mark a verdant forested setting.

Puvis also executed a very small, highly simplified and schematised drawing of the composition with cursory figures (and no flowers) in ink and pastel on paper (New York, private collection). Coloured in blues and lavenders, it indicates the artist's interest in monochromatic camaieux and the overall tonalities that were to be so important in his own late painting and to 20th-century artists such as Picasso in his Blue Period. Puvis's splendid small watercolour on paper, Landscape with woods and fields (Versailles, private collection), remarkable for its pink furrowed field in the background, has not heretofore been connected to the St Genevieve project. 28 But its high horizons that flatten the image and allow the patterned surface of the tilled field to occupy a large surface area relate it to the Van Gogh Museum study and the definitive painted work. In addition there are a number of drawings of individual figures, fragments and passages, 29 including one with the flock of sheep (fig. 7).

One small oil with strong, rather crude and even gummy impasto strokes is somewhat difficult to place within the sequence of development of drawings and painted studies for the Panthéon mural (fig. 8). Details appear (the yellow flowers in the foreground, the twigs above the cross, the direction in which the baby's head is turned) that are in the final mural but not in the Van Gogh Museum composition, indicating it came after the latter. Is this then a problematic painting? There is surprising insensitivity to aesthetic aspects on which Puvis usually set great store: from the indifferently daubed in sheep to the furrowed land in the background, the musculature of the robust foreground figures, the topographical contours and a sensibility to surface rhythms (the trees), and the telling stroke, whether direct or delicate, that is somewhat belied here. Neither signed nor dated, this canvas bears no marks, labels or seals verso.

Another preparatory study for Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer (fig. 9) (and a pendant study) once belonged to Prince Eugen of Sweden, 30 who came to study painting in Paris as a young man and, inscribed as a M. Oscarsson, was for a time at

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27 It measures 26 × 13.3 cm.
28 It measures 16 × 25 cm, in the collection of a collateral descendant of the artist in Versailles; see also Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, cit. (note 12), no. 86.
29 These include: Sainte Geneviève praying c. 1876, graphite on paper, 23.5 × 11 cm, Vendoeuvre, private collection; Sainte Geneviève, enfant en prière, c. 1876, pen, ink and coloured crayons on beige paper, 25.5 × 12 cm, New York, private collection; Paris (Vente Philippe Jullian), 11 December 1978, lot 16; Study for the young Saint Geneviève at prayer, c. 1876, red chalk on off-white paper, 21 × 9.5 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF 2198; Sainte Geneviève en prière, c. 1876, Paris, Musée du Louvre, RF 2200. The following drawings are at the Musée Sainte Croix de Poitiers: Etude d’homme pour Sainte Geneviève enfant en prière, black chalk on buff paper, 24.3 × 14.3 cm, inv. 899-1-9; Étude de tête de fillette pour L'enfance de Sainte Geneviève, chalk on paper, squared, 17.4 × 14.2 cm, inv. 899-1-39; Femme et enfant, étude pour Sainte Geneviève enfant en prière, charcoal on tracing paper, squared with red chalk, 24.2 × 20.3 cm, Inv. 89-1-2, exhibited in Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, cit. (note 12), no. 111; Étude de mère à l'enfant pour L'enfance de Sainte Geneviève, chalk on brown paper, 22.7 × 18.1 cm, Inv 899-1-62.
30 The companion composition is entitled The childhood of Saint Genevieve, pen, bistre, and wash drawing on canvas, 112.5 × 89 cm, Stockholm, Prins Waldemarsudde Museum (W.111).
Puvis's studio.³¹ In many ways similar to the mural, it is more schematised and flatter, with slightly more rigid figures. It is essentially like that of another

fig. 5
Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Study for Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer*, watercolour, white over black pencil on tan paper, 25.2 × 11.7 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre (copyright Photo R.M.N.)

fig. 6
Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Study for Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer*, oil on paper, 56 × 34 cm, inscribed: *à mon élève et ami H. Daras P. Puvis de Ch.*, Varrais (Saumur), private collection

fig. 7
Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Study of sheep*, black chalk on tracing paper, 22.4 × 35 cm, inscribed at lower left (Delapalme inventory): *9e, 11e pièce*; stamped twice at lower right: *PPC*, Var, private collection

³¹ He was there in 1887. The atelier and its students are discussed in the author's monograph on Puvis (in preparation).
fig. 8
Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Saint Genevieve in prayer*, oil on canvas, 55.3 × 26.4 cm, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais (inv. no. Dut. 1466)

fig. 9
Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Study for Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer*, pen, bistre, and wash drawing on canvas, 112.5 × 53.5 cm, Stockholm, Prins Waldemarsudde Museum (W.112)
fig. 10
Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *Sainte Geneviève as a child at prayer*, 1879, oil on canvas, 134.2 × 77.1 cm, signed at lower left: *P. Puvis Ch*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum, gift of Grenville L. Winthrop, Class of 1886 (1942.188)
study, on silk, of the same dimensions (fig. 10). Silk is an exceedingly rare support in Puvis de Chavannes's oeuvre and one might expect this careful, methodical ink drawing to be a presentation work; however, it bears no dedication. Minor variations - the direction of the hatching, the position of the baby's head, and particularly the greater verticality and higher foreground - suggest it is also a preliminary study. Puvis's depiction of the young Genevieve proved particularly appealing and the artist did indeed execute a number of drawings that are set pieces inscribed for presentation. These rather deliberate ink and sepia drawings were probably made once all the work's aspects had been decided on or even after the painting was actually finished.

**Versions of ‘Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer’**

The dimensions of the Van Gogh Museum's *Saint Genevieve* are close to those of a canvas painted after the mural, a reduced version that I would date to 1879 (fig. 11), and each of three canvases after the triad *The pastoral life of Saint Genevieve* accompanying it, also from 1879 (Pasadena, The Norton Simon Museum Art Foundation). In the 1860s, keen on achieving recognition and aware that it was difficult with his works so widely dispersed, Puvis began to execute reduced versions of his monumental paintings. He painted his first *réductions* after his early public murals installed at Amiens - *Concordia* and *Bellum* of 1861 and *Le travail* and *Le repos* of 1863 - to exhibit at the Exposition Universelle of 1867. Aside from their difference in scale, these reproductions approximate the definitive paintings and contrast to the freer, often more spontaneous, but cruder, blunter and less completely worked-out preliminary studies. In the case of the *Saint Genevieve* reductions, a broad technique gives them the appearance of murals by approximating the effect of the viewing distance needed to understand their *grands traits*. That is, although the technique of mural and reduction is similar - strokes and dabs of relatively dry paint with light tones scumbled over neutral colours, a porous, granular surface and patches of rough colours - because of the disparity of size between mural and reduced version, the effect of each differs: the reduced versions appear to be far more broadly painted.

32 Ithas been called *Esquisse de l'enfance de Sainte Geneviève* or *Study for Sainte Geneviève at prayer*, or *A scene in the childhood of Sainte Geneviève*.

33 *The meeting of Sainte Geneviève and Saint Germain*, oil on canvas, 134.2 × 81.8 cm; 134.2 × 89.5 cm; 134 × 81 cm (M. 1968. 49. P). See Brown Price, op. cit. (note 1), no. 74.

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As late as the end of the 1890s coloured, posterlike lithograph reproductions (fig. 12) after Puvis's first Panthéon murals were published by the firm of Lemercier.
for the Union pour l'action morale. These *affiches morales* were part of a movement to combat what were thought by some to be overly frivolous and licentious posters, such as those by Jules Chéret, which had proliferated in Paris in the 1890s. In an article of 28 September 1896, Gustave Geffroy wrote: ‘The entrepreneurs of these “moral posters,” lithographed after Mr Puvis de Chavannes’s *Sainte Geneviève*, which have been set against each other on a wall of the Boulevard des Capucines (I don't think they have been seen elsewhere), had, however vague, the intentions of moral preaching, for there is definitely a moral here, whatever it may be.’

34 The Union pour l'action morale poster after the four main panels of the Panthéon mural cycle of the 1870s, produced by the Imprimeries Lermercier in Paris, is reproduced in a lithographed reduction in Roger Marx, *Les maîtres de l'affiche*, vol. 2, Paris 1897, pl. 54. At the bottom under panels 1 and 2 is the printed name ‘P. Puvis de Chavannes’ and a statement that the reduction was produced by the Imprenene Chaix (Encres Lorilleux & Cie). In the table of contents the dimensions for the actual poster are given as 3m25 × 1m50 (width presumably preceding height). The reduction appears to be essentially the same as a lithographed reproduction of *Sainte Geneviève in prayer* and the triptych (with the former to the left of the three other panels, unlike its placement at the Panthéon), printed in brown and 38.9 × 56.7 at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, Missouri. The panel to the left is surrounded by foliate borders and four lines of text below; the three contiguous panels have borders around the entire triptych, a text at bottom centre, and two dividing fluted brown pilasters. There is also a large, colour-lithographed poster, *Childhood of Saint Genevieve*, 149.9 × 99.6 cm (the left panel of the first campaign triad); signed on stone as issued, c. 1895. Printed in brown, it includes a foliate border on three sides printed in grey (Kansas City, Missouri, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art). Of special note is *Sainte Geneviève en prière*, a lithograph after Puvis’s work by Auguste Lauzet, 141 × 78.5 cm, published in 1896 (an example of this rare print is in the collection of the artist’s collateral descendants). In addition, a three-panel so-called *Histoire de Sainte Geneviève* (each panel 141 × 97 cm) was produced after a large foldout engraved ‘facsimile’ drawing ‘avec quelques variantes,’ reproduced in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (June 1876), p. 694, made after the cartoon exhibited at the Salon of that year. I am grateful to George L. McKenna for the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art for contributing information used in this note.

The influence of the painting

Images played an important role in establishing Genevieve in the popular imagination. Puvis de Chavannes's monumental cycle of murals at the Paris Panthéon are probably the best known works devoted to her. The originality of the highly simplified and abstracted St Genevieve project was recognised by both sympathetic and less sympathetic viewers; it was purportedly Henry James who described the work as ‘simplicity at any price.’

Aside from the general influence that Puvis de Chavannes had on more than one generation of artists - a subject too large to be broached here - his Panthéon programmes, and particularly the panel for which the Van Gogh Museum composition is a study, proved significant for a number of younger painters. Puvis's Panthéon paintings were a fundamental contribution to the Modernist pictorial vision. Maurice Denis and Pablo Picasso were among the painters who produced pictures directly indebted to

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36 In an unsigned article in *The Nation* (29 June 1876), p. 415.

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these images. What made Puvis's work so commanding - his particular aesthetic -
can be perceived even more readily in their paintings.

It was in the midst of a discussion of Puvis's work that Maurice Denis, who often
wrote about the older artist, offered his famous dictum ‘Remember that a painting -
before being a warhorse, a nude woman, or some anecdote - is essentially a planar
surface covered with colours organised in a certain order.’ Indeed, the formal
disposition of figures and silhouetted trees in the Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer
would prove important for him. The rhythmic alternation of slender and broad trees
in the background may well have been the impetus for Denis's own flattened, outlined,
all-but-abstracted trunks snaking up the canvas in The green trees (fig. 13). Puvis's
sensuality was one of understated colours, ordered form and surface textures, patterns
and rhythms; he was thoroughly modern in quietly revelling in just these elements,
and Denis recognised this.

Puvis's work meant a great deal to the young Picasso, who came to Paris from
Barcelona three times at the turn of the century: in 1900, from June 1901 to January
1902, and from 29 October 1902 until January 1903. The Panthéon murals were
among Puvis's most accessible works, the second cycle of which he had been
completing upon his death in 1898. The blue tonal cast of the latter, after which
Picasso copied passages, were, of course, to have a crucial effect on his works from
about 1902-05, those of the famous Blue Period. But Picasso was also attracted to
the earlier Panthéon murals. One of the most interesting drawings in his sketchbook,
dating from December 1902 and usually called The Golden Age (fig. 14), is based
on that cycle. Much of the configuration of Puvis's composition,

*fig. 14
Pablo Picasso, *The Golden Age*, December 1902, pen and watercolour on paper, 26.1 × 40 cm,
Barcelona, Museu Picasso (MAB 110.469)*

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38 ‘Se rappeler qu’un tableau - avant d’être un cheval de bataille, une femme nue, ou une
quelconque anecdote - est essentiellement une surface plane recouverte de couleurs en un
certain ordre assemblées.’ First published in *Art et critique* (23 and 30 August 1890), and
reissued in *Théories (1890-1910): du symbolisme et de Gauguin vers un nouvel ordre
classique*, Paris 1912, p. 1. He originally wrote it under the pseudonym Pierre Louis


40 Ibid., pp. 249-50.

41 In Paris he had also completed a panoramic mural at the Sorbonne and two cycles at the
Hôtel de Ville.
fig. 15
Pablo Picasso, *Woman praying at a child's deathbed*, 1899-1900, conté crayon on paper, $17 \times 23$ cm,
Heirs of the artist
although altered, is repeated here: the sturdy figures, the couple with a baby, the prominent tree, the raised horizon, even a sheep. Most striking is the chunky man, his back to the viewer, who (with the exception of one arm) is all but a precise copy of Puvis's hardy rustic. Picasso appreciated the amplitude and corporeality of these figures, a type not always associated with Puvis's work. Further use of the broad-backed man from Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer has been noted in the powerful seated male turned away from the viewer in Picasso's Young acrobat cm a ball (Moscow, Pushkin Museum). Although perhaps too common a motif to be ascribed to one source, Picasso's Woman praying at a child's bedside (fig. 15) is an exceedingly close approximation of Puvis's kneeling young saint.

The American artist Edwin Howland Blashfield, a leader in the American mural movement who would go on to produce important works in the United States - for example, at the Library of Congress in the 1890s - like so many of his compatriots studied art in Paris (under Bonnat and Gérôme), and also copied Puvis de Chavannes's Panthéon murals (fig. 16). The Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer is on the right in his canvas; in the very centre he placed a large column that approximates those at the site; and to the left - out of order, but perhaps not inexplicably - is copied the panel that in truth is several panels further away to the left, at the left of Puvis's triptych (itself to the left of the praying Genevieve). This new juxtaposition places together images that nicely bracket Blashfield's composi-
tion at right (the praying child) and left (the so-called Samaritan wing of the Panthéon triad), and proves less unwieldy compositionally (the section of the triad there designed to be to the right of the central panel) than the two neighbouring panels actually at the Panthéon. Blashfield was far from alone in his ardent admiration for Puvis and unabashedly admitted that he ‘worshipped at the shrine of his Sacred Grove.’

Another of Puvis's great admirers was Vincent van Gogh, who was both influenced by and wrote about his work. He spoke poignantly about the quiet of Puvis's Edenic pastorals and was also much taken with the beauty of his colours, which he described with both great subtlety and specificity. The idyllic mood Vincent marvelled at pervades the *Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer*. It is particularly fitting that a museum devoted to Van Gogh should now own this superb example of Puvis's work, a touching devotional painting whose sentiments of honesty and religious yearning echo those so often expressed by the Dutch painter himself.

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fig. 1
Felician von Myrbach, *The print shop*, 1884, oil on canvas, 65 × 81 cm, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum
Felician Freiherr von Myrbach: painter, illustrator, reformer

Edwin Becker

The painting The print shop, (fig. 1) by the Austrian artist Felician Freiherr von Myrbach was added to the collection of the Van Gogh Museum in 1990. As neither Myrbach nor his work have ever attracted much attention, and certainly not in the recent literature, the acquisition of this painting presents a good opportunity to provide a brief overview of the artist's life and work.

Training and early career

Felician Myrbach was born in Zalesczyki, in the Austrian region of Galicia, in 1853. He was a scion of an aristocratic family of military men, and in preparation for his career as an officer he was sent to Hainburg's cadet school at the age of eleven. The young man was soon recognised for his skill in draughtsmanship, and when he went on to the Vienna military academy, his art master warmly encouraged his talents. Felician was allocated a space of his own in his teacher's studio. Punishment in the form of detention was a great delight to the fledgling artist, who used such confinement to draw and paint to his heart's content. His classmates derisively nicknamed him ‘Schmyrbach’ (roughly meaning ‘dauber’). ‘It was from this time on,’ Myrbach later recalled, ‘that I truly felt a passion for art.’ In 1872 he became a draughtsman at the institute of military geography, where he learnt the various graphic techniques used in the making of topographical maps. At the same time, this position gave him the opportunity to attend August Eisenmenger's classes in painting and life drawing at Vienna's art academy.


2 ‘Von dieser Zeit an [ ] fühlte ich erst so recht meine Leidenschaft zur Kunst.’ The main biographical details given here are based on a typed manuscript in the Archives of the Österreichische Galerie in Vienna: Vienna, Archiv der Österreichischen Galerie, Mappe II zu Felician Freiherr von Myrbach, ‘Auszug aus den eigenhändigen Aufzeichnungen’; this manuscript, although compiled much after Myrbach's death, is drawn from the artist's own notes. I have also relied on the encyclopedia entry by Hans Ankwick-Kleehoven, ‘Felician Freiherr von Myrbach-Rheinfeld (1853-1940),’ Große Österreichner (Neue Österreichische Biographie, ab 1815), Vienna & Zürich 1959, vol. 13, pp. 137-45. Hans Ankwick-Kleehoven, formerly chief librarian at the Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Vienna and the author of many publications on Viennese art, owned a large part of Myrbach's estate, as his wife Alexandra was a niece of Myrbach's. There is a list of drawings, lithographs and books by Myrbach from the Ankwick-Kleehoven collection in the archives of the Österreichische Galerie in Vienna: Vienna, Archiv der Österreichischen Galerie, Mappe II zu Felician Freiherr von Myrbach, ‘Verzeichnis der von Hofrat Dr. Hans Ankwick von Kleehoven, Wien VIII., Florianigasse 20, dem Wiener Künstlerhaus für die Myrbach-Gedächtnisausstellung leihweise zur Verfügung gestellten Originalgemälde, Handzeichnungen und Graphiken Felician von Myrbachs.’
Myrbach managed to continue his artistic activities when he was called to serve as an officer in Dalmatia three years later. He equipped a small room there as a studio, and had his companions pose for him in the evenings; during the day, he made numerous studies of the unique, colourful landscape. He was obliged to give up these sessions in 1878, however, when he was commissioned as a lieutenant for the occupation of Bosnia. But immediately upon his return to Vienna in October of 1879 he signed up for Eisenmenger's classes again in order to increase his skill in drawing human figures. He also took lessons in animal painting from Rudolf Carl Huber, as it gave him the opportunity to make a thorough study of horses for incorporation into his history paintings.

During the Bosnian campaign Myrbach had made numerous studies and sketches, which he later composed
Felician von Myrbach, *Au Boulevard Saint-Michel*, 1883, oil on canvas, dimensions unknown, whereabouts unknown (photograph courtesy of the Österreichische Galerie, Vienna)

into a painting of horizontal format entitled *The 19th riflemen's battalion in the Battle of Kremenac* (whereabouts unknown). He showed it in 1880 at the annual Künstlerhaus exhibition in Vienna, where it was immediately approved by the Emperor Franz Josef, who purchased it for his villa in Bad Ischl\(^3\) for the sum of 2,000 Austrian guilders.\(^4\)

Although he was still a student at the academy, this success prompted his selection for membership in the Künstlerhaus. Huber, however, had some blunt words of advice: ‘Vienna has nothing more to teach you - go to Paris.’\(^5\) Many Austrian artists

\(^3\) According to the curator Markus Salvator Habsburg, the painting is no longer in Bad Ischl. It appears to have been transferred later to the Berg Isel Museum, but there is no trace of it there either.

\(^4\) The notes on Myrbach in the archives of the Österreichische Galerie, ‘Auszug,’ cit. (note 2), include the following anecdote: ‘The Battle of Kremenac was vividly engraved in his [Myrbach’s] memory, and he made small sketches and compositions, as well as life studies of riflemen, some in the open air, which was rather a novelty in Vienna. When the painting was finished, he submitted it to the annual exhibition at the Künstlerhaus It was accepted, but it was hung badly and too high. When the Emperor arrived, led in by l'Allemand [an Austrian history painter] he stopped in front of the painting, stepped back to get a better view, and made a comment to l'Allemand. The latter replied loudly “It is not bad, but it is rather hazy,” but then caught sight of Myrbach and added “He probably wanted to convey the gunpowder smoke.” At this, [Myrbach] was congratulated on all sides and immediately became the hero of the day, especially after the Emperor bought the painting for his private apartments’ (‘Das Gefecht von Kremenac beschäftigte ihn in der Erinnerung sehr und er machte kleine Skizzen und Kompositionen, machte Modellstudien nach Jägern, auch im Freien, was für Wien ziemlich neu war. Als das Bild fertig war, schickte er es in die Jahresausstellung des Künstlerhauses. Es wurde angenommen, aber schlecht und hoch gehängt Als der Kaiser kam, der von l'Allemand geführt wurde, blieb er vor dem Bilde stehen, trat zurück um besser zu sehen und machte zu l'Allemand eine Bemerkung. Dieser sagte laut: “s'is nit slecht, nur is a bisl neblig,” als er aber Myrbach erblickte, fügte er hinzu “er hat halt wahrscheinlich den Pulverdampf ausdrücken wollen.” Daraufhin wurde er von allen Seiten angratuliert und war erst recht der Held des Tages, als das Bild vom Kaiser für seine Privatgemächter angekauft wurde.’)
viewed Paris, like Munich, as a necessary step in their artistic career. Myrbach's decision to follow this recommendation did mean, of course, that he had to bid farewell to the army, and in 1881 he handed in his resignation. In November of that year he moved to Paris, where he was to remain for sixteen years. In his memoirs Myrbach jested that he had originally planned to stay for no more than a year, but lacking money for the return journey he had decided to stay longer.\footnote{See Ludwig Hevesi, ‘Felician Freiherr von Myrbach,’ \textit{Die Graphischen Künste} 22 (1899), p. 78 (also included in idem, \textit{Acht Jahre Secession}, Vienna 1906, pp. 131-37.)}

**Early years in Paris**

In the Montparnasse neighbourhood so beloved by artists he found a spacious studio that was fitted with the unusually modern convenience of electric lighting. Nearby he attended evening classes in life painting taught by the famous portrait painter Carolus-Duran, who attracted a
steady flow of students to his large studio on Boulevard Montparnasse. Besides paintings and life drawings, Myrbach produced numerous studies, watercolours and drawings of Paris scenes.\(^7\)

In 1882, Myrbach made his first submission to the Salon: *Rebel outpost in Herzegovina* (whereabouts unknown),\(^8\) another theme inspired by his former life as an officer. But his first real success came one year later, when his painting *Au Boulevard Saint-Michel* (whereabouts unknown) was exhibited at the Salon (fig. 2).\(^9\) The painting presents an engaging picture of a Paris terrace on the famous boulevard, with several well-known personalities from the Latin Quarter dominating the foreground. Unlike the seemingly uncomposed work of the renowned boulevard painter Jean Béraud, Myrbach's painting has a striking, compact composition, with heightened perspectival effects. The set of little tables moving towards the centre of the painting, together with the line leading over the tops of the bare trees and that following the façades on the right, create two intersecting diagonal axes. The lower edge that cuts off the little flower-girl and the right corner slicing through the reclining man are devices which draw the viewer into the picture. In this way, the many realistic details and the crowd of people all merge into a single cohesive entity.\(^10\)

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\(^7\) The biographical notes, ‘Auszug,’ cit. (note 2), claim that they were eagerly bought up by the art dealer Pilon.

