

VINCENT VAN GOGH DRAWINGS

VINCENT VAN GOGH DRAWINGS

Arles, Saint-Rémy & Auvers-sur-Oise

1888-1890

VAN GOGH MUSEUM

4 PART I

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TRANSLATED BY DIANE WEBB

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COVER ILLUSTRATIONS

Part 1: Vincent van Gogh, The rock of Montmajour with pine trees, 1888. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum. Part 2: Vincent van Gogh, Old vineyard with peasant woman,

1890. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

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Foreword

There are various forms to choose from when compiling a museum's collection catalogue. One approach consists in producing a rather rudimentary listing of the material and technical aspects of an object, its provenance, the relevant literature and exhibitions, and possibly a short descriptive text. The other extreme is the catalogue that seeks to do justice to the current state of scholarship and to be the last word on the subject – at least for the time being. These two extremes encompass a number of possible variants. When the Van Gogh Museum decided in the early 1990s to produce a series of collection catalogues of its paintings and drawings by Van Gogh, the general feeling was that it could only be done on a grand scale. The museum was developing into a centre of Van Gogh scholarship, and entertained hopes of producing a new, fully annotated edition of Van Gogh's correspondence.

The catalogue of drawings was announced as a five-volume publication: four volumes devoted to the independent drawings and a fifth comprising Van Gogh's sketchbooks and letter sketches. The publication of one volume per year would bring the series to a conclusion in 2000. The years 1996 and 1997 did in fact see the appearance of the first two volumes, written by Sjraar van Heugten, which treated the early years (1880-1883) and the drawings made in Nuenen. But this brisk pace proved impossible to maintain, since the high quality the museum was striving for required a great amount of time-consuming research. From the beginning, moreover, an attempt was made in the introductions and entries not only to describe the collection but also to give a representative picture of Van Gogh's entire drawn oeuvre. Adhering to this ambitious plan forced us to abandon the original publication schedule, so Volume 3 – the drawings made in Antwerp and Paris – did not appear until 2001. This time the authors were Marije Vellekoop and Sjraar van Heugten.

The present volume of Van Gogh's drawings from Arles, Saint-Rémy and Auvers-sur-Oise, written by Marije Vellekoop and Roelie Zwikker, completes the overview. Consulting the extensive literature treating the drawings of 1888-1890 and forming a well-considered opinion of all these sources turned out to be a challenging and labour-intensive endeavour, the result of which fills nearly 600 pages. I am extremely grateful to the authors for their unwavering pursuit of perfection in writing this book. Over the course of five years, they have immersed themselves in every facet of this group of drawings, and have arrived at many new insights. Their thoroughness has made this publication a standard work of reference. Both authors were assisted in their research and writing by many colleagues at the Van Gogh Museum, to whom I here offer my heartfelt thanks.

The intended fifth volume treating the sketchbooks and letter sketches has meanwhile been superseded in part by the forthcoming annotated edition of Van

Gogh's letters – a project started at approximately the same time as the collection catalogues – which is at an advanced stage and will include all the letter sketches. As regards the four sketchbooks preserved in the museum, a suitable form of publication is being sought for these intimate little books.

The ambition to turn these four volumes of drawings into more than just a description of the collection has led to several collaborative projects. A wide-ranging overview of Van Gogh's most important drawings in public and private collections was organised jointly with the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. This exhibition, held in 2005 in Amsterdam and New York, was accompanied by two publications: a hefty catalogue and a more general introduction to Van Gogh's drawn work: *Van Gogh draughtsman*.

The Albertina in Vienna, in close collaboration with the Van Gogh Museum, is currently preparing an exhibition to be held in the autumn of 2009 that will examine the connection between Van Gogh's drawings and paintings. This project, too, is an upshot of the newly completed collection catalogue.

Finally, a significant development is the enormous expansion by the collection of prints and drawings in the Van Gogh Museum during the twelve years in which this catalogue has been taking shape. An active acquisitions policy has aimed at giving the once small and rather disjointed sub-collections a clear identity. The goal has been to provide the collection of Van Gogh's works on paper with a representative context, consisting of prints and drawings by his contemporaries. In recent years, however, it has also proved possible to acquire several drawings by Van Gogh that fill gaps in the group of early works. Those three sheets – two studies from the beginning of his career and a striking portrait from his Hague period – are treated in an appendix to this last volume of the catalogue. They form, as it were, the exclamation point with which the project closes.

We are particularly indebted to Waanders Publishers – the director, Wim Waanders, and the publishers Marloes Waanders and Ben Belt – who since taking charge in 2003 of this prestigious and comprehensive series have shown great faith in the publication of the collection catalogues. Demonstrating their whole-hearted commitment, designer Marjo Starink and editor Jacqueline van Wijngaarden, along with their expert co-workers at Waanders Printers, have made an important contribution to the production of this splendid volume that does ample justice to Van Gogh's late drawings in the collection.

Axel Rüger Director Van Gogh Museum

Authors' preface

This fourth and last volume of Van Gogh's drawings in the collection of the Van Gogh Museum covers the sheets executed in Arles, Saint-Rémy and Auvers-sur-Oise between February 1888 and the artist's death in July 1890. For reasons given in the Preface to Volume 1, this catalogue does not include letter sketches, the drawings enclosed with letters or sheets that can be traced to surviving sketch-books.

The first part of the Introduction gives an overview of the stylistic development of the drawings, the motifs Van Gogh depicted and the events in his life; the second part discusses materials, techniques and experiments. The catalogue section further explores thematic and technical issues. Our aim is to give an idea not only of the drawings in the museum's collection but of the entire oeuvre from this period.

Three appendixes are included at the back of the book: Appendix 1 is devoted to works so sketchy that they have been excluded from the catalogue proper; Appendix 2 discusses drawings which, having been re-dated on the basis of fresh insights, actually belong in a previous volume; Appendix 3 comprises the drawings that have been added to the collection in recent years. Because this volume is the last of the series, it was thought best to include as well the works made before 1888 which fall into one of these categories.

A book like this depends on the help and support of many colleagues. As she did for previous volumes, Monique Hageman compiled the documentation for each drawing by working her way through stacks of documentation files, archival material, newspaper cuttings and exhibition catalogues. Her love of overviews and lists has led, moreover, to the inclusion in this volume of an index covering this volume as well as all previous volumes. Monique's optimism and good humour were a source of joy and inspiration to us.

The discerning comments we received from the editorial group – consisting of Sjraar van Heugten, Chris Stolwijk, Leo Jansen, Hans Luijten, Nienke Bakker, Louis van Tilborgh, Jos Vellekoop-Knigge (a large number of the texts) and Jan Robert (also editor-in-chief) – led to many improvements to both the text and the content of the book. In particular, the collaboration with our colleagues working on the letter project (Hans, Leo and Nienke), who in the same years were writing the annotations to the letters from 1888-90, has lifted this book on to a higher plane.

This is the first time that a volume of the collection catalogue has been published under the watchful eye of Suzanne Bogman, who as Head of Publications – responsible for the planning and the contacts with parties outside the museum – took a lot of work off our hands. It is owing to Geri Klazema, Agnieszka Juszczak, Fieke Pabst and Patricia Schuil that this book has such an abundance of comparative illustrations.

The keepers of the vault – Esther Hoofwijk, Alex Nikken and Serge Taal – made it

possible for us to study the drawings again and again, even at very short notice. Thanks to Frans Stive, who digitalised and manipulated a number of the illustrations, we were able to superimpose paintings and drawings of the same subjects. We would also like to thank all those colleagues who have offered us encouragement over the years.

Outside the museum, too, we were able to rely on very valuable auxiliary forces. Nico Lingbeek and his team worked steadily to conserve and restore the drawings for the Van Gogh Museum, a project that has meanwhile been completed. Nico, along with Siraar van Heugten, acted as a fantastic 'help desk', always willing to answer our questions about Van Gogh's drawing technique. Together with Frans Stive, Nico also made infrared images of some of the works discussed here, so that the underdrawings became clearly visible. Furthermore, Nico was closely involved in examining the purple ink Van Gogh used. These investigations formed a pilot study for further research now being done into the inks Van Gogh used, which is part of the project 'Van Gogh's studio practice in context', in which the Van Gogh Museum is collaborating closely with Han Neevel, Maarten van Bommel and Ad Stijnman of The Netherlands Institute for Cultural Heritage (ICN). Thanks to Wim Schoenmaker and Maurice Tromp van Kleurgamma, assisted by Agnieszka Juszczak, Esther Hoofwijk and Marije Wissink of Van Gogh Museum Enterprises, the reproductions of the drawings come strikingly close to the originals. Teio Meedendorp, who has been working in recent years on the collection catalogue of Van Gogh's drawings in the Kröller-Müller Museum, was always willing to share his expertise with us. Diane Webb provided the excellent English translation.

Various experts on areas outside our field of study have allowed us to benefit from their knowledge, thereby contributing to a better understanding and sometimes a more accurate dating of certain drawings. Henry Brisse, for example, a researcher in the fields of ecology and botany at France's Centre National de Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), identified many of the trees and plants in Van Gogh's drawings. Jean-Luc Massot of Aix-en-Provence, a specialist in the field of Provençal architecture, helped us to determine the function and type of the various buildings depicted by Van Gogh.

Two people have made it possible for us to follow quite literally in Van Gogh's footsteps. Aldo Bastié, a historian attached to the Abbey of Montmajour, led us around the rough terrain surrounding the monastery. We have therefore stood on every spot where Van Gogh drew, and having to pick our way through thorny scrub and jump over deep chasms in the rock made the adventure all the more memorable. Another special experience was our visit to the asylum of Saint-Paul-de-Mausole in Saint-Rémy, where the psychiatrist Jean Marc Boulon permitted us to wander around both the buildings and the gardens, which few are allowed to do because patients are still treated there. We are also indebted to Sabine and Alain Barnicaud (Palais du Roure, Avignon), Marie-Hélène Sibille (Musée de la Camargue, Arles) and Sylvie Rebuttini (Archives communales, Arles) and Wouter van der Veen.

Last but not least, we would like to thank our partners, Willem van Wamel and Stan Heuvelmans, without whose support this book could not have been written.

Marije Vellekoop and Roelie Zwikker

Van Gogh in Arles, Saint-Rémy & Auvers-sur-Oise

The search for a style of his own

Exhausted and fed up with city life, Vincent van Gogh arrived on 20 February 1888 in Arles in the south of France. After spending two years in the busy metropolis of Paris, he was longing for peace, rural life, and the warmth and colourfulness of Provence. He wrote to his sister Wil a couple of days after his arrival: You see that I've gone somewhat further to the south – I've seen only too clearly that I cannot prosper with either my work or my health in the winter – moreover, nowadays people are demanding colour contrasts and highly intense and variegated colours in paintings rather than a subdued grey colour. So I thought for one reason and another that I wouldn't do anyone any harm if I just went to what attracted me' [582/W2]. In addition to brilliant hues and strong colour contrasts, Van Gogh was seeking 'a new art ... of drawing and – of the artistic life' [587/469].

Van Gogh had read about Provence in the novels of Alphonse Daudet (1840-1897) and Guy de Maupassant (1850-1893); furthermore, artists he admired – such as Eugène Delacroix (1798-1863), Adolphe Monticelli (1824-1886) and Paul Cézanne (1839-1906) – had travelled or lived there. He first voiced his desire to travel to the South in the autumn of 1886, a year and a half before his actual departure. At the time he intended to leave in the spring of 1887, but abandoned his plan only to return to it that autumn.

Van Gogh hoped to find in the south of France the European equivalent of Japan. He later wrote to Paul Gauguin (1848-1903) about his journey to Arles: 'How I watched out to see "if it was like Japan yet"!' [711/B22]. His letters reveal that he had initially chosen Arles only as a temporary residence, a stop-over on his way to Marseilles, which was especially attractive because of its location on the Mediterranean. There Vincent had also intended, in consultation with Theo, to look for a place to show the work of Monticelli and the impressionists. However, he liked Arles and the surrounding area so much that he ended up living there for over a

- 1 Van Gogh described his condition to his brother Theo in letter 698/544 of 3 October 1888: 'When I left you at the Gare du Midi, [I was] very upset and almost ill and almost an alcoholic as a result of overdoing it' ('Lorsque je t'ai quitté à la gare du Midi bien navré et presque malade et presqu'alcoolique à force de me monter le cou.') Working in Paris had been very difficult for Van Gogh: 'Models didn't want to pose for him, he was forbidden to sit in the street and paint, & his prickly temperament repeatedly caused scenes that irritated him so much that he was unapproachable & finally took a great dislike to Paris' (letter of 14 February 1889 from Theo van Gogh to Jo Bonger, in *Brief happiness*, Amsterdam/Zwolle 1999, no. 46).
- **2** See also the letter of 24 February 1888 from Theo to Wil van Gogh, b 914 V/1962.
- 3 Letter of c. 24 February 1888.
- **4** Letter of c. 16 March 1888: 'un nouvel art [...] du dessin et de la vie artistique'.
- 5 See letter 572/459a of September or October 1886 to his Antwerp study friend Horace Mann Livens: 'In spring say February or even sooner I may be going to the South of France, the land of the blue tones and gay colours.'
- 6 It emerges from Theo's letter of 28 February 1887 to his mother (b 906 V/1962) that in the early winter of 1886-87 Vincent still had plans to travel: 'Here things are much the same, I certainly didn't express myself

well, because you seem to have understood that Vincent has left. This is not the case, he is still here & appears to have no plans to go outside [Paris] in the spring as he had at first planned.' One of the reasons Van Gogh decided against the journey at the beginning of 1887 was possibly his relationship with Agostina Segatori, the manageress of the restaurant 'Le tambourin'. At the end of October 1887 he wrote to his sister Wil: 'It is my plan to go as soon as I can to the South for a time, where there is even more colour and even more sun' (letter 576/W1).

- 7 Letter of 17 October 1888: 'Comme j'ai guetté "si cela etait déjà du Japon"!'
- 8 It is not clear why Van Gogh decided to go to Arles; the city was known mainly for its Roman and early Christian ruins, things in which Van Gogh was not particularly interested, nor was the city especially favoured by artists.
- 9 See, for instance, letters 581/465 of c. 27 February, 589/470 of 21 or 22 March, 591/471 of c. 25 March, 603/479 of c. 25 April 1888.



1 Landscape with snow (F 391 JH 1358), 1888. Private collection.

10 In the space of only six months Van Gogh sent more than 80 of the 100 drawings in 21 consignments. Most of them were sent to Theo, but his sister Wil and his artist friends Emile Bernard and John Russell also received drawings from him. Twice he gave sheets to friends (the Danish artist Christian Vilhelm Mourier-Petersen and the Zouave Paul Eugène Milliet) who were going to Paris and could deliver the works to Theo. Van Gogh took two drawings that he made shortly before leaving Arles (cat. 350 and fig. 350c) with him to Saint-Rémy; he sent them six weeks later (see letter 784/595 of 17 or 18 June 1889). The large format of some of the sheets frequently caused problems at the post office (see letters 641/505, 620/495, 643/509 and 665/524).

- 11 For a list of the paintings he made during these first few weeks, see cat. 323, note 2.
- 12 See letter 585/467 of 9 March 1888.
- 13 F 397 JH 1368, F 544 JH 1369 and F 400 JH 1371.
- 14 See letter 596/474 of 9 April 1888.

year, during which time he made some 200 paintings and 100 drawings. One-third of those drawings are in the collection preserved in the Van Gogh Museum. 10

When Van Gogh arrived in Arles he was surprised to find a thick layer of snow and bitterly cold temperatures (*fig.* 1). The unusually cold weather lasted another two and a half weeks, making it difficult to work out of doors, so Van Gogh concentrated primarily on motifs he could paint indoors. The cold weather, however, did not prevent him from exploring the city and making excursions to nearby places, such as the ruined abbey on the hill of Montmajour (*fig.* 342f).

Getting down to work

The first motif to which Van Gogh devoted a number of paintings – made out of doors in Arles around mid-March – was the Langlois bridge, a drawbridge over a canal to the south-west of the city (fig. 326b).¹³ Just at this time the almonds were the first of the trees to blossom, so a week later he began a painting campaign in the orchards just outside Arles. By the end of the flowering season, around 20 April, he had made fifteen paintings and three drawings of this motif (see *cats. 325, 326*), and had the feeling that these canvases would be favourably received by the Dutch public.¹⁴

It is not known exactly when Van Gogh began to draw in Arles. Works on paper are first mentioned in a letter of 9 April, but the fact that he had taken up drawing as early as March is apparent from, among other works, a drawn landscape on which he wrote 'Arles Mars 1888' (cat. 323). The depiction on another sheet also

2 Landscape with peasant ploughing (F 1517 JH 1374), 1888. Washington, National Gallery of Art (Collection of Mr and Mrs Mellon).



suggests that it was made in March, since it portrays peasants pruning grape vines, work that was done in March at the latest (*cat. 324*). Both drawings must have been made after 9 March, when warmer weather set in and the snow melted.¹⁵ These were the first drawings Van Gogh had made since the summer of 1887.

Reed pen

While Van Gogh was still engrossed by the blossoming orchards, he was pondering plans for a project to be undertaken after the flowering season: 'I have an enormous amount of drawing to do because I'd like to make drawings in the style of Japanese prints' [596/474]. ¹⁶ When he said this, he was probably thinking of the fluent lines he so admired in the work of the Japanese, a style he wished to master himself. Shortly before this, he had rediscovered the reed pen: this implement produced supple yet solid lines, but it demanded an experienced drawing hand. Indeed, his lack of skill probably explains why his attempts to draw with the reed pen in 1881 in Etten (fig. 3.1b, p. 532) were never repeated. ¹⁷ At the time Van Gogh had blamed his lack of success with the technique on the quality of Dutch reed. He found the better, southern French reed along the canals around Arles, where he 'harvested' it and cut it into pens himself (see pp. 30, 31).

In addition to familiarising himself with the properties of the reed pen, Van Gogh had a number of other reasons for shifting his attention from painting to drawing at this time: he was less bothered by the fierce mistral when drawing, and it did not require so much physical exertion.¹⁸ Moreover, works on paper

- 15 See the descriptions of weather given by Van Gogh in his letters, as well as contemporary meteorological information such as that published in *Bulletin annuel de la commission météorologique du département des Bouches-du-Rhône*, 1888-1890, in the library of Météo-France in Paris.
- 16 Letter of 9 April 1888: 'Puis j'ai ÉNORMEMENT à dessiner car voudrais faire des dessins dans le genre des crepons Japonais.'
- 17 See letters 167/146 of late June 1881 and 602/478 of c. 20 April 1888 regarding Van Gogh's use of the reed pen in the Netherlands. In Drawings 2, p. 23, Van Heugten states that Van Gogh used the reed pen in Nuenen, not in Etten. This does not agree, however, with the reference to this drawing implement in a letter from Etten, nor with the drawings themselves: the broad, supple lines of the reed pen cannot be discerned in the Nuenen drawings, whereas they are to be seen in some of the sheets drawn in Etten (e.g. F 902 JH 9, F 845 JH 7, F 833 JH 13).
- 18 Van Gogh was in rather poor health when he arrived in Arles. During his first months there he often wrote about his physical ailments, which included listlessness, stomach complaints, toothache and fever.



3 Roof with chimneys (F 1480a JH 1403), 1888. Private collection.

were less costly to make. One or more of these reasons continued to play a role during Van Gogh's stay in Arles, as time and again he chose to draw rather than to paint.

Small reed-pen drawings

As mentioned above, Van Gogh's plan, expressed at the beginning of April, to shift his attention to drawing when he had finished painting the blossoming orchards does not imply that he had not yet begun to draw. In addition to the abovementioned drawings from March – both of which, for that matter, already display traces of the reed pen – there are several more sheets that can be dated to late March or early April: two reed-pen drawings of orchards (*cat. 325, fig. 325a*), two water-colour copies of paintings (*cat. 326, fig. 326c*) and a couple of small landscapes in pen and ink, the subjects of which indicate their origins in this period (*figs. 3, 4* and F 1500 JH 1373).¹⁹

Around 20 April Van Gogh conceived the plan to draw a whole series of such small landscapes with the reed pen.²⁰ He made all of them – like most of the sheets dating from March and early April – on paper that came from a sketchbook he had brought from Paris.²¹ The format of those sheets (25.8 by 34.9 cm) was considerably smaller than that of the two reed-pen drawings of orchards (c. 39.0 by 53.5 cm) that Vincent made in late March or early April, which he sent to Theo around 17 April.²² Vincent himself mentioned this difference in a letter written a couple of days later, in which he also informed Theo that he had already finished four small

- 19 In the last-mentioned drawings, the trees are still bare or just beginning to leaf, there are no spring flowers blooming in the fields, and one sees work generally carried out in March or early April. The two watercolour drawings, which were the first works from Arles that Theo saw, were meant to give him an idea of the colourfulness of the paintings after which they were made
- 20 See letter 602/478 of c. 20 April 1888.
- **21** For Paris drawings made on this paper, see Drawings 3, cats. 283, 293-299.
- 22 The only other drawings from this period that were not made on paper from the sketchbook are the two copies in watercolour (cat. 326 and F 1480 JH 1382 (afb. 326c)).

4 Road lined with trees (F 1518a JH 1495), 1888. Vienna, Albertina.



drawings, ²³ though it is not clear whether he was referring to four new drawings or to works made earlier. ²⁴ He eventually made some 17 drawings and sent them in two consignments to Theo: 'a dozen' some time at the end of April and another five on 7 May. ²⁵ In the case of about 10 drawings, it can be determined on the basis of subject, style or descriptions in the letters that they were made before the end of April and thus most likely belonged to the first consignment. ²⁶ The other sheets cannot be assigned to a specific shipment, but considering the size of the consignments (about twelve and five), most of these drawings were probably sent on 7 May. ²⁷

- 23 Letter 603/479 of c. 25 April 1888.
- 24 It is quite possible that Field with farmhouses and Farmhouse in the wheatfield, both done at the beginning of April, also belonged to this group (see cats. 327, 328).
- 25 See letters 604/480 of 1 May and 607/483 of 7 May 1888, respectively. In the latter letter he also mentions two large drawings: View of Arles with irises in the foreground (F 1416r JH 1415) and Bank of the Rhône (F 1472a JH 1497a).
- **26** These are the seven pen-and-ink drawings from March and early April: cats. 323, 324, 327, 328 and F 1500 JH 1373, F 1517 JH 1374 and F 1480a JH 1403. This consignment included *Park with pond in front of the Yellow House* (cat. 329) the only one to be drawn

on a sheet of yellow paper – as can be deduced from a description in letter 604/480 of 1 May 1888. In the same letter Van Gogh refers to two drawings of the public gardens opposite the Yellow House; the loose leaves from the sketchbook contain three possibilities: Park with shrub (cat. 330), Path in a park (F 1476 JH 1409) and Park with benches (F 1487 JH 1410). The last two are closely related in 1487 JH 1410). The new drawings are mentioned just after the announcement that the weather in Arles is beautiful (letter 607/483). In the literature on these drawings, the two statements are always connected, and it is therefore maintained that these sheets were drawn in good weather, in contrast to the previous series. Van Gogh

left some space between the two sentences, however, making it likely that they were unconnected. Because the fine weather did not set in until 7 May, linking the two statements means that Van Gogh made all seven drawings (the five small ones and two large ones) in a single day, which is highly unlikely. Only cat. 332 can be said with certainty to have belonged to the second consignment: Van Gogh drew the sheet on his excursion to Fontvieille around 2 May. Of the other eight drawings on the sketchbook paper, six are datable to late April or early May (and can therefore be connected with the consignments) through descriptions in letters or their resemblance to painted work, or on the basis of style, technique or composition: cats. 334, 333 (with cat. 331 on the verso) and F 1473 JH 1405, F 1472 JH 1404, F 1518a JH 1495 and F 1509 JH 1494. There are, moreover, two other drawings - F 1502 JH 1492 and F 1518 JH 1493 - which, judging by the trees depicted in full leaf, must have originated later. We have not examined all of the small reed-pen drawings mentioned here. The attribution to the consignments of late April or 7 May of most of the works not belonging to the Van Gogh Museum was made on the basis of photographs, measurements and descriptions given by others.

Not only can the fluent lines in this series of small drawings be traced to Japanese models, but their format, too, corresponds to that of the woodcuts. Van Gogh also connected the small paintings he made after a number of these drawings with Japanese prints, probably referring to the format and the use of coloured areas (see *cat*. 323).²⁸

This series of drawings gives a nice overview of the mastery Van Gogh had acquired in the use of the reed pen in just two months' time. Several of these sheets, with their great diversity of pen strokes – including short dashes, graceful lines and robust dots – are harbingers of the masterpieces he would produce a couple of months later on Montmajour (fig. 4 and cat. 333).

Montmajour – first series

Theo clearly saw the potential of the drawings his brother had sent to him. Around 18 May he asked him if he wanted to submit a group of drawings to the exhibition of the Dutch Etching Club in Amsterdam. Several days previously, Theo had received a letter from a member of the board of the Etching Club, the artist Jan Veth (1864-1925), in which Veth asked him to provide work for that exhibition – without however referring to the work of Van Gogh. ²⁹ Vincent answered Theo: 'Listen – I'll do all I can to send you some new drawings for Dordrecht' [613/489]. ³⁰ The exhibition was to open on 1 June, so Van Gogh, forced to produce under great pressure, set to work immediately. Within a week he made seven drawings that form a coherent group as regards subject, style, technique and type of paper (see *cats. 335-337*). Bearing in mind their destination, he supplied them all with a title or a signature.

These sheets, all drawn on the hill of Montmajour, display either the ruined abbey, the hill with its vegetation or an impression of the surrounding countryside (fig. 335a). On Montmajour Van Gogh was delighted with the contrast between 'the wild & romantic foreground and the distant prospect, wide and still', and expressed this in the drawings.³¹ He had already visited Montmajour on a number of occasions, and had described the location to Theo in a letter of 9 March: 'I've seen lots of beautiful things – a ruined abbey on a hill planted with hollies, pines and grey olive trees. We'll get down to that soon, I hope' [585/467].³² It was two and a half months before Van Gogh finally acted upon this plan.

For these seven drawings he chose half-sheets (c. 31 by 47 cm) of laid paper with the watermark AL (in a scroll) PL BAS, using it both horizontally and vertically. Over an underdrawing in pencil he drew with aniline ink, employing both a reed pen and an ordinary pen. Aniline ink was available in a variety of colours, but unfortunately it was not very stable (see p. 32). Only the edges of two drawings (cats. 335, 337) still display a bright purple colour; otherwise the depictions have discoloured to a light brown hue, sometimes so light that the lines are almost invisible.

Fear of an unfavourable reception in the Netherlands and dissatisfaction with the result probably led Van Gogh to doubt whether he should actually take part in the exhibition. In the end he declined to participate. He resolved to continue drawing a lot: 'What's always urgent is to draw, and whether it's done directly with a brush, or with something else, such as a pen, you never do enough. I'm trying now to exaggerate the essential, and deliberately leave vague what's commonplace' [615/490].³³

- 28 See letter 608/484 of 7 May 1888.
- 29 Letter of 15 May 1888 from Jan Veth to Theo van Gogh, inv. b 3573 V/1962.
- 30 Letter of c. 20 May 1888: 'Ecoutes je ferai tout mon possible de t'envoyer de nouveaux dessins pour Dordrecht.' Van Gogh spoke mistakenly of Dordrecht, presumably because Jan Veth came from Dordrecht. It is possible that Theo had quoted passages from Veth's letter in a letter to Vincent.
- 31 Letter 615/490 of 26 May 1888: 'l'avant plan sauvage & romantique et les perspectives lointaines larges et tranquilles'.
- 32 'Mais néamoins j'ai vu de bien belles choses une ruine d'abbaye sur une colline plantée de houx, de pins, d'oliviers gris. Nous attaquerons cela sous peu j'espère.'
- 33 Letter of 26 May 1888: 'Ce qui est toujours pressé c'est de dessiner, et que cela soit fait directement à la brosse ou bien à autre chôse comme à la plume, on n'en fait jamais assez. Je cherche maintenant à exagérer l'essentiel, à laisser dans le vague exprès le banal.'

5 Photograph of Les Saintes-Mariesde-la-Mer, n.d. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



Shortly after sending the drawings on 26 May, Van Gogh expressed his desire to make a panorama of the view from Montmajour.³⁴ To this end he immediately set to work, drawing the impressive view of Arles from the hill, in large format (48.5 by 60 cm, *fig.* 342d).

Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer

The rest of the panorama was some time in coming. First, at the end of May and beginning of June, Van Gogh made an excursion lasting around five days to Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, a fishing village on the Mediterranean (fig. 5). 'I'm taking everything I need in order to draw, especially. I must draw a great deal, for the very reason you mentioned in your last letter – things here have so much style. And I want to arrive at a more deliberate and exaggerated way of drawing' [620/495]. His plan to concentrate on drawing also had to do with his suspicion that on the coast it would be too windy to paint. 36

During his first three months in Arles, Van Gogh had repeatedly expressed his wish to travel to the coast in order to paint seascapes, mentioning Marseilles and Martigues as possible destinations.³⁷ At the end of May, when his plans became firmer, he decided to go to Saintes-Maries. Perhaps his attention had been drawn to this village by the gypsies who made an annual pilgrimage to the place on 24 and 25 May. In Saintes-Maries he found Southern variants of motifs that had captivated him six years earlier in Scheveningen: boats at sea and on the beach, fishermen's huts and village views. It was the huts in particular that now fascinated him, and he set about capturing them in drawings (see *cats.* 339, 340).

In Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer Van Gogh made a total of nine drawings and three paintings.³⁸ Like the first Montmajour series, most of the Saintes-Maries

- 34 See letter 617/492 of 28 May 1888.
- 35 Letter of 29 or 30 May 1888: 'J'emporte tout ce qu'il faut pour dessiner surtout. il faut que je dessine beaucoup justement pour cette raison dont tu parlais dans ta derniere lettre les chôses d'ici ont tant de style. Et je veux arriver à un dessin plus volontaire et plus exagéré.'
- **36** See letter 620/495 of 29 or 30 May 1888.
- **37** See letters 601/B4 of 19 April, 603/479 of c. 25 April and 606/482 of 4 May 1888.
- 38 For a list of these works, see cat. 338, note 14.