\(^8\) *Catalogue illustré du Salon*, Paris, 1882, no. 1784.

\(^9\) *Catalogue illustré du Salon*, Paris 1883, no. 1784. The painting was also depicted under the title *Au Quartier Latin in Paris Illustre*, no. 15 (14 April 1888), p. 234 and in Schorers Familienblatt 6 (n.d.), p. 37, as *Vor einem Pariser Boulevardcafé*.

\(^10\) Myrbach was extremely sensitive to the pageant of human life, and everyday scenes in Paris clearly made an immense impression on him. He further sought to capture the city in an etching entitled *Les galeries de l’Odéon* and dated 25 August 1883 (Vienna, Museum für Angewandte Kunst; my thanks to Rainald Franz) - sadly, the only etching from his Paris period traced thus far - is a fine example of the spontaneous impressions that he produced there. This work was probably shown as no. 158 at the 1941 Myrbach retrospective under the title *Pariser Straßenbuchhändler*; see *Ausstellung Berliner Graphiker und Wiener Maler mit einer Gedächtnisausstellung Felician Freiherr von Myrbach*, Vienna (Ausstellungshaus)
A drawing by Myrbach himself\(^1\) after this work was used for a plate in *the Annuaire illustré des beaux-arts* (fig. 3).\(^2\)

1941. The 1941 exhibition catalogue also refers to etchings entitled *On the Seine, Paris café concert* and *Children at play* (nos. 159, 160, 162), all of which must have been produced in the same period. These scenes, which at first sight strike the viewer as quintessentially Parisian, later served Myrbach well in a variety of other contexts, such as the countless drawings for *Wienerstadt*, see: *Wienerstadt: Lebensbilder aus der Gegenwart. Geschildert von Wiener Schriftstellern. Gezeichnet von Myrbach, Mangold, Zasche, Engelhart und Hey*, Prague, Vienna & Leipzig 1895.

11 The works exhibited in the Salon were often depicted in the accompanying catalogue by other artists, but Myrbach, in a rare gesture, took up the pen himself and transformed his own painting into an illustration. Café scenes were very popular at the time and, a year later, a painting of the Latin Quarter by the fairly obscure artist Charles Leroy Saint-Aubert was also shown at the Salon: Charles Leroy Saint-Aubert, *Une brasserie au Quartier-Latin*, 1884, oil on canvas, 182.2 × 254.3 cm, auctioned in New York (Sotheby's), 26 May 1994, lot 160. It displays a similarly precise, anecdotal approach to the subject (the nightlife of the Paris beau-monde) and is painted in a comparable realistic, somewhat dry style. Like Myrbach's painting, this latter work was illustrated in the Salon catalogue by the artist himself; see *Catalogue illustré du Salon*, Paris 1884, no. 1523, ill. p. 197.

and it seems likely that the artist's subsequent popularity was in many ways a result of the spread of this successful image through reproduction. It seems that Myrbach's work struck a chord with the Paris public, and commissions for book and magazine illustrations suddenly poured in, leaving him little time to paint.

It is for this reason that works on canvas by Myrbach after 1883 are so rare; in fact, *The print shop* (fig. 1) is the only known masterpiece from the Paris period. Judging by the quality of this work, we have reason to regret the flood of assignments for book illustrations that kept Myrbach from his easel. *The print shop* was shown at the Salon of 1884 and reproduced in the catalogue.\(^\text{13}\) The painting shows six printing-presses side by side. The presses are arranged along a diagonal, their handles in a variety of positions, thus providing optical movement in the left half of the painting. The right half, in contrast, is far more restful in composition. The straight lines of the suspended sheets of paper and the cupboard provide a counterpoint to the composition on the left. Myrbach has remained faithful to the drabness of the print shop, introducing only a very few colour accents in details such as the lamp, the blue and white overall and the paint-pots on the shelf on the left.

The workers portrayed are engaged in various stages in the printing process. On the right, a man is removing excess ink from a plate, while a boy on the left is turning the handle of the press. At the centre of the composition, a master and pupil together scrutinise the quality of a printed illustration, probably a frontispiece.

During the preparation of an etching, the plate and paper would be covered with felt to ensure the evenness of the print. In the painting we can clearly see the felt on the rollers and the plates of the first two presses. After the plate had passed through the press, the printed sheets would be hung up to dry on lines, as shown in the upper right of the painting.

This painting most likely depicts one of the printing-presses that produced Myrbach's own illustrations, although its precise identification is no easy task. One of

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13 Seenote1.
the possibilities is Quantin, one of Myrbach's first clients. Some of the drawings and watercolours commissioned were for children's books. The *Albums* series included several volumes illustrated by Myrbach: *Gargantua, Don Quichote, Ali Baba ou les quarante voleurs* and *Le chat botté*. However, these popular children's books did not appear with engravings. They had colour prints or chromotypes, and were printed on machines that were far larger and more modern than those depicted in Myrbach's painting.¹⁴

A photograph of the interior of Wittmann's printing-house (fig. 4) reveals a marked resemblance to the representation in Myrbach's painting, both in the arrangement of etching-presses and the methods employed there. The presses are set in a row in the studio, which has glass panels on the left and right to admit as much light as possible. Both in the photograph and in the painting, a man stands on the right, rubbing the ink off a plate. Near the ceiling are stretched wires on which the newly printed sheets of paper can hang to dry. The basic model of the etching press is also the same, except that Wittmann's presses are slightly more modern, having cogs instead of levers. Notwithstanding the resemblances between this photograph and the painting, however, there is no reference to Wittmann in relation to Myrbach's etchings or book illustrations. The identity of the printing-press shown in the painting The print shop must therefore remain, for the time being, a matter of conjecture.

**Success**

In the spring of 1886, Myrbach left his small apartment in the rue Campagne Première. He and his wife Lily moved into a house near the Bois de Clamart. A steady flow of commissions for illustrations ensured that money was never a problem. Myrbach's style was particularly suited to book illustrations, and his services were enlisted for numerous projects. He received orders from magazines such as *Le Monde Illustré*, *Le Monde Pittoresque* and *Paris Illustré*, as well as from literary publishers such as Lahure & Baschet, Quantin, and Hachette.

There were several common types of book illustrations during the 1880s. Primary among them was the historicist style, the best known exponent of which was Ernest Meissonier. Besides depicting events in military history, Meissonier also produced neo-baroque and neo-rococo genre pieces. But his work was too erudite for publishers who wanted their books to appeal to the masses. Popular editions of historical novels by Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas, for instance, were generally illustrated by artists like Georges Rochegrosse, Charles Delort or Luc Olivier Merson, in an academic style that Söderberg has referred to in his study of French book illustration as ‘musketeer style’.¹⁵

Alongside this more traditional style, realism was also taking hold in French book illustration, and Myrbach benefitted from this. The picaresque and adventure novels of Alphonse Daudet, for instance, many of which were illustrated by the artist, were

¹⁴ A whole collection of these heavy presses in the Ancienne Maison Quantin can be seen in a photograph in Marius Vachon, *Les arts et les industries du papier en France, 1871-1894*, Paris 1894, p. 127.

particularly well served by his narrative style. Myrbach's illustrations, however, have none of the innovative style of artists such as Raffaëlli, Legrand or Forain.

Perusal of Myrbach's sketches and drawings allows us, up to a point, to reconstruct his working method. His sketchbook, once in the possession of Hans Ankwicz-Kleehoven and now in the library of Vienna's Museum für Angewandte Kunst, contains many first impressions - preliminary watercolours of his subjects dashed off in rapid, vigorous brushstrokes. One or more of these would then


17 See the scrapbook with sketches and studies by Felician von Myrbach, 137 sheets glued to 119 pages with two ex libri of Dr. Hans Ankwicz-Kleehoven, 49 × 35 cm, Vienna, Museum für Angewandte Kunst, inv. no. K.1. 13.934, nos. 16, 18-22, 59, 80 and 85.
be turned into detailed studies of the setting. The journal *Kunst und Kunsthandwerk*,\(^\text{18}\) for instance, includes an elaborate drawing of the interior of II Gesù in Rome, which served as the setting for one of his illustrations for Edmond About's *Tolla*,\(^\text{19}\) and the Albertina has a watercolour of the same interior with the figures added (fig. 5). This watercolour served in turn as the direct example for the engraver, Léon Rousseau, who translated it into a wood engraving, accompanied by the following lines of prose taken from the book: ‘Elle détacha vivement son petit bracelet de corail et le donna aux âmes du Purgatoire.’\(^\text{20}\)

Whether he was recording scenes from everyday life, special events or places of historic interest, Myrbach always visited the relevant locale, registering his impressions in a host of preliminary studies and drawings. As we have seen, he went to Italy for Hachette in order to


\(^{20}\) ‘She promptly removed her little coral bracelet and gave it to the two souls in purgatory’. No. 1 in the Myrbach scrapbook (see note 17) is the engraving after the watercolour in the Albertina (see fig. 5): *Tolla*, woodcut by L. Rousseau after Myrbach, 25.4 × 16.9 cm (reproduction: 18.2 × 11.2 cm), signed on the block, lower right: ‘Myrbach’; signed in pencil on the lower left: ‘L. Rousseau’. The engraving was reproduced on p. 8 of About's book, op. cit. (note 19).
produce the watercolours for *Tolla*. For Daudet's *Tartarin sur les Alpes* he went to Switzerland, and he and his wife even went so far as to climb Mont Blanc, assisted by two guides.²¹ He likewise thought it entirely within the call of duty, when asked by the English publishing-house Virtue to create a series of traveller's impressions of England, to undertake an extensive journey from the north to the south of the country, executing each one of his impressions on the spot.²²

The marked realism of Myrbach's depictions of fictional characters never degenerated into an overly

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picturesque or academic style. His naturalism, in fact, approached photographic realism, yet constantly exhibited new discoveries and compositional tours de force.\textsuperscript{23} Myrbach tackled an enormous variety of subject-matter, from scenes of fashionable Parisian or Viennese life to minutely rendered interiors. His term as a lieutenant in the Austrian army, during which time he had experienced many campaigns at first hand, often brought him back to military themes. His soldiering had not stopped him from producing scores of studies on the battlefield, whose directness lent his military scenes a special air of authenticity. The Viennese critic Ludwig Hevesi greatly admired the verisimilitude of Myrbach's work; he claimed that even Meissonier's military themes were not more true to life.\textsuperscript{24} A closer examination, however, reveals this to be an exaggeration.

Comparison of Myrbach with Ernest Meissonier, the famous French military history painter, reveals that Myrbach's military illustrations not only resemble paintings such as \textit{French campaign, 1814} (Paris, Musée d'Orsay) and \textit{Napoleon III at the Battle of Solférino} (Compiègne, Musée du Château), but also recall the spontaneity and directness of Meissonier's smaller works, oil sketches and drawings. Meissonier's arresting \textit{Barricade} (fig. 6), for instance, an indictment of the horrors of civil war, undoubtedly served as Myrbach's inspiration for his illustration to accompany Coppée's poem \textit{Plus de sang!} (fig. 7).\textsuperscript{25} In both works, the foreground is entirely taken up by the ruins of a makeshift barricade strewn with corpses, and in both the painting and the drawing, the upper half consists of a row of houses crossing the pictorial surface diagonally. \textit{Barricade} is clearly more powerful in both composition and execution, while Myrbach's pen and ink drawing remains largely illustrative. The chilling emptiness of the row of facades in Meissonier's painting is reduced to mere scenery in Myrbach, and Meissonier's restrained, unadorned style contrasts with Myrbach's irrepressible urge to add anecdotal details such as the two

\textsuperscript{23} The detailed representation and the rendering of reality without any suggestion of artificial poses are features that Gabriel P. Weisberg refers to in his standard work \textit{Beyond Impressionism} (New York 1992), as characteristic of Naturalism. But the extent to which Myrbach used photographs as an aid when making his paintings cannot be ascertained on the basis of the available material.

\textsuperscript{24} Hevesi, op. cit. (note 6), p. 81.

women in the foreground and the cavalry in the background. This said, *Plus de sang!* undoubtedly displays a finely balanced chiaroscuro. Nor must we forget that Myrbach's drawing has been translated here by an engraver, which may have diluted the spontaneity of the original pen and ink drawing.

Not surprisingly, books with military themes occupied a good part of Myrbach's career as an illustrator: they include *Unter den Fahnen: die Völker Österreichs-Ungarns in Waffen*, *Feldmarschall Erzherzog Albrecht*, *Aventures de guerre* by Frédéric Masson and Parquin's *Souvenirs*.²⁶ His illustrations for these books fall into one of two categories:

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on the one hand there were rapidly executed black and white drawings in pen or ink wash, based on numerous sketches from life, and on the other - for relatively prestigious works such as the life of Archduke Albrecht - elaborate watercolours. The former were usually integrated into the text, while the latter were reproduced in a colour plate occupying a separate page. Often, facsimile prints after these illustrations were made. For instance, a poster announcing the forthcoming exhibition of Myrbach's work in Vienna in 1898 included an advertisement offering for sale 50 numbered and signed prints of Myrbach's watercolours of Archduke Albrecht and Archduke Karl.²⁷

One of Myrbach's patrons was François-Guillaume Dumas, an art dealer as well as a publisher, writer and editor. He was responsible for a series entitled Artistes modernes for which Myrbach depicted the studios of both Meissonier²⁸ and Cabanel.²⁹ Dumas also launched the journal Paris Illustré, to which he appointed Myrbach illustrator-in-chief. This job involved a great variety of subjects, providing a wealth of opportunities to try out new themes and compositions.

²⁷ This advertisement is in the archives of the Österreichische Galerie in Vienna Vienna, Archiv der Österreichischen Galerie, Mappe I zu Felician Freiherr von Myrbach. The gallery at which the Myrbach exhibition was held in 1898, Artaria & Co., published many prints after Myrbach. A Manöverszene in pencil and watercolour, 62 × 47.5 cm, in the Heeresgeschichtliches Museum in Vienna, inv. no. Bl 31.994, has a label on the back with the note ‘Vervielfältigung vorbehalten / Kunstsalon Artaria & Co., Wien (gegründet 1770)’. The firm still exists on Vienna's Kohlmarkt, but unfortunately it no longer possesses any documentation on Myrbach.

²⁸ Myrbach visited Meissonier in his studio in Poissy on 28 December 1883; see ‘Auszug,’ cit. (note 2).

²⁹ The volume on Cabanel was written by Henri de Chennevières, and appeared in 1882 (with thanks to Alexandra Murphy). The Myrbach is reproduced on p. 244. Besides possessing intrinsic value as a document of its time, the picture can be regarded as a real discovery as it displays the study by Cabanel for The expulsion from Paradise that was recently purchased by the Van Gogh Museum: Alexandre Cabanel, (preliminary study for) The expulsion from Paradise, oil on canvas, 60.3 × 45.1 cm, Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum. Furthermore, Myrbach's original pen and ink drawing, produced in 1883 and used as for the reproduction, was recently rediscovered in Vienna: Cabanel's studio, pen and ink on paper, 23.6 × 36.8 cm, signed lower left: ‘Myrbach 1883’, Vienna, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, inv. no. 116680 / 1073. The final version of The expulsion from Paradise (oil on canvas, 121.9 × 94 cm) was auctioned in New York (Sotheby's), 16 February 1994, lot 103.
The wash drawing *The Battle of Abou-Klea*, a complicated composition with camels and horses among Arabs and colonists enmeshed in a struggle to the death, was divided over two pages, which enhanced the numerous shades of grey (fig. 8).³⁰ Here, as in *Au Boulevard Saint-Michel*, Myrbach preserves the balance of his picture with a composition based on two intersecting diagonals. Of equal interest is the engraving after Myrbach's *Air-balloon workshop in Paris (Vaugirard): construction and drying of a balloon* (fig. 9).³¹

One of Myrbach's most successful series of illustrations for the *Paris Illustré* was *Les coulisses du Salon* (1885), a behind-the-scenes look at the organisation and mounting of a Salon exhibition.³² The drawing on the title-page of the article (fig. 10) shows twelve workmen attaching a huge work (by the painter Rochegrosse) to the wall under the watchful eye of a supervisor and a jury member. Myrbach depicts the sad lot of those rejected from the Salon in his illustration aptly entitled *Graveyard of the refusés*, the original drawing for which is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (fig. 11).³³ It is an extremely rhythmic composition, in many way similar to Myrbach's Salon paintings, with plunging, dramatic perspective. The rows of paintings stacked against each other produce an endless, almost unreal effect in a wavelike movement, reinforced by the

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33 Inv. no. 47.53.19, Corpus Gernsheim no. 61.633.
fig. 11
Felician von Myrbach, *Graveyard of the refusés*, grey pen and wash, pencil, on cloth, 33.5 × 49 cm, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 47.53.19)
fact that we can see only their frames. A third drawing illustrates the arrangement of the canvases (fig. 12).

Besides *Tartarin sur les Alpes* by Alphonse Daudet, Myrbach also illustrated such famous novels as *Notre-Dame de Paris* by Victor Hugo and *Madame Chrysanthème* by Pierre Loti (fig. 13).\(^ {34} \) Some of his finest works in this genre were the drawings he made for the three-volume *Oeuvres complètes* of François Coppée (fig. 14).\(^ {35} \) These writers were full of praise for Myrbach's talent. Alphonse Daudet once told Myrbach that he had boundless faith in him, as all his books illustrated by Myrbach had brought him success.\(^ {36} \)

**Myrbach as reformer**

Austria had not, however, forgotten Myrbach. Through the commission from Crown Prince Rudolf for *Unter den Fahnen*, Myrbach had once again come into contact with his native country. These high connections later also helped to assure him of a new, prestigious position. He left Paris and in 1897 he was appointed Professor at the Kunstgewerbeschule in Vienna, where he took charge of the ‘Fachklasse für Graphik,’ a department that largely concerned itself with illustrations, both drawings

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36 See Berlepsch-München, op. cit. (note 18), p. 33. The library of the Museum für Angewandte Kunst in Vienna (MAK, Ausstattung l. 277) contains Myrbach's personal copy of Coppée's *Oeuvres complètes: prose, 1873-1890*, op. cit. (note 35) with a dedication by the author: ‘A F. de Myrbach qui a interprété mes oeuvres avec tant d'esprit, de goût, de pittoresque et d'art, ce souvenir amical et reconnaissant, François Coppée.’
and prints. In May 1897 Myrbach, together with several other progressive artists, had left the Künstlerhaus and joined the Vereinigung bildender Künstler Österreichs, better known as the Secession. Between 1898 and 1905 - the duration of the original Secession group led by Gustav Klimt-Myrbach engaged in a variety of activities. We find his name not only in the Secession's exhibitions, but also in its administration, and he was elected President in 1903. It was in this capacity that he opened Gustav Klimt's Kollektivschau that year, and the memorable Hodler exhibition a year later.

Myrbach's official duties obviously pushed his own artistic activities into the background. In the spring of 1898 Vienna's Artaria gallery organised the last major solo exhibition of his work during his lifetime. Some 58 works were shown, including many watercolours and drawings. The centrepiece of the exhibition was the large watercolour *The Imperial parade at the Schmelz*, which the Emperor purchased for his Imperial Gallery (fig. 15).  

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37 Exhib. cat. *Ausstellung Felician Baron Myrbach*, Vienna (Kunstsalon Artaria) March-April 1898, 58 nos.
38 For information pertaining to this work I would like to thank Dr. Liselotte Popelka, curator of the art collections at the Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, Vienna.
Among those to remark on the show was the discerning critic Adolf Loos, who reviewed it for Die Waage: ‘Myrbach has been particularly successful at Artaria & Co. on the Kohlmarkt. This accomplished painter has learned something new abroad [i.e. in Paris], while here he would only have grown stale and vulgar.’\textsuperscript{39} Loos continued with a warm commendation of Myrbach's honest art. He saw Myrbach as someone who faithfully reproduced everyday reality without steeping it in aestheticism: ‘Now here is someone who paints decent people just as they are. It is arresting. It is new to us. It makes us enjoy being out in the street.’\textsuperscript{40}

In 1900, when Myrbach was appointed director of the Kunstgewerbeschule, he brought with him several fellow-artists from the Secession and conducted a thorough reorganisation.\textsuperscript{41} ‘It was astonishing how cannily Myrbach was able to pluck from the ranks of the unknown those destined to become the foremost creative geniuses of the new art education.’\textsuperscript{42} He started by


\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., p. 26: ‘Nun aber kommt Einer zu uns und malt anständige Leute, wie sie sind. Das war frappirend. Das war uns neu. Nun erst gefällt's uns auf der Straße.’

\textsuperscript{41} Myrbach’s position as director of the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule is discussed in detail in Gottfried Fliedl, Kunst und Lehre am Beginn der Moderne: die Wiener Kunstgewerbeschule 1867-1918, Salzburg & Vienna 1986.

\textsuperscript{42} Bertha Zuckerkandl, ‘Baron Myrbach,’ in Zeitkunst Wien, 1901-1907, Vienna & Leipzig 1908, p. 20 (reprinted from Fremdenblatt, 21 January 1905): ‘Es war erstaunlich, mit welch
putting Josef Hoffmann in charge of the architecture class. Myrbach also appointed Alfred Roller, who was to revolutionise theatrical decor, and Kolo Moser, who injected new life into the decorative arts. By putting in place this team of personalities and art teachers, and by establishing workshops, Myrbach was able to raise the Vienna Kunstgewerbeschule to an eminence from which it towered over other institutes. Pupil numbers increased every year, with a substantial foreign contingent among them.

Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995
One of the first things Myrbach did as director of the Kunstgewerbeschule was to consign the plaster casts to the attic. His pupils were to draw from life, including nudes, in order to develop a sound knowledge of anatomy. Myrbach also encouraged the preparation of a new version of the ancient collection of Specimens (Vorlagenwerke), files containing architectural details and designs that in the past had merely been slavishly copied. Together with Hoffmann and Moser, Myrbach published the quality journal Die Fläche,\textsuperscript{43} to which many artists contributed decorative designs for posters, tapestries or stained-glass windows. Most of the graphic designs were printed using aluminography, a process that Myrbach introduced into Austria (fig. 16).

As director, he continually explored new ideas for his Kunstgewerbeschule. In the winter of 1902 he and Josef Hoffmann travelled to England and Scotland to study the courses on offer at places such as the Glasgow School of Art. British art education had a major impact on art schools in Vienna, not only at the Kunstgewerbeschule, but also at the Wiener Werkstätte, which was established in 1903 to give a new impulse to the applied arts.

In Vienna, Myrbach was regarded as a successful painter and art teacher, and he was often asked to contribute to publications such as the Secession journal Ver Sacrum.\textsuperscript{44} The art world was buzzing with the success of Myrbach's innovations at the Kunstgewerbeschule. In 1900, during the Exposition Universelle in Paris, he wrote enthusiastically to his wife: ‘I am in buoyant mood, as Austria is enjoying a wonderful, unparalleled success here in the decorative arts section. It is said that everyone rates our work highest of all. I went early to see the school's stand; it looks excellent. Many people are eager to buy or to place orders. Sarah Bernhardt was absolutely captivated by it all.’\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{43} See Die Fläche: Entwürfe für decorative Malerei, 1904-1905.

\textsuperscript{44} There is a list of Myrbach's contributions to the periodical Ver Sacrum in Christian M. Nebehay, Ver Sacrum, 1898-1903, Vienna 1975, pp. 272-73.

In 1904 Myrbach was put in charge of organising Austria's entries to the World's Fair in St Louis.\(^4^6\) Eager to record all the impressions of America as they crowded in on him in his sketchbook and notepad, he journeyed onward from St Louis to California. There he suffered an attack of rheumatism that prevented him from going on. He then asked the Ministry for permission to extend his stay in the United States. Due to a series of misunderstandings (Myrbach had stopped communicating with everyone) and intrigues stirred up and magnified by the press (he was said to have had an affair while abroad), the artist was reported to have mysteriously disappeared. This scandal was compounded by the fact that things went seriously wrong at the Kunstgewerbeschule during his absence. On his return, Myrbach was virtually forced into early retirement.\(^4^7\) His private life was likewise troubled. His marriage to Lily broke down, and since he no longer felt tied to Vienna he sold his house on the Praterstraße and sent his complete collection of sketches and drawings, numbering over 500 pieces, to be sold at the well-known Dorotheum auction-house.\(^4^8\) As a result, the work of this immensely productive artist - except for what had been preserved in the form of book illustrations - was dispersed in a thousand directions.

Myrbach left Vienna in April 1905, and returned to Paris, where Frédéric Masson commissioned him to illustrate his 23-volume work on the life of Napoleon.\(^4^9\) Myrbach threw himself into this work with characteristic verve for over ten years, travelling to Corsica and Elba, to the battlefields of Aspern and Wagram, with the aim of reconstructing events as accurately as possible. In 1914, at the outbreak of the First World War, Myrbach risked being called up as an Austrian reserve officer, despite his age. Abandoning all his worldly possessions, he fled to Spain, where he settled in the Barcelona region. Here he produced scores of drawings and watercolours:

> ‘Every morning I go down to the beach to study. It has light, air and crowds of people

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\(^{46}\) See *Die Weltausstellung St Louis, 1904*, Vienna 1904, esp. pp. 59-60.

\(^{47}\) The affair spawned a wealth of articles and essays both for and against Myrbach. The following are among the most noteworthy: Dr. Ludwig W. Abels, ‘Künstler als Beamte (Ein Wort zur Myrbach-Affäre),’ *Wiener Morgen Zeitung*, 23 October 1904; Joseph A. Lux, ‘Felician Freiherr v. Mirbach [sic],’ *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, 27 October 1904; ‘Rücktritt des Direktors Freiherrn v. Myrbach,’ *Fremdenblatt*, 19 January 1905; and Zuckerkandl, op. cit. (note 42), pp. 19-25. This latter was an impassioned defence of Myrbach.


with colours and glittering sunlight that are absolutely soul-stirring.' In the 1930s his peace was once again shattered as civil war became an ever-increasing threat and then a reality. As an Austrian baron he received threats from the Spartacists, and eventually was forced to return to Vienna. There he died in 1940, at the venerable age of 87.

[Documentation]

Catalogue of acquisitions 1963-1994 colour plates

Lawrence Alma-Tadema
Portrait of the singer George Henschel Esq. at the piano 1879
Thomas Couture
A realist 1865
Alfred Stevens
L’Inde à Paris: le bibelot exotique c. 1867
François Bonvin
Still life with drawing implements and books 1879
Felician Freiherr von Myrbach
The print shop 1884
Matthijs Maris
Girl with goats 1875
Léon Augustin Lhermitte
Haymaking 1887
Pierre Puvis de Chavannes
Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer c. 1874-76
Odilon Redon
Village street in Samois 1888
Vincent van Gogh
Avenue with poplars in autumn 1884
Vincent van Gogh
Enclosed field with the Alpilles in the background 1890
Paul Signac
Railway junction near Bois Colombes 1885
Edmond Aman-Jean
Portrait of Thadée Caroline Jacquet c. 1891-92
Charles Laval
Landscape on Matinique c. 1887
Maurice Denis
The two sisters 1891
Jan Sluijters

Two women embracing 1906
Catalogue of acquisitions 1963-1994

This is a catalogue of all the works that have been acquired for the collection by either the Van Gogh Museum or the Vincent van Gogh Foundation. Although the museum only opened in 1973, purchases were being made long before then. Not included, of course, are the works owned by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation that were once part of the family collection. Each work has an inventory number made up as follows: the first letter stands for the technique (S = paintings), followed by the reference number and then by a capital (M = Museum property, V = property of the Vincent van Gogh Foundation, and MM = the Museum Mesdag).

Anonymous

Seated female nude
Oil on pasteboard, 36 × 37 cm
Unsigned
S 333 V/1966

Provenance Paul Gachet, Auvers-sur-Oise; Paul Gachet Jr, Auvers-sur-Oise; Galerie Valentien, Stuttgart; purchased by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).

Landscape with a road
Oil on paper, 18 × 25.5 cm
Unsigned
S 330 V/1966

Provenance Paul Gachet, Auvers-sur-Oise; Paul Gachet Jr, Auvers-sur-Oise; Galerie Valentien, Stuttgart; purchased by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).
Reclining female nude
Oil on canvas, 65.2 × 41 cm
Unsigned
S 357 V/1966

The odd angle of view and strange cropping of the corners suggest that this is a study for the decoration of a wall or ceiling.

**Provenance** Paul Gachet, Auvers-sur-Oise; Paul Gachet Jr, Auvers-sur-Oise; Galerie Valentien, Stuttgart; purchased by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).

**Literature** Van Uitert 1987, p. 307.

Landscape with hills and water
Oil on canvas on paper, 12.5 × 17.5 cm
Unsigned
S 331 V/1966

**Provenance** Paul Gachet, Auvers-sur-Oise; Paul Gachet Jr, Auvers-sur-Oise; Galerie Valentien, Stuttgart; purchased by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).
Woman with a hat  
Oil on pasteboard, 48 × 36.5 cm  
Unsigned  
S 332 V/1966

**Provenance** Paul Cachet, Auvers-sur-Oise; Paul Gachet Jr, Auvers-sur-Oise; Galerie Valentien, Stuttgart; purchased by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).

Anonymous  
**formerly attributed to Claude Monet**

Unharnessed horse and wagon  
Oil on canvas, 58 × 75 cm  
Signed at lower left: *Claude Monet*  
S 345 V/1966

This painting, which bears the full signature ‘Claude Monet’, shows an unharnessed horse against the background of a canal in which a boat with hoisted sail can be made out. Neither the style nor the subject bear any relation to the work of this French Impressionist. The signature was probably added later, although the thick layer of varnish now makes it impossible to verify this.

Provenance H.A.D. Thomas, Amsterdam; bequeathed to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).

**Literature** Van Uitert 1987, p. 307.

Anonymous  
**formerly attributed to Vincent van Gogh**
This unfinished portrait of a peasant woman, which once belonged to the Dutch critic and connoisseur H.P. Bremmer, has until now been attributed to Van Gogh. Hulsker, though, dissented. The fuzzy brushwork is indeed not found in Van Gogh's oeuvre, and comparable unfinished works are also unknown. The technical structure of the portrait, with its green, dry underpaint with brown on top, reinforces the argument that the picture is not by Van Gogh but by another artist trained in the peasant genre. The X-ray photograph shows that the portrait was painted over a scene with a spinning-wheel, but even that provides no grounds for attributing the picture to Van Gogh.


Van Gogh painted two ‘small panels [...] in a great hurry’ during a three-day visit to Amsterdam in October 1885 [537/426]. One of them is undoubtedly the *View of the...*
Singel now in the P. and N. de Boer Foundation in Amsterdam. In 1928, De la Faille identified the other as the work illustrated here. That attribution appears to be based on little more than the subject, which does indeed bear a vague resemblance to the View of the Singel. However, it is painted on canvas, not panel, and it does not have the same dimensions as the other townscape, as Vanbeselaere pointed out in 1937.
The painting, which is signed ‘Vincent’, was nevertheless retained in the oeuvre catalogues, but falsely so, as recent X-ray examination has shown. The rather weak brushwork has little in common with Van Gogh's, and the use of colour is also atypical. Although the picture does not appear to be a deliberate forgery, the thick layer of varnish makes it impossible to discover whether the signature was added later. The second of the two ‘small panels’ has now in fact been identified. It is a harbour scene which until recently was wrongly assigned to Van Gogh’s Antwerp period: The Ruijterkade in Amsterdam with tugboats (Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum, Vincent van Gogh Foundation).


Aarts, Johannes Josephus see Vijlbrief, Jan

Allebé, August
Dutch, 1838-1927

Visit to the museum 1870
Oil on canvas, 46.7 × 38.3 cm
Signed and dated twice; at lower left: Allebé Bruxelles, MDCCCLXX; at upper centre: Allebé 1870 Bruxelles
S 425 M/1991

Allebé was an Amsterdam master who was appointed professor at the city's National Academy of Art in 1870, and this carefully composed canvas presents a view inside the former Musée des Plâtres, which was housed in what was once William the
Silent's palace in Brussels. The same subject is depicted in two panels by Allebé, Visit to the museum (Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum) and The old museum attendant (The Hague, Museum Mesdag) which were once a single picture. The work in the Van Gogh Museum is a half-finished design for another version of the subject. It shows the same young woman as in the Stedelijk Museum's picture, but she has now wandered into another of the galleries. Although the work is unfinished, Allebé signed it twice and gave it to Anna Gildemeester, a pupil and friend.

**Provenance** Anna Gildemeester, Amsterdam; heirs of Anna Gildemeester; Amsterdam (Christie's), 19 September 1991, lot 399; gift of the Friends of the Van Gogh Museum (1991).


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**Alma-Tadema, Lawrence**

**Dutch, 1836-1912**

![Portrait of the singer George Henschel Esq. at the piano 1879](image)

Oil on panel, 49 × 35.1 cm

Signed and inscribed at upper left: *L. Alma Tadema Op. CCII.*

S 426 M/1991 (colour pl. p. 149)
When Lawrence Alma-Tadema painted this portrait of George Henschel in 1879 they had been close friends for two years, having met at a dinner party in Kensington. As a conductor George, later Sir George, Henschel (1850-1934) had led several orchestras, but he made his name as a baritone. He retained his singing voice until a ripe old age and there are still recordings from 1914 and 1928 of his interpretation of Lieder by Schubert and Schumann. Henschel also sat for John Singer Sargent ten years after Alma-Tadema's portrait (London, Royal Academy).

Henschel performed regularly at Alma-Tadema's home. This portrait was painted in Townshend House, but planned during a reception at Max Schlesinger's, the London representative of the Kölner Zeitung. Here, Henschel had sung ‘Mainacht’ by Brahms, accompanying himself at the piano. The room depicted is Alma-Tadema's Gold Room, with its wainscoting in Byzantine style and floor inlaid with ebony and maple wood. The background of the portrait is formed by a curtain of Chinese silk. Beside it, the lower section of a window is visible with panes of Mexican onyx into which Alma-Tadema's name and initials have been inscribed. The piano was designed by the architect George Fox and made by John Broadwood & Sons; the sofa, of which Alma-Tadema has portrayed a section of the backrest, was designed to match it.


French, 1858-1936

Portrait of Thadée Caroline Jacquet c. 1891-92
Oil on canvas, 55.1 × 46.2 cm
Signed at lower left: Aman Jean
S 420 M/1991 (colour pl. p. 161)

Aman-Jean, known as a friend of Georges Seurat's (with whom he shared a studio for some time), studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris and with Puvis de Chavannes. He was a member of the circle around the poet Stéphane Mallarmé, and between 1892 and 1897 he exhibited at the Salons of the Rose+Croix. He portrayed numerous artist-friends from the Symbolist milieu: Paul Verlaine, Sàr Péladan and Villiers de l'Isle Adam. He excelled in poetic portraits of women, as warmly described by Octave Mirbeau in his review of the Salon du Champs de Mars: ‘They are simple portraits of women. They are delightful, these delicate profiles of virgins, with blended contours, in drooping, pure poses, past virgins, present virgins, forever virgins.’

This portrait of Thadée Caroline Jacquet, the woman Aman-Jean was soon to marry, was painted around 1891-92. In 1891 the artist made a lithograph showing more or less the same profile view of her - but reversed - smelling a rose. In this painting, flowers fill the background. The painting is a smaller, more close-up version of the portrait bought by the French state at the 1892 Salon, now in the Musée d'Orsay. It seems to be a study for this latter work, but the precise relationship between the two is difficult to establish.


Anquetin, Louis
French, 1861-1932

Old peasant 1886
Oil on canvas, 129 × 96.5 cm
Signed and dated at lower left. *Anquetin 1886*
S 384 M/1988

In 1883, after he had seen Monet at work, Anquetin became fascinated by Impressionism. In the summer of 1886 he still worked in a style related to it, as is clear from the date of this study of an old peasant, who is leaning on two sticks.

When in November or December 1887 Vincent van Gogh organised an exhibition of works by his friends at the Grand Bouillon, Anquetin was among those whose pictures were on show. Later, Van Gogh looked back with a certain degree of satisfaction on this event, as some paintings were even sold: ‘Thomas eventually bought Anquetin's study: *Le paysan,*’ he reported to Emile Bernard. As we know of no other works by Anquetin with the same subject, it is quite possible that this painting of an old farmer is the work sold at that time.


Bernard, Emile  
French, 1868-1941

Street in Pont-Aven 1886  
Oil on canvas, 43 × 60 cm  
Signed at lower right with the studio stamp; *Emile Bernard*  
S 390 M/1990

This view of a Breton village illustrates the erratic nature of Bernard's development in the 1880s. Here he has abandoned his earlier Pointillist technique for an Impressionist style. An inscription on the back identifies the canvas as coming from the collection of Rippl Ronai, the Hungarian Nabi painter who spent some time in Pont-Aven in 1889.

**Provenance** R. Ronai, Switzerland; Lucerne (Fischer), 16 and 17 July 1972, lot 171 (dated 1884); donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs B. Ekström, Uppsala (1990).

**Literature** Luthi 1982, no. 20; Stevens 1990, no. 4; *Acquisitions* 1991, p. 65.
Bernard, Emile

(continued)

Two Breton women in a meadow 1886 Oil on panel, 78.7 (left) × 81 (top)
× 59.8 (right) × 83.2 (bottom)
Signed and dated at lower left: *Em. Bernard 86 [?]*
S 437 M/1992

While making his way to Brittany in the summer of 1886, Bernard fell in with the
painter Emile Schuffenecker in Normandy. The latter was exploring Pointillism at
the time, and encouraged Bernard to make similar experiments. This is the most
consistent and convincing of his few surviving Pointillist paintings (by his own
account he later destroyed most of the others). It is painted on a few deal planks and
is from the collection of Andries Bonger, Theo van Gogh's brother-in-law, who
owned a large number of Bernard's works.

**Provenance** Andries Bonger; Mrs F.W. Bonger-van der Borch van Verwolde, Almen;

**Literature** Not in Luthi 1982; Stevens 1990, no. 7; De Leeuw 1994, p. 112

Seaside near Raguenez c. 1887
Oil on canvas, marouflé on panel, 77 × 57 cm Signed at lower right: *Emile
Bernard*
This study is dated to 1887 on the evidence of the extremely ‘Synthetic’ rendering of the coastline, the colours of which are limited to a few mixed shades. It is impossible to say whether this experimental work is in fact finished.

**Provenance** Donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs B. Ekström, Uppsala (1990).

**Literature** Luthi 1982, no. 54; *Acquisitions* 1991, p. 65.

Trees 1888  
Oil on canvas, 33 × 41 cm  
Signed and dated at lower left: Emile Bernard 1888  
S 392 M/1990

It seems that in this small landscape Bernard set out to combine impressionistic effects with the new style of Synthetism that came to dominate his work in the summer of 1888. The forms of the landscape are highly simplified and have been given contours, but the pink and blue colours were chosen fairly arbitrarily. The colour contrasts and the application of the paint in small flicks are intended to suggest the effect of bright sunlight.

On the back of the canvas is the inscription: ‘a ma fille Suzanne Pa-Médée’, from which it can be deduced that the painting once belonged to Amédée Schuffenecker, the art dealer and brother of the painter, who evidently gave it to his daughter.

**Provenance** R. Lundén, Enebyberg; London (Sotheby's), 1 July 1987, lot 167; donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs B. Ekström, Uppsala (1990).

Religious and romantic subjects first appear in Bernard's art in 1889. *The blue bird* can be seen as an effort to make a substantial contribution to the cause of Symbolism. To Bernard's great disappointment, however, Gauguin was to become its main representative. This painting can be identified with number 25 of the inventory Bernard made in 1905 of works sold to the art dealer Ambroise Vollard. There, it is listed under the title ‘L'Oiseau bleu,’ dated 1889, and has the format ‘toile de 20.’

The subject of the painting is partly explained by a passage from one of Bernard's autobiographical writings: ‘I had no friends / Sat at the end of the small bed / Pale and feverish / I dreamed of music / I read big picture books / Full of enchanted fairy tales / Sleeping beauty who sleeps / On a bed fit for a wise king / The blue bird swooping through the streets / Like a magic carpet.’

**Provenance** Ambroise Vollard, 1905; R. Lundén, Enebyberg; London (Christie's), 26 March 1984, lot 17; donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs B. Ekström, Uppsala (1990).

Bernard here sought to model himself on Cézanne. This type of picture, with a prominent jug or pitcher, made its appearance in Cézanne's oeuvre towards the end of the 1880s, and Bernard, who was a great admirer of the older master, may have seen works of that kind in Père Tanguy's colour-shop in Paris. Although the signature and date seem authentic, it is by no means certain that the canvas was actually painted in 1889. Bernard often dated his works many years later, which has led to numerous inaccuracies. Around 1889 he was experimenting with Synthetism and was not yet looking to Cézanne for inspiration. Against that, Bernard was notoriously capricious in his choice of style (as even his contemporaries pointed out), so the date may be correct after all.


In its brushwork, use of colour and composition this painting also attests to a strong affinity with Cézanne. It is conceivable that the painter was inspired by Cézanne's Road with trees and lake of circa 1880 (Otterlo, Kröller-Müller Museum), a work that was to become part of the collection of Bernard's friend and patron, the Dutch art collector Andries Bonger. Bernard romanticises the landscape, however, by adding a wild boar hunt; the
heroic nudity of the horsemen even suggests that this may be the pursuit of the Erymanthian boar - one of the twelve labours of Hercules.

**Provenance** A. Mankowitz, Stockholm; donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs B. Ekström, Uppsala (1990).


**Bernard, Emile**

(continued)

![Still life with cup, fruit bowl, teapot and fruit 1890](Image)

Still life with cup, fruit bowl, teapot and fruit 1890
Oil on canvas, 39 × 47 cm
Signed, dated and dedicated at lower left: *a M. Bonger E. Bernard 90*
S 395 M/1990

The dedication of this bold still life to Andries Bonger, Theo van Gogh's brother-in-law, makes this a particularly interesting work. Bernard appears to have first met Bonger at the funeral of Vincent van Gogh in July 1890. This painting of the same year thus marks the beginning of a long-lasting relationship between the painter and the collector, who eventually owned 24 of his paintings and drawings and eight prints.

**Provenance** Andries Bonger; A. Mankowitz, Stockholm; donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs B. Ekström, Uppsala (1990).

**Literature** Luthi 1982, no. 268; Stevens 1990, no. 47; *Van Gogh Bulletin* 5 (1990), no. 3, p. 13; *Acquisitions*
Prior to his departure for the Middle East in the spring of 1893, Emile Bernard went to Pont-Aven in Brittany for the last time. Although Gauguin had left the village the previous year for Tahiti, some of his followers, such as Armand Seguin and Paul Sérusier, still continued to visit there. Bernard seems to have kept them at a distance, however, and instead began to explore other stylistic avenues. Instead of Gauguin, Cézanne now became his great model. His dependence on the latter is exemplified in this view of Pont-Aven; here Bernard has not only mastered Cézanne's brushwork, with its more or less uniform strokes, but also borrows one of the master's compositional devices: a row of trees at once reaffirms the painted surface and sets off the plunging view. A similar painting, also dated 1892 (Josefowitz Collection), shows a detail of the same scene.

Provenance Andries Bonger; donated to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation by Mrs F.W. Bonger-van der Borch van Verwolde, Almen, in memory of Andries Bonger (1969).
Given Bernard's stylistic inconsistency, it is difficult to date this painting with any certainty. Its dark tonality might lead one to suppose an early date, possibly around 1884-86, during his pre-Impressionist days in the studio of Fernand Cormon. The deliberate awkwardness of the composition and the rough brushwork also bear strong similarities to the early still lifes of Cézanne, which Bernard saw at Père Tanguy's colour-shop. In the early 1890s he frequently looked to the older artist's work for stylistic guidance: ‘Everyone, surely, recognises a master and tries to adapt himself as much as possible - for me, that is Cézanne,’ he wrote in 1891 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, Bonger Archive, Emile Bernard, ‘Letter 81,’ 1891).


This oil sketch, which is executed in the odd and strident colour combination of yellow-green and violet, is related to the watercolours drawn in purple ink and then coloured that Bernard made on his first trip to the Orient in 1893-94. His paintings from that time were naturally inspired by the new world he discovered in the Middle East, but stylistically they still bear traces of the Synthetism of his Breton period.