6 Two houses in Saintes-Maries (F 1440 JH 1451), 1888. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (on loan from E. Shaw).

drawings were made on half-sheets of laid paper with the watermark AI (in a scroll) PI BAS (c. 31 by 47 cm).³⁹ Stylistically, the drawings can be divided into two groups: carefully drawn compositions (fig. 6 and F 1428 JH 1458, F 1439 JH 1446, F 1479 JH 1456) and sheets in which Van Gogh experimented with the vigorous style he was trying to achieve (cats. 339, 340 and F 1436 JH 1454). The drawings in the latter category are characterised by a loose, spontaneous manner, in which he applied the ink thickly with reed pen and brush. In the end he found these works 'a bit harsh' [623/500].⁴⁰ That he was seeking expressiveness rather than realism is also apparent from the first letter he wrote after returning to Arles: 'It's the same as in drawing – the drawing, the precise colour – is not perhaps the essential element we should look for – because the reflection of reality in the mirror, if it was possible to fix it with colour & everything – would in no way be a painting, any more than a photograph is' [623/500].⁴¹

The desire to acquire a more fluent manner of drawing was prompted in part by Van Gogh's ambition to work in the spirit of the Japanese artist: 'The Japanese draws quickly, very quickly, like a flash of lightning, because his nerves are finer, his feeling simpler' [623/500].⁴²

Working more fluently and more rapidly went against Van Gogh's habit of using a perspective frame, a tool he had depended on frequently since June 1882 to render compositions correctly (see also pp. 36-38). His increased self-confidence made it easier to put this tool aside. Around 5 June 1888 he proudly wrote to Theo about the sheet *Boats on the beach (fig. 338b)*: 'I've been here only a few months, but tell me this, do you think that in Paris I could have done the drawing of the boats *in an hour*? Not even with the perspective frame. Now this was done without measuring,

- 39 For two of the works he chose a larger format and different laid paper; on this subject, see cat. 338, note
- 40 Letter of c. 5 June 1888: 'un peu durs'.
- 41 See note 40: 'C'est comme pour le dessin le dessin, la couleur juste n'est pas peutetre l'essentiel qu'il faut chercher car le reflet de la realité dans le miroir, si c'etait possible de le fixer avec couleur & tout ne serait aucunement un tableau, pas davantage qu'une photographie.'
- **42** Ibidem: 'Le japonais dessine vite, très vite, comme un eclair, c'est que ses nerfs sont plus fins, son sentiment plus simple.' See also further on in the Introduction.

just by letting the pen go' [623/500].⁴³ Working extempore contributed greatly to the development of a personal and daring manner of drawing, already manifest in the drawings done in April and May (see, for instance, *cats.* 339 and 340).

Back to painting

Immediately upon his return to Arles on 4 or 5 June, Van Gogh made brightly coloured copies, in oil and watercolour, of three of the drawings he had done in Saintes-Maries.⁴⁴ The similarities in the contours indicate that in making these copies he did not simply paint after the drawings, but rather transferred the compositions of the drawings to the new support, probably by means of tracing, a technique he had earlier employed in Arles (see *cat*. 323).

Meanwhile it was harvest time, and Van Gogh immediately saw possibilities for a new series, a sequel to his paintings of blossoming orchards. The orchards stood for spring, while the new series would symbolise summer. As was the case with the spring series, these harvest scenes demanded his full attention for an entire fortnight, during which he made approximately ten paintings and four drawings. For the first time in six weeks, he poured all his energy into painting.

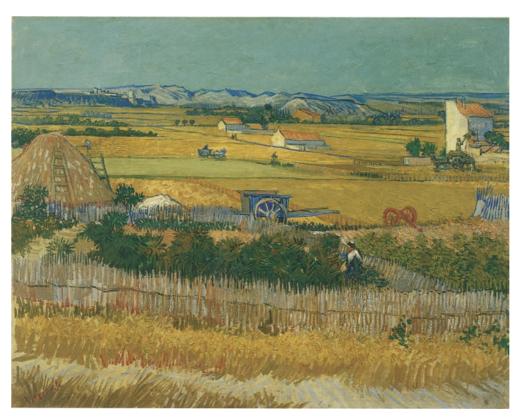
The harvest drawings mark the appearance of a new phenomenon: in his reedpen drawings, Van Gogh used watercolour to apply areas of colour intended to make the sheets resemble Japanese prints. At the end of May he had ordered new watercolours from Theo for this very purpose.⁴⁵ In addition to a fluent, supple hand, Van Gogh now employed colour as well, in an effort to equal the Japanese. The first attempt was somewhat hesitant (F 1484 JH 1438), but the second produced spectacular results (*fig. 7*). Van Gogh used this sheet as the model for his now-famous painting *The harvest* (*fig. 8*). After finishing this canvas, he used pen and ink and watercolour to draw a group of haystacks that would also serve as the basis for a painting.⁴⁶ The fourth drawing of a theme connected with reaping and haymaking was made in pen and ink only, but it, too, would lead to a painting.⁴⁷ All these drawings thus preceded paintings, but this does not make them preparatory studies and thus of secondary importance: on the contrary, they are autonomous works of art in large format, some of which even bear a signature and a title.

On 20 June both the peasants and Van Gogh were disturbed in their labours: constant rain put a halt to the harvest and forced Van Gogh to spend several days working indoors. He made a virtue of necessity and set about working from a model, something he had been intending to do since the end of May: 'That's what I'm chiefly after [i.e. making works with figures], only until now, walking & working outdoors seemed to me better for my health and I didn't want to start a figure until I felt a little stronger' [621/498a].⁴⁸ When painting *The sower* in mid-June, Van Gogh must have felt that the time was ripe to concentrate on figure pieces, the genre in which he hoped to make a real contribution to modern art (see *cat*. 344). His model was a Zouave, a young soldier with a tough appearance and a striking costume. During these days Van Gogh made two paintings and a drawing of him (see *cat*. 341). Since his time in Cormon's studio in Paris, two years before, he had no longer drawn seriously from a model; now, moreover, he was doing it for the first time with a reed pen. He was not particularly satisfied with the result of his figure studies, either the painted or the drawn ones, but he considered them useful study

- 43 Ibidem: 'Je ne suis ici que quelques mois mais dites moi, est ce qu'à Paris j'aurais dessiné en une heure le dessin des bateaux? Même pas avec le cadre, or ceci c'est fait sans mesurer, en laissant aller la plume.'
- 44 The paintings F 420 JH 1462 and F 419 JH 1465 after F 1434 JH 1449 and cat. 340, respectively, and the watercolour F 1429 JH 1459 after F 1428 JH 1458. Van Gogh made the painting F 413 JH 1460 after this watercolour.
- 45 Regarding the order and the relationship of the drawings to Japanese prints, see letter 616/491 of 27 May 1888
- **46** These are F 1425 JH 1441 and F 425 JH 1442, respectively.
- **47** These are F 1478 JH 1444 and F 565 JH 1443, respectively.
- 48 Letter to Arnold Koning of 29 or 30 May 1888.



- 7 The harvest (F 1483 JH 1439), 1888. Private collection.
- 8 The harvest (F 412 JH 1440), 1888. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



material nonetheless.⁴⁹ The *Sitting Zouave* is the only Arles drawing made directly from a model; the drawn portraits produced in July and August 1888 were made after paintings.

Japanese influences

Van Gogh found the countryside around Arles just as beautiful as his imagined Japan, 'because of the limpidity of the atmosphere and the gay colour effects' [590/B2].⁵⁰ 'I feel I am in Japan, I say no more than that' [587/469].⁵¹ He had first seen Japanese prints in Antwerp in late 1885. After Vincent had gone in March 1886 to live with Theo in Paris – where the avant-garde artists had already fallen under the spell of Japanese art – the two brothers had begun what was to become a large collection of prints. Since that time Japanese examples had exerted a great influence on Van Gogh's artistic development.⁵²

He was also interested in books and articles dealing with Japanese art and culture. In the summer of 1888, Van Gogh read a book by Pierre Loti (1850-1923) called *Madame Chrysanthème* (1888), a highly imaginative novel that exerted a profound influence on his image of Japan. Since reading that book, he had considered Japanese art to be on a par with the recognised highlights of Western art.⁵³ Van Gogh was fascinated by the way in which Japanese artists concentrated on a single detail of unspoiled nature (see also *cats. 351-356*). Their art 'makes us return to nature, despite our education and our work in a world of convention' [690/542].⁵⁴

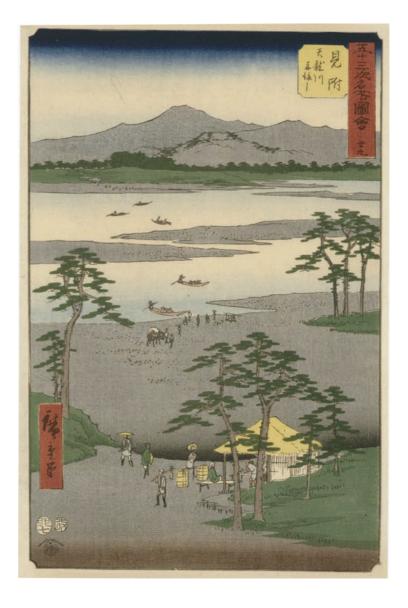
Even though most of the brothers' print collection was in Paris, the Oriental influence is distinctly present in the work Van Gogh produced in the south of France. His stay in Provence had changed his way of looking at things: 'you see with a more Japanese eye, you feel colour differently' [623/500].⁵⁵ As mentioned above, during his first months in Arles Van Gogh made drawings in which he attempted to work like the Japanese, whose fluent manner of drawing he so admired (see, for example, *cat.* 338). In this endeavour he was probably influenced more by Japanese drawings than by woodcuts. The brothers' collection contains no drawings by Japanese masters, but there is a good chance that Van Gogh did in fact see such work in Paris. On the other hand, he seems to have been influenced by Japanese woodcuts in both his choice of format (the paper on which he made the small reedpen drawings) and his aim of documenting a landscape (such as the two series of Montmajour).⁵⁶ At the end of May 1888, when he suggested assembling his drawings into an album, he referred explicitly to Japanese examples (see *fig.* 327e).⁵⁷

As mentioned above, in some works Van Gogh combined the reed pen with areas in watercolour (F 1483 JH 1439), with the intention of producing something resembling Japanese woodcuts (fig. 9). He also made drawings exclusively in ink, wielding the reed pen in such a way as to approach the style of the Japanese. In particular, the drawings made in the summer of 1888 display a rich variety of hatching, dots and short lines (see, for instance, *cats.* 345, 347).

Striking truncations, horizons outside the picture, magnified details of nature (*cat. 347*, for example) and bird's-eye views (*cat. 343*) are all Japanese elements that Van Gogh used – sometimes in combination – in his drawings. In Van Gogh's opinion the affinity to Japanese art was greatest – although not immediately visible – in the landscapes drawn in the first half of July 1888 at Montmajour.⁵⁸

- **49** See letters 634/502 of 23 June and 635/B8 of 26 June 1888.
- **50** Letter of c. 14 March 1888: 'pour la limpidité de l'atmosphère et les effets de couleur gaie'.
- 51 Letter of c. 15 March 1888: 'je me sens au Japon.

 Je ne te dis que cela'.
- **52** See Paintings 2, Drawings 3, cat. 318 and Van Tilborgh 2006.
- 53 See letter 646/511 of 15 July 1888: 'Japanese art is something like the primitives, like the Greeks, like our old Dutchmen, Rembrandt, Potter, Hals, Vermeer, Ostade, Ruysdael. *It never ends*' ('l'art japonais c'est quelquechose comme les primitifs, comme les grecs, comme nos vieux hollandais Rembrandt, Potter, Hals, v.d. Meer, Ostade, Ruisdael. *cela ne finit pas.*')
- 54 Letter of 23 or 24 September 1888: 'cela nous fait
- revenir à la nature malgré notre education et notre travail dans un monde de convention'.
- 55 Letter of c. 5 June 1888: 'on voit avec un oeil plus laponais, on sent autrement la couleur'.
- 56 Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858) made, for example, series of prints of views of Mount Fuji, of the stations along the Tokaido route and of famous places in Edo (present-day Tokyo). Van Gogh owned numerous prints belonging to these three series.
- **57** See letter 617/492 of 28 May 1888, cats. 327, 328 and Van Tilborgh 2006, p. 47.
- 58 See below and cats. 342, 343.



9 Utagawa Hiroshige, Mitsuke: Ferries crossing the River Tenryu, 1855. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

The influence of Eastern examples went further than Van Gogh's experimentation with composition, technique and format. He also drew inspiration from the attitude and mentality of the Japanese, being attracted to the apparent simplicity of the Japanese way of living and working. In Arles he hoped to establish an artists' community based on the Japanese model, a plan that never came to fruition. He did succeed, however, in inspiring his friends Emile Bernard (1868-1941), Paul Gauguin and Charles Laval (1862-1894) to make artist portraits in the Japanese style and to exchange them as a token of friendship.⁵⁹

Although his love of Japanese prints never waned, the subject was no longer mentioned so frequently after the end of 1888. Its influence was so deep-rooted, though, that it is still visible in the work produced in Saint-Rémy. In particular, the drawings made within a month of his arrival there have a strong Japanese flavour, owing to abrupt truncations, objects in the foreground, magnified details of nature and horizons imagined outside the picture. ⁶⁰

Montmajour - second series

In the days between 6 and 12 July 1888, Van Gogh acted upon his earlier plan to capture the view from Montmajour in drawings. He made a series of five land-

⁵⁹ See Zwikker in Amsterdam 2003, pp. 47, 48;
Arnold 1997, pp. 155-66; Van Lindert/Van Uitert 1990, pp. 11-20; letter 700/B18 of 3 October 1888.
60 For Van Gogh and Japan, see also Van Tilborgh 2006.

scapes and informed Theo that the sheet he had drawn at the end of May should be seen as the sixth in the series (*fig. 342e*). ⁶¹ These sheets, which represent an undisputed high point in Van Gogh's drawn oeuvre, show that his own style had reached maturity (see *cats. 342, 343*). As a draughtsman he was completely in his element: '*With paper* ... it hardly ever goes wrong: so many sheets of Whatman paper, so many drawings' [642/506]. ⁶² As with the drawings made at Saintes-Maries, a distinction can be made between works drawn freely and forcefully (*cat. 342, figs. 342a* and *d*) and sheets displaying careful and precise execution (*cat. 343, figs. 342b* and *c*). Unlike his earlier Montmajour series, these drawings were made on large-format laid paper with the watermark J Whatman turkey mill 1879, and they were drawn with more stable inks. Vincent sent the landscapes to Theo around 13 July. ⁶³

Van Gogh had various reasons for turning to drawing. The most practical one had to do with the weather: in the first half of July, it was simply too windy to paint. No less important, however, was the influence of the message he had received around I July: Gauguin had accepted Van Gogh's invitation of the previous month to come to Arles. ⁶⁴ By drawing, he could save his painting materials for the time when the two artists would be working together. Van Gogh also wanted to make a financial contribution to Gauguin's trip to Arles by making work that he considered saleable, ⁶⁵ and he clearly had more confidence in his drawings than in his paintings. ⁶⁶ At the time, however, nothing was sold.

Although these Montmajour drawings do not combine to form a true panorama – they do not match up seamlessly – Van Gogh did indeed attempt systematically to record the countryside surrounding Montmajour. He voiced the hope that in this way Theo would get 'an impression of a really beautiful corner of Provence' [641/505]. ⁶⁷ He himself saw in the landscape and the elaboration of it similarities to the Dutch landscape and to Japanese art (see *cats. 342, 343*). ⁶⁸ He even called the series 'the most Japanese thing that I've done' [645/BIO]. ⁶⁹

Van Gogh was very pleased with these pen-and-ink drawings, and considered two of them the most successful drawings he had ever made (*cat. 343* and F 1424 JH 1502). ⁷⁰ Van Gogh signed all of these large and very detailed sheets, thereby lending them a status comparable to that of paintings, something that was new in his oeuvre.

Drawings after paintings

No sooner had Van Gogh sent the five Montmajour sheets to Theo than he began a new drawing campaign, making drawings after canvases he had painted in the previous two months. In just three weeks he produced more than 30 drawings,⁷¹ intended for his two artist friends, Emile Bernard and John Peter Russell (1858-1931), as well as for Theo (see *cat. 344*).⁷² Vincent's underlying objective was different in each case: the sheets made for Bernard were part of an exchange of drawings, Russell had to be persuaded to buy a painting by Gauguin, and the works for Theo were intended to give him an impression of Vincent's recent paintings and their conception of line. The brushstrokes in the painted studies had indeed been somewhat ruffled by the mistral, and Van Gogh wanted to rectify this in the drawings.

- 61 See letter 643/509 of c. 13 July 1888.
- **62** Letter of 9 or 10 July 1888: 'Avec le papier [...] ça ne rate guère, autant de feuilles Whatman, autant de dessins.'
- 63 See letter 643/509 of c. 13 July 1888.
- **64** For the invitation, see letter 618/493 of 28 or 29 May 1888, as well as the enclosed draft of a letter intended for Gauguin, 619/494a; for the announcement of Gauguin's arrival, see letter 638/507 of c. 1 July 1888.
- **65** Vincent repeatedly urged Theo to offer the drawings to the art dealer George Thomas. See cats. 342, 343.
- **66** See letter 643/509 of c. 13 July 1888. In addition to the Montmajour series, he considered the drawings *The harvest* (F 1483 JH 1439) and *Sitting Zouave* (cat. 341) to be saleable.
- **67** Letter of 8 or 9 July 1888: 'tu auras le resumé d'un bien beau coin de Provence'.
- 68 See letter 643/509 of c. 13 July 1888.
- **69** Letter of 15 July 1888: 'c'est la chôse la plus japonaise reellement que j'aie faite'.
- **70** See letter 643/509.
- **71** See letters 644/510, 645/B10, 646/511, 647/B11, 656/516, 658/517, 660/518, 661/519, 663/520, 664/522 from the period 15 July to c. 12 August 1888.
- **72** For references in the literature to the contents of these consignments, see cat. 344, note 2.

13



- 10 Fishing boats at sea, Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (F 1430 JH 1505), 1888. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen.
- 11 Fishing boats at sea, Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (F 1430a JH 1526), 1888. New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.
- 12 Fishing boats at sea, Les Saintes-Maries-dela-Mer (F 1430b JH 1541), 1888. Brussels, Royal Musems of Fine Arts of Belgium.





The drawings may be divided into three stylistically coherent groups, each intended for a specific recipient. Van Gogh chose a style suited to the person for whom the works were made. The drawings intended for Bernard, for example, were drawn in a brisk, loose style and do not have stippled skies, for instance, because Bernard saw nothing in pointillism (*fig. 10*). Those made for Russell display more even lines, a more stylised execution and numerous stippled areas (*fig. 11*). These characteristics were developed still further in the sheets made for Theo (*fig. 12*).⁷³ Van Gogh chose to make all these drawn repetitions on wove paper from a glued sketchpad, so that all the sheets are approximately the same size (24.4 by 32 cm). Van Gogh was to use this paper again in August and September 1888 and possibly also later in Saint-Rémy for several independent drawings.⁷⁴

The drawn copies of paintings were also Japanese in character, according to Van Gogh, who was probably referring to the rapidity with which he drew them and the fluent and graphic manner of drawing that changes character in each section of the depiction.⁷⁵

Gardens and parks

At the beginning of August 1888, when Van Gogh was still working on the drawn copies of paintings for Theo, he also made two drawings of gardens on large sheets of J Whatman turkey mill 1879 (cat. 345 and fig. 345b). They are connected with a group of paintings featuring parks and gardens in and around Arles, the result of Van Gogh's resolution, made at the end of June, to paint a series focusing on the colour green. He saw these as a sequel to the series in pink and white (the blossoming trees) and yellow (the harvest). The first painting of this subject, made at the beginning of July, was a view of the park in front of the Yellow House (F 428 JH 1499), the premises he had been renting since May in which he had his studio.

Around 19 July he made the first drawing of the series: a flower garden in large format, the whole sheet covered with pen strokes (fig. 13). The two drawings of gardens dating from early August correspond closely to this one in subject, size and execution (see cat. 345). While drawing, Van Gogh was already planning to make paintings of the same motifs.77 He eventually did make paintings of two of the three drawn gardens (fig. 14);⁷⁸ one of these canvases he subsequently copied in pen and ink (fig. 15). Switching back and forth between these various media – an elaborate drawing, a painting and a drawn copy – was something Van Gogh had done with motifs garnered in Saintes-Maries and at harvest time, but he had never done this in the space of only two weeks. It is this group of gardens and parks in particular that reveals the result of his unusual working method: stylistically, there is reciprocal influence between works in different media: the paintings seem to be drawn with the brush and the drawings appear to be painted with the pen.⁷⁹ While panoramic views are typical of the second Montmajour series, the garden and park views of a few weeks later are characterised by closed-off compositions that give them an intimate feel.

In September and October, Van Gogh often worked in one of the three small parks on Place Lamartine, the square in front of the Yellow House (see also *cat*. 348). The poetic feelings that had been aroused in him when frequenting parks in Paris became even stronger during these months: he now associated several of his

- 73 In Amsterdam/New York 2005, p. 266, Susan Stein makes the interesting suggestion that this stylisation was Van Gogh's way of adopting the synthetism of Gauguin, Bernard and others, who were striving to synthesise impressions of nature and abstract shapes. The influence of this style on Van Gogh's drawings is generally thought to be discernible in the drawn copies of paintings, which Van Gogh made in the summer of 1889 in Saint-Rémy (see below).
- 74 The other drawings from Arles on this paper are cats. 344 and 346-348; those from Saint-Rémy are cats. 414, 415, 422, 433, 435, 436 and 442-445.
- 75 See letter 656/516 of 31 July 1888: 'I hope to make some of these sketches after the painted studies for you as well; you'll see that it has a certain Japanese look' ('J'espère faire pour toi aussi de ces croquis d'après des etudes peintes, tu verras que cela a un certain air japonais').
- **76** See letter 640/504 of c. 25 June 1888: 'The wheatfields – that has been an opportunity to work. like the orchards in blossom. And I only just have time to prepare myself for the new campaign, that of the vineyards. And between the two I'd like to do some more seascapes. The orchards represented pink and white, the wheatfields yellow, the seascapes blue. Perhaps now I'll go a bit in search of greens. Now autumn - that gives you every note in the scale' ('Les blés cela a été une occasion de travailler comme les vergers en fleurs. Et je n'ai que juste le temps pour me préparer pour la nouvelle campagne, celle des vignes. Et entre les deux je voudrais encore faire des marines. Les vergers representaient le rose et le blanc, les bles le jaune, les marines le bleu. Peutêtre que maintenant je vais un peu chercher des verts. Or l'automne - cela donne toute la gamme de la lyre').
- 77 See letter 661/519 of 8 August 1888: 'If the drawings that I send you are too hard, it's because I did them in such a way as to be able later on, if they're still there, to use them as information for painting' ('Si les dessins que je t'envoie sont trop durs c'est que je les ai fait de façon à pouvoir plus tard, si elles restent, m'en servir encore à titre de renseignement pour la peinture')
- **78** F 429 JH 1513 and F 430 JH 1510 show the same garden as F 1455 JH 1512; F 578 JH 1538 displays the same garden as F 1456 JH 1537. To make the paintings, Van Gogh returned to the spot.
- 79 See Amsterdam/New York 2005, p. 249.



- 13 Garden with flowers (F 1455 JH 1512), 1888. Winterthur, Oskar Reinhart Collection 'Am Römerholz'.
- 14 Garden with flowers (F 429 JH 1513), 1888. The Hague, Gemeentemuseum (on loan from The Netherlands Institute for Cultural Heritage).
- 15 *Garden with flowers* (F 1454 JH 1532), 1888. Private collection.





paintings with the fourteenth-century poets Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, and called this ensemble *The Poet's Park*. ⁸⁰ In these works he sought to capture the unchanging character of the region: he thought one should be able to imagine the parks with those old poets strolling past. Moreover, he was eagerly awaiting the arrival of a new 'poet' in Arles: Paul Gauguin. ⁸¹

The Yellow House - Studio of the South

Gauguin was the first person Van Gogh thought of on 1 May 1888, when he rented a house that was big enough for two occupants (*fig. 349a*). He wrote the following to Theo about this 'yellow house' on Place Lamartine: 'Well, today I rented the right wing of this building, which contains 4 rooms, or rather two with two side-rooms. It's painted yellow outside, whitewashed inside – in the full sun. I've rented it for 15 francs a month. Now what I'd like to do is furnish a room, the one on the first floor, to be able to sleep there. That will remain the studio, the store, for the whole of the campaign here in the South, and that way I have my independence from petty squabbles over guest-houses, which are ruinous and depress me. ... If necessary, I could live at the new studio with someone else, and I'd very much like to. Perhaps Gauguin will come to the South' [604/480]. One big advantage, besides the company and the exchange of ideas, was keeping living expenses to a minimum: this way, only one place need be rented, the two artists could eat at home instead of in restaurants, and they could share painting materials.

Van Gogh considered this 'Studio of the South' an ideal opportunity to realise his dream of establishing an artists' association. Shortly before Vincent's departure from Paris, he and Theo had discussed this idea with various artists, including Armand Guillaumin (1841-1927), Georges Seurat (1859-1891), and Camille Pissarro (1830-1903) and his son Lucien (1863-1944). The idea of such solidarity among artists had continued to haunt him. The plan was to ask impressionists with an established reputation – Edgar Degas (1834-1917), Claude Monet (1840-1926), Auguste Renoir (1841-1919), Alfred Sisley (1839-1899) and Camille Pissarro – as well as those of the younger generation, to donate paintings to the association. The proceeds from the sale of these paintings would be divided among the participating artists. This would provide the younger ones with a means of subsistence, making them less dependent on powerful art dealers.

Van Gogh and Gauguin had met in Paris six months earlier, since which time they had been exchanging ideas, letters and paintings. At the beginning of June 1888, Van Gogh invited Gauguin to come and live in the Yellow House. Gauguin's reaction was swift and, in theory, positive, though he said he had other plans as well. By the end of June he was firmer in his resolve to travel to the south of France, but he still refused to commit himself. His poor health, the debts he had incurred in Pont-Aven, where he had been living, and the expense of travelling to Arles combined to prevent his imminent arrival. Not knowing if and when Gauguin would actually come made Van Gogh restless and impatient; it was October before all the obstacles had been removed and Gauguin could finally join Van Gogh in Arles. Both artists had agreed to send Theo a painting every month in exchange for a monthly allowance, hereby taking the first steps on the path towards a real artists' association.

- 80 See cat. 330.
- 81 See letter 699/553a of 3 October 1888.
- 82 'Eh bien j'ai aujourd'hui loué l'aile droite de cette construction qui contient 4 pieces ou plutôt deux avec deux cabinets. C'est peint en jaune dehors, blanchi à la chaux à l'interieur en plein soleil. Je l'ai loué à raison de 15 francs par mois. Maintenant mon désir serait de meubler une piece, celle du premier étage, pour pouvoir y coucher. Cela restera l'atelier, le magasin, pour tout le temps de la campagne ici dans le midi et alors j'ai mon indépendance des chicanes des hôtelleries qui sont ruineuses et m'attristent. [...] Je pourrai à la rigueur rester à deux dans le nouvel atelier et je le voudrais bien. Peutêtre Gauguin viendra-t-il dans le midi.'
- **83** Regarding the plans for an artists' association, see also Dorn 1990, pp. 31-33.
- 84 See, among others, letters 581/465 of c. 27 February, 586/468 of 10 March, 618/493 of 28 or 29 May, 628/498 with postscript 632/535a of c. 15 or 16 June, 640/504 of c. 25 June, 686/538 of 18 September, as well as 698/544 and 699/553, both of 3 October 1888.
- **85** For the relations between Van Gogh and Gauguin before, during and after living together in the Yellow House see Chicago/Amsterdam 2001-02.
- **86** See letter 624/494 of 5 or 6 June 1888. This letter to Gauguin was sent to Theo to forward, so that he could also read it.
- 87 He wanted to deal in impressionist paintings. In this regard, see letter 626/496 of 12 June 1888 from Vincent to Theo.
- 88 This emerges from letter 638/507 of c. 1 July 1888.
- 89 See letter 626/496.
- **90** In Arles Van Gogh received 50 francs a week from Theo (see letter 685/537 of 16 September 1888) and during the period in which Gauguin was living with him an extra 100 francs per month. The two artists together therefore had 300 francs per month at their disposal.

17

The months between Gauguin's promise to come to Arles, made at the end of June, and his actual arrival on 23 October 1888 gave Van Gogh an opportunity to put the Yellow House to rights. Because he had no money to furnish the place, until September he had used the house only as a studio and storage room, while continuing to sleep in a hotel. Since mid-August he had been working hard on a series of paintings, among them the *Sunflowers*, to decorate the place and to help transform it into an artists' house (see *cat. 349*). He was extremely satisfied with these works: after completing them, he was convinced that they were worth a great deal of money. See the place and to help transform it into an artists of the place and to help transform it into an artist of the place and to help transform it into an artist of the place and to help transform it into an artist of the place and to help transform it into an artist of the place and to help transform it into an artist of the place and to help transform it into an artist of the place and to help transform it into an artist of the place and to help transform it into an artist of the place and to help transform it into an artist of the place and to help transform it into an artist of the place and the place are placed as a placed and the placed and the placed are placed as a placed and the placed are placed and the placed are placed as a placed and the placed are placed and the placed are placed as a placed and the placed are placed and the placed are placed as a placed and the placed are placed as a placed are placed are placed as a p

An interlude in his drawing

After going back and forth incessantly between painting and drawing in his first six months in Arles, Van Gogh's interest in drawing gradually declined from mid-August onwards, as he became increasingly engrossed in making paintings to decorate the Yellow House. In this period he made only a couple of drawings, mostly because he had run out of paint, using these works to explore motifs connected with life in the city, such as sand barges being unloaded on the bank of the Rhône and an outdoor café, both of which he would later paint. 93 He also made copies in watercolour of paintings he wanted to show Theo, such as that of the Yellow House (see cat. 349). This watercolour drawing, made at the beginning of October, was to be the last for some time. On 13 October he wrote to Theo: 'I see that I'm not in the right mood for drawing' [708/552].94 Together with Gauguin, who stayed in Arles for two months and was more of a painter than a draughtsman, Van Gogh subsequently tackled such painterly problems as whether to apply paint thickly or thinly, and whether it was better to work from nature or from the imagination. Their plans to draw together in the evenings, voiced around I December, were not carried out by Van Gogh in any case.95

Living and working with Gauguin and the hope it brought of an artists' association was not destined to last, for it was not long before their short-tempered and stubborn characters clashed. After weeks of tension, on 23 December the two men had an argument that caused Van Gogh such mental anguish that he was driven to cut off part of his left ear lobe. 96 He was admitted to the Arles hospital, the Hôtel-Dieu Saint-Esprit, and Gauguin promptly left town. In January, when Van Gogh had recovered to some extent, he returned to the Yellow House. One month later, on 7 February, he had a relapse and was again admitted to hospital. In the interval between these attacks, he spent most of his time making painted repetitions of the highlights of his Arles oeuvre, such as the Sunflowers (F 454 JH 1562) and the Berceuse (F 504 JH 1655). A short while later, when he was feeling better and was allowed to leave the hospital during the day to work in the Yellow House, his neighbours protested so much that the police locked up the house and Van Gogh was temporarily confined to hospital. On 26 February he suffered a third attack.97 It was 29 March before he again took up his brushes to paint the orchards in blossom, as he had done the previous year. Because his lease ran out on 21 April, Van Gogh began around mid-April to move his things out of the Yellow House, storing his furniture in the Café de la Gare and putting his paintings in crates to send to Theo. 98 All this time he was sleeping at the hospital.

- 91 See letter 686/538 of 18 September 1888.
- **92** See letters 686/538 of 18 September and 715/551 of 22 October 1888
- 93 The drawings are F 1462 JH 1556 and F 1519 JH 1579. The paintings made after them are F 449 JH 1558 and F 467 JH 1580, respectively.
- 94 'je vois que j'ai pas la tête à dessiner'.
- 95 See letter 728/560. As early as September 1888, Van Gogh had resolved to draw a lot in the winter (see letters 690/542 of 23 or 24 September and 691/541a of 25 September 1888). He wanted to concentrate on drawing figures from memory, being inspired to do so by Japanese artists who, he thought, could render figures in only a few lines. Gauguin did in fact make several drawings in Arles.
- 96 Van Gogh suffered from confusion, hallucinations, tonic attacks and personality disorders. Théophile Peyron, the director of the asylum at Saint-Rémy to which Van Gogh would be admitted in May 1889, thought that his attacks were epileptic in nature; see the letter from Peyron to Theo van Gogh of 26 May 1889 (b 1058 V/1962) and letter 808/T18 from Theo to Vincent of 4 October 1889. Regarding Van Gogh's illness, see G. Pollock, 'Artists' mythologies and media: Genius, madness, and art history', in Screen, 21 (1980), no. 3, pp. 57-96; P.H.A. Voskuil, 'Vincent van Gogh's malady: a test case for the relationship between temporal lobe dysfunction and epilepsy?', in Journal of the History of the Neurosciences 1992, no. 1, pp. 155-62; L. Jansen, H. Luijten, E. Fokke, 'Een nog onbekende diagnose. De ziekte van Vincent van Gogh', in Ons erfdeel, November 2003.
- 97 See letter 754/579 of 19 March 1889. Van Gogh's neighbours around Place Lamartine sent a petition to the mayor, requesting that Van Gogh be locked up. The petition, which is preserved in the Arles Municipal Archives, is not dated but was probably drawn up between 18 and 25 February. For the text of the petition, see Arles 2003, pp. 60, 61.
- 98 In letter 758/583 of c. 4 April 1889, Van Gogh reported that he had to move out of the Yellow House by Easter, which fell on 21 April that year. He started to ship paintings to Theo at the beginning of May; see letter 770/589 of 2 May 1889.

The reed-pen drawings *Garden* of the hospital (cat. 350) and Weeping tree in the grass (fig. 350c) – which Van Gogh made in the first week of May 1889, shortly before his departure for the asylum at Saint-Rémy – finally put an end to the sevenmonth break in his drawing activities. This is a remarkably long period for an artist who viewed drawing as an integral part of his work, and who had, in the months preceding this pause, alternated so easily and naturally between painting and drawing. However, it was not the first time that Van Gogh had ignored his drawing materials; indeed, during the previous three years, drawing had sometimes been relegated to the sidelines for months on end.⁹⁹

The interruption in his drawing had not made Van Gogh unsure of himself. At the beginning of May he wrote: 'Also I am thinking again of beginning to draw more with the reed pen which, like last year's views of Montmajour, is less expensive and distracts me just as much. Today I manufactured one of those drawings which became very dark and quite melancholic for springtime, but anyway whatever happens to me and in whatever circumstances I find myself, that constitutes a thing which I could keep for a long time as an occupation and in some way could even become a means of earning a living' [771/590]. ¹⁰⁰ He called the two drawings – Weeping tree in the grass and Garden of the hospital – 'a continuation of those from Montmajour from back then' [784/595], sheets he still considered to be his very best. ¹⁰¹ The drawings Van Gogh made in the summer of 1888 are characterised by a controlled and structured style featuring a wide variety of lines and dots, whereas the fluent and supple manner of drawing and the use of broad reed pens and brushes in the drawings made in May 1889 heralded a new, rhythmical style that would reach maturity in Saint-Rémy.

Departure for Saint-Rémy

Immediately after Van Gogh's first attack at the end of December 1888, the doctors began to consider his transfer to some institution; the one they had in mind was located in Aix-en-Provence. 102 On 21 April 1889 Van Gogh himself first mentioned the asylum Saint-Paul-de-Mausole in Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, 28 kilometres north-west of Arles: 'At the end of the month I should still like to go to the mental hospital at St. Rémy or another institution of that kind, which Monsieur Salles has told me about' [763/585]. 103 Frédéric Salles (1841-1897), minister of the Reformed church in Arles and one of Theo's contacts during Vincent's illness, had by this time sent information about the institution to Theo as well. 104 At the end of April Salles even went to the trouble of going to Saint-Rémy to speak to the director about a possible admission. When Van Gogh heard that he would not be allowed to work outside the asylum and that the cost of staying there was higher than he had thought, he began to have his doubts about the plan. Finally, in the first days of May, Theo decided that his brother should go there anyway, and so Vincent, accompanied by the Reverend Salles, travelled on 8 May by train to Saint-Rémy. 105 Van Gogh ended up staying there for over a year, during which time he produced approximately 150 paintings and just as many drawings, more than 100 of which are to be found in the Van Gogh Museum. 106

In the psychiatric institution, a former monastery, two rooms were put at his disposal: 'I have a little room with grey-green paper with two water-green curtains with

99 In Nuenen in the summer of 1885, Van Gogh had thrown himself into making painted studies as a way of practising colour theory when he no longer had any models to pose for him. He did not draw again until Antwerp, more than three months later. In Paris a year later, after leaving Cormon's studio at the beginning of June 1886, he concentrated almost exclusively on painting, again in an attempt to come to grips with problems of colour theory and to adapt his dark palette to modern tastes (see E. Hendriks and L. van Tilborgh, New views on Van Gogh's development in Antwerp and Paris: an integrated art historical and technical study on his paintings in the Van Gogh Museum, 2006 (dissertation), pp. 37-51, in which Van Gogh's period in Cormon's studio is dated to March-early June 1886). It was the beginning of 1887 before Van Gogh again concentrated seriously on drawing, devoting rather a lot of attention to it until the summer of that year. When his style became looser and the hues in his watercolour drawings brighter and stronger, he again focused exclusively on painting. This drawingless period lasted until March 1888, when he made his first drawings in Arles.

noo Letter of 3 May 1889: 'Aussi j'y songe de recommencer à dessiner davantage à la plume de roseau ce qui, ainsi les vues de Mont Major de l'année passée est moins cher et me distrait tout autant. Aujourd'hui j'ai fabriqué un de ces dessins qui est devenu tres noir et assez melancolique pour du printemps mais enfin quoi qu'il m'arrive et dans quelles circonstances je me trouverai, c'est là une chose qui peut me rester longtemps comme occupation et en quelque sorte pourrait devenir un gagnepair même.'

101 Letter of c. 18 June 1889: 'font suite à ceux de Mont major de dans le temps'.

102 See the letter of 26 December from Joseph Roulin to Theo (inv. b 1065 V/1962), the letter of 29 December 1888 from Mrs van Gogh to Theo (inv. b 2425 V/1962) and Van Gogh's letters to Theo: 749/576 of 3 February and 751/577 of 18 February 1889.

103 'A la fin du mois je désirerais aller encore à l'hospice des aliénés à St. Remy ou une autre institution de ce genre dont monsieur Salles me parlait.'

104 See Frédéric Salles's letter of 19 April 1889 to Theo, b 1050 V/1962.

105 For this decision, see letter 771/590 of 3 May, and with regard to the journey, letter 772/- of 5 May 1889. The journey of 28 km, over Tarascon, lasted 1 to 2 hours. See Baedeker 1889, p. 210.

106 Van Gogh sent Theo approximately twenty drawings in five consignments from Saint-Rémy: two groups in the first two months and three around New Year.

19

designs of very pale roses enlivened with thin lines of blood-red. ... Through the iron-barred window I can make out a square of wheat in an enclosure, like a perspective by Van Goyen, above which in the morning I see the sun rise in its glory. With this – as there are more than 30 empty rooms – I have another room to work in' [778/592]. To Both rooms were on the first floor, but in different wings: Van Gogh's bedroom, which was on the east side of the east wing, looked out over walled-in fields belonging to the asylum and the mountains that lay beyond them. From his studio, situated on the south side of the adjacent northern wing, Van Gogh had a view of the garden (fig. 16). To 8

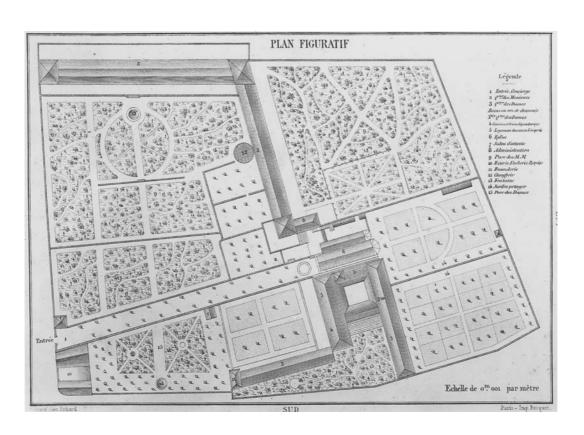
Working in the garden

During the first month of his stay, Van Gogh was not allowed to leave the walled grounds of the asylum and was thus forced to work in the somewhat neglected monastery garden with its old trees, shrubbery and flowerbeds. This park offered him a wide variety of motifs which he initially committed mainly to canvas but after two weeks (when he had run out of painting materials) only to paper. The drawing he undertook in this period also emerges from a letter written to Theo on 26 May by Théophile Peyron, the director of the asylum: 'He occupies himself with drawing the whole day in the park'. ¹⁰⁹ In the following two weeks Van Gogh made a series of drawings that can be considered among the most beautiful from Saint-Rémy (see *cats. 357, 358*). The graphic lines on these sheets cover nearly every inch of the paper, lending these drawings a remarkably rhythmical, almost ornamental quality. Van

papier gris vert avec deux rideaux vert d'eau à dessins de roses très pâles ravivées de minces traits de rouge sang. [...] A travers la fenêtre barrée de fer j'apercois un carré de blé dans un enclos, une perspective à la v. Goyen au-dessus de laquelle le matin je vois le soleil se lever dans sa gloire. Avec cela – comme il y a plus de 30 chambres vides j'ai une chambre encore pour travailler.'

108 For the location of the studio, see cats. 372 and 373.

109 'Il s'occupe à dessiner toute la journée dans le parc'. Inv. b 1058 V/1962, Van Gogh Museum.



16 Floor plan of the asylum. c. 1866. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

Gogh viewed several of the independent pen-and-ink drawings made in late May and early June 1889 as a continuation of the highly successful sheets he had made in the summer of 1888 on Montmajour. ¹¹⁰

In addition to these pen-and-ink drawings, Van Gogh also made in these weeks a series of seven brush drawings in colour. In these sheets he managed to capture the luxuriant atmosphere of the garden with rapid, rhythmical, unerring brushstrokes. Characteristic of this group is their focus on just one element – a tree, a group of shrubs, a short flight of stairs or a stone bench – which, in combination with the execution, means that the sheets have little depth. Until now it was always thought that Van Gogh painted them in watercolour, but in fact he used highly diluted oil paint, as evidenced by the gleam of the more thickly applied passages, the sporadic appearance of craquelé and the brownish yellow oil spots on the verso (see cats. 360-362). Van Gogh, who was waiting for a new shipment of painting materials, probably made these drawings with the last of the paint he had brought from Arles. The colours correspond, in fact, to those seen in the paintings made in the first two weeks in the garden, such as Irises (F 608 JH 1691) and Garden of the asylum in Saint-Rémy (F 734 JH 1698). These painted drawings are technically and stylistically so innovative that it is odd that Van Gogh did not mention them at all in his letters, at least not in the ones that have survived.

In addition to these large, detailed sheets, Van Gogh also made several studies in a smaller format of plants and a butterfly, observed from close range, which – as regards their detailed nature and the placing of the motif – were inspired by Japanese brush drawings (*cats.* 351-356).

The landscape of Provence

The receipt of new supplies of canvas and paint on 9 June 1889 coincided with permission to work outside the walls of the asylum. Van Gogh immediately seized this opportunity to paint the surroundings of his temporary home. The countryside around Saint-Rémy, which lies at the foot of the low massif of the Alpilles, is extremely varied and differs greatly from the expansiveness of the landscape around Arles. Van Gogh sought to capture in a new series of paintings what was for him a new part of Provence, with cypresses, wheatfields, olive groves and mountain ridges. In addition to the paintings, he made the two large, rapidly executed brush drawings Olive trees with the Alpilles in the background (cat. 363) and Olive grove (cat. 364).

To give Theo an impression of the Provençal canvases painted in June, that very month Van Gogh made drawings after ten paintings and sent them to his brother at the beginning of July (see *cats. 366-369*). These impressive pen-and-ink drawings were made on sheets of smooth wove paper with which Van Gogh was not entirely satisfied afterwards: their smoothness robbed the works of 'colour' – meaning character and solidity. In the paintings he sought harmoniousness between the subject and the way in which it was depicted – in his view a prerequisite of quality. In both the paintings and the drawings made after them, the emphasis lies on large shapes rendered with graceful, undulating lines. In these paintings Van Gogh attempted 'to mass things by means of a drawing style that seeks to express the entanglement of the masses' [818/613]. This new, stylised manner of painting

¹¹⁰ See letter 784/595 of c. 18 June 1889.

¹¹¹ Van Gogh ordered the material in letter 778/592 of c. 23 May. For its receipt, see letter 781/594 of 9 June 1889.

¹¹² See letter 781/594 of 9 June 1889.

¹¹³ Letter of c. 3 November 1889: 'à masser les chôses par le moyen d'un dessin qui cherche à exprimer l'enchevêtrement des masses'.

and drawing was a reaction to the synthetism of Gauguin and Bernard, a style that strove to synthesise impressions and abstract forms (see *cats. 366-369*). The new path Vincent had taken did not appeal much to Theo: 'I feel that the search for style takes away the real sentiment of things' [815/T19].¹¹⁴

Ill - working indoors and in the garden

In mid-July Van Gogh suffered the first attack of his illness since his move to Saint-Rémy; it lasted six weeks, during which it was impossible for him to work. In September he again took up painting, but did not feel strong enough to work outdoors – and even avoided the garden – that entire month. In addition to self-portraits and portraits of people in his immediate surroundings, Van Gogh painted his first copies of black-and-white reproductions of works by artists he greatly admired – Jean-François Millet, Rembrandt and Eugène Delacroix – an exercise that he viewed as the translation of black and white into colour.

Although Van Gogh's letters from this period make no mention whatsoever of drawings, it is now assumed that he also drew at this time the three monumental sheets with views of the interior of the asylum (see *cats. 372, 373*). These works on pink laid paper show Van Gogh's studio, the hall with a view to the garden, and one of the many corridors of the former monastery. They are the only extant depictions of the interior of the asylum. Like the garden views in colour dating from late May and early June, these drawings were done in oils. While the earlier works display a highly graphic manner and bright colours, the more recent works contain passages painted in subdued colours. Their solidity gives them an appearance more akin to paintings than to drawings.

It was late September or early October before Van Gogh began again to work out of doors. He started by painting but soon switched over – in the first half of October – to drawing, probably because he had run out of paint and canvas. ¹¹⁵ A group of 22 drawings of trees in and around the garden of the asylum has traditionally been dated to this period; the majority of them belong to the collection preserved in the Van Gogh Museum (*cats. 377-394*). In these works Van Gogh experimented with various viewpoints and styles. As regards technique, paper support and format, these sketches form a coherent group. They were drawn in pencil, black chalk or a combination of the two, and all measure approximately 20 by 30 centimetres. Van Gogh probably folded large sheets of two different kinds of paper to make two small sketchbooks of this size (see also p. 40). Certain elements in some of these depictions suggest, however, that a number of the tree studies (though just how many is impossible to determine) were made not in the autumn of 1889 but in March-April of the following year. ¹¹⁶

When a new supply of paint and canvas arrived at the end of October, Van Gogh resumed painting colourful copies of reproductions of Millet's work, a task which kept him occupied throughout November. The few drawings made in November and December 1889 display a style characterised by the use of vigorously drawn, short parallel lines (*fig.* 17 and F 1545 JH 1851). In this they bear a strong stylistic resemblance to the paintings of landscapes, olive groves and garden views also made in these months (*fig.* 18).

At the end of December 1889 and again at the end of January 1890, Van Gogh

¹¹⁴ Letter of 22 October 1889: 'je trouve que le recherche du style enlève au sentiment vrai des choses'.

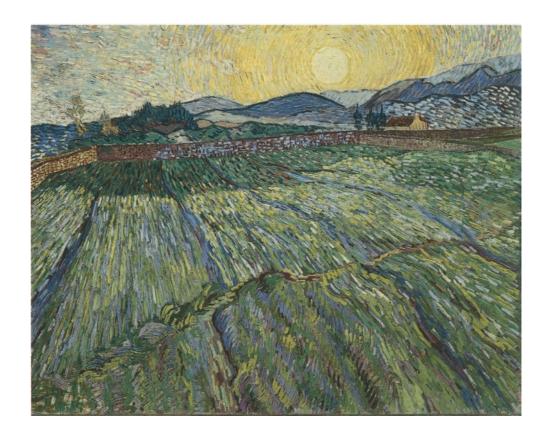
¹¹⁵ See, among others, letter 810/610 of 8 October 1889.

¹¹⁶ See cats. 380, 385 and 394.

17 Walled field with sun (F 1552 JH 1863), 1889. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung.

18 Walled field with sun (F 737 JH 1862), 1889. Private collection.





suffered attacks of his illness. This, as well as the cold weather, forced him to work indoors in January and February, so he resumed making painted copies of reproductions. In February he also made a drawing of a view from his bedroom window that includes blossoming almond trees (*cat.* 395). This sheet later served as the model for a small painting (*fig.* 395a). Van Gogh had been looking forward to the flowering season, hoping to make sequels to the paintings of blossoming orchards made at Arles. His hopes were dashed, however, by a renewed attack of his illness on 22 February which left him unable to work until the end of April.

Reminiscences of the North

At the end of April 1890, when Van Gogh had recovered from his attack to some extent, he told Theo that during his spell of illness he 'nevertheless still did a few small canvases from memory ... reminiscences of the north' [864/629]. ¹¹⁷ He described a few of these paintings for his mother and his sister Wil: 'among other things a memento of Brabant, cottages with mossy roofs and beech hedges on an autumn evening with a stormy sky, the sun setting red in reddish clouds. And a turnip field with women lifting turnips in the snow' [865/629a]. ¹¹⁸ Altogether five paintings can be included among these 'reminiscences' (figs. 19 and 396a). ¹¹⁹

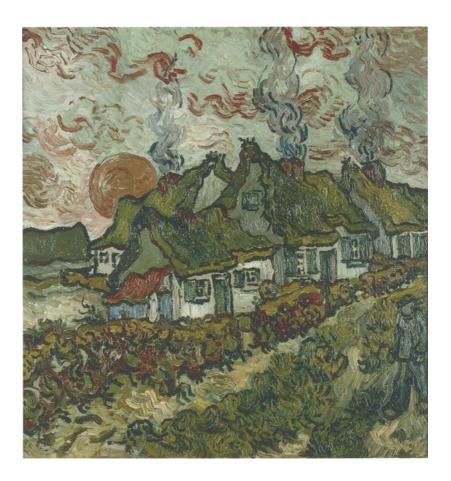
Although Van Gogh did not write about drawings at this time, the style and subject matter of around 60 modestly sized, sketchy drawings suggest that they were made in this period. They are repetitions of subjects he had drawn and painted five years earlier in the Netherlands: peasants working the land, cottages with thatched roofs and peasants at table. Although they display similarities to the paintings, most of these sketches cannot be thought of as precise preparatory drawings. Tao Making these *Reminiscences of the North* must have given Van Gogh some comfort at this difficult time. He had already discovered that 'working on my paintings is quite necessary to me for my recovery. For these days without anything to do and without being able to go into the room he [Peyron] had allocated me for doing my painting are almost intolerable to me' [798/601].

In both the paintings and the drawings, Van Gogh sometimes mixed his memories of the North with his impressions of Provence. Thus some seemingly Brabantine cottages are flanked by cypresses. The long-armed figures in these compositions often seem to slouch about despondently. The short, evenly spaced, curved strokes with which Van Gogh gave them volume instilled these people with at least some degree of vigour, whereas little detail is seen in their clothing and faces. Van Gogh made these drawings in black chalk, pencil or a combination of the two. In some of them, the thickness of the pencil lines varies considerably, which could indicate the use of a carpenter's pencil. It is possible, therefore, that in Saint-Rémy Van Gogh preferred to stick to old friends, as regards both subject matter and materials.¹²²

That at such times of illness Van Gogh's thoughts returned to his native country was something he had already experienced during his first attack in December 1888: 'During my illness I saw again each room in the house at Zundert, each path, each plant in the garden, the views round about, the fields, the neighbours, the cemetery, the church, our kitchen garden at the back – right up to the magpies' nest in a tall acacia in the cemetery' [744/573]. 123

- 117 Letter of 29 April 1890: 'Etant malade j'ai bien encore fait quelques petites toiles de tête [...] des souvenirs du nord.'
- 118 Letter of 29 April 1890.
- 119 The other paintings are F 674 JH 1920, F 675 JH 1921 and F 694 JH 1922.
- 120 See, for instance, cats. 401 and 402.
- 121 Letter of 22 August 1889: 'le travail à mes tableaux m'est un peu nécessaire pour me remettre. Car ces journées sans rien faire et sans pouvoir aller dans la chambre qu'il m'avait désignée pour y faire ma peinture me sont presqu'intolérables.'
- 122 For Van Gogh's use of the carpenter's pencil, see Drawings 1, pp. 28, 30 note 35.
- 123 Letter of 22 January 1889: 'Pendant ma maladie j'ai revu chaque chambre de la maison à Zundert, chaque sentier, chaque plante dans le jardin, les aspects d'alentour, les champs, les voisins, le cimetiere, l'eglise, notre jardin potager derriere jusqu'au nid de pie dans un haut accacia dans le cimetière.'

19 Cottages with setting sun (F 673 JH 1919), 1890. Private collection.



Starting in the summer of 1889, the letters contain frequent references to the North, alluding variously to the Netherlands or to northern France. Thus the rural surroundings of the asylum at Saint-Rémy led to comparisons between agriculture there and in the North. ¹²⁴ Van Gogh called the more sober and duller colours he had switched to 'the palette like the one in the North' [798/601]; ¹²⁵ he also weighed various possibilities of returning to the North. ¹²⁶

What Van Gogh missed in the South was the hard-working peasant: 'At home everywhere and at all times of the year one sees men, women, children, animals at work, and here not a third of that and besides, they are not the honest workers of the North. They seem to work in an awkward, lax way, without energy' [781/594].¹²⁷ The figures in the *Reminiscences of the North*, with their bent posture and long, lanky arms, seem to represent this type of peasant, another aspect of the abovementioned blending of memories of bygone days and on-the-spot impressions.

While working on the *Reminiscences of the North*, Van Gogh must have hit upon the idea to make a new version of the painting *The potato eaters (fig. 431a)*. ¹²⁸ At the end of April 1890, he therefore asked Theo, as well as his mother and his sister Wil, to send him his old figure drawings: 'Above all you must send me the women gleaning and diggers if they are still there. Then, if you like, I will redo the old tower at Nuenen and the cottage. I think that if you still have them I could now

- 124 See, for example, letters 781/594 of 9 June 1889, 782/W12 of 16 June 1889 and 843/W19 of 20 January 1890.
- 125 Letter of 22 August 1889: 'une palette comme dans le nord'
- 126 Various options were discussed in the letters, such as living with one of the artists he had met in Paris, residing in a home in Paris, staying in Auverssur-Oise under the supervision of a doctor living there, being admitted to an institution in the Netherlands, and setting up a studio in Antwerp, together with Gauguin and Meijer de Haan.
- 127 Letter of 9 June 1889: 'Chez nous partout et à tout temps de l'annee on voit des hommes, des femmes, des enfants, des animaux au travail et ici pas le tiers de cela et encore ce n'est pas le travailleur franc du nord. Cela semble labourer d'une main gauche et lâche, sans entrain '
- 128 See letter 864/629 of 29 April 1890.

do something better with them from memory' [864/629].¹²⁹ Even if the old studies were 'not good in themselves, they can refresh my memory and be the subject of new work' [865/629a]. Theo most likely honoured this request (see *cats. 431-437* and 453-456). Van Gogh made various drawn studies of peasants at mealtime (see *cats. 431-437*), but a painting was never forthcoming.

Ready to leave

Van Gogh's last serious attack had been a great blow to him. At the end of April, he felt sombre and dispirited and wanted to leave the asylum.¹³⁰ In the weeks between this spell of illness and his departure from Saint-Rémy in mid-May, he again devoted himself largely to painting, making copies of work by Rembrandt and Delacroix, for example, and painting flower still lifes and garden views. Another motif he worked on at this time, and the only one he drew as well, was the walled wheatfield he could see from his bedroom, which he had depicted frequently the previous year (see *cats.* 447-452). In these sketches he was probably seeking an advantageous viewpoint. Both the drawings and the eventual painting (*fig.* 447g) were done in the field itself. The paper on which the sketches were made – very thin sheets and leaves from a sketchbook – is similar to the kinds of paper used between January and April 1890 for, among other things, the *Reminiscences of the North* (see also p. 40).

In Saint-Rémy Van Gogh concentrated mainly on painting. The drawings from this period, which range from rapid sketches to large, independent works, were generally made at times when he either could not paint or was not allowed to do so. He regularly reached for his drawing materials when he ran out of paint or canvas, for instance, or after suffering an attack, when he was forbidden to paint because it was feared that he would poison himself by eating paint or drinking turpentine. The letters he wrote from Saint-Rémy contain only occasional references to drawings. In contrast to the drawings made in Arles – many of which he considered suitable for exhibition, sale, exchange or gifts – there is nothing to indicate similar intentions with the sheets produced in Saint-Rémy. None bears a signature or title, for example, and Vincent sometimes waited months before sending them to Theo. Theo.

Even though the Saint-Rémy drawings led a more hidden existence than those made in Arles, the reactions from people who saw them at the time were very positive. Octave Maus (1856-1919), for instance, secretary of the Belgian artists' association *Les XX*, paid a visit to Theo in July 1889 as part of his preparations for the group's upcoming seventh exhibition in Brussels. Responding to Vincent's selection of six paintings for that exhibition, Theo wrote the following to his brother: 'You don't tell me if you want to exhibit drawings. When Maus was here he liked them very much & asked especially for some to be sent. We could perhaps send several of them in a frame' [827/T21].¹³³ At the time of Maus's visit, Theo had received the first two consignments from Saint-Rémy. The lithographer Auguste Lauzet (1865-1898) was also impressed by Van Gogh's work, especially – according to Theo – by a drawing 'you did right at the beginning when you were at Saint-Rémy. On the left a little thicket of dark trees against a sky with a crescent moon, on the right a fence. He told me that he could not get this drawing out of his head, that it was finer

- 129 Letter of 29 April 1890: 'Tu m'enverras surtout les glaneuses et des bêcheurs s'il y en a encore. Puis si tu veux je referai la vieille tour de Nunen et la chaumière. Je crois que si tu les as encore j'en ferais à présent de souvenir quelque chose de mieux.' The letter to his mother and sister is 865/629a of 30 April 1890.

 130 See letter 864/629 of 29 April 1890.
- 131 This is apparent from Dr Peyron's 'notes mensuelles' in *Le grand registre de l'asile de Saint-Rémy*, a photograph of which is preserved in the Van Gogh Museum.
- 132 See cat. 357. Van Gogh signed fewer and fewer paintings in Saint-Rémy.
- 133 Letter of 8 December 1889: 'Tu ne me dis pas si tu veux exposer des dessins. Quand Maus était içi il les aimait beaucoup & demandait surtout d'en envoyer. On pourrait peut-être en envoyer plusieurs dans un cadre.' For Maus's visit to Theo, see letter 793/T12 of 16 July 1889.

than the drawings of V. Hugo which he likes a great deal etc.' [833/T22].¹³⁴ Another artist who now expressed his opinion of Van Gogh's Saint-Rémy drawings was Gauguin: 'I very much like the 2 drawings you sent me, especially the one of the women who are picking olives' [842/GAC38].¹³⁵ It is not known exactly which drawings he is referring to here. The sheet with women picking olives was a drawn copy of a painting made in November-December 1889.¹³⁶

Departure for Auvers

'The surroundings here are starting to weigh on me more than I could express – my word I have waited patiently for over a year - I need air, I feel damaged by boredom and grief. Then work is pressing, I would be wasting my time here' [869/631]. [137] After Van Gogh's cry of distress, uttered at the beginning of May 1890, it was guickly decided that he would leave the asylum as soon as possible.¹³⁸ He planned to settle in Auvers-sur-Oise, a village some 30 kilometres north-west of Paris. Van Gogh had already expressed the desire in September 1889, after his first attack in Saint-Rémy, to move to some place in northern France or the Netherlands. 139 Although at the time there was no hurry, and Van Gogh himself was thinking of moving in the spring of 1890, Theo immediately began to explore the possibilities for a more northern place of residence for Vincent. In October 1889 the brothers hit upon the idea, thanks to a suggestion from Camille Pissarro, of approaching Paul-Ferdinand Gachet (1829-1909), a doctor living in Auvers-sur-Oise. 140 In late March 1890 Theo arranged to meet Gachet, who promised to keep an eye on his brother and to treat his illness.¹⁴¹ On 16 May Van Gogh left Saint-Rémy, and after spending a few days in Paris with Theo, his wife Jo and baby Vincent, he travelled on 20 May to Auvers.142

Van Gogh instantly fell in love with the landscape. ¹⁴³ There were still old farmhouses with thatched roofs in the countryside around Auvers, and he captured these picturesque dwellings in various paintings and drawings (see *cats. 460, 481, 488*). Van Gogh discovered that he could see the North more clearly since he had been in the South, and he was particularly enthusiastic about the colours of the landscape. ¹⁴⁴ He adapted his palette accordingly, choosing brighter, softer hues. In the 70 days Van Gogh was to remain in Auvers, he worked much and quickly, focusing his attention on painting. He made no fewer than 70 paintings, including several of his best works.

Ambitious drawings versus rapid sketches

Although the number of works on paper Van Gogh made in Auvers is not exactly small – there are, in fact, 57 drawings, 44 of which are preserved in the Van Gogh Museum – the majority are, admittedly, rapid sketches made in chalk. There is only one small group of more ambitious sheets. These include two drawings, executed shortly after Van Gogh's arrival in Auvers, which he made in various shades of blue watercolour and oil paint on cream-coloured laid paper (*cats.* 459, 460). The flowing, robust brushstrokes give these drawings a graceful yet solid character.