**Provenance** Donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs B. Ekström, Uppsala (1990).

**Literature** Luthi 1982, no. 416; *Acquisitions* 1991, p. 66.

venetianservant1903
Oil on canvas, 100 × 77 cm
Signed and dated at upper right: *Emile Bernard*
Venise 1903
S 401 M/1990

From March to October 1893, Bernard was in Venice with Andrée Fort, who later became his second wife, and two children from his first marriage. He was now distancing himself from modern Synthetist painting, of which he had been one of the originators. In its place came a marked leaning towards a more classical, historicising style in which he was influenced by Venetian Renaissance painters whose technique he tried to imitate, as can be seen in this work.

**Provenance** Ambroise Vollard, Paris; Galerie Nicolas Poussin, Paris; donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs B. Ekström, Uppsala (1990).


Two monks in a ravine (‘Portrait of Cézanne and Bernard’) c. 1904
Oil on cardboard, 70 × 100 cm
Signed at lower left: *Emile Bernard*
S 408 M/1990

This landscape was probably painted near Tonnerre, where Bernard settled in 1904. The subject of monks who have withdrawn into a wilderness was popularised in the 18th century by the Genoese painter Allessandro Magnasco. According to a family tradition this is an allegorical portrait of Cézanne and Bernard, but that seems unlikely.
Provenance Donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs B. Ekström, Uppsala (1990).

Bernard, Emile
(continued)

Still life with apples, grapes and a shell c. 1905-06
Oil on cardboard, 34 × 42 cm
Signed at centre right: Emile Bernard
S 396 M/1990

The date of circa 1890 that Luthi gives in his oeuvre catalogue is almost certainly incorrect. The dark background, the search for a traditional effect of space, the emphasis on the fall of light and the reflections on the smooth, circular forms are inextricably bound up with Bernard's reversion to traditional styles and painting techniques around 1905, after his visit to Cézanne. He had called on the venerated master in Aix, and even copied one of his still lifes, but he then turned his back on Cézanne's modernism in favour of a more traditional manner that stressed light and space.


Literature Luthi 1982, no. 27; Acquisitions 1991, p. 66.

Portrait of Andries Bonger, his wife and Emile Bernard 1908
Oil on canvas, 101 × 101 cm
Signed, dated and dedicated at centre right: A mes excellents et bien surs amis Bonger de leur dévoué Emile Bernard 1908
S 366 V/1982

Bernard painted this triple portrait while on a visit to the Bongers in 1908 that proved to be his last. Each of the sitters is engaged in his or her favourite
artistic activity. Mrs Bonger-van der Linden is playing the piano, her husband is looking up from his book, and Bernard is standing before an unfinished painting. In the left background is part of the carved and painted frame of a mirror that Bonger had ordered from Bernard and which the artist had now brought with him from Paris. On the right is a fire-screen with tapestry decoration that Bonger had acquired from Bernard's mother in 1899. The passionate dedication, ‘A mes excellents et bien surs amis Bonger de leur dévoué Emile Bernard’, could not disguise the fact that relations between the painter and his patron were gradually cooling. It is clear from their correspondence that Bonger did not really care for Bernard's later, traditional style, while Bernard in turn accused the collector of stubbornly clinging to a passé modernism. After Bonger's death, his second wife, Mrs Van der Borch van Verwolde, found the painting rolled up in the attic, and returned it to Bernard. The Van Gogh Museum acquired it from one of the artist's daughters.

**Provenance** Mr and Mrs A. Bonger-van der Linden, Amsterdam, Mrs F.W.M. Bonger-van der Borch van Verwolde, Almen; Emile Bernard (1937-1941); Mr and Mrs Altarriba, Paris (1941-1973); purchased by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1973).


![Still life with teapot and shell c. 1910](image)

Still life with teapot and shell c. 1910
Oil on panel, 67 × 50 cm
Signed at lower left: *Emile Bernard*
S 399 M/1990

The date of circa 1893 in Luthi's oeuvre catalogue is almost certainly incorrect, given the type of subject and the traditional treatment. The painting should be grouped instead with a number of ‘sumptuous’ still lifes that Luthi dates around 1910, some of which feature one or more of these objects.

**Provenance** A. Mankowitz, Stockholm; R. Ludém, Enebyberg; Per Hamberg, Ekerö; donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs B. Ekström, Uppsala (1990).
Self-portrait 1918
Oil on paper, 67 × 52 cm
Signed, dated and annotated at centre left: *Emile Bernard 1918 anno suae*L.
S 402 M/1990

The painter is looking over his shoulder as if painting himself in the mirror; he is also working on an oval canvas. The right-handed artist, however, is not shown in reverse, so it has to be concluded that he painted himself while holding a second brush in his left hand.

The painting's style, with its subdued colours built up from a dark background, is based on the technique of Venetian Renaissance masters such as Titian and Tintoretto. Not only the form of the painting and its execution demonstrate an attachment to tradition, but also the way in which the painter presents himself with his smock elegantly draped around his shoulders. The inscription in Latin further indicates Bernard's desire to be seen within this lineage.


Oriental woman c. 1925
Oil on cardboard, 80 × 67 cm
Unsigned
S 403 M/1990
The natural pose, the attractive combination of blue and yellow and the free brushwork make this one of the best of Bernard's later works. The model is probably posing in clothing that Bernard brought back from Egypt.


Portrait of a woman in black c. 1925  
Oil on cardboard, $51 \times 60$ cm  
Signed with initials at upper right: E B; with the studio stamp at lower left; signed at lower right: *Emile Bernard.*  
S 404 M/1990

The painting is unfinished, giving it - despite the strict frontal pose - an informal character. The same sitter posed several times for the painter, indicating that this is less a formal portrait than a study. All attention is focused on the form and proportions of the face, and it is quite likely that Bernard sought to portray an ideal of feminine beauty rather than a specific person.

**Provenance** Donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs B. Ekström, Uppsala (1990).

**Literature** Luthi 1982, no. 1148; *Acquisitions* 1991, p. 66; Tokyo 1994, no. 27.
Bernard counted his monumental paintings of the 1920s as being among his finest achievements. He painted two series of colossal canvases in a Neo-Renaissance style. Both were called ‘Le cycle humain,’ and dealt with the history of mankind. In *The wise and foolish virgins* he not only tried to imitate the style of the late Michelangelo, but also simulated the effect of a fresco by adopting a thin, almost transparent manner in a limited range of colours. The hooded wise virgins, who have taken oil for their lamps in order to greet the bridegroom, are contrasted with the flighty wenches on the right, who, believing it unnecessary, left their oil at home. The message is that humankind should prepare for eternal life by taking precautions here on earth.

**Provenance** Donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs B. Ekström, Uppsala (1990).

**Literature** Luthi 1982, no. 1202; *Acquisitions* 1991, p. 67.

- Portrait of a woman reading 1931
  - Oil on canvas, 69 × 53 cm
  - Signed and dated at upper right: *Emile Bernard 1931 [?]*
  - S 409 M/1990

Bernard was much in demand as a painter of society portraits in the 1920s and 30s, and this is a good example of that kind of work. The woman is shown three-quarter length, sitting at a table. She holds a finger between the pages of a half-open book, as if interrupting her reading. Some parts, such as the hand grasping the necklace, are sketched roughly and have a heavy
It is thus much like a rudimentary form of the Synthetist painting style he had developed with Anquetin 50 years earlier.

**Provenance** Donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs B. Ekström, Uppsala (1990).

**Literature** *Acquisitions* 1991, p. 67; Tokyo 1994, no. 28.

[Portrait of Mme Duchateau 1932
Oil on cardboard, 80 × 60 cm
Signed at centre right: *Emile Bernard*
S 406 M/1990]

Luthi dates this portrait to 1932, a sound guess in view of the fluent academic style. The sitter is painted in profile, which shows her expressive face at its most advantageous. She is enveloped in a dark brown cloak and a shawl covers her head. The unconventional pose and attire suggest some connection to the art world and might provide a clue to her identity. There is a Duchateau family that produced many actors and actresses during the 19th century, and the sitter might be a descendant. She might also be identified with Marie Thérèse Duchateau (1870-1953), a portrait painter who lived in Tours.

**Provenance** Harriet and Sixten Karlin, Västra Frölunda; donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs B. Ekström, Uppsala (1990).

Portrait of Mme Sonya Lewitzka 1932
Oil on cardboard, 60 × 80 cm
Signed and dated at centre left: *Emile Bernard 32*
S 407 M/1990

Madame Lewitzka is shown *en face*, sitting on a chair with its back barely visible at the left. She
wears a coat over her dress and a hat, which suggests a certain informality, as if she has just dropped in for a minute or two. Her remarkably thin and expressive face, with large dark eyes, is half hidden under the shadow of her hat.

Sonya Lewitzka was a painter and graphic artist, born in Czestochowa, Poland in 1882. She was an artist of some renown who saw her work acquired by both the Musée du Luxembourg and the Albertina.

**Provenance** Harriet and Sixten Karlin, Västra, Frölunda; donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs B. Ekström, Uppsala (1990).

**Literature** Bénézit; Luthi 1982, no. 1365; *Acquisitions* 1991, p. 67.

![Seated nude c. 1930](image)

Seated nude c. 1930  
Oil on canvas, 128 × 90 cm  
Unsigned  
S 410 M/1990

Bernard painted many nude studies in the 1920s and 30s, both of individual models and of groups seen in idyllic surroundings. He also copied nudes by Titian and other artists, and developed a style based on Venetian art of the Renaissance. Bernard's interest in nudes portrayed in traditional poses was bound up with his desire to be a classical painter.

**Provenance** Donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs B. Ekström, Uppsala (1990).

**Literature** Luthi 1982, no. 1359; *Acquisitions* 1991, p. 67.

**Bock, Theophile de**  
**Dutch, 1851-1904**

River landscape 1895-1902  
Oil on canvas, 109.7 × 127.3 cm  
Signed at lower right: Th. de Bock
This broad river landscape was probably painted when De Bock was living in the village of Renkum, on the Rhine, to which he retreated in 1895 after a serious illness, forsaking the artistic life of The Hague.

During his Renkum period he wrote a book on Jacob Maris, who had died in 1899. The River landscape, with its towering clouds, harmonious composition and relatively calm brushwork, is a testimony to his veneration of Maris. The red, white and blue beacons on the dikes stand out against the sky as an emblem of the Netherlands. In the large-scale works from the closing years of his life, De Bock abandoned the rather facile sketchiness of his earlier compositions and adopted a more highly finished, serener manner.

In 1907, three years after the artist's death, this painting was included in a commercial exhibition at the C. Biesing gallery in The Hague, and was acquired not long afterwards by the father of H. Hulsinga, the donor.


Bonvin, François
French, 1817-1887

Still life with drawing implements and books 1879
Oil on zinc, 25 × 36.1 cm
Signed and dated upper right: F. Bonvin 1879
S 431 M/1992 (colour pl. p. 152)

Bonvin, like Antoine Vollon and Philippe Rousseau, was one of the masters of Realist still life who often looked to the 18th-century painter Jean-Siméon Chardin for their inspiration. Bonvin made several works depicting painting and drawing implements along the lines of Chardin's *The attributes of the painter* (Princeton University Art Museum). The painting in the Van Gogh Museum, which initially bore the title *La table d'atelier*, originally had a pendant with painting implements (Weisberg, no. 166). That work, also painted on zinc and dated 1879, was once in the collection of someone called Seure, but it is not known whether he also owned the painting now in the Van Gogh Museum.


Boughton, George Henry
English, 1834-1905

God speed! Pilgrims setting out for Canterbury. Time of Chaucer 1874

*Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995*
Oil on canvas, 122 × 184 cm  
Signed and dated at lower right: GH Boughton 74  
S 380 M/1986

The canvas is a free interpretation of an episode from Chaucer's *Canterbury tales*. It made a great impression at the annual exhibition of London's Royal Academy in 1874 and at the World Fair in Philadelphia in 1876. Van Gogh must have seen Boughton's *God speed!* at the Royal Academy in 1874. He became so enamoured of the work that in 1876, as a lay preacher at the Methodist church in Richmond, he took Boughton's picture, as well as John Bunyan's popular book *Pilgrim's progress*, as the point of departure for a sermon in which he likened life to a pilgrimage towards God. A smaller variant of the composition was auctioned at Sotheby's in New York on 16 February 1994, lot 19.

**Provenance** Duke of Buckingham; London (Christie's), 1889; Angus Smith; Layton Collection, Milwaukee Art Center; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum at the Fine Art Society, London (1986).


**Bremmer, Hendrikus Petrus**  
**Dutch, 1871-1956**

Still life with book and ginger pot 1894  
Oil on canvas, 55 × 65.6 cm  
Signed and dated at lower right: HPB JUNI 1894  
S 418 M/1990

Bremmer was among the first painters in the Netherlands to espouse Seurat's Neo-Impressionism; he was preceded only by Jan Toorop who, through his contacts with the Belgian circle of artists known as Les XX, had been introduced to the principles of Pointillism at an early stage in his career. Bremmer also painted landscapes, but concentrated above all on still lifes, in which he employed a highly refined stipple technique to achieve subtle gradations of colour. The clear pattern of the composition gives each of the objects - several bulky tomes, a ginger pot, and an oil lamp - an orderly, calm and matter-of-fact
presence. Some of the same objects are found in Bremmer's other still lifes of this period. The canvas is still in its original white frame.


Breton, Jules
French, 1827-1905

Young peasant girl with a hoe  1882
Oil on canvas, 51.5 × 46 cm
Signed and dated at lower right: Jules Breton 1882
S 386 M/1988

Along with Jean-François Millet, Jules Breton was the major painter of elevated peasant genre scenes. Peasant girl with a hoe demonstrates how Breton imbued his studies of peasant girls with traditional academic values. The young woman is seated in a landscape at dusk, the artist's favoured time of day. The location is recognisable, the church tower in the vicinity of Breton's home, Courrières. The girl's pose makes her seem monumental and she has a pensive expression. She thus transcends everyday farm life and joins the ranks of Michelangelo's sibyls and Dürer's Melancholia.

According to his wife Elodie, Breton stuck to traditional methods for his large-scale paintings of rural life: first drawing separate studies from life, then making oil studies of each figure, and finally painting a compositional sketch in which the different
scenes were brought together. This picture is a study in colour after nature, but one
that has the polish of a consummate work of art. Breton also signed and dated it,
thereby transforming the relatively small painting into a finished work. There is no
larger composition to which this study can be linked; there are, however, many
variations on the motif.

**Provenance** Bernheim Jeune fils, Paris (until 1907); London (Sotheby's), 23

*Acquisitions* 1991, pp. 24-25, 68; Tokyo 1993, pp. 59-61, 97-98, no. 16; De Leeuw
1994, p. 22.

**Buning, Johannes Norbertus**
Dutch, 1893-1963

![Portrait of Mrs Thomas](image)

- Oil on canvas, 50.2 × 40.5 cm
- Signed at upper right: *Johan Buning*
- S344 V/1966

The self-taught Johan Buning of Amsterdam adopted an Impressionist palette. He
specialised in still lifes and romantic views of old gardens and country houses. It is
not known when he painted this *Portrait of Mrs Thomas*, which was part of the
Thomas Bequest.

**Provenance** Mr H.A.D. Thomas, Amsterdam; bequeathed to the Vincent van Gogh
Foundation (1966).
Cabanel, Alexandre
French, 1824-1889

The expulsion from Paradise c. 1867
Oil on canvas, 60.3 × 45.1 cm
Signed at lower right: Alex. Cabanel
S 443 M/1994

This sketch of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise is a preliminary study for the large 1867 version of the same subject, which was sold at Sotheby's (New York) in 1994. The bigger painting, which was originally titled Paradis perdu, caused a sensation at the 1867 World Exhibition in Paris. King Ludwig II of Bavaria was so impressed by it that he commissioned Cabanel to decorate the Maximilianeum in Munich with the same subject. This preliminary study gives a good insight into the working method followed by Cabanel, who was a successful academic painter. Although the poses differ slightly from those in the final version, and despite the lack of finesse and the overly precise
modelling that were so highly praised at the time, the study, too, is dominated by flowing movements, especially in the group of angels around God the Father, and by the bright, diagonal fall of light. This sketch was still in Cabanel's studio in 1883: for in that year the Austrian artist Felician von Myrbach made a pen drawing of the studio that shows the study hung midway up the wall in the right-hand corner (Vienna, Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien).


Carrière, Eugène
French, 1849-1906

Portrait of Arthur Fontaine and his daughter c. 1903.
Oil on canvas, 128 × 96.5 cm
Unsigned
S 440 V/1993

Arthur Fontaine (1860-1931) trained as an engineer at the famous École Polytechnique in Paris and later rose to become director of the International Labour Organisation in Geneva. He was married to the singer Marie Escudier, whose sisters were the wives of the composer Ernest Chausson and the painter Henri Lerolle. Fontaine was a familiar figure in the artistic world of his day, and was a friend of Debussy and of the writers Claudel and Gide. Artists like Renoir, Degas, Besnard, Denis and Redon frequented his salon on the Avenue de Villars. Redon drew his portrait in red chalk (formerly Woodner Family Collection). Carrière was a close friend of Fontaine and his wife. This double portrait was painted in 1904 and exhibited that year at the Salon d'Automne, of which Carrière was both co-founder and honorary president. His biographer, J.-L. Dubray, described this painting in 1931 as the supreme masterpiece among Carrière's double portraits: ‘We are given a sense of absolute beauty achieved by the simplest means in the magnificent and celebrated portrait of Arthur Fontaine and his daughter (1904) which, with that of the sculptor Devillez and his mother, will remain the most complete and admirable type of such “double portraits”. Painted during respites in his struggle with illness, they are among
Carrière's most glorious creations.’ The painting highlights Fontaine's paternity, contrasting the father's introverted expression with the more outgoing nature of the daughter, of whom Carrière also made a preliminary study (London, Sotheby's, 5 December 1973, lot 14a).

**Provenance** Arthur Fontaine; Paris (Hôtel Drouôt), 13 April 1932, lot 31; private collection, Paris; purchased by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation at Galerie Hopkins-Thomas, Paris (1993).

Corcos, Vittorio Matteo
Italian, 1859-1933

Contemplation (‘En prière’) c. 1889
Oil on canvas, 85.8 × 79 cm
Signed at lower left: V. Corcos
S 294 M/1974

Corcos worked in Paris from 1880 to 1886, supplying work for Goupil & Cie. This brought him into contact with Theo van Gogh, to whom he dedicated a Portrait study of a young woman: ‘A M.Th. v. Gogh souvenir de Corcos Paris 84’, which is now also in the Van Gogh Museum. Contemplation was probably painted a little later. It was reproduced in L'Illustration of 1889, so it can tentatively be assumed that it was executed around then. Corcos, who had made his name as a painter of beautiful young women, came up with a highly original composition for this picture. The extreme close-up effect, however, has been exaggerated by a later modification. Originally the canvas must have been larger, for the strips wrapped around the stretcher are also painted. It is not known whether the picture was reduced in size by the artist or by someone else. The young woman, possibly a widow, is dressed in black and is kneeling with a prayer-book in her hand. An older woman is seated behind her, and at the back of the church there is the gleaming gold of an altar.

The motif of a beautiful young widow in prayer was a favourite of fashionable painters in the last quarter of the 19th century. Corcos’s compatriot Mosé Bianchi had it in his repertoire for 20 years, and Jean Béraud also painted it on several occasions.


Couture, Thomas
French, 1815-1879

A realist 1865
Oil on canvas, 46 × 38.1 cm
Signed at lower right: T.C.
S 387 M/1987 (colour pl. p. 150)

Thomas Couture provided a detailed description of his Réaliste in the Méthode et entretiens d'atelier of 1867: ‘I am depicting the interior of a studio of our time; it has nothing in common with the studios of earlier periods in which you could see the fragments of the finest antiquities. [...] But thanks to modern progress in matters of art, I have little to depict because we have the most simple accoutrements and besides, the gods have changed.

Laocoon has been replaced by a cabbage, the feet of the Gladiator by a candlestick covered with tallow or by a shoe.’ Rebelling against the spirit of his time, Couture tried to demonstrate that the gratuitous imitation of nature by the Realists lacked everything which made art Art: refinement in representation, exalted subjects, and imagination. This version, formerly in the collection of William H. Vanderbilt, is a study for a finished but considerably less spontaneous work in the National Gallery in Dublin, on which the painter inscribed the title ‘Un réaliste.’ A drawing for the whole composition and several other drawings of details exist in a private collection in Boston.

Provenance William H. Vanderbilt; Cornelius II Vanderbilt; on loan to The Metropolitan Museum, New York (1886-1903); New York (Parke-Bernet), 18 April 1945, lot 15; G. MacCullough Miller; Flora Whitney Miller; New York (Sotheby’s), 5 May 1987, lot 34; pur-


**Delporte, Charles**

Belgian, b. 1928

![Delporte](Image)

Portrait of Vincent van Gogh 1972
Oil on structured linoleum on chipboard, Ø 60 cm
Signed at lower centre: *Delporte*
S 358 M/1972

Charles Delporte, who wavers between Surrealism and Magic Realism, has displayed his admiration for Vincent van Gogh in many works. This one, which is painted on a small table-leaf, entered the museum's collection thanks to Mark Edo Tralbaut, the Belgian Van Gogh specialist.

**Provenance** Donated to the Van Gogh Museum by the artist (1972).


**Denis, Maurice**

French, 1870-1943
This painting was originally part of a larger work that was based on *L'intruse*, a play by Maurice Maeterlinck. The artist eventually cut it up into a number of smaller pieces, probably because it had proved unsalable. Denis evidently considered this fragment to be the most successful, and he made a special frame for it that repeats the decorative floral motif of the background. The backs of the other pieces of canvas were used for new paintings. The complete work is reproduced in the lithograph that Denis made for the programme accompanying the performance of the play at Paul Fort's Théâtre d'Art. In it Denis shows ‘three daughters, their father and uncle [meeting] at the blind grandfather's. Each senses the threatening danger that the old man recognises: the frightening approach of death, the intruder who has just taken the woman in labour and her child.’

It has been assumed that the work is a portrait of Marthe Meurier, Denis's fiancée whom he was to marry in 1893, and her sister Eva. The idealisation of the faces makes such an identification impossible, but the great resemblance between the two women makes the title *The two sisters* acceptable.

**Provenance** Iseult Alban d'Andogué de Ferrière; Baronness de Montesquiou; private collection, Paris; purchased by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation at Galerie Hopkins-Thomas, Paris (1991).

On the old road at Auvers-sur-Oise 1873
Oil on canvas, 40.5 × 54 cm
Unsigned
S 336 V/1966

Dr Paul Ferdinand Gachet of Auvers-sur-Oise, who became a friend of Van Gogh, was himself quite a talented amateur painter and etcher. He worked under the pseudonym Paul van Rijssel, which is a reference to his birthplace, Lille (called Rijssel in Dutch and Flemish). This view of an old unpaved street in Auvers-sur-Oise, a subject that the artist
depicted several times, is inscribed ‘Avril 1873’ on the back, probably in Gachet's own hand, together with the interlaced monogram ‘PVR’. Gachet was a leading collector of the Impressionists and, as this picture shows, he also painted in their style.

**Provenance** Paul Ferdinand Gachet, Auvers-sur-Oise; Paul Gachet Jr, Auvers-sur-Oise; Galerie Valentien, Stuttgart; purchased by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).

**Literature** Van Uitert 1987, p. 361.

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**Gogh, Vincent van**  
Dutch, 1853-1890

Beach at Scheveningen 1882  
Oil on canvas, 34.5 × 51 cm  
 Unsigned  
S 416 M/1990

This Scheveningen seascape with its ‘thick, clumsy execution,’ as the German critic Meier-Graef wrote in 1906, was one of Vincent van Gogh's first exercises in painting. The canvas, which was painted during a week of bad weather in August 1882, shows a moment just before a storm, when the sea was ‘almost more imposing than it was during the storm itself,’ as Van Gogh wrote in a letter of around 19 August [259/226]. The fishing boat seems to lie dangerously deep in the choppy water, and the well-observed, turbulent waves and the scudding clouds do indeed suggest a gathering storm. This work was originally painted on cardboard or paper, but was then strengthened by putting it onto a panel. The panel was later removed, damaging the cardboard, which was then transferred to canvas. The painting suffered badly from this rough treatment, but regained its original charm when it was restored in 1992.

**Provenance** Theo van Gogh; Johanna van Gogh-Bonger, Oldenzeel gallery, Rotterdam; Mr G. Ribbius Peletier, Utrecht; on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995


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Avenue with poplars in autumn 1884  
Oil on canvas on panel, 98.5 × 66 cm  
Unsigned  
S 141 M/1977 (colour pl. p. 158)

Autumn was Van Gogh's favourite season, and in Nuenen he made countless attempts at capturing the essence of the autumn landscape. He wanted to earn plaudits for his rendering of the special light of autumn and the glowing colours of the foliage, in which he demonstrated his recent mastery of the laws of colour.

This avenue of poplars is a fine example of his efforts at that time. His touch is not very refined, but the colours are superb. The empty foreground is a typical Van Gogh motif, and the arresting black figure was also a standard element in his repertoire. This work is almost certainly the one that Van Gogh described in a letter written at the end of October 1884: ‘a rather large study of an avenue of poplars, with yellow autumn leaves, the sun casting sparkling spots here and there on the leaves that have fallen to the ground, alternating with the long shadows of the tree-trunks. At the end of the road is a small cottage, and over it all the blue sky through the autumn leaves’ [469/383].

**Provenance** Oldenzeel gallery, Rotterdam; J.G.L. Nolst Trénité, Rotterdam (1904); W. Nolst Trénité, Rotterdam;
heirs of W. Nolst Trénité, Rotterdam; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum with support from the Vereniging Rembrandt (1977).


Stuffed kalong 1886
Oil on canvas, 41 × 79 cm
Unsigned
S 136 V/1973

This stuffed kalong (flying-fox or fox-bat) is an odd subject to find in Van Gogh oeuvre. It is generally dated to late 1886, in the artist's Paris period, and was described by one enthusiastic critic in 1904 as a ‘vampire’ and praised for its ‘hellish beauty.’ The museum acquired it from the Philips Collection in 1973.

Van Gogh made a few other studies of mounted animals in Paris: a small painting of a kingfisher and two drawings of an owl. Several sketches of swallows may also have been drawn from dead models.


Factories seen from a hillside c. 1886-87
Oil on canvas, 21 × 46.5 cm
Unsigned
This intimate vista of an industrial part of Paris was Van Gogh's second nocturne. It was originally owned by Andries Bonger, Theo's brother-in-law. It is difficult to give it a precise date, but the bare trees suggest that it was painted in the autumn or winter of 1886.

The canvas was acquired in 1970 from Mrs F.W.M. Bonger-van der Borch van Verwolde, Bonger's second wife, who felt that it belonged in the planned Van Gogh Museum, which opened in 1973. ‘I know plenty of Americans who would like to have it,’ she wrote, ‘but it would be a nice idea if it were to hang in the Amsterdam museum as a sample of the Paris period.’ She also gave the museum the correspondence between Père Tanguy and her husband, as well as Bonger's letters to his parents.

Provenance Andries Bonger; Mrs F. Bonger-van der Borch van Verwolde, Almen; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum (1970).

Enclosed field with the Alpilles in the background 1890
Oil on canvas, 37.5 × 30.5 cm
Unsigned
S 417 M/1990 (colour pl. p. 159)

This appealing landscape shows the view that Van Gogh enjoyed from his room in the Saint-Paul-de-Mausole asylum in Saint Rémy. We see an enclosed wheatfield with the Alpilles in the background, trees in blossom at their foot. The Van Gogh Museum also has a drawing of exactly the same scene - a detailed sketch with colour annotations.
The sheet is not a preliminary study for the canvas; both painting and drawing are undoubtedly studies for a more ambitious work. The painting served as a colour study, the drawing as a compositional sketch, on which the future colour scheme was indicated in even finer detail.

The painting is dated to June 1889 in the oeuvre catalogues of De la Faille and Hulsker, and to September of that year in the exhibition catalogue *Van Gogh und die Moderne*. However, since the trees are in full blossom it seems more likely that it was painted in the spring. This points to February 1890, which is when the first trees burst into blossom in Provence. Van Gogh was indeed preoccupied with that subject just before he suffered a fresh attack of his illness.

**Provenance** Theo van Gogh; Johanna van Gogh-Bonger; Oldenzeel gallery, Rotterdam; Mr G. Ribbius Peletier, Utrecht; bequeathed to the Van Gogh Museum by Miss A.E. Ribbius Peletier, Scheveningen (1990).


**Guigou, Paul**

**French, 1834-1871**

Landscape at Saint-Paul-la-Durance 1869
Oil on panel, 22 × 46.1 cm
Signed and dated at lower right: *Paul Guigou 69*
S 422 M/1991

Around 1850, artists from Provence became increasingly conscious of the natural and cultural beauty of their region. Painters like Monticelli, Loubon and his pupil Guigou recorded the robust charm of the landscape in their work. Among these - at least in the eyes of the Provençal poet Frédéric Mistral - Guigou was the best at ‘painting the clarity of our beautiful land, its rugged poetry and granular soil. With great sincerity of vision, he has made a true and faithful portrait of his small nation.’

Throughout his brief career, Guigou found his subjects by the banks of the river Durance, especially around the village Saint-Paul-la-Durance, located in eastern Provence near the Alps.
Haverman, Hendrik Johannes
Dutch, 1857-1928

Portrait of Maria Louisa Birnie 1893
Oil on canvas, 180.4 × 86.9 cm
Signed at lower left: Haverman 1893
S 445 M/1994

Haverman, an Amsterdam painter who studied under Allebé at the National Academy of Art, was one of the most successful portraitists of his day. Faithful to the academy's traditional teaching, he had a delicate, precise manner. This is immediately apparent in this portrait, and when it was exhibited at the Pulchri Studio society in The Hague in 1895 it was the precision that struck one critic: ‘Not once do we see a brushstroke that hints that a tremor of feeling moved the hand, not one sign of nervousness, of dash, nowhere a personal note.’ Many people regarded this as the best portrait Haverman had done up until that time. He himself was convinced that he had produced a brilliant piece of work, for in 1913 he submitted it to the 11th Internationale Kunstaustellung in the Glaspalast in Munich. A label on the back shows that it then still belonged to Haverman.

The sitter is the artist's sister-in-law. Haverman was married to Carolina Birnie (1864-1933), who was also a painter. Maria Louisa, Carolina's younger sister, was born in 1866, so she was 27 years old when this portrait was painted.

Provenance Private collection (1913); Amsterdam (Sotheby's), 20 April 1993, lot 577; Richard Bionda, Purmerend; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum (1994).

Literature G., ‘Pulchri Studio,’ De Nederlandsche Spectator, 23 March 1895; ‘Tentoonstelling van werken van H.J. Haverman,’ Dagblad van Zuid-Holland en 't Hage, 8 November 1903.
Louis Welden Hawkins made his debut in Paris in 1881 with a conventional, realistic work called *The orphans*. He later charted a more Symbolist course, and from 1892 even exhibited regularly at the Salons of the Rose+Croix. *Innocence* typifies the subject-matter that interested him at the time. The central figure in this allegory, which is related in style to the Pre-Raphaelite Rossetti, is Innocence, personified by the woman with the olive branches in the foreground. This *femme fragile* is confronted by Temptation, the *femme fatale* behind her, who is identified as such by her coiling, Medusan hair. She is offering her innocent counterpart an apple, which is the symbol of both the fall of man and worldly power. The contrast between innocence and sin is also reflected in the juxtaposition of lilies...
in the foreground, the traditional symbol of purity, and the Whore of Babylon riding the seven-headed dragon in the background, which stands for the seven cardinal sins (Revelation 17:3-4).

**Provenance** Captain Coventry; London (Christie's), 3 February 1902, lot 81 (unsold); London (Christie's), 2 June 1990, lot 65; London (Christie's), 25 October 1991, lot 67; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum (1991).


Self-portrait 1906
Oil on canvas, 78 × 71.5 cm
Signed and dated at upper centre:  
*LOUIS. WELDEN. HAWKINS. 06 PARIS*
S 435 M/1993

Hawkins was 57 and in the twilight of his career when he painted this self-portrait. He was not unfamiliar with the genre, for in 1897 he had exhibited another self-portrait at the Salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts. Here he is seen at work, his brush at the ready. He is dressed not in everyday clothes but as a man of the world. The portrait is painted with a free, impressionistic touch, but the markedly anatomical detailing of the hand betrays Hawkins's academic training. Several of his landscapes can be seen in the background, together with the frame of one of his ‘portrait masks,’ which had brought him some fame. He was evidently rather fond of this self-portrait, for
in 1907 he submitted it to the Salon of the Société Nationale in Paris (no. 15).


Isaäcson, Jozef J. Dutch, 1859-1942

Boaz and the kinsman
Oil on canvas, 112.5 × 112.5 cm
Unsigned, inscription (in Hebrew, but translated here) at upper right:
Therefore the kinsman said unto Boaz, Buy it for thee.
S 361 M/1972

The Amsterdam artist Jozef Isaäcson, a pupil and friend of Meyer de Haan, lived in Paris from 1888 to 1890, where he studied the work of the avantgarde and became friendly with Theo van Gogh. In 1890 he wrote the first critique of Vincent’s work, published in the Dutch periodical De Portefeuille. As an artist he specialised in oriental subjects, drawing his inspiration from trips he made to Egypt in 1896 and 1905.

The subject of this painting, the frame of which was probably designed by the artist as well, can be unravelled from the Hebrew inscription on the wall at upper right, which is from Ruth 4:8. Isaäcson has depicted the moment when the marriage between Boaz and Ruth was confirmed. The man on the right had a claim to her but declared that he did not wish to exercise it. He sealed the transaction by taking off his shoe and giving it to Boaz, according to custom: ‘Therefore the kinsman said unto Boaz, Buy it for thee.’ It is difficult to give a precise date for the painting, but it was probably executed after 1905.

Provenance Bought by the Van Gogh Museum at an unknown auction (1972).
Israëls, Isaac Lazarus
Dutch, 1865-1934

Woman standing in front of Van Gogh's ‘Sunflowers’: homage to Van Gogh c. 1920 Oil on canvas, 70.5 × 50.5 cm Signed at lower left: Isaac Israëls
S 233 V/1971

Jo van Gogh-Bonger lent Van Gogh's *Yellow house* and *Still life with sunflowers* to Isaac Israëls for a while in 1919. Both works feature in paintings by Israëls, especially the flower still life. Jo van Gogh owned several versions of the *Sunflowers* at the time, and this must be the one that now hangs in the National Gallery in London. There the horizontal line dividing the two parts of the composition is blue, as it is in Israëls's picture, whereas the variant in the Van Gogh Museum has a brown line.

One strange feature of this painting is that the still life has been reversed. In all the other works by Israëls in which Van Gogh's canvas appears, such as the painting at Heino (Hannema-De Stuers Fundatie), it is depicted the right way round. A possible explanation is provided by the traditional practice painters used to assess the composition of a painting: it was successful if it was still in balance when reversed. By painting Van Gogh's *Sunflowers* in this way Israëls was demonstrating how balanced a canvas it is, and it is perhaps this that is his ‘homage to Van Gogh.’

Provenance Amsterdam (Frederik Muller), 20 November 1923, lot 135; Mrs L.A. Nypels, Warmond; Tjerk Wiegersma, Deurne; purchased by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1971).

Jozef Israëls made numerous paintings of peasant families eating. Van Gogh saw one such *Peasant family at table*, as recorded in a letter he wrote to Theo on 11 March 1882. In it he gave his impressions of the paintings that hung at the Hague branch of Goupil's art gallery and were intended for the Paris Salon, mentioning Israëls's painting *en passant*: ‘And yet, there was another Israëls, a small one with, I think, five or six figures, a worker's family sitting at a table’ [210/181]. The grouping of the figures around the table does display some similarity with *The potato eaters*, and may have contributed to its conception.

The large 1876 Glasgow version of this subject, called *The frugal meal*, has often been regarded as the one that Van Gogh saw. In 1882, however, that painting was already in a Scottish collection. It has been supposed that the present painting is too large to be identified with the one Van Gogh encountered in The Hague. It should be noted that the other picture by Israëls on view at Goupil's, also described by Van Gogh in glowing terms, was *Dialogue silencieux* (Philadelphia Museum of Art), a work which measures 152 × 175 cm, so even a painting the size of the one in the Van Gogh Museum must have seemed small by comparison. A sketch, probably made after the painting by Israëls himself for the purpose of reproduction, appeared in *Grands peintres français*, published by Goupil in 1884. Since it can be assumed that the painting illustrated had been with the firm, it is very likely that this picture was one of the meal scenes that were there before 1884.
Unloading barges 1902
Oil on canvas, 108.9 × 151.5 cm
Unsigned
S 419 V/1991

A photograph of the 78-year-old Israëls in his studio published in the Wereldkroniek on 8 February 1902 shows this painting, still unfinished, on the artist's easel. On 12 November of that year Israëls wrote to the art dealer J. Slagmulder that he was so pleased with the canvas that he wanted to have it reproduced. Although the painting comes from Israëls's late period, it is based on sketches that he seems to have made in Voorburg some years earlier (Groningen, Groninger Museum). The subject also inspired two watercolours. One was bought by the painter H.W. Mesdag at an exhibition of the Dutch Drawing Society in 1902 and is now in the collection of the Mesdag Museum; the other is known from a reproduction in Max Eisler's monograph on Israëls. The painting acquired by the Van Gogh Museum was one of Israëls's most famous canvases, and at one time belonged to William Randolph Hearst, the American newspaper tycoon.


Jongkind, Johan Barthold
Dutch, 1819-1891

View at Grenoble 1885
Oil on canvas, 33.2 × 56.3 cm
Signed and dated at lower right: Jongkind 1885; inscribed and dated at lower left: Grenoble
2 Juin 1885
S 411 M/1990

Jongkind's View at Grenoble shows a bend in the river Isère. On the right are wooden floats moored in the Port de France, on the left rises Fort Rabot, and in the distance the snow-capped Alps shine above the mist. The mother-of-pearl sky is reflected in the river. The inscription at lower left appears to confirm that the painting depicts a specific time and place: ‘Grenoble 2 Juin 1885’. Jongkind often worked from watercolours he had made on the spot in his sketchbook. In this painting he combined details from two such sketches, dated 1 and 2 June 1885, composing the final picture in the studio.

Provenance Paris (Galerie Georges Petit), 3-4 December 1906, lot 55; private collection; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum with support from the Vincent van Gogh Foundation at Galerie Van Voorst van Beest, The Hague (1990).


Kerssemakers, Anton
Dutch, 1846-1926
The bird-catcher 1885  
Oil on canvas, 54 × 64 cm  
Unsigned  
S 363 M/1981

Although it no longer has a signature, an oral tradition has it that this painting used to bear the initials ‘A.K.’. This, together with the provenance (which is itself not entirely clear) led to its attribution to Anton Kerssemakers, an amateur artist who took lessons from Van Gogh in 1884-85. In 1955, Tralbaut even asserted that Van Gogh had retouched his ‘pupil’s’ work in two places, but the picture itself provides no convincing evidence of this. Kerssemakers's initials have now vanished, and only worn areas remain at bottom right. Kerssemakers had a slightly variable, rather roving style, and it is not clear whether he really did paint this canvas.


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**Laval, Charles**  
French, 1862-1894

Landscape on Martinique c. 1887  
Oil on canvas, 59.7 × 73.1 cm  
Unsigned  
S 378 V/1982 (colour pl. p. 162)

This unsigned landscape was painted when Gauguin and Laval were staying on Martinique in 1887 after the failure of their Panama adventure. For a long time it was attributed to Gauguin, but in 1981 Bogomila Welsh convincingly assigned it to Laval on stylistic grounds. Laval's Martinique landscapes are far flatter and more decorative than Gauguin's. The flowing lines enclosing the different sections fit into each other like pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, while Gauguin at this time was painting

*Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995*
rounded figures and objects in three-dimensional settings. The painting used to belong to the heirs of Andries
Bonger, and during the Second World War it was stored in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam. After the war it was mistakenly believed to be part of V.W. van Gogh's collection, which was on loan to the museum. In 1973, when the Van Gogh Museum opened, the Vincent van Gogh Foundation bought the painting from its rightful owners.

**Provenance** Andries Bonger; Mrs F.W.M. Bonger-van der Borch van Verwolde; from 1940 to 1973 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; purchased by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1973).


**Lhermitte, Léon Augustin**

French, 1844-1925

Haymaking 1887
Oil on canvas, 215.9 × 264.2 cm
Signed and dated at lower right: L. Lhermitte 1887
S 424M/1991 (colour pl. p. 155)

Lhermitte called his painting *La fenaison* (‘haymaking’), thereby giving it a slightly programmatic dimension. The figures, who are not shown working but resting, are carefully positioned to form a curve leading into depth. The classical nature of the composition is particularly evident in the pose of the woman. She is seen from the back and appears to have been inspired by a similar figure by Raphael. However, the classical element goes still further. *Haymaking* depicts the three ages of man, each engaged in different activities and representing the cyclical continuity of work on the land. The old man holding a scythe confirms this reading of the picture. The
The painting was shown at the Salon of 1887 and at the Exposition Universelle two years later.

Lhermitte prepared this picture in the traditional way, composing it from studies done from life. There are also numerous variations that were made from one or more of those preliminary studies. Elements of the picture can be found in paintings (such as La fenaison, St Louis, Washington University Gallery of Art) and in pastels (such as Le repos, City of Perth Art Gallery).

The transparent painting technique also links this huge composition to Jules Bastien-Lepage, who died in his mid-thirties in 1884. He was widely regarded as Millet's successor as the chronicler of peasant life. With Haymaking Lhermitte made a powerful bid to be considered his heir.

Provenance Boussod, Valadon & Cie., Paris; Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Buffalo, New York (1892-1943); New York (Parke-Bernet), 14 October 1943, lot 64; private American club; New York (Sotheby's), 17 October 1990, lot 17; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum with support from the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1991).


**Luce, Maximilien**

**French, 1858-1941**

![Landscape at Saint-Tropez 1893](image)

According to the authors of the catalogue raisonné of Maximilien Luce's work, this small study dates from the artist's first visit to Saint-Tropez with Signac in 1893. The sketch, which was probably done from life, formed the basis for a more detailed Divisionist landscape, Saint-Tropez, Les Canoubiers, datable to 1895-97, and for some more ambitious compositions with bathers (Bouin-Luce and Bazetoux 1986, nos. 960, 961, 979).

Provenance H.A.D. Thomas, Amsterdam; bequeathed to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).
Luce, Maximilien
(continued)

View of Le Mée c. 1896
Oil on pasteboard, 28 × 36.5 cm
Signed and dedicated at lower right: Luce A Me Pellet
S 375 V/1982

Le Mée is a small village in the Eure-et-Loire department. The painting is dedicated to the wife of Gustave Pellet, the main publisher of Toulouse-Lautrec's prints. In 1897, Pellet issued a colour lithograph after it in an edition of 60, so it can be assumed that the painting was made shortly before then. When the Vincent van Gogh Foundation bought the painting in 1977 the museum had an added stroke of luck when it was able to acquire an impression of the print.


Maris, Jacob
Dutch, 1837-1899

View of Montigny-sur-Loing 1869
Oil on canvas, 21.9 × 35.1 cm
Signed and dated at lower left. J. Maris 69 [?]
S 389 M/1989

Jacob Maris painted several landscapes while living in France from 1865 to 1871. This beautifully executed,
tranquil work shows the village of Montigny-sur-Loing, 15 kilometres from Marlotte, near the forest of Fontainebleau. Although the last digit of the date is barely legible, it is logical to read it as a ‘9’. In 1870, Maris used this study as the basis for a large view of Montigny which is now in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam. As the critic Jan Veth noted, ‘the foreground alone is a little different in the definitive painting, and the scene as a whole is more evenly spread out.’ The canvas was exhibited at the Voor de Kunst society in Utrecht in 1907 by the Amsterdam art dealer C.M. van Gogh, an uncle of Vincent's. In addition to an affinity with Corot it has associations with landscapes by Charles Daubigny, who painted the same village (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland).

Provenance Goupil, Paris; C.M. van Gogh, Amsterdam (1897); London (Sotheby's), 7 June 1989, lot 36; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum (1989).


Maris, Matthijs
Dutch, 1839-1917

*Girl with goats* 1875
Oil on canvas, 65.1 × 101.4 cm
Signed and dated at lower right: MM 75
S 412 M/1990 (colour pl. p. 154)

*Girl with goats* was painted in 1875 in Paris, where Maris had been living since May 1869. It forms the climax to a whole series of fairy-tale scenes in
which dreamy, Mélisande-like princesses with flowing tresses tarry in magical forests with only lambs or goats for company. The canvas was soon hailed as a masterpiece. In 1919 the critic P. Haverkorn van Rijswijk praised its ‘perfect compositional balance and superb distribution of light and shade,’ and quoted The Burlington Magazine, which had called the work ‘an idyll inadequately described by its prosy title.’