In addition to landscapes with farmhouses, the sketchy studies feature village views, river landscapes, figures working the land, and animals. Stylistically, these drawings resemble the sketches he made in Saint-Rémy, in which the emphasis lies

- 134 Letter of 22 December 1889: 'dessin que tu as fait tout au commencement quand tu étais à St Remy. À gauche un petit bosquet d'arbres sombres contre un ciel avec un croissant de lune, à droite une barrière. Il me disait que ce dessin ne lui sortait pas de la tête, qu'il était plus beaux que les dessins de V. Hugo qu'il aime beaucoup etc.' Lauzet received the drawing in exchange for an album he had made of lithographic reproductions of paintings by Monticelli; with regard to this, see also note 148. No known drawing matches this description.
- 135 Letter of c. 17 January 1890: 'J'aime beaucoup les 2 dessins que vous m'avez envoyé, surtout celui des femmes qui cueillent des olives.'
- 136 This emerges from letter 843/W19 of 20 January 1890. The painting is F 655 JH 1869.
- 137 Letter of 4 May 1890: 'L'entourage ici commence à me peser plus que je ne saurais l'exprimer ma foi j'ai patienté plus d'un an il me faut de l'air, je me sens abimé d'ennui et de chagrin. Puis le travail presse, je perdrais mon temps ici.'
- 138 Van Gogh took this decision in close consultation with both Theo and Dr Peyron; see letters 866/630 of c. 1 May, 867/632 of c. 2 May, 868/T33 of 3 May, 869/631 of 4 May, 870/T34 of 10 May, 871/633 of 11 May, 873/634 of 13 May 1890.
- 139 See letter 801/604 of 5 and 6 September 1889.
- 140 First Pissarro was asked to take Van Gogh in, but he refused. See letters 802/605 of 10 September, 808/T18 of 4 October 1889 and a letter from Pissarro to his wife of 28 September 1889, in J. Bailly-Herzberg and C. Pissarro, Correspondance de Camille Pissarro, Saint-Ouen-l'Aumône 1980-91, vol. 2, pp. 297-99. Letter 809/609 of 5 October 1889 contains the first mention of a doctor in Auvers. He is not referred to by name until letter 861/T31 of 29 March 1890.
- 141 See letter 861/T31 of 29 March 1890.
- 142 Van Gogh was officially released from the asylum on Friday, 16 May 1890; see *Le grand registre de l'asile de Saint-Rémy* (photograph preserved in the Van Gogh Museum). He travelled north the same day, arriving on Saturday, 17 May in Paris (letter from Theo to Dr Gachet, b2012). Van Gogh first met Jo and the baby during this visit.
- **143** See letters 874/635 of 20 May, and 875/W21 and 876/636, both of c. 21 May 1890.
- 144 See letter 876/636 of c. 21 May 1890.
- **145** Cats. 459, 460, 461 and F 1639 JH 2023, F 1653 JH 1993, F 1642 JH 1994 and F 1643 JH 2119.



20 Page of a sketchbook (F – JH –), 1890. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

on contour. Many of these drawings have proved difficult to date to a specific time within the Auvers period.

In Auvers Van Gogh made a series of drawings based on two themes: an Egyptian head and examples from a drawing method by Charles Bargue. Both groups seem to be connected with his desire to paint modern portraits, in which he was not striving to produce an exact likeness but rather to capture the character of the sitter. In doing this, colour was of paramount importance. ¹⁴⁶

The model for the Egyptian head was a coping-stone in a garden gate. Van Gogh made six sketches of this motif, sometimes remaining close to the angular original, at other times making the face softer and more human. These drawings seem to constitute practice in rendering the human countenance, a supposition strengthened by the fact that some of them contain small figure studies that can be linked to painted figures (see *cats*. 475-480).

As he had done ten years earlier, Van Gogh copied a number of examples from the drawing course devised by Charles Bargue, *Exercices au fusain*, not so much to refine the execution of the face as to study the poses and proportion of the human body. Shortly after arriving in Auvers, he had asked Theo to send him these looseleaf drawing examples (see *cats.* 483-485).

Reminiscences of Provence

Soon after taking up residence in Auvers, Van Gogh announced his plan to make etchings of the best paintings from his Provençal period. He intended to print them on a press that Gachet had at home. ¹⁴⁷ Van Gogh's plan was probably inspired by Lauzet's album of lithographs after paintings by Monticelli, which had just appeared, and possibly by a series of zincographs published in 1889 which Gauguin

¹⁴⁶ See letter 883/W22 of 5 June 1890.147 See letters 894/642 of 17 June and 895/T38 of 23 June 1890.

had made after recent paintings.¹⁴⁸ Theo had been involved in the production of both series, and it is quite possible that he was the one who suggested to Vincent, during his short stay in Paris, that he should also make such etchings. Van Gogh wrote about this project, which he called *Reminiscences of Provence*, to both Gauguin and Theo.¹⁴⁹ The only paintings he mentioned by name in this regard were *The Arlésienne* and *Cypress and starry night* (F 683 JH 1982),¹⁵⁰ but the sole surviving sketchbook from his Auvers period contains sketches of such Provençal paintings as vases of sunflowers and irises, women picking olives, figures in a ravine and Les Alyscamps in Arles, which are probably connected with the planned etchings (*fig. 20*).¹⁵¹ It may very well be that the small sketch of *The bedroom* (*cat. 474*) can also be linked to this project, which was however never carried out. The only etching that Van Gogh made in Auvers was the portrait of Dr Gachet.¹⁵²

Death

Although the palette, choice of subject and vigorous style seen in Van Gogh's Auvers oeuvre suggest a more positive attitude to life than he had demonstrated in Saint-Rémy, Van Gogh considered himself a failure and had little faith in the future. These feelings of depression were intensified by his fears that Theo, who meanwhile had a young family to support and was also weighing the possibilities of setting up as an independent art dealer, would eventually be unable to support him. On 27 July 1890 Van Gogh shot himself in the chest. Two days later, at the age of 37, he died with Theo at his side.

Van Gogh left an oeuvre of more than 800 paintings, over 1,000 drawings and 10 prints. This huge body of work was produced in less than a decade, a period in which he underwent an impressive artistic development, evolving from a beginning draughtsman who had trouble rendering perspective and figures in action into a great artist who had used pen and brush to invent a visual language all his own. Indeed, he viewed his drawings as fully fledged counterparts to his paintings.

- 148 For the Monticelli album, see Aaron Sheon, 'Theo van Gogh, publisher: the Monticelli album' in Van Gogh Museum Journal 2000, pp. 53-61. For the series by Gauguin, which is known as the Volpini series, see Caroline Boyle-Turner, The prints of the Pont-Aven School. Gauguin and his circle in Brittany, Amsterdam 1986, pp. 35-46.
- **149** See letters 893/643 of c. 17 June and 894/642 of 17 June 1890.
- 150 See letter 893/643 of c. 17 June 1890. For the identification of the painting of the *Arlésienne*, see cats. 483-485, note 18.
- 151 See also Van der Wolk 1987, pp. 302-09.
- **152** F 1664 JH 2028. For Van Gogh's graphic work, see Van Heugten/Pabst 1995.
- 153 See letter 877/648 of 23 May 1890.

Materials, techniques and experiments

Pens

340, 342, 345).

- - The quality of the reed in the south of France was praised by Armand-Théophile Cassagne (1823-1907), the author of various manuals on perspective and drawing materials that Van Gogh used frequently, especially in his early years as an artist.² In his *Guide pratique pour les différents genres de dessin*, Cassagne called the reed pen the best drawing pen: it is easy to sharpen, it glides smoothly over the paper, and it has a sturdy point well suited to drawing bold, robust lines (*fig.* 1).³ In Cassagne's

- Van Gogh used the steel pen in F 1482a JH 1535, for example, as evidenced by certain lines that were drawn with a force impossible to achieve with a quill. See Amsterdam/New York 2005, p. 354, note 2.
 For an overview of these books and for their im-
- 2 For an overview of these books and for their importance to Van Gogh, see the Introduction to Drawings 1, pp. 13-37.
- 3 Cassagne 1873, p. 55: 'This kind of reed, well chosen, is easily sharpened and, when gliding over the paper, the edges of the cutting become round, so that the point softens and follows more docilely the will of the draughtsman; moreover, the lines drawn by this reed are not so meagre and feeble as those of the pen; the work, if one may say so, becomes thick and solid' ('Ce genre de roseau, bien choisi, se taille facilement et, en glissant sur le papier, les angles de la taille s'arrondissent, ce qui fait que le bout s'adoucit et suit plus docilement la volonté du dessinateur; en outre, les traits que trace le roseau ne sont point maigres et chétifs comme ceux de la plume; le travail, si l'on peut s'exprimer ainsi, en est gras et ferme').



 A page of Cassagne's Guide pratique pour les différents genres de dessin, Paris 1873.

Pollard birches (F 1240 JH 469),
 1884. Amsterdam, Van Gogh
 Museum.



view, southern French reed was eminently suitable because of its fine, elegant and solid character.⁴ Van Gogh had not forgotten Cassagne's books, for in the summer of 1888 he repeatedly asked Theo to send him one,⁵ for use in giving drawing lessons to Paul Eugène Milliet (1863-1943).

Van Gogh, who had early demonstrated a preference and innate talent for drawing in pen and ink, found the reed pen to be a drawing tool well suited to him. In Arles he must have felt the need to practise drawing again, since the last ambitious sheets in pen and ink were the Nuenen landscapes drawn four years earlier (fig. 2). Since that time he had used the technique rarely, and even then only in combination with other materials such as black chalk, coloured chalk or watercolour. As in the Nuenen sheets, the pen-and-ink drawings made in Arles nearly always have an underdrawing in pencil; now, too, Van Gogh allowed the graphite to play a role in the final depiction by accentuating certain passages.

In Saint-Rémy he started off on the same foot, making detailed drawings in (reed) pen and ink over a preliminary drawing in pencil or black chalk. More frequently than in Arles, he used a brush to apply the ink to the paper, thereby producing broad, supple lines. After the autumn of 1889, however, such ambitious sheets became a thing of the past, and Van Gogh switched to making studies and sketches in pencil and black chalk in a smaller format. In Auvers, too, the emphasis lay on sketchy work made with these drawing materials.

- 4 Ibidem: 'The best pen one could use is the reed, this fine, elegant and solid reed that one finds in the South, in the area of Cannes and Nice' ('La meilleure plume que l'on puisse employer est le roseau, ce roseau fin, élégant et ferme, que l'on trouve dans le Midi, aux environs de Cannes et de Nice').
- 5 The manual in question is Guide de l'alphabet du dessin ou l'art d'apprendre et d'enseigner les principes rationnels du dessin d'après nature; see letters 634/502 of 23 June, 641/505 of 8 or 9 July, 644/510 of 15 July and 661/519 of 8 August 1888. Receipt of the book is confirmed in letter 664/522 of c. 12 August 1888.
- 6 The only pen-and-ink drawings he made after the Nuenen landscapes were the small peasant heads from the winter of 1884-85 (Drawings 2, cats. 108-118) and two Paris cityscapes (Drawings 3, cats. 289, 291).

Ink

In addition to various pens, Van Gogh worked in Arles with different inks, sometimes in one and the same drawing (for example, *cats. 342, 343*). It is often impossible to determine the kind of ink used and its original colour. The present, often discoloured hues include black, dark and light brown, red-brown, grey and purple. A rather inexplicable phenomenon is the sudden change of tone within a single line, with no sign of its being drawn with different kinds of ink.

Recent examination of a small group of drawings from Arles has shown that Van Gogh used various kinds of black writing ink, made of logwood, as well as a mixture of such ink with a carbon-containing ink, which produces a drawing material that is deep black and somewhat shiny. Iron gall ink, logwood ink and aniline ink are all unstable and fade over time to muted browns of various shades, indistinguishable from one another with the naked eye.

In Arles Van Gogh also used aniline ink.⁹ He had already experimented with this ink in Paris, as evidenced by the illustrated menu he made there (*fig. 3*), in which purple ink was used both for the text and for working up the black-ink drawing. In Arles this ink assumed a more independent role in the first Montmajour series.

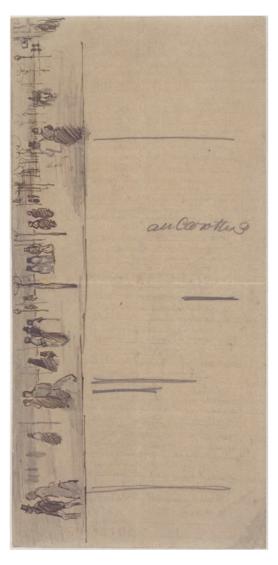
Aniline, a synthetic dye, was already available in the nineteenth century in various bright, brilliant colours. One big advantage was that this ink, after being dissolved in a high proportion of water, was free flowing. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the purple shades, which were frequently used for writing and letter copying, were also very popular among the impressionists. To The great disadvantage of this ink, however, is its instability. Not only does it fade, but the process of chemical degradation can cause it to take on another colour. The ink Van Gogh used for the drawings made in late May 1888 on Montmajour is now light brown, sometimes so light that the lines are nearly invisible. The depictions have thus been robbed of much of their vigour and legibility, and the underdrawings are more emphatic than originally intended.

Two of the sheets of the first Montmajour series (cats. 335, 337) display a bright purple colour at the edges, where mounts shielded the ink from the light, so that in these places the ink has faded to a lesser extent or not at all. A similar purple colour, or a faded variant of it, can also be found in several drawings made in the spring of 1888: Orchard with Arles in the background (fig. 325a) of late March-early April, Avenue in a park (cat. 331), Landscape with hut (cat. 333) and Bank of the Rhône (F 1472a JH 1497a) of early May. The ink has mostly bled through to the verso.

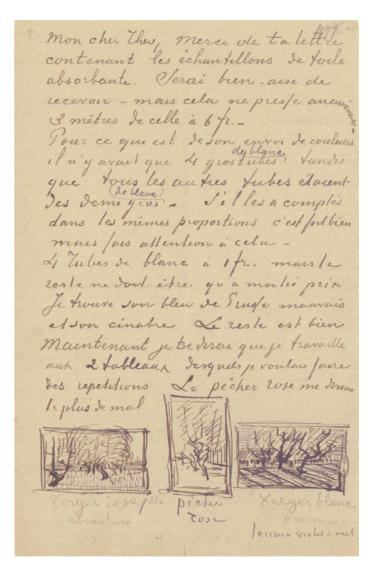
The light brown colour of the ink, its transparent nature and its seepage onto the verso all suggest that Van Gogh also used aniline ink in other small pen-and-ink drawings from this period. It was, moreover, in these very months that he wrote several of his letters in purple ink (*fig. 4*),¹² ink that he had perhaps brought from Paris. More research is necessary to determine whether he used this ink in Arles after May 1888.

The ink in some of the drawings from Saint-Rémy and Auvers also seems originally to have been coloured; the lines now have a blue-black, red-brown, browngreen, purple-brown or red-brown hue (see, for example, *cats.* 354, 357, 359, 461, 489 and 481, respectively). Additional research is required to ascertain whether

- 7 See Marjorie Shelley and Silvia A. Centeno, 'Technical Studies: Observations on the Drawing Materials Used by Van Gogh in Provence', in Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 348-56.
- 8 Closer examination of a larger and broader group of drawings should provide more information on Van Gogh's use of ink. This research is being carried out by the Van Gogh Museum in collaboration with The Netherlands Institute for Cultural Heritage (ICN) as part of the project 'Van Gogh's studio practice in context', initiated in 2005.
- **9** First mentioned as such in Otterlo 1990, pp. 35, 36, 221.
- 10 See op.cit. note 7, p. 350.
- 11 Bank of the Rhône displays traces of purple ink at the lower left edge and in the letter R of 'Rhone' in the inscription.
- 12 Letters 598/476 of 11 April, 599/477 of c. 13 April, 605/481 of 1 May, 607/483 of 7 May, 615/490 of 26 May, 616/491 of 27 May 1888.



3 Restaurant menu (F 1377 JH 1033), 1886. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



4 Letter to Theo of c. 13 April 1888 (599/477), written in purple ink. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

Van Gogh used aniline or another kind of coloured ink in those places, or whether these hues are the result of discoloration due to ageing.

In Auvers Van Gogh drew little with ink. When he did use it, he often combined it with thickly applied dark material, such as black chalk and pencil. ¹³ Meanwhile, the ink has generally lost much of its intensity, causing an imbalance between the drawing materials and making it difficult to evaluate its original effect.

Pencil and black chalk

The focus in Arles on drawing in (reed) pen and ink meant that Van Gogh made no drawings there in pencil or black chalk only. This is remarkable, considering that

13 See, for example, cat. 481 and F 1653 JH 1993.

before and after Arles he always did so. In Saint-Rémy, moreover, from October 1889 onwards, almost all of Van Gogh's drawings were sketchy depictions made in such dark materials as pencil, black chalk, black chalk with a brown tinge and brown chalk. He continued this manner of drawing in Auvers, where he frequently combined black chalk and blue chalk.

Coloured chalk

Van Gogh probably brought coloured chalk with him to Arles, where he resumed the technical experiments he had begun with this material in Paris. ¹⁴ There, in the first six months of 1887, he had explored the possibilities of coloured chalk, also in combination with pen and black ink (fig. 5). These materials proved not to work well together: the fine ink lines were subsumed by the broad and brightly coloured lines of chalk. In the sketchy *Avenue in a park (cat. 331)*, made in Arles, Van Gogh again combined coloured chalk and ink. This time he chose a purple ink, possibly in the hope that it would not be so overshadowed by the blue chalk. He was probably dissatisfied with the result, since he apparently abandoned the experiment. The drawn oeuvre from Arles contains no other works done mainly in coloured chalk. Van Gogh did use it, however, to apply colourful accents to several of his watercolours (for instance, fig. 326c, F 1483 JH 1439 and F 1482

14 See Drawings 3, pp. 29-31.



5 The window at Bataille's (F 1392 JH 1218), 1887. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

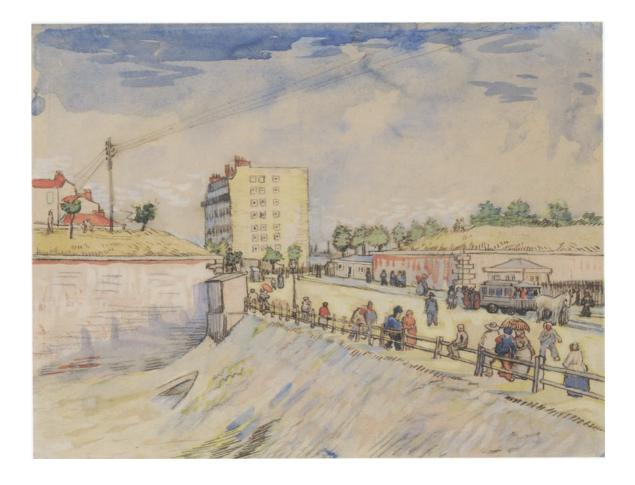
JH 1487), as he had already done several times in Paris (F 1400 JH 1283 (*cat. 317*) and F 1410 JH 1286).

After June 1888 coloured chalk disappeared for two years from Van Gogh's arsenal of drawing materials. Only in Auvers did he use it again, and then mainly in blue. Some sheets were drawn exclusively in blue chalk (*cats. 478*, upper half of 481, 488, 494), whereas in other works it is combined with black chalk (*cats. 480*, lower half of 481, 495, 496). In Auvers Van Gogh also had white and turquoise chalk at his disposal, though he seldom used it.¹⁵

Watercolour

As was the case in Paris, in Arles Van Gogh was more successful with his experiments in watercolour than with his drawings in coloured chalk. In the watercolours made in the summer of 1887, he had achieved great clarity by using truly transparent watercolour instead of the diluted opaque watercolour he had previously used, which had always produced turbid results. Like his chalk drawings, the watercolours he made at this time display detailed work in pen and ink (fig. 6). This combination turned out better, owing to the subtle nature of watercolour, and the ink lines lent these works a high degree of detail. In 1887 Van Gogh had applied watercolour directly over an underdrawing in pencil, waiting until the end to highlight

15 In Appendix 1.3 and F 1642 JH 1994.



6 Gate in the ramparts (F 1401 JH 1284), 1887. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

certain details in pen and ink; now, in Arles, he generally adopted a different working method. After making a preliminary sketch in pencil, he made a pen-and-ink drawing to which he then applied coloured areas in watercolour. ¹⁶ In this way he carried out his resolution to produce 'pen drawings, but coloured in flat tints like Japanese prints' [616/491]. ¹⁷

Like the aniline ink and the coloured chalk, Van Gogh had probably brought his box of watercolours with him from Paris. He used them in the spring of 1888 to make the watercolours *Blossoming peach trees* (cat. 326) and *The Langlois bridge* (fig. 326c). At the end of May 1888 he asked Theo to order new watercolours, with which he most likely made the watercolour drawings originating in the summer and autumn of that year (see p. 9 and cat. 326).

In Saint-Rémy Van Gogh did not work at all with watercolour; in Auvers he combined it in several sheets with oil paint.

Oil paint

Considering the scant attention Van Gogh paid to drawing in Saint-Rémy, it should come as no surprise that he experimented little with technique in the works on paper made in that period. The only new and also startling aspect is the technique of painting on paper with (diluted) oil paint, as seen in the garden views dating from late May and early June 1889 (cats. 360-362), as well as in the interiors of September-October of that year (cats. 372, 373). These works represent a renewal of his experiments with colour, begun in Paris and continued in Arles. The garden views and interiors are entirely different in character, but both series contain powerful, impressive drawings.

These experiments were continued in May and June 1890 in Auvers in the sheets Old vineyard with peasant woman (cat. 459), Landscape with houses (cat. 460) and Landscape with bridge over the River Oise (fig. 7). In these works Van Gogh combined oil paint and watercolour. In contrast to the garden views of late May-early June 1889, in which he used diluted oil paint to apply a wealth of brushstrokes covering the entire sheet, and unlike the interiors of a couple of months later, to which he applied large areas of colour, in the above-mentioned Auvers drawings Van Gogh opted for long and flowing lines. The paper is visible in many places and plays an essential role in the depiction.

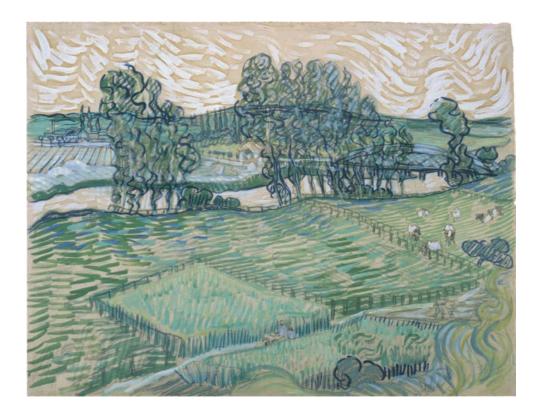
In catalogue numbers 459 and 460 Van Gogh used various shades of blue; in the former drawing he added orange elements to produce a complementary contrast.¹⁸ In Paris, too, he had made drawings as a means of carrying out similar experiments in colour.

Perspective frame

In the first months of his stay in Arles, Van Gogh still made regular use of a perspective frame. In mid-March 1888 he wrote to Theo: 'I made my last three studies with the help of the perspective frame you know about. I attach importance to the use of the frame, because it doesn't seem unlikely to me that in the not too distant future several artists will use it, just as the old German and Italian painters, certainly, and, I'm inclined to believe, the Flemish artists no less so. The modern use of this tool may differ from the use people made of it in the past – but – isn't

- 16 In this way he made cat. 349, F 1425 JH 1441, F 1464 JH 1497, F 1483 JH 1439 and F 1482 JH 1487. The order of the 'Paris' working method was applied in F 1480 JH 1382. In cat. 326 no detail was added; in the case of watercolours F 1463 JH 1576, F 1422 JH 1654, F 1429 JH 1459, it is not known in which order the materials were
- 17 Letter of 27 May 1888: 'des dessins à la plume mais alors colorés à teintes plates comme les crepons'.
- 18 Van Gogh did the same in Landscape with bridge over the River Oise (fig. 7), which in the main is built up of closely related shades of green and purple-blue. The original orange roofs and cows, the pink paint in the sky and the pink paper formed complementary contrasts.

7 Landscape with bridge over the River Oise (F 1639 JH 2023), 1890. London, Tate Britain.



it also true that with the process of painting in oils we nowadays achieve very different effects from those of the inventors of the process, J. and Hubert van Eyck?' [587/469].¹⁹ By 'modern use' Van Gogh must have been referring to the use of the frame to mark out compositions and to achieve the proper proportions, as opposed to its original purpose of obtaining the correct perspective.

Before he began to draw or paint, Van Gogh traced onto his paper or canvas the inner edge of the frame and the horizontal, vertical and diagonal threads stretched across it. When drawing, he did this by laying the frame on the sheet and tracing along the edges and threads. This is apparent from such things as the transition from horizontal to diagonal lines, running in one continuous pencil line (fig. 323b). If Van Gogh had drawn the frame without laying it on the paper, it would have been logical for him first to draw the lines of the frame and then the perspective guidelines. Furthermore, it is remarkable that, in all the drawings in which this perspective frame was used, the diagonal lines do not end precisely in but rather next to the inner corners of the drawn frame. This could perhaps be explained by the fact that Van Gogh had stuck the threads on the outside of the frame in the mitre-joints. If the outer corners of a rectangular frame are joined diagonally by a thread, it does not run exactly through the middle of the inner corners, but just next to them. 20 Comparison of the sizes of these frames, determinable by the lines still visible in some of the drawings, shows that Van Gogh had two different perspective frames in Arles: a small frame with inner dimensions of 18.0 by 26.0 centimetres and a large frame with inner dimensions of 37.0 by 41.7 centimetres.21 He used the small

- 19 Letter of c. 16 March 1888: 'J'ai fait mes trois dernières études au moyen du cadre perspectif que tu me connais. J'attache de l'importance à l'emploi du cadre puisqu'il ne me semble pas improbable que dans un avenir peu éloigné plusieurs artistes s'en serviront de même que les anciens peintres allemands et italiens sûrement et, je suis porté à le croire, pas moins les flamands s'en sont servis. L'emploi moderne de cet instrument peut différer de l'emploi qu'anciennement on en a fait mais n'est ce pas de même qu'avec le procédé de la peinture à l'huile on obtient aujourd'hui des effets très différents de ceux des inventeurs du procédé, J. et Hubert. v. Eyck.' The studies he is referring to are F 396 JH 1367, F 397 JH 1368 and F 398 JH 1366.
- 20 With thanks to Nico Lingbeek. This has also been observed in drawings and paintings he made in Paris (e.g. F 1401 JH 1284 (cat. 318) and F 1406 JH 1277 (cat. 318)).
- 21 If Van Gogh were to enlarge a small frame or scale down a large frame on a sheet of paper, the relative distances between the lines should still correspond.

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22 A third large drawing also bears traces of the perspective frame: View of Arles with irises in the foreground (F 1416r JH 1415) of May 1888. It cannot be said whether this was the same large frame, because only the lower part of it is visible and the publications that describe the lines give no measurements (see cat. 325, note 9). Two large drawings from May are also said to have been drawn with the help of a perspective frame: F 1470 JH 1377 (in Arles 2003, p. 28) and F 1472a JH 1497a (in Rotterdam 1995, nr. 48). In both cases, examination in daylight did not confirm the presence of perspective guidelines.

- **23** These are F 396 JH 1367, F 397 JH 1368 and F 398 JH 1366.
- 24 For a description of this perspective frame and a summary of the drawings for which this instrument was used, see cat. 325.
- 25 The frames Van Gogh used in his Paris paintings corresponded in size to the standard measurements of commercially available stretchers, an obvious basis for perspective frames (see Paintings 2). This was not the case with the frames used for the drawings made in Arles. See Drawings 1, pp. 22-25 and Drawings 2, pp. 18-22 with regard to the perspective frames used by Van Gogh in the years 1880-85. See Drawings 3, pp. 26-29 and Paintings 2 for the frames Van Gogh used in Paris.
- 26 In this regard, see Drawings 1, pp. 22-24.
- 27 Letter of 18 September 1888: 'Je ne mesure presque pas et en cela je suis bien categoriquement opposé à Cormon qui dit que s'il ne mesurait pas il dessinerait comme un cochon.'
- 28 Letter of c. 19 June 1888: 'Je connais ici un souslieutenant des zouaves nommé Milliet. je lui donne des leçons de dessin – avec mon cadre perspectif – et il commence à faire des dessins – ma foi j'ai vu bien pire que ca.'
- 29 See also the sheet with perspective guidelines preserved with cat. 457.
- **30** Letter of c. 25 February 1888: 'un épicier soit chez un libraire'.
- 31 See letter 595/475 of c. 5 April 1888. Van Gogh occasionally bought materials in Arles as well, as emerges from the correspondence (e.g. letter 617/492 of 28 May 1888).
- **32** Letter of 27 May 1888: 'quelques couleurs à l'aquarelle'.

frame in five of the small reed-pen drawings made in the period running from the beginning of March to early May 1888: Landscape with path and pollard willows (cat. 323), Field with farmhouses (cat. 327), Farmhouse in a wheatfield (cat. 328), Park with shrub (cat. 330) and Landscape with factory (F 1500 JH 1373). Traces of the use of the large frame are visible in Provençal orchard (cat. 325) and in Orchard with Arles in the background (fig. 325a), both made in late March or early April. ²² It is possible that Van Gogh used the same large perspective frame to paint three studies in mid-March, which he wrote about in letter 587/469, ²³ since these paintings and the large drawings correspond closely in size. ²⁴ Traces of perspective frames of these sizes do not occur in the work Van Gogh made before going to Arles, which suggests that he either made them, bought them, or had them made in Arles. ²⁵

The use of a large frame for a large composition is preferable to taking a small frame and enlarging it on paper. With the large type, the artist can transfer the composition one-on-one to the support, without having to enlarge it, and can take more distance from the perspective frame. ²⁶

From the beginning of June 1888 the perspective frame no longer suited Van Gogh's manner of working, which had become swift, free and more self-assured. 'I hardly measure, and in that I am quite categorically opposed to Cormon, who says that if he didn't measure he would draw like a pig' [687/539].²⁷ It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the works originating after June 1888 bear practically no traces of this tool, though he did use it when giving drawing lessons to Milliet in the summer of 1888: 'I know a second lieutenant of the Zouaves here called Milliet. I give him drawing lessons – with my perspective frame – and he's beginning to make drawings – my word, I've seen a lot worse than that' [630/B7].²⁸ Only one known drawing made after June 1888 displays lines attributable to the use of a perspective frame: Pine trees in the walled garden of the asylum (fig. 359a), made in Saint-Rémy in late May or early June 1889. Van Gogh possibly felt the need to depict his new surroundings with the help of this tool, or perhaps he wanted to show someone how it worked. Other signs that Van Gogh had not completely banished the perspective frame from his life are various sketches of the instrument itself, which appear on loose sheets dating from the Saint-Rémy and Auvers periods (cats. 365 and 482, respectively). 29 Like the perspective frame he had used in Nuenen, this one was a rectangular frame that could be mounted at various heights, both vertically and horizontally, on the side of a pole.

Pape

It is not known whether Van Gogh ever bought paper and drawing materials in Arles or whether he had them sent from Paris. At first he obtained his canvas and paint from 'a grocer or a bookseller' in Arles [580/464].³⁰ He could not get everything he needed there, though, and sometimes the quality of the goods left much to be desired. At the beginning of April 1888, he therefore decided to have most of his painting materials sent from Paris by Tasset & L'Hôte or Père Tanguy.³¹ He had frequently bought materials from both suppliers during his stay in Paris. The only drawing materials he is known to have ordered in Paris are 'some watercolours' [616/491].³² The list in which these occur, sent with letter 615/490 of 26 May 1888, has not survived. That watercolours were among the things Van Gogh ordered at

that time emerges from the explanation he sent a day later.³³ As mentioned above, he had probably brought coloured chalk, watercolour and aniline ink from Paris; he found the reed for his pens along the canals in the vicinity of Arles.

To be certain that he could set to work immediately after his arrival, Van Gogh had also brought paper from Paris. Thus the small reed-pen drawings (25.8 by 34.9 cm) were made on wove paper from a sketchbook he had already used in Paris.³⁴ The sketchbook was sewn and its leaves had coloured upper edges.³⁵ Furthermore, he drew Provençal orchard (cat. 325) on Lalanne laid paper, a kind of paper known from his Paris oeuvre that does not otherwise occur in the work done in Arles.³⁶ There is only one other type of paper that occurs in both the Paris and Arles oeuvre: the cream-coloured AL (in a scroll) PL BAS paper.³⁷ It can no longer be determined whether he had this laid paper sent from Paris or whether he bought it in Arles, but the fact that Van Gogh did not use this paper until May 1888 makes it unlikely that he had brought it from Paris. The other kinds of paper he used in Arles – J What-MAN TURKEY MILL 1879, Glaslan and J WHATMAN MANUFACTURER 1888 – do not occur in Van Gogh's Paris work, which could indicate that he bought this paper in the south of France. It is remarkable that Van Gogh seems never to have worked on pink or blue paper in Arles, though he had done so in Nuenen, Antwerp and Paris and would do so again in Saint-Rémy and Auvers.

By the summer of 1888 the sketchbook from Paris was full. Van Gogh had used it mainly in the months of March, April and May; only a few drawings on this paper are datable, on the basis of the subject, to a later period.³⁸ After mid-July 1888 he used a sketchpad measuring 24.4 by 32 centimetres. The leaves of wove paper were glued along one of their long sides.³⁹ Van Gogh used this paper, which was slightly textured on one side, for the drawn copies of paintings that he made for Bernard, Russell and Theo, as well as for several independent drawings dating from August and September 1888 (*cats. 344, 346-348*). Among the sheets drawn in Saint-Rémy are a number of works made on paper from the same or a very similar sketchpad (see below).

In Saint-Rémy, too, Van Gogh continued to send his orders for painting supplies to Theo, who passed them on to Tasset & L'Hôte and Tanguy. $^{4\circ}$ It is not known whether he acquired his drawing materials there as well; in any case, they do not occur in the few surviving lists of orders. 4r

To ensure that he could start work immediately in Saint-Rémy, Van Gogh probably took along a supply of paper and drawing materials from Arles: in fact, shortly before his admission to the asylum he was already using the cream-coloured laid paper with the watermark AL (in a scroll) PL BAS, on which several of his first drawings from Saint-Rémy were made (*cat.* 350).⁴² In Arles he probably bought the pink variety of this laid paper, which he also used during his first month at Saint-Rémy.⁴³

Another supply of paper, which he may have taken along when he went to Saint-Rémy, was a glued sketchpad of wove paper. As mentioned earlier, in the summer of 1888 he had used similar paper for the drawn copies of paintings, as well as for several independent drawings. Five sheets, all displaying drawings on both sides, have the same measurements, thickness and texture as the works from Arles.⁴⁴ Not one of these later sheets, however, has the glued edge characteristic of the works

- 33 See letter 616/491 of 27 May 1888.
- 34 For a list of these drawings, see p. 5, notes 26 and
- 35 This brown colour was found in all the sheets examined. The wove paper is 0.17-0.18 mm thick. In Drawings 3 the remains of binding holes were not recognised, and this sketchbook was incorrectly described as a glued sketchpad (see Drawings 3, cats. 283, 293-299). Comparison of the Arles sheets with the works made in Paris reveals that the binding holes are in exactly the same places.
- **36** Paris drawings on Lalanne paper are SD 1703r JH 1083 (cat. 250), SD 1703v JH 1026 (cat. 275), F 1391 JH 1220 (cat. 291) and F 1408 JH 1252 (cat. 313).
- **37** Paris works are F 1364-1 JH 1007 (cat. 242) and F 1364-2 JH 1008 (cat. 243).
- 38 The trees in F 1502 JH 1492 and F 1518 JH 1493 are in full leaf, which indicates that these drawings were made in the (early) summer.
- 39 The paper is 0.17-0.19 mm thick.
- 40 From letter 809/609 of 5 October 1889 it emerges that Van Gogh also bought some painting materials in Arles, during a visit that took place around mid-June 1889: 'some paint, canvas, frames & stretchers' ('de la couleur, de la toile, des cadres & chassis').
- 41 When making the garden views with diluted oil paint, Van Gogh realised that he needed new brushes, which he ordered in letter 780/593 of c. 31 May-c. 6 June 1889. It can no longer be ascertained whether he used these new brushes for painting or drawing.
- 42 The drawings on this paper from the Saint-Rémy period are cats. 351, 354, 358, 362, and F 1505 JH 1697 and F 1728 JH 1706.
- **43** Cats. 359, 372, 373, and F 1529 JH 1808 and F 1497 IH 1852
- 44 Cats. 414, 415, 422, 433, 435, 436 and 442-445.

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made in Arles, so it cannot be said with certainty that they came from the same sketchpad.⁴⁵

With the exception of the above-mentioned AL PL BAS paper, Van Gogh used only wove paper in Saint-Rémy. In the first months these were large sheets or pieces thereof, with or without a watermark or blind stamp.⁴⁶ After using paper blind-stamped LATUNE ET C^{IE} BLACONS, on which he had drawn the copies of paintings, he wrote that he found the paper too smooth (see *cats. 366-369*). This is the only time in the period 1888-90 that he expressed an opinion about his drawing materials.

Later Van Gogh drew mainly in sketchbooks, both bought and homemade. To make the latter kind, he folded large sheets in four and then cut or tore open the side edges. Many of these sheets were subsequently dispersed, but thanks to their torn edges it is often possible to determine which sheets were joined. Proof that he did in fact fold one large sheet into a sketchbook (and did not merely cut it into smaller pieces) is offered by the imprints of lines that have nothing to do with the sheet on which they appear and by passages that have rubbed off from other drawings – both of which are frequently observed in sketchbooks.

Van Gogh used one of these homemade sketchbooks exclusively for the studies of trees made in October 1889 or March-April 1890.⁴⁷ He made it of wove paper of medium thickness (0.11-0.15 millimetres), which he folded into sheets approximately 20 by 30 centimetres in size (see *cats*. 377-394).⁴⁸

For other studies of trees, as well as for sketches of the walled field and several other depictions dating from the period between March and mid-May 1890 (chairs, clouds, figures on a road, figures at table), Van Gogh used thin (0.08 mm), poorquality paper not made for drawing, which he folded into a booklet measuring about 25 by 32.5 centimetres.⁴⁹ The thinness of the paper – in some places so thin that holes have almost appeared – makes it unsuitable for drawing on both sides, which is something Van Gogh generally did in his sketchbooks.⁵⁰

For the third homemade sketchbook from Saint-Rémy, containing drawings from the first months of 1890 (figures on a road, on the land, on the beach, and eating utensils), Van Gogh used a sheet of pink laid paper with the watermark AL (in a scroll) PL BAS, a somewhat thinner variant of the pink paper with the same watermark on which he drew in 1889. The sketchbook was approximately 24 by 30 centimetres (for a reconstruction, see fig. 396c). The sketchbook was approximately 24 by 30 centimetres (for a reconstruction, see fig. 396c).

In Saint-Rémy Van Gogh used at least two ready-made, sewn sketchbooks containing wove paper. As far as their format (23.8 by 32.0 cm) and thickness (0.13 mm) are concerned, the two kinds of paper are very similar; only the number of binding holes and the distance between them are different. One of these sketchbooks (which have fallen apart) is represented by only a single sheet of paper in the collection in the Van Gogh Museum, 53 whereas the museum has just under twenty sheets from the other sketchbook. Nearly all the sheets have drawings on both sides, showing such diverse depictions as figures – sitting by the fireplace, walking down a road, working the land or seated at table – studies of hands, nature studies, landscapes with land labourers, the walled field, and studies of a window and a chair. 54 Van Gogh used both these sketchbooks mainly between January and mid-May 1890, even though a small number of the drawings probably originated in 1889. 55

- **45** The glued edges might have been removed during earlier restorations.
- **46** For wove paper with a watermark or blind stamp, see cats. 364 and 366-369. For drawings on wove paper without marks, see cats. 355, 356, 360, 363 and F 1527 JH 1708.
- **47** See cats. 377, 378, 382-384, 387-393.
- **48** Various sheets appear to fit together: the left edge of cat. 378 matches the left edge of the verso of cat. 377; the upper edge of cat. 382 matches the lower edge of cat. 390; the left edge of cat. 377 matches the lower edge of cat. 391; finally, it is possible that the lower edge of cat. 392 matches the lower edge of the verso of cat. 390 or the upper edge of the verso of cat. 382. Some of the sheets display imprints of lines from other drawings, an indication that they were lying on top of each other while Van Gogh was drawing.
- **49** See cats. 379-381, 385, 386, 394, 411, 437, 440, 441, 447-451, 455 and 456.
- **50** Van Gogh used only one sheet on both sides: cats. 394 and 411.
- 51 For the difference between these sheets, see cat. 359, note 1.
- 52 See cats. 396, 397, 412, 413, 438 and 439.
- 53 Displaying cats. 408 and 419. The binding holes can be found, measuring from the upper left-hand corner, at 5.2, 12.7 and 17.7 cm. See note 54 for the distances between the binding holes in sheets from the other sketchbook.
- **54** Cats. 365, 374-376, 398-407, 409, 410, 416-418, 420, 421, 423-428, 430-432, 434, 446, 452 and probably also 395 and 454. The binding holes are at 1.8, 3.0, 11.1, 20.0 and 21.2 cm.
- 55 These are cats. 365 and 374-376.

It is known that the ready-made sketchbooks had blue marbled endpapers, because Van Gogh used the paper on the verso of at least three of the four endpapers for sketches (the fourth endpaper has not survived). Two are still attached to one another by a piece of linen. ⁵⁶ Judging by the distance between the binding holes, they probably belonged to the sketchbook of which many pages have survived. The position of the binding holes in the third sheet shows that it belonged to another, unidentifiable sketchbook. The collection also contains two sheets that belonged to a glued sketchpad measuring approximately 24.7 by 32.8 centimetres. ⁵⁷ These drawings were made in September 1889 and March-April 1890.

After leaving Saint-Rémy, Van Gogh spent several days in Paris, where he bought a sketchbook in which he immediately made several drawings before taking it with him to Auvers. This little sketchbook has survived intact. ⁵⁸ Van Gogh also took to Auvers at least seven sheets of laid paper with the watermark Dambricourt Frere Hallines (44.5 by 55.0 cm), ⁵⁹ as can be inferred from the fact that this paper does not occur earlier in his drawn oeuvre and that he used it in Auvers even before he received the first shipment of canvas and paper from Theo. ⁶⁰ Four drawings on this paper were made on full sheets; three other sheets were either folded or torn in half. ⁶¹ He probably used these sheets to make a sketchbook (see *cat. 483*).

Shortly after his arrival in Auvers, Van Gogh asked his brother for '10 metres of canvas if that would not inconvenience you but if since it is near the end of the month it would inconvenience you, you could send 20 sheets of Ingres paper. I would need these anyway so as not to waste any time. There is a lot to draw here' [876/636]. 62 This is the only order of paper that occurs in all the letters from Arles, Saint-Rémy and Auvers. It is not known whether Van Gogh ordered the paper through his brother because there was not much available in Auvers or because he had not yet discovered where to buy it. He was, in any case, dissatisfied with the paint available in Auvers, and he therefore continued to ask Theo to order it for him at Tasset's. 63 The sheets of paper he ordered did not arrive until after 25 May 1890, as emerges from the remark 'Thank you in advance for the canvas and the paper' in a letter that must have been written on that day [879/637]. 64 It seems as though Theo did not send him a uniform batch of laid paper, but one containing various kinds and a variety of colours. For example, there were pink sheets with the watermark AL (in a scroll) PL BAS, others with the watermark of a shield containing the initials CF and a staff of Aesculapius, blue-grey and cream-coloured sheets with the mark MBM MBM, and blue, cream-coloured and pink ED & Cie PL BAS sheets. An inventory of all the Auvers drawings, including those outside the Van Gogh Museum, contains at least ten full sheets; most of them were folded, torn or cut into smaller pieces. Like the paper bearing the watermark DAMBRICOURT FRERES Hallines, Van Gogh used the мвм мвм paper only in Auvers.

These sheets, divided into small ones, mostly belonged to one of the sketchbooks that Van Gogh made himself, all of which were larger than the little ready-made sketchbook he also used in Auvers (13.4 by 8.5 cm). ⁶⁵ Like the sheets from the homemade sketchbooks from Saint-Rémy, many of the Auvers drawings bear traces of drawing material that has rubbed off from other sketches.

Van Gogh folded one of these little sketchbooks from two sheets of paper, a

- **56** These are the two sketches on cat. 475. The third drawing is cat. 428.
- 57 Cats. 370, 371, 429 and 453.
- 58 The sketchbook belongs to the collection preserved in the Van Gogh Museum, inv. no. d 414 V/1962. See Van der Wolk 1987, pp. 212-64.
- 59 The watermark likewise contains an emblem with a crown and the letters H and P. In The Hague Van Gogh used heavy watercolour paper with the same watermark, bearing the year 1877 instead of the emblem.
- **60** See letters 876/636 of c. 21 May and 879/637 of 25 May 1890.
- **61** This paper was used in cats. 458 and 460 (full sheet), 459 (full sheet), 461 (full sheet), 462 (half-sheet), 474 and 485 (half-sheet), 483 (full sheet), 484 and 486 (half-sheet), and F 1650r JH and F 1650v JH 2073 (half-sheet), F 1646r JH F 1646v JH (half-sheet) and F 1652r JH 2071 F 1652v JH 2074 (half-sheet).
- **62** Letter of c. 21 May 1890: '10 mètres toile si cela ne te dérangeait pas mais si puisque c'est vers la fin du mois cela te dérangerait, tu enverrais 20 FEUILLES PAPIER INGRES. Ceux là il me les faudrait *quand même* pour ne pas perdre du temps. Il y a beaucoup à dessiner ici.'
- 63 'Here one can't find anything good in the way of colours' ('Ici on ne peut pas en trouver de bonnes de couleurs'); letter 908/651 of 23 July 1890. For orders from Tasset, see letters 881/638, 884/T36, 908/651. For other orders in which Tasset is not named, see letters 891/641 and 898/645. Tanguy is no longer mentioned as a supplier; Van Gogh was not very happy with the quality of the paint he supplied (see letter 894/642 of 17 June 1890). It emerges from Theo and Jo's account book that the amount of 136 francs was indeed paid to Tanguy in June 1890, but this might have been an old bill (see Stolwijk/Veenenbos 2002, p. 45).
- 64 'Je te remercie d'avance de la toile et du papier.'
- **65** The booklet had probably been made as a notebook, given its squared paper.

blue-grey and a cream-coloured sheet of MBM MBM measuring 47.5 by 62.8 centimetres (see *cats*. 475-480). ⁶⁶ The two sheets were folded in four and either cut or torn open along the upper and lower fold, making eight leaves approximately 31.5 by 24 centimetres in size (for reconstructions, see *fig.* 468c and *fig.* 475b). Van Gogh used fifteen of the sixteen pages thus produced for sketches in blue or black chalk, or a combination of the two. ⁶⁷ To one sketch, the lower half of *Landscape with houses* (*cat.* 481), he added purple-brown ink. This little sketchbook also contained a wide variety of motifs, such as studies of an Egyptian head, houses, figures on the land, the Auvers town hall and studies of heads.

Van Gogh folded a similar sketchbook from two sheets of pink laid paper with the watermark AL (in a scroll) PL BAS. These, too, had been divided into four, making eight leaves of approximately 30.5 by 24 centimetres (for reconstructions, see figs. 467a, 470a). Five small sheets were used on one side only, but most of these bear imprints of other depictions on the verso; 68 of the other three sheets, two have survived, both of which have drawings on recto and verso alike. 69 The sketches in this little book, made in pencil or black chalk, depict landscapes, houses, figures working the land and Marguerite Gachet.

Van Gogh folded a third sheet of the same kind of paper into a smaller sketch-book of six leaves (twelve pages) of approximately 21 by 23 centimetres. He did this by folding the sheet in three, taking the strip thus produced (approximately 21.0 by 47.3 centimetres) and folding it in two. Cutting open the upper and lower folds produced three loose strips on top of one another, with a fold in the middle; they are now preserved separately. Two of the three strips are with the Van Gogh Museum; the folds in the middle are exactly the same. Of the eight pages that these two strips formed together, six were used, mainly for studies of animals and children (for reconstructions, see *figs.* 463a, 464a).⁷⁰ All six of these sketches were made in pencil.

⁶⁶ That the two differently coloured sheets belonged to one and the same sketchbook can be concluded on the basis of the measurements of the sheets and the drawing material that has rubbed off on them.

⁶⁷ Cats. 475-480, 493 and 494 were drawn on the blue-grey paper. The cream-coloured sheet contained cats. 468, 481, 482, 495 and 496.

⁶⁸ Cats. 467 and 470-473.

⁶⁹ Cats. 469, 487, 491 and 492.

⁷⁰ See cats. 463-466.

Catalogue

Note to the reader

Each catalogue entry in this book consists of three sections: a technical description, a discussion of the work and documentation. The documentation is broken down into subsections: relevant letters by Van Gogh, provenance, literature and exhibitions. Reference is made only to letters in which Van Gogh makes specific mention of the drawings or group of drawings in question. The list of literature includes those publications that make an indispensable contribution to knowledge of the work discussed. In the other subsections we have endeavoured to be as exhaustive as possible.

Abbreviated titles are used to refer to literature and exhibitions. Full titles and exhibition details are found at the back of the book.

The provenance and exhibition information is based on J.-B. de la Faille's catalogue raisonné of 1970. In making additions and corrections to this information we have consulted sources to be found in the archives of the Van Gogh Museum: exhibition catalogues, archive cards, newspaper cuttings, notes made by Johanna van Gogh-Bonger and Vincent Willem van Gogh, and other archival information.

If it is known when Van Gogh sent a particular drawing to his brother, Theo is listed in the provenance as the owner from that year on. In the cases where such information is lacking, he is regarded as the owner from 1890, the year of Van Gogh's death.

Vincent Willem van Gogh, the son of Theo van Gogh and Johanna van Gogh-Bonger, formally inherited the Van Gogh Collection in 1891, but since his mother had custody of it until her death in 1925, her name precedes his in the provenance listings.

Presentations of parts of the collection in Amsterdam's Stedelijk Museum during the period in which the collection was housed there (c. 1931-1973) have not been included in the list of exhibitions.

The complete list of exhibition information contains, for most of the exhibitions, the relevant documents and literature. These sources provide information on the exhibition in question or are essential in identifying the work exhibited. In addition to the inventory numbers of documents (explained in a list at the back of the book), the following abbreviations have been used: ASM (Archives of the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam), BSM (loan form of the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam) and AF (Walter Feilchenfeldt Archives). New information on exhibition dates is given without documentation.

If known, the prices asked for works shown at commercial exhibitions (or the notice 'not for sale') are listed after the catalogue numbers. The amounts (or 'not for sale' notices) appear in square brackets when they are known from documents; the use of parentheses means that this information comes from the exhibition

catalogue. If auction catalogues and documents with lists of the works on display do not mention a price, this has been interpreted as 'not for sale'.

The works of art bear, wherever possible, the titles given to them by Van Gogh himself. In all other cases the works have been given straightforward, descriptive titles.

In the drawings in which Van Gogh used watercolour, a distinction is always made between transparent and opaque watercolour; the terms 'aquarelle' and 'gouache' have been avoided for technical reasons. For further information on this subject, see note 24 in the Introduction to Volume 1.

The material used to apply a signature is recorded only when it differs from the materials used in the drawing.

Inscriptions on the backs of the sheets are recorded only when considered relevant.

The present owner of each work is listed in the provenance section. The large majority of drawings are part of the collection of the Vincent van Gogh Foundation, but a small number belong to the Van Gogh Museum itself. All the works from the Van Gogh Museum reproduced as comparative illustrations belong to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation, as do the documents in the museum. The Foundation's collection is on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum.

The passages from the letters quoted in the catalogue entries have been compared with the originals and corrected where necessary. The datings of many of the letters have been brought in line with recent findings. In the case of quotations from the letters written in French, the original passages appear in the footnotes.

Passages quoted from Van Gogh's correspondence are followed by a reference in square brackets to the relevant letter numbers. When information from the letters is used but not directly quoted, the letter number appears in a footnote. The letters are referred to by two numbers: the first refers to Han van Crimpen and Monique Berends-Albert (eds.), *De brieven van Vincent van Gogh*, 4 vols., The Hague 1990; the second refers to *The Complete Letters of Vincent van Gogh*, 3 vols., Boston, New York, London 1958.

The F-numbers in the texts refer to the relevant catalogue number in J.-B. de la Faille, *The Works of Vincent van Gogh. His paintings and drawings*, Amsterdam 1970; the JH-numbers refer to Jan Hulsker, *The new complete Van Gogh. Paintings, drawings, sketches*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia 1996.

9-31 March 1888
Pencil, pen, reed pen and brown ink, on wove paper
Traces of perspective guidelines
25.8 x 34.7 cm
Unsigned
Inscribed at bottom centre:
Arles Mars 88

Inv. d 168 V/1962 F 1499 JH 1372

Letter 608/484

- 1 See the descriptions of the weather Van Gogh gives in his letters, as well as contemporary meteorological information published in *Bulletin annuel de la commission météorologique du département des Bouches-du-Rhône*, 1888-1890, in the library of Météo-France in Paris.
- 2 These are F 390 JH 1357, F 290 JH 1360, F 389 JH 1359, F 391 JH 1358, F 392 JH 1361, F 393 JH 1362, F 395 JH 1363 and possibly F 572 JH 1597. The mistral is a cold and very strong wind from the north or northwest that frequently blows in the Rhône Valley and the coastal areas of south-eastern France.
- 3 Letter 596/474. The two watercolours are cat. 326 and F 1480 JH 1382.
- 4 The date in the upper right-hand corner of *A farmhouse in Provence* (F 1478 JH 1444) has been erased; it is impossible to determine whether it was written by Van Gogh. It seems to say: 'froid samedi 8 Juillet', but this cannot be said with certainty either. See also Heenk 1995, p. 165, who observes that 8 July 1888 was not a Saturday but a Sunday. The date of 8 June is not possible either, since that was a Friday.
- 5 This plateau on the horizon is more recognisable in the painting Van Gogh made after this drawing (see fig. 323c and further on in the text).
- 6 Letter of c. 14 May 1888: 'Beaucoup des motifs d'ici sont absolument comme caractère la même chose que la Hollande la difference est dans la couleur.'
 7 See, for example, F 900 JH 47, F 995 JH 56, F 1678 JH 46, F 947 JH 164, F 1092 JH 270, F 1129 JH 461, F 1240a JH 467, F 1240 JH 469, F 31 JH 477.

323 Landscape with path and pollard willows

Van Gogh arrived in Arles on 20 February 1888 to find the city and the surrounding countryside covered with a thick blanket of snow. The unusually cold weather did not turn milder until 9 March. The eight canvases Van Gogh painted in those first few weeks were largely done indoors, since the icy mistral made it impossible to work outside. In his letters Van Gogh does not mention making any drawings in this first period. The earliest reference occurs in a letter of 9 April, in which he tells Theo that he has made two watercolours after paintings (see *cat. 326*). That he had begun to draw before this time is evidenced by *Landscape with path and pollard willows*, which bears an inscription: 'Arles Mars 88'. This makes the sheet one of the first drawings from the Arles period and the only one that Van Gogh dated there, perhaps because it was in fact the first drawing he made in the South.

There is another sheet whose subject suggests a March date: Figures in a field (cat. 324). These two works probably originated some time between 9 March – when milder weather set in and the snow melted – and 24 March, after which time Van Gogh became completely absorbed in painting orchards in blossom. Nevertheless, the possibility that he made these drawings in the last week of March cannot be ruled out.

Van Gogh drew *Landscape with path and pollard willows* from a position to the east of Arles, looking south, where the view is obstructed by the higher-lying Crau plateau. The building to the left of the path is a *cabanon*, used to store tools and harvested crops. The upper storey contained a bedroom where the peasants, who often lived quite some distance from the land they tilled, could spend the night. Such structures were seen all over Provence, and were usually flanked by a cypress, as is the case in this drawing. Hidden behind the trees to the right of the path, which in the middle distance turns left to the *cabanon*, is a building with a pitched roof and exposed timbers in the façade. Behind the pollard willows and running alongside the path, which is partly overgrown with grass, Van Gogh used horizontal lines to draw a ditch lined by trees that are largely obscured from view. Towering above the pollard willows is a tall, thin elm, a tree found frequently beside ditches, just like the willows and ash trees seen here in the right background. To the left of the path is a vineyard, at the very back of which a woman works. Behind her, on the horizon, stand a few tall trees (probably poplars), three cypresses and a farmhouse.

Without the cypress and the *cabanon* the landscape would look very Dutch. Van Gogh himself pointed out the similarities (and differences) between the Dutch and southern French landscapes: 'Many motifs here are – in character – absolutely the same as in Holland; the difference lies in the colour' [612/488].⁶ Pollarded trees, in particular, occur regularly in the work Van Gogh made in Holland.⁷ The composition of this drawing strongly recalls that of a watercolour he made in The Hague (*fig.* 323a).



³²³ Landscape with path and pollard willows





323b Infrared image of cat. 323

323a Pollard willow (F 947 JH 164), 1882. Private collection.

Landscape with path and pollard willows was drawn in pencil and pen and brown ink. Here Van Gogh used the pencil, as he did in his Dutch period, as a fully fledged material at every stage in the drawing. In addition to a preliminary sketch in pencil, heavy pencil lines run over the ink lines in the truncated trees, small strokes suggest the shady side of the cypress, and stumped graphite is clearly visible in the path. Van Gogh initially applied the ink with two pens, using a fine pen for the branches of the trees, the hatching on the horizon, the details of the *cabanon* and the posts alongside the path, and a somewhat thicker pen for the foreground and the trunks of the pollard willows. This much of the drawing had been completed and the inscription added when Van Gogh took up a reed pen and dark brown ink to apply dots, mainly to the right of the path. The dots may well have been an afterthought, for it was April before he began to explore in earnest the possibilities of the reed pen. However, because Van Gogh used a reed pen in the other drawing made in March, it is quite possible that he applied these dots in the same session.

The smooth wove paper on which the landscape is drawn comes from a sketch-book that Van Gogh brought with him from Paris. Three sides display original, straight, cut edges, whereas the right side – the one that was stitched into the sketchbook – is not completely straight. Van Gogh cut the paper out himself before starting to draw, since the ink lines extend to the right edge but are not cut off by it. The top of the sheet bears traces of brown pigments from the sketchbook's coloured-edged pages. The drawings from Van Gogh's first months in Arles include a group made on paper from the same sketchbook.

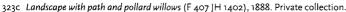
To lay in the composition and to ensure correct proportion, Van Gogh made use of a perspective frame. Laying it on the sheet, he traced the frame itself, as well as its vertical, horizontal and intersecting diagonal threads. In the present drawing, this working method is evidenced by the transition from horizontal to diagonal lines at the lower right, drawn in one flowing pencil line (fig. 323b). If Van Gogh had repro-

⁸ In *View of rooftops* (F 1480a JH 1403) as well, conspicuous use was made of graphite, and the pencil lines sometimes run over the ink lines.

⁹ On the use of the reed pen, see the Introduction, pp. 30-31.

For this sketchbook, see the Introduction, p. 39.For these drawings, see the Introduction, p. 5.







323d Cat. 323 superimposed on fig. 323c.

duced the perspective frame without laying it on the paper, it would have been logical for him to draw the frame first and then the perspective guidelines. Notably, all the drawings made with this perspective frame display diagonal lines that end not exactly *in* but just *next to* the inside corners of the frame. This could be due to the fact that Van Gogh stuck the threads into the mitred joints at the outer edge of the frame. A thread joining diagonally the outer corners of a rectangular frame does not run precisely through the middle of the inner corners, but just next to them.

Traces of two horizontal and two vertical lines which together form the inside of the frame, as well as two diagonals and a vertical line (13.1 cm from the right inner edge of the frame) intersecting in the middle, are still vaguely visible (fig. 323b). The vertical pencil line running along the right side of the paper, one centimetre from the edge, might have been traced along the outside of the frame, which would indicate that the right slat was 3.3 centimetres wide.

Several large drawings Van Gogh made in the March–May period were drawn with the help of a perspective frame that was considerably larger. $^{\text{I4}}$ It is possible that he also used this larger frame when painting three studies done in mid-March, which he wrote about in letter 587/469. The measurements of these large drawings and painted studies correspond very closely.

Before sending Landscape with path and pollard willows to Theo, Vincent made a painting after it in his room in Hôtel-Restaurant Carrel at rue de la Cavalerie 30 (fig. 323c). ¹⁵ This work, which is only slightly larger than the drawing, was in the first shipment of paintings (26 altogether) Vincent sent to Paris, which left Arles around 7 May. ¹⁶ Of these paintings, Van Gogh describes only Landscape with path and pollard willows: 'There is a little landscape with a hovel, white, red and green, and a cypress beside it; you have a drawing of it, and I did the whole painting of it at home. This will convince you that, if you like, I can make little pictures like the Japanese prints

- 12 The horizontal and vertical lines indicating the frame are about 4 cm from the edges of the paper.
 13 See the Introduction, pp. 37, 38, for a description of this perspective frame, as well as for a list of the five drawings bearing traces of its use.
- 14 For that perspective frame, see the Introduction, p. 38. That Van Gogh did in fact use two different perspective frames, as opposed to a small frame enlarged on the paper or vice versa, is apparent from the differing proportions of the frames traced on the paper.
- 15 Van Gogh mentions this address in his first letter from Arles, 579/463 of 21 February 1888. Regarding the painting, see letter 608/484 of 7 May 1888. He used the old street name, ignoring the fact that in 1887 this part of the street had been renamed rue Amédé-Pichot. See *L'Indicateur Marseillais des Bouches du Rhône*, 1888.

 16 The painting, which measures 31.5 x 38.5 cm, is only 5.7 cm taller and 3.8 cm wider than the drawing.

of all these drawings' [608/484].¹⁷ This painting was made in the second half of April, before the drawing was sent at the end of April (see below). Van Gogh copied the composition of the landscape meticulously, but in the painting he depicted nature as it was then, with the trees already in leaf or in blossom, and flowers in the fields.¹⁸

The composition and the placing of such things as trees and houses are so similar that one must conclude that Van Gogh transferred the composition of the drawing to the canvas with the aid of a traced copy (fig. 323d), ¹⁹ which was made by laying a piece of thin transparent paper on top of the representation and tracing over its contours. To transfer this 'drawing' to the canvas, the back of the tracing paper was covered with chalk or charcoal, or a sheet covered with either of these materials was placed between the tracing paper and the canvas. Retracing the lines of the traced copy resulted in the chalk or charcoal adhering to the canvas in those places. Van Gogh used this method more than once in Arles, in particular when painting multiple variations of the same motif. ²⁰

Such a close relationship between a drawing and a painting is something of an exception in Van Gogh's œuvre. In both works, the path and the poles next to it run identically from the horizon to the pollard willows. The divergence in the foreground is the result of the difference in format between the paper and the canvas: the slightly larger surface of the painting was exploited mainly in the foreground and on the left side. During the painting process, some green and blue-green oil paint ended up on the drawing, in the sky.²¹

Van Gogh probably included this sheet with the dozen or so small reed-pen drawings sent to Paris at the end of April. ²² Because such scant use was made of the reed pen in this drawing, it seems unlikely that Van Gogh would have considered this early work part of that series. Basing his conclusions on what Vincent wrote to Theo – 'you have a drawing of it' – Roskill incorrectly assumed that the sheet was more likely sent in the following shipment of around 7 May, because Theo, who was staying in Brussels from 22 April until perhaps 12 May, had not yet seen the drawings from the end of April. In fact, Vincent sent the second batch of drawings directly to Brussels. ²³ However, Roskill lost sight of the fact that the second consignment was sent on the same day as the letter that describes the painting and refers to the drawing, so Theo could not have seen this drawing either. The reference to the drawing seems intended to say that the sheet had already been sent rather than to suggest that Theo had already seen it.