There are two pages of preliminary studies for the figures and composition of the Girl with goats in a sketchbook from Maris's Paris period that once belonged to Ernest Fridlander, an English painter and later biographer of Maris. That sketchbook has been in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam since 1980.

Provenance Robert Ramsey, Glasgow; Sir John Reid, Glasgow (until 1933); Mrs E.M. Salversen-Reid; London (Christie's), 30 March 1990, lot 479; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum (1990).


Mesker, Theo
Dutch, 1853-1894

The lithographer 1872
Oil on canvas, 45 × 34.5 cm
Signed and dated at lower left: T. Mesker 1872
S 2 MM/1992
Mesker, a minor artist who lived in The Hague, offered this work for 175 guilders at the 1872 Exhibition of Living Masters (no. 220). The lithographer is patiently working on the stone, which is propped up against what appears to be a copy of the Dutch ‘States’ bible. He is copying a painting which is on the easel in front of him. Hanging on the wall is a copy of Rembrandt's *Portrait of an officer* (The Art Institute of Chicago).

This is a genre painting, but the figure of the lithographer is undoubtedly based on Johannes Jacobus Mesker, the artist's brother, who was a celebrated lithographer and contributed many reproductions to the magazine *Kunstkronijk*. He made several lithographs after Theo Mesker's paintings, and as the *Kunstkronijk* put it, the latter thus ‘never [needed] fear for the lithographic interpretation of his paintings.’

This painting originally belonged to the Hague collector E.J. Jacobson. It was auctioned in Paris after his death in 1876, and was bought for 120 francs by H.G. Tersteeg, a celebrated partner in the Goupil art gallery. It fetched only ten guilders more when Tersteeg's estate was sold in 1914.

**Provenance** E.J. Jacobson; Paris (Hôtel Drouot), 1876, lot 58; H.G. Tersteeg; The Hague (Boussod, Valadon & Cie), 1914, lot 48; Amsterdam (Christie's), 28 October 1992, lot 19; purchased and donated to the museum by the Friends of the Van Gogh Museum (1992).

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**Monet, Claude**

see Anonymous
Monticelli, Adolphe Joseph Thomas
French, 1824-1886

Festival in Venice
Oil on canvas, 50.3 × 100 cm
Signed at lower left: Monticelli
S 341 V/1966

After 1870, Monticelli painted dozens of imaginary scenes of festive groups like this one. They are often situated in a more distant past or contain allusions to stage plays. The amount of detail and the relatively delicate brushwork allow this picture to be dated to the early 1870s.

**Provenance** Coll. Dotel, Paris; Knoedler, New York (1959); E.J. van Wisselingh & Co., Amsterdam (1959); H.A.D. Thomas, Amsterdam (since 1959); bequeathed to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).


‘Fête champêtre’
Oil on panel, 37 × 24 cm Signed at lower right: A. Monticelli
S 337 V/1966

Monticelli was caught up in the Rococo revival in the latter half of the 1850s. Many painters of the day drew their inspiration from the elegant paintings produced before the French Revolution, and especially from *fêtes galantes* by Watteau, Boucher and their followers. Monticelli occasionally made a literal copy of an 18th-century model. In this particular case it was an as yet unidentified painting by Watteau or Lancret.
Provenance E.J. van Wisselingh & Co., (Amsterdam (1959); H.A.D. Thomas, Amsterdam (since 1959); bequeathed to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).


Garden with woman and dogs c. 1880
Oil on panel, 55.5 × 34.5 cm
Signed at lower right: Monticelli
S 338 V/1966

Elegant women out strolling with parasols and accompanied by graceful greyhounds are found in many different combinations in Monticelli's oeuvre after 1871. His works are rarely dated, so it is only possible to hazard a guess based on the brushwork. This painting is stylistically very close to a work that is dated around 1880 (L'élégante au brûle-parfum, Saint-Jean-Cap-Ferrat, private collection).

Provenance E. Latil; J. Blot; C. Stulemeyer; H.A.D. Thomas, Amsterdam; bequeathed to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).


Landscape c. 1867-70
Oil on panel, 40 × 60 cm
Signed at lower right: Monticelli
S 340 V/1966

Monticelli settled in Paris in 1864, but three years later he moved to nearby Romainville. From there he made expeditions into the Ile de France to paint landscapes. In the background of this painting, beyond the rolling terrain, is a rocky outcrop of chalk, a distinctive feature of that region. The style is very similar to that of several other landscapes from this
period, such as *Verger en fleurs* (Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum) and *La palissade*,
which the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyons bought in 1869 on Corot's recommendation.

The dating of this picture poses a problem. Like the one in the Stedelijk Museum,
it must have been painted in the spring, since the trees are in blossom or bud. In
February 1868, however, Monticelli had to return to Marseilles because of the death
of his father, and he remained there until January 1869. In September 1870 he was
forced to leave Romainville again, this time because of the advancing Prussian troops.
This means that the painting could have been executed in the spring of 1867, 1869
or 1870.

**Provenance**
E.J. van Wisselingh & Co., Amsterdam (1959); H.A.D. Thomas, Amsterdam (since 1959); bequeathed to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).

**Literature**

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Muslims in front of a mosque
Oil on panel, 44.5 × 40 cm
Signed at lower left: Monticelli
S 339 V/1966

Oriental figures in caftans and turbans crowding around the entrance to a mosque
are found in many variations in Monticelli’s oeuvre. They were not inspired by a
visit to an Arab country but are orientalist fantasies, probably based on paintings or
prints by other artists. On the evidence of the free handling of the paint most can be
dated to the late 1870s.

**Provenance**
E.J. van Wisselingh & Co., Amsterdam (1959); H.A.D. Thomas, Amsterdam (since 1959); bequeathed to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).

**Literature**

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**Morin, Charles Camille**
French, 1846-1919
Morin is today an obscure artist. It is known only that he frequently exhibited at the Paris Salon in the 1890s, that he worked in the picturesque surroundings of Auvers-sur-Oise, and that, as far as can be discovered, he mainly painted landscapes in an Impressionist style. He was a close acquaintance of Paul Gachet, the doctor at Auvers who befriended Van Gogh. Two of Morin's paintings, including this one, have inscriptions on the stretchers testifying to the artist's ties with the Gachet. This particular one reads: ‘à Mlle Clémentine Gachet / affectueusement C. Morin / 24 Novembre 1909’. That was probably the year in which the painting was executed. ‘Clémentine’ is doubtless Marguerite Clémentine, Gachet's daughter.

**Provenance** Marguerite Clémentine Gachet, Auvers-sur-Oise; Galerie Valentien, Stuttgart; purchased by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).

**Literature** Van Uitert 1987, p. 360.

The stretcher of this picture also has a dedication to Gachet's daughter which provides a clue to the dating of the work. It reads: ‘à Melle Clémentine Gachet/ bien amicalement C. Morin / 1911’.

**Provenance** Marguerite Clémentine Gachet, Auvers-sur-Oise; Galerie Valentien, Stuttgart; purchased by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).

**Literature** Van Uitert 1987, p. 360.
Landscape near Auvers
Oil on canvas, 24 × 33 cm
Unsigned
S 334 V/1966

Provenance Gachet family, Auvers-sur-Oise; Galerie Valentien, Stuttgart; purchased by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).

Literature Van Uitert 1987, p. 359.
Myrbach (-Rheinfelden), Felician Freiherr von Austrian, 1853-1940

The print shop 1884
Oil on canvas, 64.3 × 80.5 cm
Signed and dated at lower right: Myrbach 1884

The print shop was painted in 1884, when Myrbach was living in Paris. It was exhibited at that year's Salon under the title "Chez l'imprimeur en tailledouce," and was also reproduced in the catalogue. It is an excellent illustration of a late 19th-century printing works, and is done in a realistic style with a keen eye for detail.

Six presses stand in a row, with the printer's assistants engaged in different tasks. On the right a man is wiping excess ink off a plate, and on the left a boy is working the handle of a press. The centre of the composition is formed by an apprentice discussing the quality of a printed illustration with the master.


Poeckh, Theodore
German, 1839-1921

Portrait of an unknown woman 1884
Oil on canvas mounted on cardboard, 26.7 × 19.7 cm
Unsigned, dated at lower left: 20 Febr 84
S 433 M/1992
Theodore Poeckh was a painter of genre scenes and portraits. The woman’s identity is unknown, but her portrait is dated to the day: ‘20 Febr. 1884’, which explains why she is so warmly dressed.

**Provenance** Private collection; donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs J. Schlichte Bergen-Van Nierop, Amsterdam (1992).

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**Puvis de Chavannes, Pierre**  
**French, 1824-1898**

Saint Genevieve as a child in prayer c. 1874-76  
Oil and pencil on paper, laid down on canvas, 136.5 × 76.2 cm  
Signed and inscribed at lower left: au Comte Joseph Primoli  
affectueusement P. Puvis de C  
S 438 M/1993 (colour pl. p. 156)

In 1874 Philippe de Chennevières, director of the Beaux-Arts, commissioned Puvis, along with 11 other artists, to decorate the Panthéon. The structure had been built as a church under Louis XV and dedicated to the patroness of Paris, Saint Genevieve. The decoration was intended to illustrate her life, and Puvis was asked to visualise ‘la vie pastorale de la jeune sainte.’

Puvis’s murals show the historical Saint Genevieve in an Arcadian landscape, kneeling in prayer while a Gallic couple and a child look on. The inscription beneath the composition explains the scene: ‘From the tenderest age St Genevieve showed the signs of an ardent piety; continually in prayer, she struck surprise and admiration in all those who caught sight of her.’ Calling the composition a prologue to the entire cycle, Puvis described it as follows: ‘I have had the small Saint appear to a rustic couple, a woodcutter and his wife with their child [...]. I believe I was able - in order to avoid realism and in the interests of the emotional effect - to give the child in prayer a form and a garb more appropriate to an angel than to a real being, something more visionary than real; the halo that encircles her head completes the illusion. It is thus that she appears to the naively astonished group.’ The Paris public had the opportunity to admire the praying Genevieve at the Salon of 1876 before the canvas - measuring 4.62 × 2.21 metres - was installed in the Panthéon in May 1877. Puvis often made replicas of his finished murals.

The Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts, has a copy from 1879 of the same format as the composition shown here. The present work, however, is a preparatory study in oils of the type called a modello, presumably painted between 1874 and 1876. The artist presented the work ‘affectueusement’ to Count Joseph Napoleon Primoli, a great connoisseur.

**Provenance** Gift of the artist to Count Joseph Primoli; Henri Bloome; private collection, Switzerland (1946-84);


Still life with fruit and flowers c. 1882
Oil on canvas, 44.5 × 59.5 cm
Signed and inscribed at upper left: à Eugène Benon P. Puvis de Chavannes

S 414 M/1990

Still lifes by Puvis de Chavannes are rare, and most are detail studies for larger works. This picture is dedicated to Eugène Benon (1847-1894), a friend of the artist and perhaps a painter as well. His portrait by Puvis of 1882 (private collection) includes an almost identical glass with flowers. This and stylistic details suggest that portrait and still life were made at the same time. A comparable study of individual fruits (private collection) with a dedication to Ary Renan, the son of the writer Ernest Renan, must also be dated around then.

Puvis de Chavannes often used fruit as an accessory in the ornamental borders of his large allegorical compositions and more intimate scenes like La toilette (London, The National Gallery) and Les enfants au verger (City College of New York). Pure still lifes, however, are a rarity in his oeuvre. Still life with fruit and flowers bears a superficial resemblance to the still lifes of Henri de Fantin-Latour, and shares with them the simple presentation of the fruit on a table covered with a white cloth.

**Provenance** Mrs Henri Puvis de Chavannes, Neuilly; Thomas Agnew, London; Sir Alexander Korda, London; Marlborough Fine Art, London; Paris (Hôtel Drouot),


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The reader c. 1886-93  
Oil and ink on paper, laid down on canvas, 55.6 × 46.1 cm  
Signed at lower left: *P. Puvis C*  
S 428 M/1992

This sketch, dated to the artist's last decade, shows a classical figure absorbed in reading a scroll. The olive-green background would have appealed to Vincent van Gogh, who thought that Puvis was better equipped ‘to explain olive trees’ [878/614a] to mankind than any other artist. The broad technique and the opacity of the dry pigments suggests that the painting should be dated to the 1890s. Brown Price has related it to the figure of Aeschylus with his scroll in the mural *Dramatic poetry* at the Boston Public Library of circa 1896.

**Provenance** Heirs of the artist; Mr and Mrs P. de Vaugelas, Paris; private collection, Paris; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum from Art Research Consultants Ltd., St. Helier (1992).

Raffaëlli, Jean-François
French, 1850-1924

The veterans c. 1884
Oil on panel, 56.8 × 39.9 cm
Signed at lower left: J.F. Raffaëlli
S 415 M/1990

Raffaëlli occupies a controversial place in the history of late 19th-century art. Some regard him as a pompier, others see him as an anecdotal artist who effectively exploited the benefits of Impressionism without taking any of the risks. Raffaëlli's friend Degas made sure that he was able to exhibit with the Impressionists, but from the outset his inclusion among them was problematic. He was, however, highly regarded by Seurat, Signac, Van Gogh and Bernard, who considered him the discoverer of the Parisian banlieue.

The veterans shows the artist at his most attractive. The sober palette is only brightened by the red decoration of the man seated on the right. The three figures are well captured in their different poses. The two old men dressed in black with walking sticks appear to be crossing swords. The panel may be identical with the Discussion d'arme et de politique displayed at the 1884 Raffaëlli exhibition in Paris.

Provenance W. Blumenthal, Paris (1909); London (Sotheby-Parke Bernet), 30 November 1977, lot 215; British Rail Pension Fund until 1990 (on loan to the Doncaster Museum); London (Sotheby's), 19 June 1990, lot 48; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum (1990).
Rappard, Anthon van
Dutch, 1858-1892

Old Drenthe woman, seated c. 1882-83
Oil on canvas on panel, 90 × 50.5 cm
Unsigned
S 353 M/1974

On his trips to the impoverished and still relatively isolated province of Drenthe, where Max Liebermann and Anton Mauve also went in search of picturesque peasant subjects, Van Gogh's friend Anthon van Rappard began concentrating on the motifs that would come to typify his oeuvre. ‘Working-class’ figures, sometimes in groups at their daily labours, sometimes individually, are all carefully observed, as is this woman. The frontal positioning of the figure on a high chair is rigid and a little pedantic, like an academy study. The woman is seated with her knees wide apart in order to trap the heat from the foot-warmer under her skirt. Her large, work-roughened hands
rest in her lap and her eyes are closed as she dozes off. The sitter was probably the resident of an almshouse in the village of Rolde called ‘Old Mother Jantine.’

This painting was first shown in Brussels in 1885, and in the exhibition catalogue Van Rappard gave her name as ‘Klinkers Jantine.’ The Rijksprentenkabinet (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) has two remarkably sensitive studies of the woman’s head in conté crayon, and Van Rappard also made an etching of the subject of this painting, but seen from a slightly different viewpoint. An inscription on a proof of this etching (Utrecht, Centraal Museum) identifies the figure as an ‘old spinster in the almshouse at Rolde, Drenthe.’

Provenance L.W.R. Wenckebach (1934); Mrs Storm-Wenckebach; private collection; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum at the gallery Monet, Amsterdam (1974).


Redon, Odilon
French, 1840-1916

Village street in Samois 1888
Oil on paper, 42 × 30 cm
Signed at lower right: Odilon Redon
S 436 M/1992 (colour pl. p. 157)

Redon treasured this painting so much that he could not bear to part with it. In 1919, some years after his death, his widow sent it, together with 30 other paintings and 46 lithographs, to the art dealer J.H. de Bois in Haarlem for a large exhibition of works that had never been seen in Holland. After the exhibition it came into the possession of Maurits Gomperts, De Bois's brother-in-law.

The accuracy of the traditional title is confirmed by Redon's drawing of the same composition, which has the annotation ‘haut Samois’ at bottom left. However, this apparently realistic painting is probably more than just a record of a specific street under particular lighting conditions. The Redons spent the summers of 1888 and
1889 in the village of Samois on the Seine. The first visit was blighted by a tragedy when Redon saw his friend Emile Hennequin, an influential critic and champion of his work, drown in the river. It was a disaster that greatly affected him. Archival research has established that this painting dates from that fateful summer. The subject recurs several times in Redon’s oeuvre. It is known from his letters that streets with old houses held a special meaning for him. A few years before, for example, he had given Hennequin some tips for a visit to Brittany: ‘Vannes is beautiful, sublime almost. There are old houses there that have made an indelible imprint on my memory. Nowhere has nature left a clearer trace of the insignificance of the human condition than on those so melancholy walls; how deserted and desolate it is.’

This small painting owes its haunting mood to the total absence of human life - an unreal effect which is underlined by the abstract patterns of light and shade. Redon evidently felt that a deserted street was the most fitting way of expressing the sense of desolation and the awareness of the triviality of the human condition that the tragedy of the summer of 1888 had awakened in his heart.

Provenance Camille Redon; J.H. de Bois (1919); M. Gomperts (1919); private collection, Aerdenhout (1925); private collection USA (1969); purchased by the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam (1992).


Rousseau, Philippe
French, 1816-1887

Still life with game 1887
Oil on canvas, 115.5 × 88.5 cm
Signed and dated at lower left: Ph. Rousseau 87
S 441 M/1993

Rousseau was mainly active during the Second Empire. His clients included Emperor Napoleon III and his court as well as James, Baron de Rothschild. The critic Théophile
Gautier hailed Rousseau as a full-blooded Realist, and even the discriminating Baudelaire spoke of his early work in glowing terms. Rousseau's contemporaries regarded him as the 19th-century reincarnation of Chardin, who was his main source of inspiration, particularly in the second half of his career. Rousseau certainly borrowed freely from his 18th-century predecessor, both in composition and motifs. The silver goblet in this picture, for example, was taken from works like Chardin's *Le gobelet d'argent* in the Louvre.

**Provenance** Art gallery Noortman BV, Maastricht; donated to the Van Gogh Museum by the Friends of the Van Gogh Museum (1993).

It is often difficult to say whether a painting by Rousseau is finished or not. This one looks like an *ébauche*: while the ground appears like a drawing, the sky is worked out in colour. The landscape details are depicted with the utmost precision, and the sense of depth is almost photographic. It is not unlikely that Rousseau used a perspective frame to record the features of the landscape, for traces of lines drawn with pencil and ruler are still visible. However, the work is fully signed, and not simply marked with the *cachet d'atelier* composed of Rousseau's initials. This suggests that he considered it complete as it stood. His unfinished works were prized even during his lifetime, and in 1850 financial difficulties forced him to hold a commercial exhibition of 'paintings and studies from life' which was highly praised by Delacroix.

Written on the back of the panel in an unknown hand are the words 'Jean de Paris'. This is the name of a wooded elevation in the forest of Fontainebleau which bears not the slightest resemblance to the rocky plain seen here. Much to his regret, works by Rousseau were being given incorrect titles even while he was alive. This painting in fact shows the Gorges d'Apremont, where Rousseau worked on a series of panoramic paintings in 1848. The *ébauche* (Limoges, Musée Municipal) that he made for one of those works (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek) closely resembles the picture in the Van Gogh Museum, not only in the topography but also in the manner of painting. Another, even closer parallel is provided by a large painting of the same landscape which is now in the museum at Glasgow.

**Provenance** Gallimard, Paris; Paul Cassirer, Berlin (1929); David-Weill, Paris (1931); Galerie Schmit, Paris; Walter Feilchenfeldt, Zürich (1973); private collection; purchased by the Vincent van Gogh Foundation at Stoppenbach & Delestre, London (1994).


**Rijssel, Paul van**
see Gachet, Paul Ferdinand
A passing shower: moorland in Drenthe before 1896
Oil on canvas, 103 × 140 cm
Signed at lower right: J. vd Sande Bakhuyzen
S 421 M/1991

A label on the back of this painting states that it was exhibited at Arnhem in 1897. There was indeed an Exhibition of Living Masters in Arnhem Town Hall that year, and under no. 252 the catalogue lists a painting by Van de Sande Bakhuyzen with the title *A passing shower*. It was a commercial exhibition, so the painting must have been executed shortly before that date.

A moorland path leads up a hill; two labourers are at work. Stretching away on the right is a plain covered with vegetation, above it a turbulent grey sky streaked with squalls of rain. The land beneath is bathed in a deceptive backlight. The Ruysdaellike composition and lighting give the painting a very convincing spatial effect.

The painter played a leading role in the artistic life of The Hague. He made extensive forays from his birthplace to work directly from nature, especially to the more remote, unspoiled corners of the Netherlands. In the 1880s and 1890s he frequently visited the province of Drenthe, in the north-east of the country. When Van Gogh went to Zweelo in Drenthe in the autumn of 1883 in search of picturesque subjects, one of the examples he cited was ‘Jules Bakhuyzen,’ whom he had befriended [407/340].

**Provenance** Voskuil, Amsterdam; Amsterdam (R.S. van Sousa), 5 May 1907, lot 205; Voskuil, Amsterdam; H.G. Tersteeg; The Hague (Glerum) 22 April 1991, lot 176, fig. 44; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum (1991).
Schuffenecker, Claude Emile
French, 1851-1934

Landscape with a draughtsman 1888
Oil on canvas, 59.5 × 73.2 cm
Signed and dated at lower right: E. Schuffenecker 88
S 379 M/1986

Like Gauguin, Schuffenecker spent a lot of time working in Brittany. However, when he painted this sun-drenched Landscape with a draughtsman he was evidently more attracted to the Impressionism of Claude Monet than to the new Synthetism of Pont-Aven.

The motif of a figure seen from the back, sunken in contemplation before a landscape, was dear to the Romantics. Several Impressionists also tried their hand at it, as it afforded the opportunity to depict both a landscape and the experience of it on one and the same canvas. Schuffenecker's figure - wearing a straw hat known as a canotier and accompanied by a dog - explicitly alludes to the artist's own ideal of nature, which he once described as the realisation of the ‘dream of the Garden of Eden.’ A preliminary study drawing for the figure is now in a private collection.

Provenance New York (Sotheby's), 20 February 1986, lot 36; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum (1986).

Schuffenecker participated in the 1905 Salon des Indépendants with a painting entitled *Les falaises à Pantin*. One of his descendants offered it at auction under that title in 1967, and although it was later renamed *Cliffs on the coast of Brittany* there seems no reason why its old title should not be restored. Pantin was a hilly stretch of wasteland in a Paris suburb which was inhabited by vagrants and ragpickers. The painting is a poetic interpretation of this subject in the flowing outlines so typical of the later Schuffenecker.