The passage quoted above reveals that, in sending the painted version of *Landscape with path and pollard willows*, Van Gogh was hoping to show Theo that he could make paintings like Japanese prints from all the pen-and-ink drawings he had sent. The letters written in this period, March–May, show that Van Gogh thought the resemblance to Japanese prints consisted in the deployment of colour zones and the use of certain hues. ²⁴ Two paintings are known that depict the same scenes as two of the small reed-pen drawings: *Farmhouse in a wheatfield (fig. 327c)* after *Farmhouse in the wheatfield (cat. 328)* and *Field with poppies (fig. 327b)* after *Field with farmhouses (cat. 327)*. In both cases the drawings were already in Theo's possession when the canvases were painted, so there is no question of these being faithful copies. The painted landscapes were made on the spot and from a slightly different angle than the drawings. ²⁵

- 17 Letter of 7 May 1888: 'Il y a un petit paysage avec une masure blanche rouge verte et un cyprès à côté cela tu en as le dessin et je l'ai peint chez moi entièrement. Cela te prouverait que de tous ces dessins je pourrais, si cela t'allait, faire de ces petits tableaux comme des crepons.'
- 18 Willows and ashes both blossom before leafing.
- 19 First suggested by Kristin H. Lister, 'Tracing a transformation: Madame Roulin into *La berceuse*', in *Van Gogh Museum Journal 2001*, pp. 63-83.
- 20 Idem, pp. 64, 65, as regards this tracing technique and Van Gogh's use of it. In Detroit/Boston/Philadelphia 2000-01, pp. 140, 141, Dorn also assumes that Van Gogh made use of copying techniques.
- 21 On the right, at the same height as the pollard willows, are two blue-chalk lines that have nothing to do with the picture and must have ended up on the sheet accidentally.
- 22 For this shipment and its contents, see the Introduction, p. 5. According to Hulsker 1974, p. 26, Van Gogh sent *Landscape with path and pollard willows* to Emile Bernard in July, but gives no grounds for this assertion.
- 23 Roskill 1971, p. 166, note 131.
- **24** See letters 590/B2, 593/W3, 596/474, 611/487 and 616/491.
- 25 There is a less close connection between the pen-and-ink drawing *Road with trees* (F 1518a JH 1495) and the painting *Landscape with edge of a road* (F 567 JH 1419), since these two works were made from a considerably different angle.

PROVENANCE

April 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Lettres 1911, pl. XLII; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 150, vol. 4, pl. clxx; Novotny 1953, p. 35; London 1968-69, p. 76 no. 102; De la Faille 1970, pp. 521, 665; Roskill 1970 1, p. 151, ill. 142; Roskill 1970 11, p. 25; Roskill 1971, pp. 165, 166 note 129, 167; Hulsker 1974, p. 26; Millard 1974, p. 157; Chetham 1976, p. 221, ill. 161; Hulsker 1980, pp. 308, 309, 316; New York 1984, pp. 42, 54, 55, 57 no. 15, 58, 64, 73; Amsterdam 1987, p. 450 no. 2.495; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 135; Otterlo 1990, pp. 23, 218, 240 no. 165; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 150, 391, vol. 2, pl. clxx; Kyoto/Tokyo 1992, p. 96 no. 20; Heenk 1995, p. 165; Hulsker 1996, pp. 308, 309, 314; Martigny 2000, pp. 268, 298 no. 43; Silverman 2000, p. 65; Amsterdam/ New York 2005, pp. 148, 152, 153 no. 42.

Exhibitions

1893 Leiden, no catalogue; 1897 Groningen, no cat. known; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 404 [Dfl. 125]; 1910 Cologne & Frankfurt am Main, no catalogue [Dfl. 400]; 1912 The Hague & Amsterdam, no. 23 (not for sale); 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 165; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923 Utrecht, no. 51; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 62; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 62; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 62; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 68; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 49; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 48, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 191; 1932 Manchester, no. 65; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 85; 1947 Basel, no. 149; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 139; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 88, no. 89; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 265; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 95; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 74; 1953 Zürich, no. 90; 1955 Antwerp, no. 273; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 168; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastleupon-Tyne, no. 107; 1956 Haarlem, no. 66; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 137; 1960 Enschede, no. 52; 1961 Arles, no. 21; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 126; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 126; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 56; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 58; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 56; 1968 Liège, no. 56; 1968-69 London, no. 102; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 31; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 86 & Columbus, no. 18; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 86; 1979 Amsterdam, Tokyo, Sapporo, Hiroshima & Nagoya, no. 61; 1980-81 Amsterdam, no. 174; 1984 New York, no. 15; 1990 Otterlo, no. 165; 1992 Kyoto & Tokyo, no. 20; 2000 Martigny, no. 43; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 42.

9-31 March 1888 Pencil, pen, reed pen and brown ink, on wove paper 25.8 x 34.6 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 415 V/1962 F 1090 JH 1406

324 Figures in a field

One of the first drawings Van Gogh made as soon as the snow began to melt on 9 March 1888 is this sketchy drawing of warmly clad men pruning grapevines, a job done in the winter, at the latest in March. The pruning is being done by the bent figures; the three men standing upright, wearing suits and hats, are no doubt supervisors. The grapevines cannot be very old, because their stems are still so short. The plants grow loose, as opposed to being trained along wires between poles. Such grapevines, planted in furrows and displaying a tangle of tendrils, also occur in *The green vineyard* of October 1888 (fig. 324a), although there the vines have leaves and bunches of grapes. Both these works display the same low viewpoint with receding furrows and a high horizon.

Van Gogh began the drawing by marking in pencil the horizon line and the furrows. With a fine pen and brown ink he drew the figures, using a reed pen to lend their outlines extra solidity before going on to draw the landscape, also with the reed pen. The use of a fine pen instead of graphite to sketch in the figures is at once remarkable and not particularly successful: Van Gogh's modifications are clearly visible, such as the change he made to the upper body of the fifth figure from the left. The man on the far right is drawn only in fine pen, and above the men stooping down on the left are some lines that were not further elaborated.⁴

Figures in a field belongs to a series of about a dozen reed-pen drawings, sent by Vincent to Theo at the end of April, which were all made on the same kind of paper, taken from a sketchbook. The right-hand edge of the sheet, which was bound into the book, was probably cut out before the drawing was made, since nowhere are the lines cut off by the edge of the paper. The top of the sheet displays brown pigments from the book's coloured-edged pages.

The fact that some of *Figures in a field* was drawn directly in pen is not the only reason it stands apart from the other works made at the beginning of Van Gogh's Arles period. For one thing, it is the only drawing in which figures play an important role. The rough way in which the men's bodies are depicted – with great emphasis placed on the contours – does in fact correspond to the rendering of the figure in *Road to Tarascon with a man walking* (F 1502 JH 1492). The fluent draughtsmanship seen in the buildings and trees on the horizon can also be observed in several other works made on the same kind of paper and likewise dating from Van Gogh's first few months in Arles. Another remarkable feature of this drawing is the zigzagging line – marked by a jaunty flourish at each change of direction – running between the figures, which was possibly intended to suggest the pruned branches. A similar line occurs in *Trees with ivy in the garden of the asylum (cat.* 366), a drawing made in Saint-Rémy.

It had always been Van Gogh's ambition to become a figure painter. In the first years of his artistic career he therefore concentrated on studying figures in all

- 1 Bowness, in London 1968-69, no. 110, was the first to identify the work depicted as the pruning of grapevines. Bordeaux 1972, no. 58, describes the work being done as pruning beanstalks.
- 2 Most of the vineyards around Arles were at least four years old. See Beissier 1889, p. 98.
- 3 This growing method is typical of vineyards in the south of France.
- 4 View of rooftops (F 1480a JH 1403) also contains elements drawn only with a fine pen.
- 5 For this sketchbook, see the Introduction, pp. 4-9,
- 6 Other drawings from this series that include figures are cats. 332 and 331, and F 1500 JH 1373, F 1517 JH 1374, F 1472 JH 1404, and F 1473 JH 1405. They never play a prominent part in the picture, however.
- 7 F 1509 JH 1494, F 1517 JH 1374 (on the right) and F 1518a JH 1495.









324b Peat diggers in the dunes (F 1031 JH 363), 1883. Whereabouts unknown.

manner of poses. His studies, in large format, filled the entire sheet and were seldom supplied with landscape settings. When depicting groups of people, he composed them of individual figure studies, and failed, more often than not, to combine them into a cohesive whole (*fig.* 324b). During the two years Van Gogh spent in Antwerp and Paris, the study of figures in action disappeared from the agenda, to although his Parisian cityscapes – strongly influenced by Japanese printmaking – were increasingly populated by small figures. *Figures in a field* is the first drawing since the studies made in the summer of 1885 in which Van Gogh took up the theme of figures working the land. Despite the men's sketchiness, it is clear that he had meanwhile become skilled at the close observation and accurate rendering of a group of people in action.

In his catalogue raisonné of 1928, De la Faille stated that this drawing was made in The Hague. It is possible that he connected these stooped, labouring figures with the diggers in Van Gogh's Hague drawings (fig. 324b). De la Faille already stood corrected in 1937, when Vanbeselaere assigned this drawing to the Arles oeuvre. In 1968 Bowness was the first to give it a more precise date – April 1888 – and to count it among the small pen-and-ink drawings in the first shipment from Arles. The editors of De la Faille 1970 included the work in the category 'Redated to Arles', and dated the sheet – without explaining why – to June 1888.

⁸ On Van Gogh's figure studies, see Drawings 1 and Drawings 2.

⁹ For example, F 1317 JH 863 (Drawings 2, cat. 185). **10** See Drawings 3, pp. 23-25.

PROVENANCE

April 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 60, vol. 4, pl. Lxv1; Vanbeselaere 1937 I, pp. 87, IIO, 159, 4IO; Sutton 1948; Gaunt 1950, p. 62; De la Faille 1970, pp. 396, 526, 527, 651; Hulsker 1980, pp. 316, 318, 319; New York 1984, p. 57; Amsterdam 1987, p. 451 no. 2.501; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 128; Dorn 1990, pp. 391, 392; Laughton 1991, pp. 201, 202; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 60, 278, vol. 2, pl. Lxv1; Heenk 1995, p. 178; Hulsker 1996, pp. 316, 319; Amsterdam/New York 2005, p. 149.

Exhibitions

1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 375 [Dfl. 140]; 1907 Berlin, no. 116 (DM 1,000); 1908 Munich, no. 83 (Dfl. 400); 1908 Dresden, no. 87 [Dfl. 400]; 1908 Frankfurt am Main, no. 94 (for sale); 1908 The Hague & Amsterdam, resp. no cat. known, no. 97; 1911 Amsterdam, no. 68; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 167; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923 Utrecht, no. 41; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 208; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 90; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 62; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 66; 1947 Groningen, no. 21; 1947 Basel, no. 157; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 156; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 119, no. 120; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 154; 1951 Lyons & Grenoble, no. 100; 1951 Saint-Rémy, no. 100; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 59; 1952 Basel, no. 68; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zundert, no. 58 [as F 1420a]; 1953 Hoensbroek, no. 108 [as F 1420a]; 1954-55 Bern, no. 137 [as F 1420a]; 1955 Antwerp, no. 270; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 165; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastleupon-Tyne, no. 109; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 51 [as F 1420a]; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 73, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 123 [as F 1420a]; 1960 Enschede, no. 40 [as F 1420a]; 1961 Arles, no. 10 [as F 1420a]; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 118 [as F 1420a]; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 118 [as F 1420a]; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 45 [as F 1420a]; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 47 [as F 1420a]; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 44 [as F 1420a]; 1968 Liège, no. 44 [as F 1420a]; 1968-69 London, no. 110 [as F 1420a]; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 22 [as F 1420a]; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 87 [as F 1420a] & Columbus, no. 19 [as F 1420a]; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 87 [as F 1420a]; 1971-72 Paris, no. 172; 1972 Bordeaux, no. 58; 1977 Paris, unnumbered.

30 March-17 April 1888
Pencil, pen, reed pen and brown ink, opaque watercolour, on laid paper
Traces of perspective guidelines
39.5 x 53.6 cm
Watermark: remains of
Lalanne, truncated at the lower edge
Signed at lower left: Vincent
Inscribed at lower left: Verger de Provence

Inv. d 441 V/1962 F 1414 JH 1385

Letters 602/478, 610/486

1 The paintings are F 394 JH 1379, F 555 JH 1380, F 552 JH 1381, F 556 JH 1383, F 403 JH 1378, F 511 JH 1386, F 553 JH 1387, F 554 JH 1388, F 513 JH 1389, F 404 JH 1391, F 405 JH 1394, F 551 JH 1396, F 557 JH 1397, F 399 JH 1398, and F 406 JH 1399. Strangely enough, Hulsker 1996, p. 313, maintains that Van Gogh made only two drawings in those weeks: cat. 325 and F 1516 JH 1376. He does in fact date cat. 326 to April, but does not include it in his list.

325 Provençal orchard

Around 24 March 1888 Van Gogh began to paint the orchards just outside Arles which, depending on the type of tree, burst into blossom some time between the beginning of March and early April. For nearly a month – until 20 April – he devoted himself passionately to this subject. The result was fifteen paintings and three drawings. Provençal orchard and Orchard with Arles in the background (fig. 325a) are the only drawings made on the spot, as evidenced by the traces of perspective guidelines that testify to Van Gogh's use of a perspective frame. Elossoming peach trees (cat. 326) is a watercolour copy of a painting and was therefore made in the studio. Clearly, these blossoming orchards appealed to Van Gogh as a subject to be rendered in paintings but not necessarily in drawings. By producing paintings of this motif, he hoped at last to win over the Dutch public.2 The enclosed orchard in this drawing also features in a painting, *The white orchard (fig. 325b)*. This work, which Van Gogh described as 'yellowish white plum trees with a thousand black branches' [596/474],3 was begun at the end of March and completed on 13 April.4 The relatively long time he needed to paint was caused by his working on several canvases simultaneously (see cat. 326). The drawing discussed here – with fruit trees convincingly rendered in rapid, graceful pen strokes and dots – is a work in its own right and not a preparatory study for, or a copy of, the painting. 5 Indeed, he gave the sheet a title and signed it, which is something he did only to independent works he considered successful. Moreover, the angle from which the trees are depicted is slightly different from that of the painting. When making the drawing, Van Gogh sat more to the left, which makes the distance between the two trees in the foreground seem greater, while the tree standing in the middle distance to the right of these two trees in the painting appears in the drawing between the two trunks in the foreground. The house seen in the drawing – its roof just visible above the blossoming trees in the right background – does not occur in the painting, because it was not in Van Gogh's field of vision. Another reason why Provençal orchard is unlikely to be a copy is the use of a perspective frame in laying in the composition. Van Gogh used this tool only when working out of doors, not when copying paintings in the studio.⁶

The drawing bears traces of the four lines marking the inside of the perspective

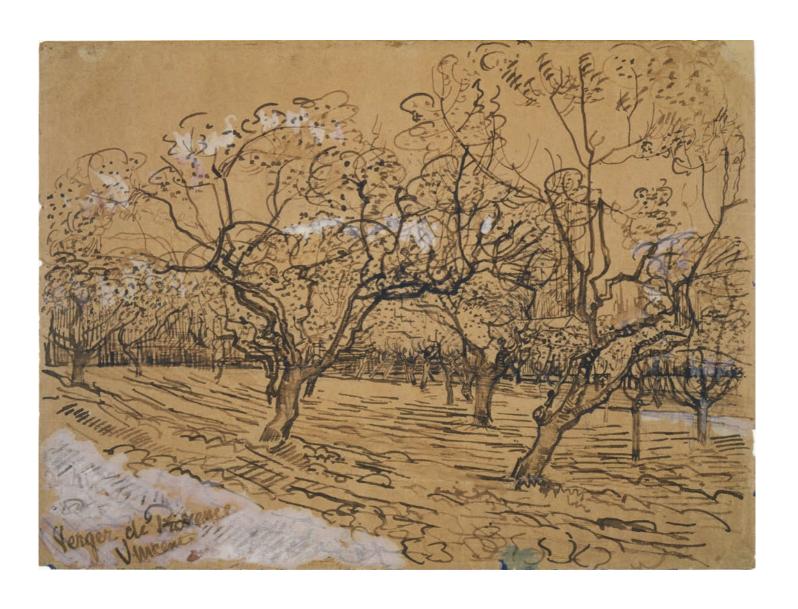
cela pourra peutêtre definitivement fondre la glace en

- 3 Letter of 9 April 1888: 'des pruniers d'un blanc jaune avec mille branches noires'.
- 4 See letters 593/W3, 592/472, 596/474, 598/476 and 599/477.
- 5 Cooper, in London/Birmingham/Glasgow 1947-48, no. 140, thinks that the drawing preceded the painting.

Bowness, in London 1968-69, no. 107, keeps both options open. The 1987 collection catalogue of the Van Gogh Museum suggests that the drawing was made after the painting, but more as a free interpretation than as a slavish copy (Amsterdam 1987, p. 220). The notion that the drawing is an independent work was not put forward until 1990 (Otterlo 1990, p. 219).

6 See also Otterlo 1990, p. 219 and Heenk 1995, p. 176.

² See letter 596/474 of 9 April 1888: 'I shall be exhausted after the orchards, for they are no. 25, 30 & 20 canvases. We should not have too many of them if I could get through twice as many. Because it seems to me that perhaps this would finally melt the ice in Holland' ('Serai éreinté après les vergers car c'est des toiles 25 & 30 & 20. Nous n'en aurions pas trop si je pouvais en abattre 2 fois autant. Car il me semble que





325a Orchard with Arles in the background (F 1516 JH 1376), 1888. Glens Falls (NY), The Hyde Collection.



325b The white orchard (F 403 JH 1378), 1888. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

frame and of the diagonal running from the lower left to the upper right (*fig. 325c*).⁷ This frame, measuring 37.0 by 41.7 centimetres on the inside, was considerably larger than the frame Van Gogh used on the small pen-and-ink drawings of March and April.⁸ Another large sheet on which traces of the same frame have been found is *Orchard with Arles in the background (fig. 325a)*.⁹

After drawing the perspective guidelines, Van Gogh pencilled in the composition. This sketch is very cursory in the depiction of the ground but fairly detailed in the rendering of the trees and the fence (fig. 325c). Over the pencil sketch he drew the orchard using pens of various thicknesses and brown ink. He gave the blossoms some colour by applying white and pink opaque watercolour over the ink as a finishing touch. The ground also betrays the use of this material, but there it was applied not to enliven the drawing but to correct it: on the right, the watercolour covers a line that had indicated the boundary of the orchard; on the left, it serves to tone down this part of the picture, which – after the addition of the title and signature – had proved to be too crowded. That the paint was applied afterwards is apparent from the fact that it circumvents – and sometimes overlaps – the

ground (F 1416r JH 1415), a large sheet dating from May 1888. The visible lines, probably of the lower half of the frame only, are described and drawn in *Selection v: French Watercolors and Drawings from the Museum's Collection, ca.* 1800-1910, Providence 1975, p. 87, note 11. Amsterdam/New York 2005, p. 338, contains an illustration of an infrared image of the drawing in which the perspective guidelines are visible. Neither

catalogue gives the measurements, however, so it is impossible to draw a conclusion. There are two more large drawings from May which are said to have been drawn with the aid of a perspective frame: F 1470 JH 1377 (in Arles 2003, p. 28) and F 1472a JH 1497a (in Rotterdam 1995, no. 48). In both cases, however, studying the painting in daylight failed to reveal the presence of perspective guidelines.

- 7 This diagonal line does in fact run through the inner corners of the frame, unlike those seen in the small drawings (e.g. cat. 323).
- 8 For this perspective frame, see the Introduction, pp. 36-38. That Van Gogh did in fact use two different frames and did not, for example, take a small frame and enlarge it on paper is apparent from the representation of these instruments on the paper.
- **9** In this drawing the horizontal and vertical lines of the inside of the frame are visible, as are the intersecting diagonal lines. The measurements of the inside of the frame (36.8 x 42.5 cm) differ by several millimetres from that in cat. 325, but the proportions of the two frames are identical. We are indebted to Susan Stein and Colta Ives of the Metropolitan Museum in New York for studying and describing this drawing. It is difficult to say whether Van Gogh used the same perspective frame for *View of Arles with irises in the fore-*

inscription.¹⁰ The browning of the paper has made these touches of fine-tuning more obvious. Furthermore, old reproductions indicate that the paint has lost some of its opaqueness over the years (*fig.* 325*d*).

Van Gogh made this drawing on laid paper containing wood fibres, a type of paper that turns brown when exposed to strong light. The sheet was trimmed at the lower edge, causing the loss of most of the watermark, of which only the curls of two letters remain. Toomparison with other watermarks has shown that these curls correspond to the two l's in Lalanne's watermark. The paper has suffered greatly: the upper right-hand corner is missing, the edges display tears and lacunae, and there is a fold running not quite parallel to the lower edge approximately seven centimetres from the bottom. There are numerous traces of blue watercolour along the right and – most noticeably – the lower edge.

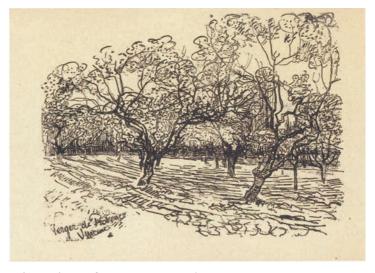
Van Gogh drew *Provençal orchard* with pens, including reeds, of various thicknesses. Even though he was probably using reed pens as early as March, it is with reference to this drawing (and others made around the same time) that Vincent first mentioned to Theo that he was using this type of pen. The reference occurs in a letter written about 20 April, which mentions two otherwise unspecified works sent a few days previously: 'These drawings were made with a reed sharpened the way you would a goose quill It is a method I already tried in Holland some time ago, but I hadn't such good reeds there as here' [602/478].¹³ Reed pens enable artists to make especially bold and robust lines.¹⁴

That Van Gogh sent two large reed-pen drawings and not two small ones emerges from a letter written a couple of days later, in which he mentions a series of reed-pen drawings. He contrasts this group with two previously sent drawings, saying that the new series is smaller in format. A remark made in a letter of around 9 May confirms the identification of *Provençal orchard* as one of the two large sheets sent in mid-April. In this letter Van Gogh lists the paintings he intends

- 10 Heenk 1995, p. 176, was the first to publish the fact that the watercolour circumvents the inscription.
- 11 Van Gogh himself trimmed the sheet. The drawing is contained completely within the edges. According to the editors of De la Faille 1970, this drawing has no watermark.
- 12 It can be concluded from old reproductions (see fig. 325d) that the upper right-hand corner disappeared between 1893 and 1928.
- 13 'Ces dessins sont faits avec un roseau taillé comme serait une plume d'oie [...]. C'est un procedé que j'ai déjà cherché en Hollande dans le temps, mais là je n'avais pas d'aussi bons roseaux qu'ici.'
- 14 On the use of the reed pen, see the Introduction, pp. 3, 4, 30.
- 15 Letter 603/479 of c. 25 April. For these small drawings, see cats. 327 and 328.



325c Infrared image of cat. 325.



325d Reproduction of cat. 325. From *Mercure de France*, no. 47, vol. 9, November 1893, facing p. 266.



325e John Russell, Almond trees in blossom, 1887. Melbourne, The Joseph Brown Collection.



325f Utagawa Hiroshige, The plum tree teahouse at Kameido, 1857. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

to send to Theo later that day: 'After [making] the series of orchards, I think that the best are the white orchard, of which I sent you a pen-and-ink drawing, and the largest of them all, in pink and green on absorbent canvas' [610/486].¹⁶ In this period – between the shipment of about 17 April and the reference to the drawing of the white orchard in the letter written around 9 May – Vincent sent only small works to Theo, which means that *Provençal orchard* must have been one of the two large reed-pen drawings.¹⁷ The identification of *Orchard with Arles in the background* (*fig. 325a*) as the other work was made on the basis of its related subject matter and technical similarities.¹⁸

In the letter of circa 20 April quoted above, Van Gogh also wrote that he would like to exchange these works for a painting by Arnold Koning (1860-1945), a Dutch artist – and friend of both brothers – who since mid-March had been sharing Theo's flat in Paris. ¹⁹ Vincent's enthusiasm for the reed pen is obvious from what he wrote next: 'I shall write to him to explain the technique, and send him some cut reed, so that he can make them too' [602/478]. ²⁰ Later he said that he would put the

16 'Après la serie des vergers – je pense que le verger blanc dont je t'ai envoyé dessin à la plume et le plus grand de tous en rose et vert sur une toile absorbante sont les meilleures.'

17 In the first week of May, Van Gogh made two more large drawings (see letter 607/483 of 7 May), which are possibly among the following: F 1416r JH 1415, F 1472a JH 1497a, and F 1470 JH 1377 (occurs in the letter sketch of an album of Van Gogh's drawings, letter 617/492 of 28 May); these were not sent until later.

18 In that drawing Van Gogh also made use, as stated earlier, of a perspective frame, and drew with a number

of (reed) pens on a sheet of comparable size ($53.2 \times 38.8 \text{ cm}$). The discolouring of the paper suggests that Van Gogh even drew on the same kind of paper, although this has not been confirmed by examination of the drawing itself: F 1516 JH 1376 has no watermark and the chain lines in the paper are spaced differently from those in cat. 325. Heenk 1995, p. 176, maintains that F 1516 JH 1376 was drawn on a sheet of Glaslan

paper. She does not mention the remnants of a watermark in cat. 325.

19 They probably became acquainted in Paris, where Koning was living from September 1887 to the end of May 1888

20 'Je lui écrirai pour lui expliquer le procedé et lui enverrai des roseaux taillés pour qu'il puisse en faire aussi.'

reed pens in the crate of paintings sent around 9 May.²¹ The hoped-for exchange of works never took place.²² Both drawings remained in Theo's possession and were inherited by his widow, Jo van Gogh-Bonger (1862-1925), who sold *Orchard with Arles in the background* in 1924.²³

We see no reason not to date this drawing to the period between 30 March and 17 April, ²⁴ for it was in these very weeks that Van Gogh made the painting *The white orchard (fig. 325b)*. It is unclear why, in the midst of a painting campaign, he would decide to exchange his canvas and brushes for paper and pens. The most common reasons for resorting to drawing in this period were a shortage of money or materials and the annoyingly strong wind, but it is apparent from his letters that such things did not deter Vincent from painting in these weeks. He requested extra money and paint from Theo, and duly received both. ²⁵ The mistral often made it difficult, and at times impossible, to paint out of doors. In a letter written around I April, Vincent told Theo that two days out of three were marked by strong winds. 'I have a lot of trouble painting [in the orchards] because of the wind, but I fasten my easel to pegs stuck in the ground and work anyway, it's too beautiful' [592/472]. ²⁶ The wind at the end of March was not the mistral, which was recorded on only one day of the blossoming season, on II April. ²⁷ We know, however, that even on that day Van Gogh could not be discouraged from painting. ²⁸

It is possible that – as Hulsker thought – Vincent sent this drawing to Theo to give him some idea of the orchard paintings he was working so hard on at the time, even though a week earlier he had sent *Blossoming peach trees* (*cat. 326*) to Paris for this very reason.²⁹ The inscription on the present drawing makes it more likely that it, together with two other large pen-and-ink drawings from May that also bear a signature and a title, was intended to provide Theo with a picture of the new, attractive motifs he had encountered in and around his new home – motifs that might be saleable.³⁰

In the 1880s a blossoming orchard – a symbol of spring – was a subject much favoured by such impressionists as Camille Pissarro (1830-1903) and Claude Monet (1840-1926), whose work Van Gogh had certainly seen in Paris. While making his own orchard paintings, the only artist to whom Van Gogh refers in connection with this subject is John Russell (1858-1931). In a letter of 19 April, Van Gogh offered to exchange one of his orchard pictures for one of the orchards Russell had done in Sicily (fig. 325e).³¹ Of course Van Gogh also knew the motif from Japanese prints, which regularly feature blossoming trees. In the summer of 1887 he had even painted a variant of one such print (fig. 325f).³²

- 21 He says this in letter 607/483 of 7 May.
- 22 At the end of May, Van Gogh asked both Theo and Koning whether the exchange had taken place (letters 616/491 of 27 May and 617/492 of 28 May to Theo and 621/498a of 29 or 30 May to Koning). It can be inferred from the first letter to Theo that it was Koning who had come up with the idea of exchanging two of Van Gogh's drawings for one of his paintings. In the second letter Van Gogh suggests replacing the two drawings with one painted study. On 4 June 1888 Koning wrote to Theo, shortly after his return to the Nether-

lands: 'I shall send you something soon, so you can choose something to exchange with Vincent. I'd rather have one painted study than two drawings, if he agrees to that.' Inv. b 1077 V/1962, Van Gogh Museum Archives.

- 23 See Stolwijk/Veenenbos 2002, p. 197.
- 24 The only authors who disagree with a March-April dating are Roskill and Millard. Roskill 1971, pp. 165 and 167, thinks that cat. 325 and F 1470 were the two large drawings done at the beginning of May (see note 17). He identifies the drawings sent in mid-April as F 1468

(a drawing that is now generally placed in 1889, at the end of Van Gogh's stay in Arles) and F 1516. The author also suggests the possibility that the two pairs should be reversed. Millard 1974, p. 157, interprets Van Gogh's mention in mid-April of the two reed-pen drawings as a reference to the watercolours he had sent a week earlier (see cat. 326). He thinks that F 1416r and F 1516 were the two large drawings from the beginning of May and that cat. 325 was also made at this time.

- 25 For Van Gogh's requests for more money, see letters 594/473 and 595/475 of c. 3 and c. 5 April 1888, respectively. Receipt of this money is confirmed in letter 596/474 of 9 April. He orders paint in letter 595/475 of c. 5 April, and confirms receipt of it in the very next letter (598/476 of c. 11 April).
- 26 'j'ai beaucoup de mal en peignant à cause du vent mais j'attache mon chevalet à des piquets plantés dans le terrain et travaille quand meme, c'est trop
- 27 Bulletin annuel de la commission météorologique du département des Bouches-du-Rhône, 1888-1890, in the library of Météo-France in Paris.
- 28 See letter 598/476.
- 29 Hulsker 1996, p. 313.
- 30 F 1416 JH 1415 bears the inscription 'Vue d'Arles', and F 1472a JH 1497a 'Bords du Rhône'.
- 31 Letter 660/477a. Russell toured Italy for six months from the autumn of 1886 through the spring of 1887.
- **32** This is Blossoming plum trees: after Hiroshige (F 371 JH 1296).

PROVENANCE

April 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Mercure de France 1893, ill. p. 267; Lettere 1906, ill. p. 98; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, pp. 127, 128, vol. 4, pl. cxiviii; Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 38; De Gruyter 1961, p. 105 no. 39; London 1968-69, p. 78 no. 107; De la Faille 1970, pp. 496, 662; Hulsker 1980 pp. 314, 318; Amsterdam 1987, pp. 220, 221, 450 no. 2.497; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 130; Otterlo 1990, pp. 219, 248 no. 174; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 127, 128, 367, vol. 2, pl. cx1v111; Heenk 1995, p. 176; Hulsker 1996, pp. 310, 313, 314, 316, 491; Tokyo 2000, pp. 76, 77, 173, 174 no. 20; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 148, 149.

EXHIBITIONS

1901 Zwolle, no. 55; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 391 [Dfl. 400]; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 174; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923 Utrecht, no. 31; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue; 1926 Amsterdam, no. 47?; 1926 Munich, no. 2109 (for sale)?; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 58; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 58; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 58; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 48; 1930 Laren, no. 38; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 31, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 202; 1932 Manchester, no. 60; 1937 Paris, no. 68; 1937 Oslo, no. 31; 1938 Copenhagen, no. 27; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 88; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 48; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 52; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 82; 1947 Paris, no. 83; 1947 Geneva, no. 83; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 140; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 90, no. 91; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 247; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 96; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 61; 1952 Basel, no. 70; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 72; 1953 The Hague, no. 98; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 118; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 116; 1955 Antwerp, no. 275; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 170; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 111; 1957 Breda, no. 62; 1957 Marseilles, no. 57; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 60, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 122; 1959-60 Utrecht, no. 81; 1960 Enschede, no. 38; 1961 Arles, no. 8; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 116; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 116; 1963 Sheffield, no. 19; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 94; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 94; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 61; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 42; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 44; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 41; 1968 Liège, no. 41; 1968-69 London, no. 107; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 19; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 88 & Columbus, no. 20; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 88; 1971-72 Paris, no. 169; 1975 Malmö, no. 66; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 66; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 61; 1977 Paris, unnumbered; 1990 Otterlo, no. 174; 2000 Tokyo, no. 20.

326 Blossoming peach trees

In March 1888, one week after Van Gogh had begun to paint blossoming orchards, he wrote both to his sister Wil (1862-1941) and to Theo that he had six works in progress. He was very pleased with one in particular, which he described in detail in both letters. To Theo he wrote: 'I've been working on a canvas of 20 out of doors in an orchard, a ploughed-up piece of land in lilac, a reed fence, two pink peach trees against a radiant sky of blue and white. Probably the best landscape I've done' [592/472]. That painting was *Blossoming peach trees*, now in the Kröller-Müller Museum in Otterlo (*fig. 326a*). Arriving home on 30 March with this canvas, he found an obituary notice of the painter Anton Mauve (1838-1888), which had been sent from the Netherlands by Wil. Deeply moved by the portrait of Mauve it contained, he decided at once to dedicate his most successful painting to the memory of his former teacher and relation by marriage, and to send it to Mauve's widow, his cousin Jet Mauve-Carbentus (1856-1894). In the lower left-hand corner of the canvas he painted 'Souvenir de Mauve//Vincent'.

The decision to send Jet Mauve a painting commemorating her late husband was rather less spontaneous than Van Gogh intimates in the letters written in late March and early April, for he had already broached the subject three weeks earlier. At that time it was already clear that sending a painting would be at once a nice gesture and a strategic move. In fact, Vincent and Theo had been trying to interest H.G. Tersteeg (1845-1927), their former employer and head of the Hague branch of the art dealer Boussod & Valadon, in the work of the impressionists. The gift of an impressionistic canvas to the widow of Mauve, a personal friend of Tersteeg, could not fail to further their objectives. Around the time that Van Gogh painted his peach trees, Tersteeg had already reacted positively to the brothers' proposal. It was now necessary to keep him favourably disposed to the idea and to approach a larger section of the Dutch art market. Van Gogh planned to do this by presenting a few of his best paintings to a select group of people and institutions. He also had a painting in mind to offer Tersteeg, namely *Bridge at Arles (The Langlois bridge)* (fig. 326b). 9

To give his brother some idea of these two works, he made copies of them in watercolour: *Blossoming peach trees*, the sheet discussed here, and *The Langlois bridge*

Circa 3-9 April 1888 Black chalk, opaque and transparent watercolour, on wove paper 45.4 x 30.7 cm Watermark: J WHATMAN Unsigned

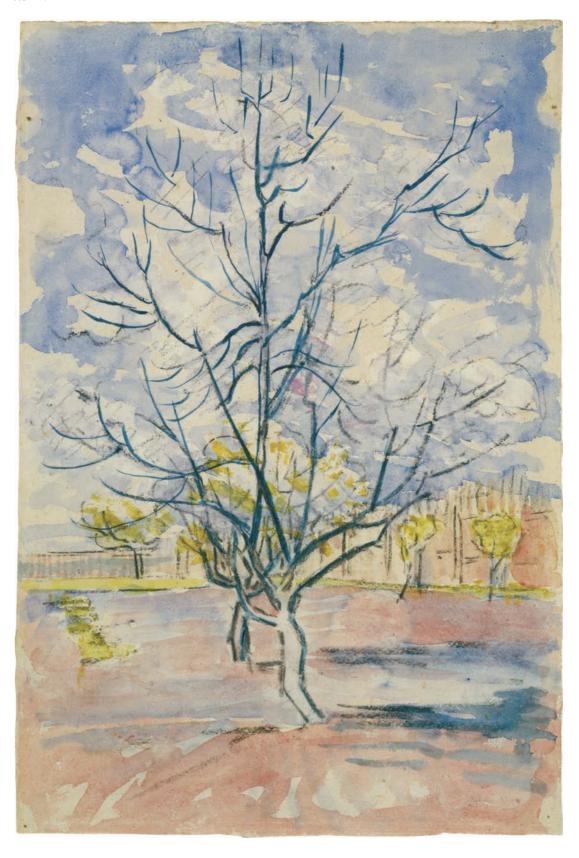
Inv. d 208 V/1962 F 1469 JH 1384

Letter 596/474

- 1 Letters 593/W3 of c. 30 March and 592/472 of
- 2 Letter of c. 1 April 1888: 'J'avais travaillé une toile de 20 en plein air dans un verger – un terrain lilas labouré, une cloture en roseaux – deux pêchers roses contre un ciel glorieux bleu et blanc. Probable le meilleur paysage que j'aie fait.'
- 3 This emerges from letter 592/472 of c. 1 April 1888. The obituary – 'In Memoriam' – was an offprint of the
- weekly *De Portefeuille*. Anton Mauve died on 5 February 1888. From letter 582/W2 of c. 24 February 1888 it emerges that Van Gogh already knew of Mauve's death when he received the notice.
- 4 See letter 592/472 of c. 1 April 1888. The offprint was expanded to include the above-mentioned portrait of Mauve; the portrait has survived in Van Gogh's estate.
- 5 From letters 593/W3 and 592/472 it appears that Van Gogh had originally written 'Vincent & Theo' on

the painting. Theo's name, perhaps at his own request, was soon removed, for the paint was not yet completely dry when this was done. See Otterlo 2003, p. 212.

- 6 See letter 585/467 of 9 March 1888.
- 7 In letter 591/471 of c. 25 March 1888, Van Gogh reacts to Tersteeg's letter which Theo had forwarded to him
- 8 Letter 594/473 of c. 3 April 1888. In addition to Jet Mauve, those selected to receive paintings were G.H. Breitner, Wil van Gogh, Tersteeg and the 'musée moderne' in The Hague.
- 9 Both works were in the first crate of paintings sent from Arles to Paris, around 9 May 1888. Theo eventually sent *Pink peach trees ('Souvenir de Mauve')* on to Jet Mauve but kept *Bridge at Arles (The Langlois bridge)* in Paris. Soon after sending the paintings, Vincent had begun to doubt the appropriateness of the painting chosen for Tersteeg. See Otterlo 2003, p. 209.



326 Blossoming peach trees



326a Pink peach trees ('Souvenir de Mauve') (F 394 JH 1379), 1888. Otterlo, Kröller-Müller Museum.

(fig. 326c). ¹⁰ They were made between 3 April – the date on which Vincent wrote to Theo that he intended to give Tersteeg a painting – and 9 April, when he reported having sent the two watercolours: 'I've sent you sketches of the paintings destined for Holland. It goes without saying that the painted studies are more brilliant in colour' [596/474]. ¹¹ Van Gogh chose the medium of watercolour to give Theo a good idea of the colourfulness of the works. The two watercolour drawings were the first works from Arles that Theo had been shown. For more than a month and a half he had received nothing – no paintings, drawings or even letter sketches – and had had to be content with the descriptions in Vincent's letters.

Van Gogh began his fairly free copy of *Pink peach trees ('Souvenir de Mauve')* by using black chalk to sketch the two centrally placed trees, as well as the shadows they cast on the ground, the indefinable area on the left in the field, the fence made of reed matting and the small trees in front of the fence (fig. 326d). Over this rough sketch he applied transparent and opaque watercolour in yellow-green, vivid light green, two shades of pink and two shades of blue. Both greens are opaque, as are the salmon pink and the blue used for the ground. Over the years the transparent pink watercolour Van Gogh used for the blossoms has faded nearly to white, making it seem as though he depicted not a blossoming tree but a bare one, against a blue sky with white clouds. 12 As a finishing touch Van Gogh painted the branches and the contours of the tree with a slightly darker shade of blue, without following the lines of black chalk precisely. His decision to use this dark material for the underdrawing is remarkable: the lines look heavy and contrast sharply with the bright, transparent character of the watercolour drawing. Although the pink blossoms no doubt softened the striking effect of the chalk in the original drawing, the black lines must have been visible even then. 13

10 According to Otterlo 1990, p. 230, the watercolour drawing of *Blossoming peach trees* was also made for 'lobbying' purposes, but this is difficult to reconcile with the following statement that Van Gogh sent the work to Theo as a progress report.

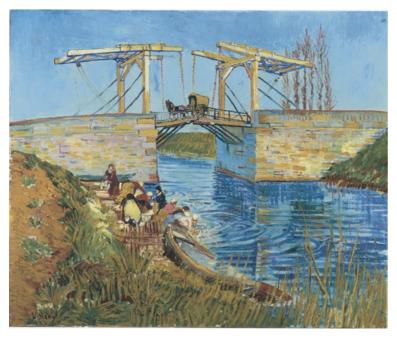
11 'Je t'ai envoyé des croquis des tableaux destinés pour la Hollande. Va sans dire que les études peintes sont plus éclatantes de couleur.' Van Gogh called these two works croquis, a term he usually used for letter sketches, whereas he generally referred to drawings as dessins. However, since he sometimes called drawings croquis (e.g. cat. 329) that looked no sketchier than other drawings, this distinction does not mean very much. See also Heenk 1995, p. 162, note 1. 12 Bowness therefore stated in London 1968-69, no. 103, that the watercolour drawing preceded the painting and dated the sheet to March 1888, ignoring the mention of the watercolour copy in Van Gogh's letters and the reference to it in Cooper 1955 1, no. 21. That Bowness was in fact familiar with this source emerges from the bibliography to his entry and from his enumeration in the foreword (p. 17) of the publications consulted. The March dating was adopted in

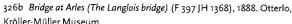
De la Faille 1970 and in Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.496.

make an underdrawing. He used this material more

13 In Arles Van Gogh seldom used black chalk to

frequently in Saint-Rémy.







326c The Langlois bridge (F 1480 JH 1382), 1888. Private collection.

The watercolour drawing was made on wove paper, on a half-sheet of J whatman turkey mill 1879. The watermark J whatman was partially cut off when a strip of around 3.5 centimetres was removed from the lower edge. In the summer of 1888 Van Gogh would make regular use of full sheets of this paper for such works as the six drawings of the second Montmajour series (see *cats. 342* and *343*). ¹⁴ Before starting to draw, Van Gogh attached the sheet to a board with four large drawing pins, with the result that the area around these holes remained unpainted. ¹⁵

Van Gogh made ten watercolour drawings in Arles: five copies of paintings,¹⁶ one copy of a drawing,¹⁷ three independent landscapes¹⁸ and a figure¹⁹ whose relationship to painted variants cannot be ascertained.²⁰ The drawings made after paintings were usually rapid, free translations in colour, mostly consisting of an underlying sketch in pencil or black chalk with watercolour over it. Sometimes coloured chalk and/or pen and ink were added.²¹ The watercolours that stand on their own are drawings in pen and ink with a colour wash. The copies of *Pink peach trees* and *The bridge* are the first watercolour drawings Van Gogh made in Arles. He probably painted them with a set of watercolours he had brought from Paris;

- 14 Other drawings made on this paper are cats. 341 and 345, F 1456 JH 1537, F 1429 JH 1459 and F 1462 JH 1556. According to Heenk 1995, p. 172, F 1480 JH 1382 (fig. 326c) also bears this watermark, although there seems to be no evidence of it.
- 15 These unpainted areas have a diameter of 2 centimetres.
- **16** These are cats. 326 and 349, fig. 326c, F 1463 JH 1576 and F 1422 JH 1654 after a painting by Emile Bernard.
- 17 F 1429 JH 1459.
- **18** F 1425 JH 1441, F 1464 JH 1497 and F 1483 JH 1439.
- 19 F 1482 JH 1487; see also cat. 341.
- 20 See also Otterlo 1990, p. 229 and Heenk 1995, p. 172. The works listed here and in the two above-mentioned publications do not correspond com-

pletely. Cat. 325 and F 1484 JH 1438 are not reckoned to be watercolours, owing to the small amount of watercolour in these drawings.

21 The watercolour drawing *The Langlois bridge* (fig. 326c) was first sketched in pencil, over which Van Gogh applied brightly coloured opaque and transparent watercolour and, finally, ink and coloured chalk.

It was the use of (reed) pen and ink in this watercolour drawing that prompted Millard in his article to link both watercolour drawings to the first mention of two reed-pen drawings in letter 602/478 of c. 20 April 1888. See Millard 1974, p. 157. However, Van Gogh was referring to cat. 325 and to F 1516 JH 1376; see cat. 325. For the exceptions to this working method, see cat. 349.

the colours in *Blossoming peach trees* correspond to those in the watercolour drawings made in Paris in the summer of 1887 (*cats. 317-320, fig. 326e*). At the end of May, Vincent sent Theo an order for a new box of watercolours, saying that he wanted to make pen-and-ink drawings coloured with even hues, just like Japanese prints.²² This resulted in the three independent landscapes, all of which were made in June.²³

Shortly after sending Theo the watercolour drawings, Van Gogh decided to make copies in oil for Theo of the works intended for Jet Mauve and Tersteeg. ²⁴ The copy of *Pink peach trees* was supposed to form a triptych, along with two other paintings of orchards. This was the start of a large decorative project that he hoped to complete the following year. ²⁵ In this second version, which he considered less successful than the piece intended for Jet Mauve, he used a paint for the blossoms that has faded drastically over the years, just like the paint in the watercolour drawing. The blossoms on these trees now seem to be white. ²⁶

22 The order, which has not been preserved, was enclosed in letter 615/490 of 26 May. Van Gogh explained why he had ordered these watercolours in letter 616/491, written a day later.

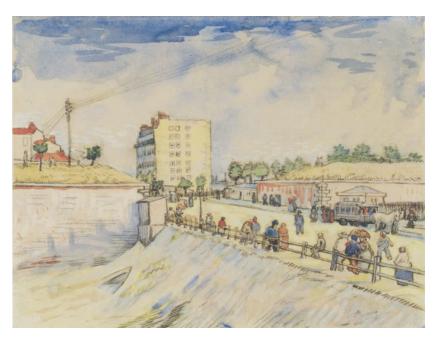
23 In the same month Van Gogh also made his

next copy in watercolour, Boats on the beach at Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (F 1429 JH 1459). In the autumn of 1888 Van Gogh painted the other water-colour copies, one of which – the watercolour copy of Night café (F 1463 JH 1576) – he likewise compared

to a Japanese print (letters 680/534 and 681/W7).

- **24** See letter 598/476 of c. 11 April 1888. These are F 404 JH 1391 and F 571 JH 1392, respectively.
- 25 See letter 599/477 of c. 13 April 1888, which includes a letter sketch of the triptych. Van Gogh's plan to take up the motif again the following year came to nothing because of his illness.
- 26 See Cornelia Peres, 'An Impressionist Concept of Painting Technique', in A closer look. Technical and Art-Historical Studies on Works by Van Gogh and Gauguin, Cahier Vincent 4, 1991, pp. 34-36.





326e Gate in the ramparts (F 1401 JH 1284), 1887. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

326d Infrared image of cat. 326.

PROVENANCE

April 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

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De la Faille 1927, ill. p. 97; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 143, vol. 4, pl. clxv; Gaunt 1950, p. 58; Cooper 1955 I, pp. 63-65 no. 21; London 1968-69, p. 76 no. 103; De la Faille 1970, pp. 512, 513, 664; Roskill 1971, p. 166; Millard 1974, p. 157; Hulsker 1980, pp. 310, 314; New York 1984, p. 42; Amsterdam 1987, p. 450 no. 2.496; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 133; Otterlo 1990, pp. 217, 219, 228, 262 no. 189; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 143, 383, vol. 2, pl. clxv; Heenk 1995, p. 172; Hulsker 1996, p. 314; Van Heugten 2005, pp. 48, 49.

EXHIBITIONS

1900-01 Rotterdam, no. 37 [Dfl. 200]; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 359 [Dfl. 250]; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 152; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1920 New York, no. 16 [\$5,000]; 1926 Amsterdam, no. 53; 1927 Paris, unnumbered; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 61; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 45; 1930 Laren, no. 24; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 43, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 196; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 89; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 47; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 51; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 95; 1947 Paris, no. 96; 1947 Geneva, no. 96; 1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 60; 1948 Amersfoort, no cat. known; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 259; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 107; 1952 Delft, no. 275; 1953 Zürich, no. 84; 1953 The Hague, no. 108; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 121; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 118; 1955 Antwerp, no. 284; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 179; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastleupon-Tyne, no. 110; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 57; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 61, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1961 Arles, no. 16; 1961-62 Liège & Breda, no. 58; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 93; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 93; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 60; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 53; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 55; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 52; 1968 Liège, no. 52; 1968-69 London, no. 103; 1971-72 Paris, no. 180; 1975 Malmö, no. 65; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 65; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 68; 1990 Otterlo, no. 189.

327, 328 Fields with farmhouses

Technical details 327, 328 on p. 76

Van Gogh was still busy painting orchards in blossom in the second week of April 1888, when he announced to Theo that after blossoming time he intended to concentrate on drawing: 'I have an enormous amount of drawing to do because I'd like to make drawings in the style of Japanese prints' [596/474].¹ Van Gogh also had other reasons to focus on a different activity: when drawing, he was less inconvenienced by the mistral and less bothered by his poor health.² Moreover, working on paper was less expensive, which was a boon at a time when his brother was at odds with his superiors concerning the trade in impressionist paintings, and Vincent thought it a serious possibility that Theo would leave Boussod & Valadon.³

A week after announcing his intention to draw, Van Gogh made two large reedpen drawings which he sent to Theo (see *cat*. 325), along with a letter telling of his plan to make a series of such works. It emerges from the following letter, written around 25 April, that he made the series in a smaller format than the first sheets and that he had already finished four of them. He expected to send Theo the entire series very soon. He did in fact succeed in doing this: one week later, on I May, he was able to report: I just sent you a roll of small pen-and-ink drawings, a dozen, I believe' [604/480]. The package was sent to Paris at the end of April.

In his letters Van Gogh gave the impression that he started on these small penand-ink drawings after his orchard campaign, which would mean that they were all made in the last ten days of April. Such a prodigious rate of production would not have been impossible for him, given the sheets' format and execution, but the scenes depicted in some of the drawings betray an earlier start, possibly at the end of March or beginning of April. The telltale signs include trees that are still bare or just beginning to put forth leaves, the lack of spring flowers blooming in the fields, and people engaged in farm work that is usually carried out in March.⁸ It is likely that Van Gogh had occasionally made small pen-and-ink drawings in the month preceding his announcement of the series, and that the idea for the series took shape only around 20 April.

Field with farmhouses (cat. 327) and Farmhouse in a wheatfield (cat. 328) both originated in early April – as evidenced by the length of the grass and the wheat in the foreground, as well as the trees, some of which already have quite a few leaves – and are therefore two of the above-mentioned 'dozen'. They might even have belonged to the first group of four, but it is no longer possible to ascertain what the other two sheets could have been (see also cat. 330).

Both compositions were first carefully sketched in pencil and then worked up in pen, reed pen and brown ink (fig. 327a). Field with farmhouses was drawn primarily with a fine pen, which enabled minute detailing right up to the horizon. The darker, broad lines in the meadow were applied with a reed pen over the fine pen lines. In Farmhouse in a wheatfield Van Gogh set to work the other way around: using mainly

- 1 Letter of 9 April 1888: 'Puis j'ai ÉNORMEMENT à dessiner car voudrais faire des dessins dans le genre des crepons Japonais.'
- 2 Van Gogh was in rather poor health when he arrived in Arles. In the first months of his stay he wrote regularly about his physical ailments, which included listlessness, stomach complaints, toothache and fever.
- 3 See letters 602/478 of c. 20 April and 603/479 of c. 25 April 1888.
- 4 Letter 602/478 of c. 20 April 1888.
- 5 Letter 603/479.
- **6** 'Pourtant je viens de t'envoyer un rouleau de petits dessins à la plume, une douzaine je crois.'
- 7 Theo was away on business at the time, staying from 22 April until around 12 May in Brussels, and did not see the drawings until he returned to Paris.
- 8 These are cat. 324, F 1500 JH 1373 and F 1517 JH 1374. The sketchiness of the plane tree in F 1480a JH 1403 makes it difficult to give this drawing a precise date. It is quite possible that Van Gogh made this view over the rooftops in early April.
- 9 De la Faille 1928 dates cat. 328 to May 1888 on the basis of the sketch in letter 611/487. However, this sketch was made after the painting of the same subject. Cat. 327 was long dated to the Arles period or the summer of 1888. Bowness, in London 1968-69, was the first to link both drawings to the shipment sent at the end of April. De la Faille 1970 dates cat. 327 to September 1888. This late dating is likely the result of the incorrect connection of *Field with poppies* (fig. 327b) the painting after this drawing to a passage in a letter written in September 1888 (letter 700/B18).







327a Infrared image of catalogue number 328.



327b Field with poppies (F 576 JH 1423), 1888. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

a reed pen, he drew over the pencilled underdrawing and then changed to a fine pen to work up the farmhouse and the trees on the right. 10

Van Gogh used a perspective frame to lay in the composition, as is apparent from the traces of pencil lines still visible in both drawings. In catalogue number 327 we see the horizontal and vertical lines indicating the inside of the frame and the two diagonals extending from corner to corner. The other work displays similar lines, as well as traces of a horizontal and a vertical guideline intersecting each other and the diagonals in the middle. $^{\text{\tiny II}}$

These drawings were made on paper taken from a sketchbook; the sheets are brown-edged at the top. ¹² The left edge of *Field with farmhouses* – the side that was stitched into the book – was later trimmed. *Farmhouse in a wheatfield* was attached to the sketchbook at the right edge of the sheet. Of the series of sketchbook sheets hitherto studied, this is the only drawing that displays a torn edge and binding holes. This tells us that the sheets were originally 25.8 by 34.9 centimetres. ¹³ The fact that on the right-hand side the ink lines run right up to the torn edge and the binding holes means that Van Gogh must have removed the sheet from the sketchbook before starting to draw. While drawing *Field with farmhouses* (*cat. 327*) he was probably surprised by rain, for the sheet displays spatters, clearly visible in the sky and on the verso. ¹⁴

Both landscapes were drawn beside the Avenue de Montmajour, the road from Arles to Montmajour, which Van Gogh called the 'main road' or the 'road to Tarascon'. ¹⁵ This street, which began in Arles at Place Lamartine, was flanked on both sides by tall trees. Van Gogh was attracted to this area: not only was it easily accessible on foot, but the rural charm of the fields and farmhouses also appealed to him. He drew and painted here mainly in the first months of his stay, moving his sphere of activity after mid-May to the east of this road. ¹⁶ Ronald Pickvance was the first to establish the locale of *Field with farmhouses* (*cat. 327*), which was less than a kilo-

- **10** According to Otterlo 1990, p. 219, the sheets were drawn with a quill and worked up with a reed pen; this is not true in the case of cat. 328.
- 11 In both drawings as in cats. 323 and 330, as well as F 1500 JH 1373 the diagonals do not run through the corners of the frame. On this subject, see also cat. 323.
- 12 For a description of this paper and the sketchbook, see cat. 323 and the Introduction, pp. 4-6 and 39.
- 13 The binding holes are at distances of 2.1, 8.4 and 18.8 cm from the upper edge.
- 14 In this period it rained on 16, 19, 20, 22 and 23 April. See *Bulletin annuel*, cat. 323, note 1.
- 15 The part of the road within the city limits of Arles is now called Avenue de Stalingrad.
- 16 Pickvance in Arles 1989, p. 8.



327c Farmhouse in a wheatfield (F 408 JH 1417), 1888. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

metre from Place Lamartine.¹⁷ The farmhouses were situated to the left of the road, opposite the Chemin de Truchet. Between the houses, which are typical of the countryside around Arles, are some bare fruit trees; to the left of the group of houses is a fenced-in meadow. The building depicted in *Farmhouse in a wheatfield (cat. 328)*, which was a hundred metres further down the road, was called Mas Baudin.¹⁸ This *mas*, likewise a type often seen in the vicinity of Arles, has two storeys: the right side served as living quarters; the left side, which is higher, was used as a stable and storage space. Here, too, there is a piece of fenced-in land to the left of the farmhouse. The three bare trees behind it are ashes.

After sending the roll of drawings, Van Gogh planned to spend the rest of the year drawing and perhaps making two or three paintings a month. ¹⁹ This shortlived plan had been prompted by his intention to rent the Yellow House from I May; he expected the furnishing of that house to be a heavy drain on his resources. Drawing, moreover, had the added advantage of being less physically taxing than painting, and his weakened constitution was in need of some rest. He thus went ahead with his drawing, reporting on 7 May that he had finished two large and five small drawings, ²⁰ and that he would send the five small drawings to Theo in Brussels that same day. ²¹ Vincent presumably drew the two large and five small sheets in the first week of May, having sent Theo the first series at the end of April.

In late April and early May, therefore, approximately seventeen small pen-and-

- 17 Arles 1989, no. 10. According to Pickvance, in Van Gogh's day one of the farmhouses was called 'l'Hermitage des Alpilles' (it is not clear where Pickvance got his information; research in the archives and the land register of Arles failed to corroborate it).
- 18 This farmstead was demolished in 1987 to make way for the Centre Sportif et de Loisirs Jean-François Lamour. See Pickvance in New York 1984, no. 16 and Arles 1989, no. 11.
- 19 See letter 605/481 of c. 3 May 1888.
- **20** Letter 607/483. The large drawings were F 1416r JH 1415 and F 1472a JH 1497a.
- 21 Regarding Theo's stay in the Belgian capital, see note 7.

- 22 Van Gogh's words 'a dozen, I believe' do not tell us precisely how many drawings were in the first shipment.
- 23 See cat. 323 for a description of this paper, and the Introduction, pp. 4-6, for a list of the works made on it. 24 Regarding the two shipments, see the Introduction, p. 5.
- 25 Even though the drawings had already been sent, Van Gogh followed their style when painting: *Meadow with poppies* was made, as was cat. 327, painstakingly and with a great deal of detail, whereas *Farmhouse in a wheatfield by the main road* was painted with unhesitating fluency, leaving parts of the canvas unpainted.

ink drawings were sent.²² It can be deduced – from Vincent's description of them as a 'series' and the fact that he distinguished between large and small drawings, as well as from the existence of around twenty drawings, all made on the same paper, from his first months in Arles – that he always used the same kind of paper for these small drawings.²³ Some of the drawings can be assigned to either the first or the second shipment on the basis of the depiction, the style or their description in the letters. Others are impossible to place, and have therefore been placed in the period 20 April-7 May.²⁴

In May Van Gogh made paintings of the subjects he had drawn in *Field with* farmhouses (cat. 327) and Farmhouse in a wheatfield (cat. 328): the small canvas *Field with poppies* (fig. 327b, 23.5 x 34.6 cm) and the larger Farmhouse in a wheatfield (fig. 327c, 45.2 x 50.5 cm). Unlike the painting after *Landscape with path and pollard willows* (cat. 323), which he made in his studio after the drawing, these paintings were done on the spot, after the drawings had been sent to Theo.²⁵ This explains the slightly different angles from which the scene was depicted: both works were



327d Sketch in a letter to Theo of 12 May 1888 (611/487). Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



327e Sketch in a letter to Theo of 28 May 1888 (617/492). Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

painted from a vantage point further removed from the houses; in the case of *Field with poppies*, Van Gogh placed himself more to the left, and in *Farmhouse in a wheatfield*, more to the right, which brought the tree-lined road into view. The horizon in both paintings is considerably lower than in the drawings. The fruit trees that were still bare in *Field with farmhouses* (cat. 327) had blossomed by the time the painting was made.

A letter of 12 May reveals that Farmhouse in a wheatfield (cat. 328) had already been sent to Theo by the time that letter was written: 'I now have two new studies, like this: [fig. 327d] You already have a drawing of one, a farmhouse in a wheatfield by the main road' [611/487]. 26 Field with poppies must also have been painted in May – that is to say, soon after he sent Field with farmhouses (cat. 327) to Theo – as evidenced by the poppies in the foreground of the painting, which are in full bloom. 27 The measurements of the canvas correspond very closely to those of the drawing, though the painting is slightly smaller. Van Gogh's purpose in making these paintings after pen-and-ink drawings – like his intention in painting Landscape with path and pollard willows (F 407 JH 1402) after the drawing Landscape with path and pollard willows (cat. 323) – was to make small paintings resembling Japanese prints. On this subject, see catalogue number 323.

Van Gogh connected both his paintings and his reed-pen drawings to his beloved *ukiyo-e*: 'I would like to make some drawings in the manner of Japanese prints' [596/474].²⁸ It is possible that in his reed-pen drawings he was striving to equal the Japanese artists' fluent drawing style, which he greatly admired.²⁹ The idea to document a landscape in a series of depictions could also have been derived from Japanese printmaking.³⁰ Another striking feature of these drawings is their similarity in size to the *oban* format (approximately 38 by 25 centimetres) of Japanese woodcuts.³¹ In a letter written at the end of May, Vincent told Theo of his idea to put his drawings into albums 'like those books of original Japanese drawings' [617/492],³² and added a sketch in which four drawings can be recognised, one of which is *Farmhouse in a wheatfield* (fig. 327e).³³

26 'Maintenant j'ai deux nouvelles etudes comme ceci: [fig. 327d] tu en as un dessin deja, d'une ferme au bord de la grande route dans les blés.' The other study was Field of flowers near Arles (F 409 JH 1416), as evidenced by the letter sketch. Van Gogh also mentions the painting Farmhouse in a wheatfield in two letters to Emile Bernard: in letter 614/B 5 of c. 20 May he refers to it as one of the two studies of roadsides, and in letter 625/B6 from the period 6-11 June he includes a

letter sketch after the painting (JH 1464). Another sketch on the same page was made after *Landscape with edge of a road* (F 567 JH 1419), which is probably the second study of a roadside mentioned by Van Gogh.