**Provenance** London (Sotheby's), 30 November 1967, lot 43; Mme. Schuffenecker; Amsterdam (Paul Brandt), 18 May 1976, lot 334; purchased by the Theo van Gogh Foundation (18 May 1976); transferred to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1982).


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**Schuffenecker, Claude Emile** (attributed to)

- Portrait of Count Antoine de la Rochefoucauld [?] c. 1886
  - Oil on canvas, 69.5 × 56 cm
  - Unsigned
  - S 430 M/1992

Schuffenecker began his career as a banker, but studied art in his spare time with the leading painters Baudry and Carolus Duran. He also encouraged his colleague Paul Gauguin to pursue an artistic career. Together they frequented the Impressionists Guillaumin and Pissarro. Schuffenecker exhibited at the Salons of 1880 and 1881, but following his rejection in 1883 he took part in the first Salon des Indépendants in 1884.

After practising a decorative form of Impressionism for some time, Schuffenecker took up Pointillism around 1886 at the urging of Camille Pissarro. The style of this canvas places it in that period. It is clearly an experiment, for the Pointillist technique is not used consistently throughout. Only the artist's face and neck-cloth have blue...
stipples. The fall of light on the rear wall through a window with square panes is rendered in the complementaries green and red, which owes something to Neo-Impressionist practice, the dots being denser at the points where light and shade meet. The identification of the sitter as Count Antoine de la Rochefoucauld is based on a certain resemblance to that artist and patron of the Symbolists.

Signac, Paul
French, 1863-1935

Railway junction near Bois
Colombes 1885
Oil on canvas, 46.5 × 65.1 cm
Signed and dated at lower left: P. Signac 1885
S 381 M/1986 (colour pl. p. 160)

The anarchist Signac was driven to paint unpicturesque subjects. He was particularly interested in the banlieue, where the enlargement of Paris resulted in a hotchpotch of roads leading nowhere, houses under construction, smoking chimneys and gasworks. Signac set up his easel behind the fence of the neighbouring railway line as randomly as possible. A tree cheekily bisects the canvas, but has to compete with telegraph poles, signals and a chimney.

The painting bears the date 1885 and is clearly executed in an Impressionist style related to Guillaumin's. His influence is mainly evident in the vivid colouring, with a tendency towards red and brown, and in the preference for strong contrasts between light and shade. The nature of the ad hoc motif, however, is pure Signac.

In 1886, Signac exhibited a revision of Railway junction, now in the City Art Gallery in Leeds. It shows the same railway sidings, but from a different angle and painted in the Neo-Impressionist manner. During a restoration of the Amsterdam work in 1994 several earlier retouches were removed, revealing yet another pole with electric wiring. The cleaning also brought out the painting's astonishing freshness of touch on virtually unprimed canvas.

Provenance Goldschmidt collection, Frankfurt am Main; Nassau Galleries, Andover, Massachusetts; London (Sotheby's), 3 December 1986, lot 168; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum (1986).
Sluijters, Jan
Dutch, 1881-1957

Two women embracing 1906
Oil on canvas, 92.8 × 62.3 cm
Signed and dated at the upper left:
Jan Sluijter-Paris 06
S 382 M/1987 (colour pl. p. 164)

The talented student Jan Sluijters won the Prix de Rome in 1906, which entitled him to a four-year stay in the Italian capital. He soon managed to elude the obligations attached to the prize and made his way to Paris that very same year. There he began experimenting with bright colours and subjects from modern life. When the Prix de Rome jury saw this work as part of their remit to assess Sluijter's progress, the members were distressed by its ‘raw passion,’ its ‘neglect of Beauty,’ its ‘hurtful colour’ and the ‘coarse technique.’ Sluijters's allowance was withdrawn. This painting clearly reflects Sluijters's Paris experience in both subject-matter and technique. He had just met his compatriot Kees van Dongen and the Fauves, who were holding their first exhibition at the Salon d'Automne. There are several drawings connected with this painting, one of which was given to the Van Gogh Museum in 1988. Going by the discrepancies with the final result, it seems to be more of an exploration of the compositional possibilities of the subject than a copy made after the painting.

**Literature**


**Stevens, Alfred**

**Belgian, 1823-1906**

L'Inde à Paris: le bibelot exotique c. 1867
Oil on canvas, 74.2 × 61 cm
Signed at lower left: Stevens
S 439 M/1993 (colour pl. p. 151)

Along with such artists as James McNeill Whistler and Félix Bracquemond, Alfred Stevens was one of the first to become enthusiastic about exotic art in the second half of the 19th century. He was an ardent collector of all kinds of oriental wares, from screens and porcelain to embroidered silks and albums of Japanese prints. In his spacious house in Paris, he created an eclectic ambience by combining old and modern masters and 18th-century and Empire furniture with Japanese and Chinese objects. Many of the items he depicted in his paintings were part of his collection, and the Indian elephant in this picture is
still in the possession of the artist's descendants. In 1867, Stevens put 18 paintings on show at the Exposition Universelle in Paris. Two pictures at this successful exhibition were entitled *L'Inde à Paris*. One, widely published, is now in a private collection; the other is probably the painting acquired by the Van Gogh Museum. The version in private hands shows a pyramidal composition, while the Amsterdam version has strong horizontal and vertical divisions. The oriental carpet is identical in both works, as is the elephant. The ivory Japanese figure on the elephant, absent from the other version, figures in Stevens's *La dame en rose* (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts), painted in 1866. The screen on the right in the Van Gogh Museum picture also functions as an accessory in a work entitled *Une visite* (private collection). Stevens repeatedly rearranged his props into fresh harmonic compositions, of which this particular painting is a very successful example - not least due to the contrast between the sober green-grey background and the exuberant colours of the carpet and the pouffe.

**Provenance** William H. Stewart; American Art Galleries; New York (Chickering Hall), 3-4 February 1898, lot 51; Boussod, Valadon & Cie., Paris; Galerie George Petit, Paris; Charles Guasco, Paris; H. Schickman Gallery; Mrs Deane Johnson, New York; New York (Sotheby's), 17 February 1993, lot 91; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum (1993).


Stroebel, Johannes Anthonie Balthasar
Dutch, 1821-1905
At a 1992 sale this unsigned painting was attributed to the painter Stroebel, who produced a great many genre scenes with Dutch 17th-century figures in Pieter de Hoogh-like interiors. His speciality was the play of daylight, filtered through glass windows. This very sketchy painting was acquired for exhibition in the Museum Mesdag, whose founder, the painter Hendrik Willem Mesdag, had a special fondness for oil sketches and unfinished paintings. The canvas can be firmly ascribed to Stroebel. A wash drawing of the same composition was published in Elsevier's Geïllustreerd Maandschrift in 1883. In 1930, and again in 1978, a canvas called Intérieur de libraire (Musée Plantijn) was auctioned in Amsterdam (Sotheby's, 24 April 1978, lot 228), which is also related to it. The subject is the same, but there are three figures reading.

The painted version at the Van Gogh Museum could be seen as a mere study of the composition and distribution of light for the finished painting, but the
result may have pleased the artist so much that he gave it the status of an independent work.


**Stuck, Franz von**  
**German, 1863-1928**

Wounded amazon 1904  
Oil on canvas, 65 × 76 cm.  
Signed and dated at lower right: *FRANZ STVCK 1904*  
S 442 M/1993

This important work by Franz von Stuck is his first version of the subject. A later variant of 1905, now in a private collection, differs in only a few details. The version in the Van Gogh Museum, however, is far more intense, has greater colour contrasts, and the outlines are more clearly defined.

The model for the wounded Amazon was a Miss Feez, Stuck's favourite model, whose portrait he painted several times. She also posed for the bronze Amazon on horseback, of which the Van Gogh Museum has a cast. In addition to various studies, Stuck's estate contained several photographs in which the nude model is posed as she is in the picture. Her ‘shield’ is a drawing board to which leather grips have been attached. The warriors and centaurs fighting in the background can be seen as a homage to Arnold Böcklin, the Swiss painter whose mythological subjects had a great influence on Stuck.

**Provenance** Josef Mutzbauer, Munich; Käthe Meyer, Munich (1945); private collection; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum at Galerie Ritthaler, Munich (1993).

Toorop, Jan
Dutch, 1858-1928

Self-portrait in the studio 1883
Oil on panel, 50.5 × 36.1 cm
Signed and dated at lower right: J.Th. Toorop 83
S 388 M/1989

Toorop was one of the most internationally oriented Dutch artists of the fin-de-siècle. He had close contacts with Les XX in Brussels and introduced Neo-Impressionism to Holland. As chairman of the painting section of the Hague Art Circle in 1892 he was the prime mover behind the first major Van Gogh exhibition in the Netherlands. His reputation is primarily based on works in the Symbolist idiom, which he embraced around 1890. This self-portrait was painted during Toorop's Brussels period and shows the 25-year-old artist posing self-confidently (if not arrogantly) as a real Bohemian, surrounded by the attributes of his art.

Provenance Mr J. Schout Velthuys, Rotterdam; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum (1989).

Valk, Hendrik  
Dutch, 1897-1986

Portrait of Vincent and Theo van Gogh 1941  
Oil on white pasteboard on grey pasteboard on black pasteboard, 83 × 42 cm  
Signed at lower right: H.V.; annotated and signed on the back: \textit{OPUS 654 \hspace{1em} THEO EN VINCENT VAN GOCH / 1941 / HENDRIK VALK}  
S 354 M/1975

Hendrik Valk, who taught at the Arnhem Academy of Architecture from 1926 to 1962, never abandoned the draughtsman-like and immediately recognisable style that he had developed at the very beginning of his career. He based his distinctive manner of working in small, decorative planes on the new quest for abstraction that was taking place at the time, but unlike his colleagues he never completely abandoned visible reality.

This double portrait of a red-haired Vincent and a black-haired Theo is one of Valk's few surviving works from the Second World War. The silvery frame around pieces of pasteboard of different colours was apparently designed by the artist himself. His full signature can be seen on the old protective covering on the back.

The double portrait served as an illustration in Valk's 1941 pamphlet about the brothers, which was printed in an edition of 25 copies (the printing plates now belong to the Van Gogh Museum). It emerges from the text and the frontispiece, which shows the brothers' graves with a glowing cross between them, that the artist was motivated by a somewhat naive, Christian veneration of Van Gogh as 'the true man.'

\textbf{Provenance} Purchased by the Van Gogh Museum at Galerie Hendriksen, Amsterdam (1975).

Verkade, Jan Willibrord
Dutch, 1868-1946

Grisaille: young woman singing
Oil on paper, 37.2 × 20.9 cm
Unsigned
S 434 M/1990

In 1894, Verkade entered the monastery at Beuron in southern Germany to study as a novice under Father Desiderius Lenz. He then joined the Benedictine order and was sent out from Beuron on several occasions to paint religious murals elsewhere. This grisaille could be a preliminary study for one of those commissions.

The face of the singing figure is shown frontally and symmetrically. The mouth is in the very centre of the picture and the features are highly idealised. This suggests that the work comes from the period when Verkade fell under the spell of Lenz's artistic ideas. The latter saw the monastery at Beuron as a centre for the revival of religious painting. His theories were based on the universal, divine value of certain geometrical forms and proportions.

Provenance Donated to the Van Gogh Museum by Mr and Mrs De Boer-Braat, Diepenveen (1990).


Verster, Floris
Dutch, 1861-1927

Poppies 1888
In 1889 Breitner wrote to the Leiden painter Floris Verster: ‘If I had money, I'd buy the poppies.’ He had just been admiring his colleague's monumental still life at the Exhibition of Living Masters held at the artists' society Arti et Amicitiae in Amsterdam, where the painting was exhibited as *Japanese poppies* (no. 437). Everyone was thrilled by it, and it was even hailed by the critic and poet Albert Verwey as ‘the triumphant cry that long continued to resound in our ears.’

The background was originally greyish brown, but Verster altered it on the advice of Jan Toorop, who
visited him on 9 June 1889. The wilting flowers depicted with bold brushstrokes now emerge from a dark background. The other plants are probably vines or sorrel, and they are also found in Verster's *Flowers and leaves* of 1887 (Leiden, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal), which has almost the same dimensions as this picture.


**Verwey, Tonny (attributed to)**

**Biography unknown**

Red and yellow peril  
Oil on pasteboard, 30 × 24 cm  
Signed at lower right: T.  
S 351 V/1966
This painting is from the collection of the Amsterdam dentist H.A.D. Thomas, which was bequeathed to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation in 1966. It may have been painted by his assistant, Mrs A. Verwey-van Dijk of Osdorp. Thomas was a passionate amateur artist, and this, like many of his own canvases, seems to have been inspired by the work of Janus de Winter, a minor master of Utrecht, who had caused something of a stir in the early decades of this century with abstract works reflecting theosophical ideas.

**Provenance** H.A.D. Thomas, Amsterdam, bequeathed to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation (1966).

**Literature** Van Uitert 1987, p. 363.

**Vijlbrief, Jan**

*formerly attributed to Johan Joseph Aarts Dutch, 1868-1895*

- Clearing in the woods c. 1895
- Oil on canvas, 29.4 × 44.5 cm
- Unsigned
- S 429 M/1992

The undogmatic application of Pointillist principles makes this unsigned painting a characteristic sample of Dutch Neo-Impressionism. Unlike their French predecessors Seurat and Signac, Dutch artists preferred to combine the expressive force of sharply contrasting colours with the decorative effect of uniformly stippled surfaces.

H.P. Bremmer took up stippling after seeing an exhibition of Toorop's Neo-Impressionist work in the Lakenhal at Leiden in 1894. He was followed by J.J. Aarts and J. Vijlbrief, who died tragically young. When Toorop temporarily abandoned the style, these three briefly became the Neo-Impressionist avant-garde in Holland. In the summer of 1895, Bremmer, Aarts and Vijlbrief worked together in the coastal dunes near The Hague in a closely related manner, and occasionally even depicted the same subjects, which makes it difficult to distinguish between their unsigned works. When it bought this painting the Van Gogh Museum attributed it to Aarts, but going by the evidence of the irregular stippling and the very decorative use of red it is more likely that it was painted by Vijlbrief.

Literature De Leeuw 1994, p. 260 (attributed to Aarts).
Weele, Herman Johannes van der
Dutch, 1852-1930

Flock of sheep in a landscape
Oil on canvas, 68.5 × 89 cm
Signed at lower left: H.J. v/d Weele
S 287 V/1966

The choice of subject and manner of painting betray the artist's great debt to his idol, Anton Mauve. The backlighting, with the sun shining through the trees, was one of Mauve's favourite devices. While the foreground, with its greyish-green grass, is shrouded in shadow, light falls through the trees onto the backs of the sheep in the rear half of the flock. This delicate touch seems to be Van der Weele's attempt to outdo the older master. Van Gogh became friendly with Van der Weele in 1883 when he was living in The Hague. The latter was a drawing teacher at a local high school who encouraged Van Gogh in his lithographic efforts, and they often went out to work together. Although Van Gogh admired Van der Weele's talent, he did note a certain lack of originality in his work (see for example letter 340/407).

Provenance A. Mak, Dordrecht (1965); purchased by the Van Gogh Foundation (1966).


When he was living in The Hague, Van Gogh was in regular touch with Herman van der Weele, a painter of landscapes and animals, and from time to time they also worked together. In a letter of 22 November 1882 Van Gogh wrote that he had
encouraged Van der Weele to make lithographs of ‘fine things in his studio’, among them ‘an oxcart on the heath,’ which must refer to the Museum's work, or one closely related to it. Van der Weele's estate included a photograph (The Hague, Collection D. Bollen) which may have served as the model for this painting.

**Provenance** Private collection; purchased by the Van Gogh Museum (1988).


**Sources cited**

De la Faille 1970: J.-B. de la Faille, _The works of Vincent van Gogh: his paintings and drawings_, Amsterdam 1970
Stevens 1990: Mary Anne Stevens, _et al._, exhib. cat. _Emile Bernard, 1868-1941_, Amsterdam (Van Gogh Museum) & Mannheim (Städtische Kunsthalle) 1990
Exhibitions in the Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh 1973-1994

This list comprises exhibitions held at the Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh between 1973 and 1994. The titles follow those used for the catalogues. Omitted are minor exhibitions of selections from the Museum's permanent collection for which no catalogue or Bulletin was produced. Most exhibitions of 20th-century artists held between 1973 and 1979 have also been excluded. Thus, of the 75 events organised by the Van Gogh Museum itself between 1973 and 1981 only 25 are listed here. From 1982 to 1984 no exhibitions were held. In general, the titles on this list are in Dutch, except for the exhibitions which either traveled abroad or had a catalogue in the English language. Where no Dutch or English version exists, the original language was used. Exhibitions marked with an asterisk were also on show at other venues.

1974

Anthon van Rappard, companion and correspondent of Vincent van Gogh: his life & all his works
3 May - 17 June

George Hendrik Breitner: Schilderijen
6 June - 9 September

Arnold Schönberg: Gedenkausstellung
1974*
19 October - 19 November

1975

Emmy Andriesse: Foto's 1944-52*
7 June - 29 June

Briefwisseling van Paul Gauguin en Vincent van Gogh*
9 July - 7 September

English influences on Vincent van Gogh*
24 September 1975 - September 1976
J.-H. Lartigue*
4 October - 3 November

Architect H.Th. Wijdeveld
4 October - 9 November

Photography in Switzerland from 1840
to the present day
8 November - 14 December
1976

Buiten is dichtbij: Dirk van Gelder en de natuur; fascinerende visie van een tekenaar-graficus
19 March - 13 April

De verzameling Daumier-prenten van Vincent van Gogh
26 July - 22 October

Japanse prenten uit de verzameling van Vincent van Gogh
30 October 1976 - 31 January 1977

Kees Maks, 1876-1967
3 November - 5 December

Willem Heesen
11 December 1976 - 31 January 1977

1977

The Esmark collection of Currier and Ives*
2-27 March

Max Bueno de Mesquita
25 March - 24 April

Hommage aan Max Ernst
26 April - 3 May

De L. en L. Honsdrecht collectie: een particuliere verzameling Nederlandse figuratieve schilderkunst na 1850
18 June - 31 December 1977
Rond de roem van Vincent van Gogh
3 September 1977 - 1 March 1978

1978

John Peter Russell: Australian Impressionist, 1858-1951*
10 January - 12 February

Marius Richters, 1878-1955
18 February - 27 March

1979

Dutch painting from the century of Van Gogh*
8-28 March

Monticelli: his contemporaries, his influence*
28 June - 2 September

1980

Vincent van Gogh in zijn Hollandse jaren:
Kijk op stad en land door Van Gogh en zijn tijdgenoten, 1870-1890
13 December 1980 - 22 March 1981

1981

Vincent van Gogh and the birth of Cloisonism*
9 April - 14 June

1984
De Nederlandse identiteit in de kunst na 1945: een keuze uit de verzameling van het Stedelijk Museum
15 December 1984 - 15 April 1985

1985

Les fleurs du mal: Felicien Rops en Charles Baudelaire
13 June - 2 September

Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995
The prints of Edvard Munch: mirror of his life. An exhibition of prints from the collection of Sarah G. and Lionel C. Epstein*
29 November 1985 - 26 January 1986

1986

Een winter in Antwerpen
13 februari - 30 maart

Drawing near: Whistler etchings from the Zelman Collection*
11 April - 8 June

Daumier: Vive le public. Spotprenten
4 July - 25 August

The prints of the Pont-Aven School: Gauguin and his circle in Brittany*
7 September - 18 October

Monet in Holland
17 October 1986 - 4 January 1987

Zeldzame mensen: Foto's Toon Michiels
23 October 1986 - 4 January 1987*

The seven sketchbooks of Vincent van Gogh
21 November 1986 - 8 February 1987

1987

August Strindberg
1 February - 1 May
De Nederlandse Etsclub
11 February - 31 May

Broeden op een wolk: Jan Voerman, schilder, 1857-1941
27 February - 12 April

Franse meesters uit het Metropolitan Museum of Art: Realisten en Impressionisten
15 March - 31 May

Tableau Mourant: Tekeningen en aquarellen van Arie van Geest
24 April - 28 June

Pat Steir: paintings, 1981-84
21 June - 30 August

Utagawa Hiroshige: de drieënvijftig stations aan de Tôkaidô
3 July - 6 September

Pat Bognar: Hommage aan Vincent van Gogh. Fototentoonstelling
4 September - 25 October

George Henry Boughton: God Speed! Pelgrims op weg naar Canterbury
30 October 1987 - 10 January 1988

Toulouse-Lautrec: Das gesamte graphische Werk. Sammlung Gerstenberg*
15 november 1987 - 17 januari 1988

Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995
Hard Times: Social Realism in Victorian art
24 January - 13 March

Een soort bijbel: de collectie houtgravures van Vincent van Gogh
24 January - 13 March

Anton Mauve: aquarellen
26 March - 5 June

The creative spirit in the 19th century: manuscripts from the British Library's Stefan Zweig Collection
7-23 May
Neo-impressionisten: Seurat tot Struycken*  
28 May - 28 August

Emile Bernard (1868-1941): the theme of bordellos and prostitutes in turn-of-the-century French art*  
11 June - 25 September

Erik Andriesse  
19 August - 9 October

Ottocento / Novecento: Italiaanse kunst, 1870-1910  
17 September - 27 November

Albert August Plasschaert (1866-1941)  
1 October - 27 November

Franse meesters uit de Reader's Digest collectie: Van Manet tot Soutine*  
14 October - 4 December

Van Gogh and Millet  
9 December 1988 - 26 Februari 1989

1989

Jan Verkade: Hollandse volgeling van Gauguin*  
11 March - 21 May

The Nabis and the Parisian avant-garde*  
11 March - 28 May

Eye to eye: Van Gogh/Paul Huf*  
18 March - 18 June
The São Paulo Collection: from Manet to Matisse*
10 June - 4 September

Henry Peach Robinson (1830-1901): master of photographic art, 1830-1901
1 September - 29 October

Frank Auerbach: recent werk
30 September - 10 December

1990

Vincent van Gogh: paintings
30 March - 29 July

Sketches from the letters of Vincent van Gogh
17 August - 10 December

Emile Bernard, 1868-1941: a pioneer of modern art*
24 August - 4 November

Vincent van Gogh and the modern movement, 1890-1914*
16 November 1990 - 18 February 1991

1991

De Schilders van Tachtig: Nederlandse schilderkunst, 1880-1895*
1 March - 26 May

Souvenirs from Japan. Japanese photography at the turn of the century
29 May - 15 September

Japan: Van Gogh's Utopia
7 June - 22 September
‘Il faut être de son temps’: Tekeningen van Jiri Georg Dokoupil en beelden van Joost van den Toorn
20 September - 24 November

27 September 1991 - 5 January 1992

Johan Cohen Gosschalk, 1873-1912*
11 October 1991 - 5 January 1992

Degas, sculptor
29 November 1991 - 23 February 1992

L'estampe originale: artistic printmaking in France, 1893-1895*
13 December 1991 - 26 January 1992
1992

Vuillard. A national touring exhibition
from the South Bank Centre*
10 January - 8 March

Treasures from the Mesdag Collection:
from Delacroix to Israëls*
20 March - 19 August

Beauty and violence: Japanese prints by
Yoshitoshi, 1859-1892*
17 April - 28 June

František Lesák: Morgen - Mittag -
Abend. A study based on a visual
conception by Claude Monet
21 May - 28 June

‘A great artist is dead’: letters of
condolence on Vincent van Gogh's death
3 July - 4 October

Félix Vallotton*
28 August - 1 November

The poem of the sea: Bas Jan Ader, Felix
Droese, Kazuo Ratase
25 September - 29 November

Artistes et théâtres d'avant-garde:
programmes de théâtre illustrés Paris,
1890-1900*
8 October - 15 November

Glasgow 1900: art and design
20 November 1992 - 7 February 1993
From Pissarro to Picasso: colour etching in France. Works from the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Zimmerli Art Museum

12 February - 18 April

Walter Sickert: paintings
26 February - 31 May

Courtesans: the inhabitants of Yoshiwara.
A selection from the Van Gogh Museum's collection of Japanese prints
23 April - 31 October

The potato eaters by Vincent van Gogh
11 June - 29 August

Collega's uit de Kempen: de fotocollectie van Victor de Buck en Joseph Gindra
11 June - 29 August

Philippe Rousseau, 1816-1887
10 September - 14 November

Louis Welden Hawkins, 1849-1910
10 September - 14 November

Georges de Feure, 1868-1943
26 November 1993 - 13 Februari 1994

Félix Bracquemond, 1833-1914
26 November 1993 - 13 Februari 1994

Pierre Puvis de Chavannes
25 Februari - 29 May
Parisian self-portraits by Van Gogh*
10 June - 9 October

Odilon Redon, 1840-1916*
21 October 1994 - 14 January 1995

Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995
Exhibitions abroad organised by the Van Gogh Museum

Not included are touring exhibitions of which the Van Gogh Museum was not the prime organiser.

1976

Vincent van Gogh
Tokyo, The National Museum of Western Art
30 October - 19 December

Kyoto, The National Museum of Modern Art
6 January - 20 February 1977

Nagoya, The Aichi Prefectural Art Gallery
24 February - 14 March 1977

1985

Vincent van Gogh
Tokyo, The National Museum of Western Art
12 October - 8 December

1986

Vincent van Gogh from Dutch collections. Religion - humanity - nature
Osaka, The National Museum of Art
21 February - 31 March 1986

1988

Mostra van Gogh
Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna
28 January - 4 April

1993
Vincent van Gogh and his time. Van Gogh & Millet from the Vincent van Gogh Museum and the H.W. Mesdag Museum
Tokyo, Seiji Togo Memorial Yasuda Kasai Museum of Art
15 September - 14 November

Compiled by Anita Vriend

Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995

This list contains all the paintings by Van Gogh which, as far as is known, entered a public collection after the publication of De la Faille's oeuvre catalogue (*The works of Vincent van Gogh*, Amsterdam 1970) - either as loans or new acquisitions. The works in the Musée d'Orsay in Paris which came from the Louvre are, naturally, not included here. Because the list is intended as a supplement to the oeuvre catalogue of 1970, no account has been taken of the fact that the authenticity of some of the works has since been called into question. Unfortunately, not all inventory numbers were supplied by the museums.

Australia

Sydney, Art Gallery of New South Wales

Head of a peasant 1884
Oil on canvas on panel, 39.4 × 30.2 cm
Not signed
F 160a JH 563
Inv. no. 211.1990
Acquired 1990

Austria

Vienna, Österreichische Galerie

Still life with jars 1884
Oil on canvas, 49.5 × 57.4 cm
Not signed
F 56 JH 530
Inv. no. 7762
In the Österreichische Galerie since 1987; gift of Anna Bremmer to the Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1984

Canada

Hamilton, The McMaster Art Gallery

Still life with ginger jar and onions 1885
Oil on canvas, 39.3 × 49.6 cm
Signed: Vincent
Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995

F 104a JH 924
Inv. no. 1984.007.0058
Gift of Dr. Herman Levy Esq. O.B.E., 1984

Egypt

Cairo, Museum of Modern Art
Vase with different kinds of flowers 1886
Oil on canvas, 65 × 54 cm
Signed: Vincent
F 324a JH 1137

France

Paris, Musée d'Orsay
Peasant woman sitting by the fire 1885
Canvas on panel, 29 × 40 cm
Not signed
F 158 JH 792
Inv. no. R.F. 1988-10
Gift of the heirs of Georges Renand, 1988

The starry night 1888
Oil on canvas, 72.5 × 92 cm
Not signed
F 474 JH 1592
Inv. no. R.F. 1975-19
Musée d'Orsay 1995; gift of Mr and Mrs Robert Kahn-Sriber to Musée du Jeu de Paume, 1975

Pine tree in front of the entrance of the asylum 1889
Oil on canvas, 63 × 48 cm
Not signed
F 653 JH 1840
Inv. no. R.F. 1973-25
Musée d'Orsay 1986; gift of Max and Rosy Kaganovitch to Musée du Jeu de Paume, 1973

Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995
Germany

Munich, Neue Pinakothek

Weaver 1884
Canvas on cardboard, 67.7 × 93.2 cm
Not signed
F 24 JH 500
Inv. no. 14249
Legacy of Theodor and Woty Werner, 1971
Great Britain

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

Autumn landscape 1885
Oil on canvas, 64.8 × 86.4 cm
Not signed
F119 JH 949
Inv. no. PD.33-1980
Acquired 1980

Glasgow, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum

Portrait of Alexander Reid 1887
Cardboard, 42 × 33 cm
Signed: Vincent
F 343 JH 1250
Inv. no. 3315
Acquired 1974

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology

Restaurant de la Sirène at Asnières 1887
Oil on canvas, 52.5 × 64.5 cm
Not signed
F312 JH 1253
Inv. no. 1972.18
Bequest of Dr. Erich Adolf Alport, 1972

Israel

Tel Aviv, Tel Aviv Museum of Art

The shepherdess (after Millet) 1889
Oil on canvas, 53 × 41.5 cm
Not signed
F 699 JH 1838
Inv. no. 573/17
On loan from a private collection, 1982

Italy
Rome, Collectione Vaticana d'Arte Religiosa Moderna

Pietà (after Delacroix) 1889
Oil on canvas, 42 × 34 cm
Signed: *d'après Eug Delacroix a appartenu à Diaz Vincent*
F 757 JH 1776
Inv. no. ARM 23698
Gift of the Diocese of New York, 1975

Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna

The gardener 1889
Oil on canvas, 61 × 50 cm
Not signed
F 531 JH 1779
Property of the Italian State, 1995

Japan

Hiroshima, Hiroshima Museum of Art

Daubigny's garden 1890
Oil on canvas, 53 × 103 cm
Not signed
F 776 JH 2104
Inv. no. 25
On loan from the Bank of Hiroshima, 1978

Kasama, Kasama Nichido Museum of Art

Street in Saint-Rémy 1890
Oil on canvas, 33.5 × 41.2 cm
Not signed
F 728 JH 1875
Inv. no. OF-15
On loan from a private collection, 1989

Komaki, Menard Art Museum

The end of the day (After Millet) 1889
Oil on canvas, 72 × 92 cm
Not signed
F 649 JH 1335
Inv. no. OF 039
Acquired 1978

Tokyo, Bridgestone Museum of Art
The Moulin de Blute-Fin 1886
Oil on canvas, 46.5 × 38 cm
Signed: Vincent
F 273 JH 1116
Inv. no. WP-122(BMA)
Acquired 1973

Tokyo, Yasuda Kasai Museum of Art

Sunflowers 1889
Oil on canvas, 100.5 × 76.5 cm
Not signed
F 457 JH 1666
Inv. no. LO-175
On loan from the Yasuda Fire & Marine Insurance, 1987

The Netherlands

Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum

Beach at Scheveningen 1883
Canvas on cardboard, 34.5 × 51 cm
Not signed
F 4 JH 187
Inv. no. S416M/1990
Legacy of Miss A.E. Ribbius Pelletier, 1990

Avenue of poplars in autumn 1884
Oil on canvas, 98.5 × 66 cm
Not signed
F 122 JH 522
Inv. no. S 141 M/1977
Acquired 1977

View of Amsterdam 1885
Canvas on panel, 35 × 47 cm
Signed: Vincent
F 114 JH 945
Inv. no. S 364 M/1982
Acquired 1982

Stuffed kalong 1886
Oil on canvas, 41 × 79 cm
Not signed
F 177a JH 1192
Inv. no. S 136 V/1973
Acquired 1973

Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995
Undergrowth with flowers 1887
Oil on canvas, 50 × 65 cm
Not signed
F 362 JH 1264
Inv. no. S 119 B/1993
On loan from a private collection, 1993

Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995
Enclosed field with the Alpilles in the background 1890
Oil on canvas, 37.5 × 30.5 cm
Not signed
F 723 JH 1722
Inv. no. S 417 M/1990
Legacy of Miss A.E. Ribbius Pelletier, 1990

's-Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum

Wheels of the watermill at Gennep 1884
Oil on canvas, 60 × 78.5 cm
Not signed
F 46 JH 524
Inv. no. 12.680
On loan from The Netherlands Office for Fine Arts, 1990

Peasant woman digging, seen from behind 1885
Oil on canvas, 37.5 × 25.7 cm
Not signed
F 94 JH 893
Inv. no. 11.577
Acquired 1984

Seated peasant woman in a day cap 1885
Oil on paper on panel, 36 × 27 cm
Not signed
F 144a JH 704
Inv. no. 11.357
On loan from The Netherlands Office for Fine Arts, 1976

Otterlo, Kröller-Müller Museum

Vase with poppies, daisies, cornflowers, and peonies 1886
Oil on canvas, 99 × 79 cm
Signed: Vincent
F 278 JH 1103
Acquired 1974

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen

Still life with an earthen bowl with potatoes 1885
Oil on canvas, 44.5 × 57 cm
Not signed
F 118 JH 932
Inv. no. 83/03
On loan from a private collection, 1983
Utrecht, Centraal Museum
Farmin Loosduinen near The Hague 1883
Canvas on panel, 33 × 50 cm
Not signed
F 16 JH 391
Inv. no. 21782
On loan from Museum Van Baaren Foundation, 1980

Still life with pottery and clogs 1884
Canvas on panel, 42 × 54 cm
Not signed
F 54 JH 536
Inv. no. 2182
On loan from Museum Van Baaren Foundation, 1980

Still life with an earthen bowl and pears 1885
Oil on canvas, 33.2 × 43.8 cm
Not signed
F 105 JH 926
Inv. no. 21784
On loan from Museum Van Baaren Foundation, 1980

Undergrowth 1887
Oil on canvas, 32 × 46 cm
Not signed
F 306 JH 1317
Inv. no. 22123
On loan from Museum Van Baaren Foundation, 1980

Poland

Warszawa, Muzeum Jana Pawła II

A farm in Hoogeveen 1883
Canvas on panel, 28.5 × 39.5 cm
Not signed
F 18 JH 397
Acquired 1987

Spain

Madrid, Fundación Coleccion Thyssen-Bornemisza

The Vessenots at Auvers 1890
Switzerland

Basel, Kunstmuseum

Self-portrait 1887
Oil on canvas, 44 × 35 cm
Not signed
F 319 JH 1333
Inv. no G 1970-7
On loan from the Dr. H.C. Emile Dreyfus Foundation, 1971

Still life with red herrings 1886
Oil on canvas, 21.5 × 42 cm
Not signed
F 283 JH 1120
On loan from the Rudolf Staechelin Collection, 1970

Head of peasant woman 1885
Canvas on panel, 41 × 31.5 cm
Not signed
F 81 JH 965
Inv. no. 2177
Gift of Justin K. Thannhauser, 1973

Two cut sunflowers 1887
Oil on canvas, 50 × 60.7 cm
Signed: Vincent
F 376 JH 1331
Inv. no. 2140
Gift of Dr. Hans R. Hahnloser, 1971

La-Chaux-de-Fonds, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Peasant making a basket 1885
Oil on canvas, 41 × 33 cm
Not signed
F 171 JH 658
Inv. no. 1306.29
Acquired; René and Madeleine Junod Collection, 1986
Girl's head 1888
Oil on canvas, 35.5 × 24.5 cm
Not signed
F 535 JH 1467
Inv. no. 1306.28
Acquired; René and Madeleine Junod Collection, 1986
Solothurn, Kunstmuseum

Portrait of the chief orderly (Trabu) 1889
Oil on canvas, 60 × 46 cm
Not signed
F 629 JH 1774
Inv. no. C 80.1
Acquired; The Dübi-Müller-Foundation, 1980

Winterthur, Kunstmuseum

A field of yellow flowers 1889
Canvas on cardboard, 35 × 57 cm
Not signed
F 584 JH 1680
Inv. no. 1534
Gift of Dr. Herbert Wolfer, 1973

Zürich, Kunsthau Zürich

Three cottages in Saintes-Maries 1888
Oil on canvas, 33.5 × 41.5 cm
Not signed
F 419 JH 1465
On loan from a private collection

United States of America

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Enclosed field with ploughman 1889
Oil on canvas, 53.9 × 65.4 cm
Not signed
F 706 JH 1794
Inv. no. 1993.37
Bequest of William A. Coolidge, 1993

Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum

The thicket 1887
Oil on canvas, 73 × 92 cm
Not signed
F 817 JH 1319
Inv. no. 34.1994
On loan from the Estate of Joseph H. Hazen until July 1995

**Dallas, Museum of Fine Arts**

Sheaves of wheat 1890  
Oil on canvas, 50.5 × 101 cm  
Not signed  
F 771 JH 2125  
Inv. no. 1985. R. 80  
Acquired; The Wendy and Emery Reves Collection, 1985

**Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts**

Portrait of Joseph Roulin 1888  
Oil on canvas, 64 × 48 cm  
Not signed  
F 433 JH 1524  
Inv. no. T1992.29  
Partial and promised gift of Mr and Mrs Walter B. Ford II, 1992

Still life with carnations 1886  
Oil on canvas, 43.2 × 35.6 cm  
Not signed  
F 243 JH 1129  
Inv. no. T1990.319  
Bequest of Catherine Kresge Dewey, 1990

**Houston, Museum of Fine Arts**

The rocks 1888  
Oil on canvas, 54 × 65 cm  
Not signed  
F 466 JH 1489  
Inv. no. 74.139  
Acquired; The John A. and Audrey Jones Beck Collection, 1974

**Los Angeles, Armand Hammer Museum of Art**

Lilacs 1887  
Oil on canvas, 27.3 × 35.3 cm  
Not signed  
F 286b JH 1294  
Inv. no. 90.80
Acquired 1990  
The sower 1888  
Oil on canvas, 33.6 × 40.4 cm  
Not signed  
F 575a JH 1596  
Inv. no. 91.42  
Acquired 1991  

Hospital at Saint-Rémy 1889  
Oil on canvas, 90.2 × 73.3 cm  
Not signed  
F 643 JH 1799  
Inv. no. 90.81  
Acquired 1990  

**Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum**  

Iris 1889  
Oil on canvas, 71 × 93 cm  
Signed: *Vincent*  
F 608 JH 1691  
Inv. no. 90.PA.20  
Acquired 1990  

**New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art**  

Peasant woman cooking by a fireplace 1885  
Oil on canvas, 44 × 38 cm  
Not signed  
F 176 JH 799  
Inv. no. 1984.39  
Gift of Mr and Mrs Mortimer Hays, 1984  

Bouquet of flowers in a vase 1886  
Oil on canvas, 65 × 53.8 cm  
Not signed  
F 588 JH 133  
On loan; anticipated bequest of Walter H. Annenberg, 1993  

Shoes 1888  
Oil on canvas, 44.1 × 53 cm  
Signed: *Vincent*  
F 461 JH 1569  
Inv. no. 1992.374  
Acquired; The Annenberg Foundation Gift, 1992  

Mme Roulin and her baby 1888  
Oil on canvas, 63.5 × 51 cm  
Not signed  

*Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995*
F 491 JH 1638
Inv. no. 1975.1.231
Acquired; Robert Lehman Collection, 1975
Woman rocking a cradle (‘La Berceuse’) 1889
Oil on canvas, 92.8 × 73.7 cm
Signed: Vincent Arles 89; inscribed: La Berceuse
F 505 JH 1669
On loan; anticipated bequest of Walter H. Annenberg, 1993

Women picking olives 1889
Oil on canvas, 73 × 89 cm
Not signed
F 655 JH 1869
On loan; anticipated bequest of Walter H. Annenberg, 1993

Olive orchard 1889
Oil on canvas, 72.7 × 92 cm
Not signed
F 708 JH 1855
On loan; anticipated bequest of Walter H. Annenberg, 1993

Wheat field with cypresses 1889
Oil on canvas, 73 × 93.4 cm
Not signed
F 717 JH 1756
Inv. no. 1993.132
Acquired; The Annenberg Foundation Gift, 1993

Vase of roses 1890
Oil on canvas, 93 × 72 cm
Not signed
F 682 JH 1979
On loan; anticipated bequest of Walter H. Annenberg, 1993

New York, The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum

Roadway with underpass 1887
Oil on cardboard mounted on panel, 32.7 × 41 cm
Not signed
F 239 JH 1267
Inv. no. 78.2514 T17
Gift of Justin K. Thannhauser, 1978

Landscape with snow 1888
Oil on canvas, 38.2 × 46.2 cm
Not signed
F 290 JH 1360
Inv. no. 84.3239
Gift of Hilde Thannhauser, 1984
Mountains at Saint-Rémy 1889
Oil on canvas, 71.8 × 90.8 cm  
Not signed  
F 622 JH 1766  
Inv. no. 78.2514 T24  
Gift of Justin K. Thannauser, 1978

**New York, The Frick Collection**

Flowering garden 1888  
Oil on canvas, 92 × 73 cm  
Not signed  
F 430 JH 1510  
Inv. no. L93.3.1  
On loan from a private foundation, 1993

**New York, The Museum of Modern Art**

Portrait of Joseph Roulin 1889  
Oil on canvas, 64 × 54.5 cm  
Not signed  
F 436 JH 1675  
Inv. no. 196.89  
Gift of Mr and Mrs William A.M. Burden, Mr and Mrs Paul Rosenberg, Nelson A. Rockefeller, Mr and Mrs Armand Bartos, Sydney and Harriet Janis, Mr and Mrs Werner E. Josten and Loula D. Lasker bequest, 1989

**Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum**

Still life with pottery, jar, and bottle 1884  
Oil on canvas, 40 × 56 cm  
Not signed  
F 57 JH 539  
Inv. no. F.1972.44.P  
Acquired; Norton Simon Foundation, 1972

Head of a peasant woman in a white bonnet 1885  
Oil on canvas, 48.8 × 35.3 cm  
Not signed  
F 85a JH 694  
Inv. no. F.1985.1.P  
Acquired; Norton Simon Foundation, 1985

Portrait of a peasant 1888  
Oil on canvas, 64.3 × 54.4 cm  
Signed: *Vincent*  
F 443 JH 1548  
Inv. no. M.1975.6.P  
Acquired; Norton Simon Foundation, 1975  
The mulberry tree 1889
Oil on canvas, 54 × 65 cm  
Not signed  
F 637 JH 1796  
Inv. no. M. 1976.9.P  
Acquired; Norton Simon Foundation, 1976

**Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art**

Still life with a bouquet of daisies 1885  
Oil on paper mounted on panel, 42.8 × 57.1 cm  
Not signed  
F 197 JH 1167  
Inv. no. 1978-1-33  
Bequest of Charlotte Dorrance Wright, 1987

Portrait of Camille Roulin 1888  
Oil on canvas, 43.2 × 35 cm  
Not signed  
F 537 JH 1644  
Inv. no. 73-129-1  
Gift of Mrs Rodolphe Meyer de Schauensee, 1973

Rain 1889  
Oil on canvas, 74.3 × 93.1 cm  
Not signed  
F 650 JH 1839  
Inv. no. 1986-26-36  
The Henry P. McIlhenny Collection in memory of Frances P. McIlhenny, 1986

**Princeton University, The Art Museum**

The Tarascon coaches 1888  
Oil on canvas, 72 × 92 cm  
Not signed  
F 478a JH 1605  
Inv. no. L. 1988.62.11  
On loan; Henry and Rose Pearlman Foundation, 1988

**Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts**

The bathing float, Paris 1887  
Oil on canvas, 19 × 27 cm  
Not signed  
F 311 JH 1325  
Inv. no. 83.25  
Gift of Mr and Mrs Paul Mellon, 1983

*Van Gogh Museum Journal 1995*
Field at Saint-Rémy 1889
Oil on canvas, 24.1 × 33.7 cm
Not signed
F 722 JH 1872
Inv. no. 83.26
Gift of Mr and Mrs Paul Mellon, 1983

St Louis, St Louis Art Museum

Still life, basket of apples 1887
Oil on canvas, 46 × 55 cm
Signed: Vincent 87
F 379 JH 1341
Inv. no. 43. 1972
Gift of a private donor, 1972

Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Flower beds in Holland 1883
Oil on canvas mounted on wood, 48 × 65 cm
Not signed
F 186 JH 361
Inv. no. 1983.1.21
Acquired; Collection of Mr and Mrs Paul Mellon, 1983

Farmhouse in Provence 1888
Oil on canvas, 46.1 × 60.9 cm
Not signed
F 565 JH 1443
Inv. no. 1970.17.34
Acquired; Ailsa Mellon Bruce Collection, 1970

Roses 1890
Oil on canvas, 71 × 90 cm
Not signed
F 681 JH 1976
Inv. no. 1991.67.1
Partial and promised gift of Pamela C. Harriman in memory of W. Averell Harriman, 1991

Orchard with peach trees in blossom 1888
Oil on canvas, 65 × 81 cm
Not signed
F 551 JH 1396
Inv. no. TL 1990.7.1
On loan from a private collection, 1990
The Van Gogh Museum as of 1 October 1995

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