27 In southern France these flowers bloom in April and May. See *La nature méditerranéenne en France.* Les milieux, la flore, la faune, Lausanne/Paris 1997, p. 118.

- 28 Letter of 9 April 1888: '[je] voudrais faire des dessins dans le genre des crepons Japonais.' In Paris, too, Van Gogh's drawings betrayed the influence of Japanese prints, particularly the composition and palette of the watercolour drawings made in the summer of 1887. See Drawings 3, cats. 317-320.
- 29 Otterlo 1990, p. 218.
- 30 For example, the series *One hundred views of famous places in Edo* by Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858); Van Gogh owned several prints from this series.
- 31 Van der Wolk 1980, p. 219.
- 32 Letter of 28 May: 'comme les albums de dessins originaux japonais.'
- 33 The other three are F 1418 JH 1431, cat. 335 and F 1470 JH 1377.

327
Field with farmhouses
Beginning of April 1888
Pencil, pen, reed pen and brown ink, on wove paper
Traces of perspective guidelines
25.7 x 34.7 cm
Unsigned

Inv. d 421 V/1962 F 1474 JH 1407

Letter 604/480

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

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EXHIBITIONS

1896-97 Paris, no cat. known [not for sale]?; 1902 Paris, no cat. known [Ffr. 300]?; 1905 Amsterdam I, no. 410? [Dfl. 175]; 1906 Berlin, no. 75 (DM 450); 1923 Utrecht, no. 36; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1923-24 London, no. 7? [Dfl. 1,000]; 1924 Basel, no. 86? [Dfl. 1,800]; 1924 Zürich, no. 86? (Sfr. 4,300); 1924 Stuttgart, no. 9? [Dfl. 1,800]; 1925 Paris, unnumbered [Dfl. 1,800]?; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue?; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 70; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 70; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 70; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 62; 1929-30

Rotterdam, no. 46; 1930 Laren, no. 36; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 193; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 80; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 60; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 64; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 88; 1947 Paris, no. 89; 1947 Geneva, no. 89; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 151; 1952-53 Paris, no. 159; 1954-55 Bern, no. 142; 1955 Antwerp, no. 285; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 180; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 118; 1956 Haarlem, no. 63; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 68, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 132; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 32; 1960 Enschede, no. 47; 1961 Arles, no. 17; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 86; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 106; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 53; 1968 Liège, no. 53; 1968-69 London, no. 113; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 29; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 90 & Columbus, no. 22; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 90; 1971-72 Paris, no. 181; 1975 Malmö, no. 75; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 75; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 69; 1977 Paris, unnumbered; 1984 New York, no. 17; 1989 Arles, no. 9; 1990 Otterlo, no. 166.

328

Farmhouse in a wheatfield
Beginning of April 1888
Pencil, pen, reed pen and brown ink, on
wove paper
Traces of perspective guidelines
25.8 x 34.9 cm
Unsigned

Inv. d 436 V/1962 F 1415 JH 1408

Letters

604/480, 611/487, 617/492

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 128, vol. 4, pl. CXLVIII; Novotny 1953, p. 35; London 1968-69, p. 79 no. 109; De la Faille 1970, pp. 496, 662; Hulsker 1980, pp. 316, 318, 319; New York 1984, pp. 42, 55, 57, 58 no. 16, 60, 69, 73, 74, 99, 143; Amsterdam 1987, p. 451 no. 2.500; Rome 1988, no. 82; Arles 1989, pp. 32, 33 no. 11; Otterlo 1990, pp. 218, 219, 242 no. 167; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 128, 367, vol. 2, pl. CXLVIII; Heenk 1995, p. 178; Hulsker 1996, pp. 316, 319; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 148, 149.

EXHIBITIONS

1905 Amsterdam 11, no. 473 [Dfl. 175]; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 166; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923-24 London, no. 8? [Dfl. 1,000]; 1924 Basel, no. 87? [Dfl. 1,800]; 1924 Zürich, no. 87? (Sfr. 4,300); 1924 Stuttgart, no. 10? [Dfl. 1,800]; 1925 Paris, unnumbered [Dfl. 1,800]?; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue?; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 71; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 71; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 71; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 49; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 35; 1930 Laren, no. 41; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 32, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 195; 1932 Manchester, no. 67; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 76; 1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 58; 1948 Amersfoort, no cat. known; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 248; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 73; 1953 The Hague, no. 100; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 120; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 117; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 50; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 64; 1958 Mons, no. 65; 1961 Scarborough, no catalogue; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 43; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 45; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 42; 1968 Liège, no. 42; 1968-69 London, no. 109; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 20; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 89 & Columbus, no. 21; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 89; 1971-72 Paris, no. 170; 1975 Malmö, no. 67; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 67; 1977 Paris, unnumbered; 1984 New York, no. 16; 1988 Rome, no. 82; 1989 Arles, no. 11; 1990 Otterlo, no. 167.

329 The park and pond in front of the Yellow House

'I just sent you a roll of small pen-and-ink drawings, a dozen, I believe. ... You will find a hasty sketch on yellow paper, a lawn in the square one encounters upon entering town. And in the background a building, something like this [fig. 329a]. Well, today I rented the right wing of this building, which contains 4 rooms, or rather two with two side-rooms.... I'll be sure and make a new drawing for you, better than the first sketch' [604/480].^I

In this letter to Theo of I May I888, Vincent thus reported having sent the first series of small reed-pen drawings and also brought up the subject of the Yellow House on Place Lamartine for the first time. His description of the composition, as well as the colour of the paper it was made on, leaves no room for doubt: the sketch described was certainly *The park and pond in front of the Yellow House*. It is the only surviving drawing from his Arles period that is made on fairly thin, light yellow wove paper.²

It was not until 1946, however, that this drawing was first linked to the passage in the letter, perhaps because of the way Van Gogh here portrayed the Yellow House.³ He depicted the building, which was actually two dwellings, as though they were two separate buildings with a space in between them, whereas in reality the two were connected by a lower part in the middle.⁴ The drawing makes the houses look like two wings of the taller building behind them. Van Gogh depicted the Yellow House this way in a letter sketch as well (see *fig. 329a*). By contrast, the water-colour drawing made in October 1888 (*cat. 349*) is a very accurate rendering of the facade.

The 1946 publication, a Swedish exhibition catalogue, escaped the notice of most scholars. The sheet continued to be dated approximately to the 'Arles period' and to bear such general titles as *Garden with pond*, *Lawn with trees* and *Garden in Provence*. Its link to the passage in the letter was published again in 1955 by Douglas Cooper – this time in a book on drawings and watercolours by Van Gogh – and again no one seemed to take any notice. In his 1968 catalogue, Bowness stated that the Yellow House is depicted in the background of this drawing, but he connected the work to a letter written at the end of September, in which Van Gogh described works made in the park in front of the Yellow House. Bowness's incorrect dating and his correct identification of the Yellow House were both included in the 1970

1 'Pourtant je viens de t'envoyer un rouleau de petits dessins à la plume, une douzaine je crois. [...] Tu y trouveras un croquis hatif sur papier jaune, une pelouse dans le square qui se trouve à l'entrée de la ville. Et au fond une batisse à peu près comme ceci. [letter sketch] Eh bien – j'ai aujourd'hui loué l'aile droite de cette construction qui contient 4 pieces ou

plutôt deux avec deux cabinets... . Je t'en ferai surement un nouveau dessin, mieux que le premier croquis.' For an expanded version of this passage, see the Introduction, p. 17. On the use of the term 'croquis', see cat. 326, note 11.

2 The paper, which was not drawing paper, was probably chosen for its availability.

End of April 1888
Pencil, pen, reed pen and brown ink, on yellow wove paper 32.0 x 50.1 cm
Unsigned
Inscribed on verso by Arnold
Koning: als je morgen ochtend om 5 uur wakker mocht zijn roep mij dan even s.v.p.

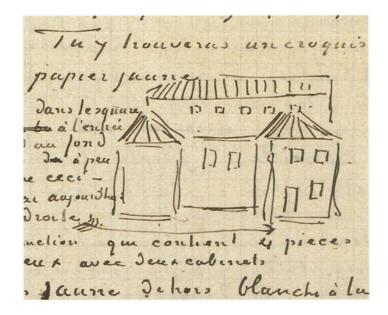
Inv. d 193 V/1962 F 1513 JH 1412

Letter 604/480

- 3 Stockholm/Gothenburg/Malmö 1946, no. 49. With thanks to Jan Gorm Madsen for the translation from the Swedish
- 4 The part connecting the two houses contained the staircase that provided access to the Yellow House.
- 5 Deviations from this general dating to the Arles period are *Lettres* 1911 (caption to pl. LXXIX) and Berlin 1927-28 (no. 97), where the drawing is included among the work made in Auvers and taken to be Daubigny's garden
- 6 Cooper 1955 1, p. 70. One possible explanation for Cooper's 'discovery' going unnoticed is the fact that it was mentioned in the description of another work, namely the watercolour drawing of the Yellow House (cat. 349).
- 7 London 1968-69, no. 134; the letter is 692/541 of c. 27 September 1888.



329a Sketch in a letter to Theo of 1 May 1888 (604/480). Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



edition of De la Faille's catalogue raisonné. In the following years, Roskill, Millard and Hulsker linked the drawing to the correct letter, from which time the drawing has generally been dated to the end of April.⁸

Around 1872 Place Lamartine contained three small parks or public gardens, each with its own character (*fig. 329b*). Docated directly in front of the Yellow House, which stood on the north side of the square, were the trapeziform lawn and pond depicted in this drawing. To the west of this, adjoining the east bank of the Rhône, lay the largest park, with paths running between the trees. On the southeast side of the square was an oblong park bordering on the remains of the old town wall. Here, according to Van Gogh, there were no flowering shrubs but rather plane trees, pines and weeping trees. Park with shrub (cat. 330) was probably drawn in this part of the square.

The largest part of the present drawing is taken up by the lawn and the oval pond. ¹² On the left in the lawn, as well as behind it, stand four evergreen trees: probably two yews and, to the right, two blue spruces. Running from the main path to the pond is a small path that continues around the pond and cuts across to the other side of the lawn. The main path, with a bench on the right, runs around the lawn. A drainage ditch is visible between this footpath and the grass. Behind the bench is a border of shrubs which, together with the fence running behind it, formed the

8 Roskill 1971, p. 166; Millard 1974, p. 158; Hulsker 1974, pp. 30-32. The only exceptions to this are Malmö 1975 (no. 77) and Stockholm/Oslo 1976 (no. 77), in which the drawing is dated to September, and Arles 1989 (no. 22) – to which Pickvance was a contributing author – which says that the drawing originated 'before the end of May 1888'.

 ${f g}$ Beissier 1889, p. 136, names 1872 as the year in

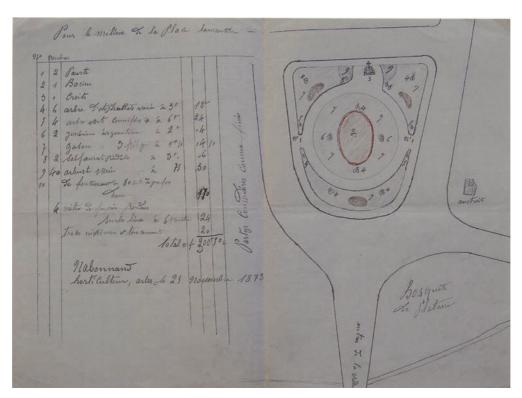
which the public gardens were laid out. Documents in the Archives communales of Arles reveal that on 28 August 1871 orders were given to start work immediately. The map of one of the parks (fig. 329c) is dated 25 November 1873, and the list of the names of all the trees and shrubs planted in Place Lamartine is dated 1873. These documents are kept under no. O 31, 1O2c. 10 See letter 687/539 of 18 September 1888: 'I'm in a

public garden, quite close to the street of good little women, and Mourier, for example, hardly ever went there, even though we took a walk in these gardens nearly every day, but on the other side (there are 3). But, you see, it is precisely this that gives a touch of Boccaccio to the place. This side of the park, moreover, is devoid - for the same reasons of chastity or morality – of flowering shrubs, such as the oleander. There are ordinary plane trees, pines in tight bunches, a weeping tree and green grass. But it is all so intimate' ('C'est un jardin public où je suis, tout près de la rue des bonnes petites femmes, et Mouries par exemple n'y entrait guere lorsque pourtant presque journellement nous nous promenions dans ces jardins mais de l'autre côté (il y en a 3). Mais tu comprends que juste cela donne un je ne sais quoi de Boccace à l'endroit. Ce côté-là du jardin est d'ailleurs pour la meme raison de chastete ou de morale, degarni d'arbustes en fleur tel que le laurier rose. C'est des platanes communs, des sapins en buissons raides, un arbre pleureur et de l'herbe verte. Mais c'est d'une intimité').

- 11 See also New York 1984, no. 23.
- 12 A preliminary drawing made in 1865 had a round pond (see fig. 329b). Its form was later changed to oval (fig. 329c).



329b Plans for the development of Place Lamartine, 1865. Arles, Municipal Archives.



329c Map of Place Lamartine, 1873. Arles, Municipal Archives.

329d Reproduction of catalogue number 329, from *Lettres* 1911, pl. LXXIX.



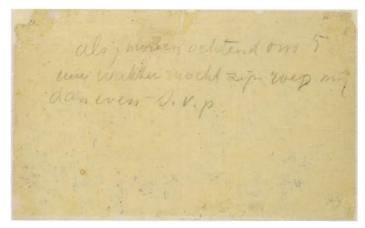
edge of the public garden. The three tall plane trees on the upper right stand on the pavement surrounding the park (fig. 349f). Provençal pruning methods cause such trees to bear leaves mainly at the top (see also *cat.* 349); this explains their bare appearance here, which seems at odds with a dating to late April. The cursorily rendered building on the right was the gendarmerie.¹³

The layout of the public garden corresponds in the main to a hand-drawn map of 1873, the year in which this part of Place Lamartine was developed (*fig. 329c*). ¹⁴ The entrance between two conifers, to the right on the map, is hidden from view in Van Gogh's drawing by the bench. His drawing shows no cross at the top, while the map does not picture the path circling the pond. Nor are all the trees indicated on the map present in the drawing. Whether this points to waywardness on Van Gogh's part or a modification of the plans for the park is impossible to say.

As usual, Van Gogh began by making a preliminary sketch in pencil, over which he worked alternately with a fine pen, a slightly thicker reed pen and brown ink, which has lost much of its intensity. In a reproduction from 1911 (fig. 329d), the lines that are now light brown are much darker, making the lawn, for instance, look considerably fuller. The thinly applied lines, such as those seen in the windows of the gendarmerie, are still clearly visible in the reproduction. The sheet has suffered much over the years: all the corners are missing, and the edges have lacunae and tears. ¹⁵ There are also a number of folds, the most conspicuous of which run diagonally from lower left to mid-centre and vertically through the middle. The ink is abraded in places along these folds.

Appearing in Dutch on the back of this drawing – written in black chalk, in fairly large letters – are the following words (here in translation): 'if you happen to be awake tomorrow morning at 5 o'clock, please call me' (fig. 329e). De la Faille's 1970 catalogue raisonné says that Van Gogh wrote this on the sheet before using it to

- 13 Pickvance, in Arles 1989, no. 22. This building was demolished in the 1960s to make way for a supermarket.
- 14 Pour le milieux de la Place Lamartine, map drawn by the horticulturalist and city gardener Nabonnand, 25 November 1873. Arles, Municipal Archives, inv. O 31-1O2c.
- 15 The old reproduction gives the impression that the drawing had not yet been damaged. It is difficult to say whether this is true, however, because the reproduction technique resulted in an image in which the edges are not visible. The only damage that can safely be concluded to have occurred after 1911 is the damage to the upper right-hand corner.



329e Verso of catalogue number 329.

Vacade Theo 33

Proposition of the services on no enhele formaliteder, also het inaken transferites en dengelijke dingen, get linkling volkacht tekebben det ikling made gens neer om je wat to schiefer bedank je wel Zeer voor de versending dat epistel van den Stationschef fans

329f Detail of a letter written by Arnold Koning to Theo on 4 June 1888. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

draw on. The handwriting does not resemble his, however. Heenk suggested that it was a message from Theo to Arnold Koning,¹⁶ but Theo's handwriting is smaller and more pointed. Comparison of the inscription with Koning's handwriting indicates that he was the one who penned this request (fig. 329f).¹⁷

Remarkably, Van Gogh refers to the drawing as a hasty sketch ('un croquis hatif'). He usually called letter sketches *croquis*, however, and referred to drawings as *dessins*.¹⁸ Van Gogh also called the two watercolour copies made at the beginning of April *croquis* (see *cat*. 326),¹⁹ though perhaps he was describing the facility with which they were made.

In the same letter Vincent assured Theo that he would make another, better drawing of the Yellow House, but for the time being nothing came of it. At first Van Gogh used the house only as a studio.²⁰ It was mid-September – the house had meanwhile been painted, supplied with gas and furnished – before he actually moved in. At the end of that month he made his famous painting of the house (*fig. 349e*), and shortly thereafter fulfilled his promise by sending a splendid watercolour drawing of it to Theo (*cat. 349*).²¹

16 Heenk 1995, p. 176, note 5. The Dutch artist Arnold Koning stayed with Theo from mid-March to the end of May 1888 (see cat. 325).

17 The letters with which this inscription was compared were addressed, as was the request on the drawing, to Theo. They date from just after Koning's stay with him: b 1077 V/1962 of 4 June 1888 and b 1078 V/1962 of 24 June 1888, both in the Van Gogh Museum.

18 Heenk 1995, p. 162. In note 1 on the same page she incorrectly links *The park and pond in front of the Yellow House* to a 'hasty sketch' ('croquis hâtif') in letter

643/509 of c. 13 July 1888, in which Van Gogh refers to one of the drawings from the first Montmajour series. On p. 176 the present park view is in fact connected with the passage in letter 604/480.

19 Idem, p. 162. Van Gogh also used this term at times to refer to the drawings he made after paintings in the summer of 1888 for Emile Bernard and Theo.

20 The house was in need of renovation and Van Gogh did not have enough money to furnish it. After arguing about his bill with the owner of Hôtel-Restaurant Carrel, he left there on 7 May and went to stay in the Café de la Gare at Place Lamartine 30.

21 The painting is described and depicted in a sketch in letter 695/543 of c. 29 September 1888.

PROVENANCE

April 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Lettres 1911, pl. LXXIX; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 153, vol. 4, pl. CLXXIV; London 1968-69, p. 92 no. 134; De la Faille 1970, pp. 524, 552, 666; Roskill 1971, p. 166; Hulsker 1974, pp. 30-32 note 6; Millard 1974, p. 158; Hulsker 1980, pp. 316, 318, 320; New York 1984, pp. 175, 217; Amsterdam 1987, p. 450 no. 2.498; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 136; Arles 1989, pp. 54, 55 no. 22; Dorn 1990, pp. 227 note 10, 377; Otterlo 1990, pp. 218, 219, 246, 247 no. 172; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 153, 395, vol. 2, pl. CLXXIV; Heenk 1995, pp. 162, 176; Hulsker 1996, p. 320; Chicago/Amsterdam 2001-02, p. 107; Pickvance 2003, p. 16; Amsterdam/New York 2005, p. 149.

Exhibitions

1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 409 [Dfl. 150]; 1910 Cologne & Frankfurt am Main, no catalogue [Dfl. 550]; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 160; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1924 Basel, no. 94 [Dfl. 2,000]; 1924 Zürich, no. 94 (Sfr. 4,500); 1924 Stuttgart, no. 7 [Dfl. 2,000]; 1925 Paris, unnumbered [Dfl. 2,000]; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue; 1926-27 London, no. 26 [Dfl. 1,500]; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 97; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 97; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 97; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 70; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 51; 1930 Laren, no. 26; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 50, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 209; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 95; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 49; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 53; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 89; 1948 Luxemburg, no. 27; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 77; 1952 Basel, no. 82; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 96; 1953 The Hague, no. 118; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 137; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 129; 1954-55 Bern, no. 148; 1955 Antwerp, no. 290; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 185; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 34; 1961 Arles, no. 23; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 103; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 103; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 69; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 59; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 61; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 59; 1968 Liège, no. 59; 1968-69 London, no. 134; 1971-72 Paris, no. 188; 1975 Malmö, no. 77; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 77; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 74; 1989 Arles, no. 22; 1990 Otterlo, no. 172; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, ex-catalogue [only Amsterdam].

End of April-beginning of May 1888 Pencil, pen, reed pen and brown ink, on wove paper Traces of perspective guidelines 25.8 x 34.6 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 343 V/1962 F 1421 JH 1414

- 1 See the Introduction, p. 5, for the identification of the pen-and-ink drawings sent in late April and early May.
- **2** For descriptions of the paper and the perspective frame, see cat. 323 and the Introduction, pp. 4-6, 36-38.
- 3 See Pickvance in Otterlo 1990, p. 219.
- 4 Letter 603/479; see also cats. 328 and 327.
- 5 'le jardin du square'.
- 6 According to Otterlo 1990, p. 219, the first works of the series were drawn with a quill and worked up with a reed pen. This does not apply to *Park with shrub*, however, nor to cat. 328. See also cats. 327 and 328, note 10.
- 7 Pickvance first maintained this in New York 1984 (no. 23) and repeated his views in Arles 1989 (no. 18) and Martigny 2000 (no. 46).
- 8 Heenk 1995, p. 170.
- 9 The perspective frame also seems to have served this purpose in paintings Van Gogh made in Paris. See Paintings 2.
- 10 Each line is approximately 0.5 cm off course. The distance between the lines and the edge of the paper varies from c. 3 to c. 5 cm.

330 Park with shrub

Park with shrub is one of some seventeen small pen-and-ink drawings that Van Gogh sent in two batches to Theo at the end of April and beginning of May 1888. The sheet came from a sketchbook and corresponds to the paper of other small pen-and-ink drawings made in the period from March to early May. The use of a perspective frame, the underdrawing in pencil and the careful, deliberate style of drawing all link this sheet to Field with farmhouses (cat. 327) and Farmhouse in a wheatfield (cat. 328). ²

It is doubtful whether this park view actually belonged, as Ronald Pickvance thought,³ to the first four drawings that Van Gogh declared finished.⁴ It is possibly one of the two drawings of the 'garden in the square' mentioned in Van Gogh's letter of I May [604/480].⁵ The trees in the background are already in leaf, which suggests that the drawing was probably made around the end of April or even the beginning of May. The bare branch in the foreground belongs to a *Sophora Japonica*, a tree that does not leaf until late spring.

Van Gogh began this park view with a cursory sketch in pencil, indicating the contours of the conifer on the left, the round shrub on the right and the two trees in the background. He also pencilled in several twigs sprouting from the large bare branch that figures so prominently in the upper part of the picture (fig. 330a). Using a reed pen and red-brown ink, he then drew the fence surrounding the park, the bare branch, the low pine on the left and a few lines on the underside of the round shrub, subsequently going over these reed-pen lines with a fine pen and darker ink.⁶ According to Pickvance, Van Gogh drew the scene directly in pen and ink, adding the large branch later in his studio. He was wrong on both counts: to begin with, there is definitely an underdrawing in pencil; the branch, moreover, must have entered into the picture at an early stage, as evidenced by its pencilled underdrawing and the broad, red-brown ink lines under the darker ink. Furthermore, the fine ink lines of the trees in the background overlap the branch. Liesbeth Heenk also thought, on the basis of the two shades of ink, that Van Gogh began the drawing out of doors and completed it in his studio, adding the branch during the indoor session. 8 It is unlikely, however, that the darker ink was added only in the studio. The pencil underdrawing and the lines in red-brown ink would have provided too scant a framework on which to work up the drawing. The use of two pens is more balanced in this drawing than in Field with farmhouses (cat. 327) and Farmhouse in a wheatfield (cat. 328), which strengthens the assumption that this sheet was drawn slightly later.

In this enclosed scene Van Gogh used his perspective frame to lay in the composition and to ensure a correct rendering of the relative sizes of the various elements. There are traces of four sloppily drawn lines – two horizontal and two vertical – which mark the inside of the frame. None of these lines is parallel to the edge of the sheet. On the right-hand side and the bottom, a number of lines are crowded together. Furthermore, one can see the two diagonals – which do not intersect the





330a Infrared image of catalogue number 330.

11 See cat. 323.

12 For Van Gogh's use of aniline ink, see the Introduction, pp. 32, 33.

13 There is, however, a possibility that the drawing was made in Arles's Jardin publique in Boulevard des Lices, since the scene depicted is rather nondescript and the vegetation in the two parks was very similar. The Sophora Japonica, for example, grew in both parks. See the lists of the trees and shrubs planted in these two parks in the Arles Municipal Archives under no. O 31, 1O2c.

14 See cat. 329 for the differences between the public gardens and Van Gogh's own description of them.

15 See, for instance, letters 657/W5, 685/537 and 692/541. Although the cedar and the cypress belong to different genera (*Cedrus* and *Cupressus*, respectively), the wood of the cypress is also sometimes referred to

16 The park views in which one or more spherically clipped shrubs occur are the paintings F 428 JH 1499 and F 468 JH 1578 and the drawings F 1450 JH 1509 and F 1451 JH 1545 (both copies of F 428 JH 1499), F 1449 JH 1534 (copy of an unknown painting), and F 1465 JH 1583 (copy of a lost painting). This shrub also appears in the letter sketches F – JH 1500 and

corners of the frame precisely in this drawing either – and the horizontal and vertical perspective guidelines (fig. 330a). ^{II}

Park with shrub is drawn on a sheet of paper that was originally stitched into the sketchbook on its right edge. The truncated ink lines on that side show that the page was cut out of the book after the drawing was made. The top of the sheet displays brown pigments stemming from the brown-edged pages of the sketchbook. Along the left edge there is some purple aniline ink that was probably left there accidentally by a dirty finger or a splattering pen.¹²

The park depicted in this drawing was most likely one of three small public gardens in Place Lamartine, the square in front of the Yellow House. ¹³ Most likely this is the long garden on the south-east side of the square. ¹⁴ Van Gogh would often return to the place to paint in July, September and October. The round shrub, which Van Gogh calls a cedar or cypress, 15 is a regular feature of paintings and drawings made after them, stemming from that period. ¹⁶ Most of the park views made in September and October eventually served to decorate Gauguin's room in the Yellow House. Van Gogh worked intensively on these to prepare for his friend's arrival.¹⁷ From mid-September 1888 Van Gogh associated several of the canvases with the poets Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, about whom he had read an article: 18 later on he called this suite *The poet's garden*. ¹⁹ In these works he was striving to document the timeless nature of the place: it should be possible, he thought, to imagine the poets of yesterday frequenting these very gardens. Indeed, Van Gogh was hoping that Arles would soon witness the arrival of a new 'poet': none other than the painter Paul Gauguin.²⁰ Because of its similarities to a park view dating from July (F 428 JH 1499), the present drawing was previously dated to that month as well.21

F - JH 1584. The same type of shrub recurs in a drawing made in May 1889 (F 1468 JH 1498).

- 17 See Dorn 1990.
- 18 See letter 687/539 of 18 September 1888.
- 19 These are F 468 JH 1578, F 479 JH 1601, F 485

JH 1615 and a lost work. See letters 699/553, 701/545, 703/546, 704/547, 708/552, 714/556, all written in October 1888.

- **20** See letter 699/553a of 3 October 1888.
- 21 Bowness, in London 1968-69, and De la Faille 1970.

PROVENANCE

April/May 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Lettres 1911, pl. LX11; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, pp. 129, 130, vol. 4, pl. CLI; Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 27; London 1968-69, p. 89 no. 128; De la Faille 1970, pp. 498, 662; Roskill 1971, pp. 166, 175 note 183, 177 note 193, 178 note 197; Hulsker 1974, p. 27; Millard 1974, pp. 157, 158, 162 note 8; Chetham 1976, p. 220, ill. 146; Hulsker 1980, pp. 316, 320, 321; New York 1984, pp. 42, 54, 55, 57, 64 no. 23, 73, 120; Amsterdam 1987, p. 451 no. 2.502; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 131; Arles 1989, pp. 46, 47 no. 18; Otterlo 1990, pp. 218, 219, 238, 243 no. 168; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 129, 130, 369, vol. 2, pl. CLI; Heenk 1995, pp. 170, 178; Hulsker 1996, pp. 320, 321; Martigny 2000, pp. 269, 298 no. 46; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 148, 149, 154, 155 no. 43.

Exhibitions

1891 Brussels, no. 11; 1893 Leiden, no catalogue; 1897 Groningen, no cat. known; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 400 [Dfl. 125]; 1909-10 Munich, ex-catalogue, Frankfurt am Main, Dresden & Chemnitz, no cat. known; 1910 Cologne & Frankfurt am Main, no catalogue [Dfl. 350]; 1912 The Hague & Amsterdam, no. 3 [Dfl. 800]; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 158; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 52; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 37; 1930 Laren, no. 43; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 35, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 189; 1932 Manchester, no. 59; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 87; 1947 Paris, no. 88; 1947 Geneva, no. 88; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 143; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 92, no. 93; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 251; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 62; 1953 Zürich, no. 75; 1953 Zundert, no. 52; 1953 Hoensbroek, no. 102; 1955 Antwerp, no. 278; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 173; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 112; 1956 Haarlem, no. 57; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 52; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 64, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 125; 1960 Enschede, no. 41; 1961 Arles, no. 11; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 119; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 119; 1963-64 Amsterdam, no. 66; 1964 Zundert, no. 23; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 83; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 104; 1968-69 London, no. 128; 1975 Malmö, no. 68; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 68; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 62; 1984 New York, no. 23; 1989 Arles, no. 18; 1990 Otterlo, no. 168; 2000 Martigny, no. 46; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 43.

First week of May 1888 Blue chalk, pen and brown and purple ink, on wove paper 25.7 x 34.8 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 333

Inv. d 166 V/1962 F 1498v JH 1614

- 1 In letter 604/480 of 1 May 1888, Vincent told Theo that he had rented the right wing of this building.
 2 For information on the parks on Place Lamartine, see cats. 330 and 349. Dorn, who pointed out that cat. 331 is possibly a 'premier pensée' for *Avenue with blossoming chestnut trees* (fig. 331b), painted in May 1889, assumed that this park in
- assumed that this painting was made in the park in Boulevard des Lices. See Dorn 1990, p. 47. For a long time this was also thought of F 566 JH 1585. In 1984, however, Pickvance suggested the possibility that this painting was made on the Rhône side of the park in Place Lamartine. See New York 1984, no. 108. See also
- Washington/London 1999, no. 52. **3** See Drawings 3, cats. 293-297.
- 4 See Heenk 1995, pp. 153, 168 and 270.
- 5 See Drawings 3, p. 237, note 6. In earlier publications, cat. 331 was also assigned to the corpus of drawings made in Arles. De la Faille 1970 and Hulsker 1996 place it in September and October 1888, respectively. The collection catalogue of the Van Gogh Museum says 'summer 1888' (Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.517).
- **6** On this subject, see the Introduction, p. 5, note 27.
- 7 Before Van Gogh drew *Landscape with hut*, he turned the page 90 degrees; the damaged edge, which Van Gogh folded, is at the upper edge of this drawing (see cat. 333).

331 Avenue in a park

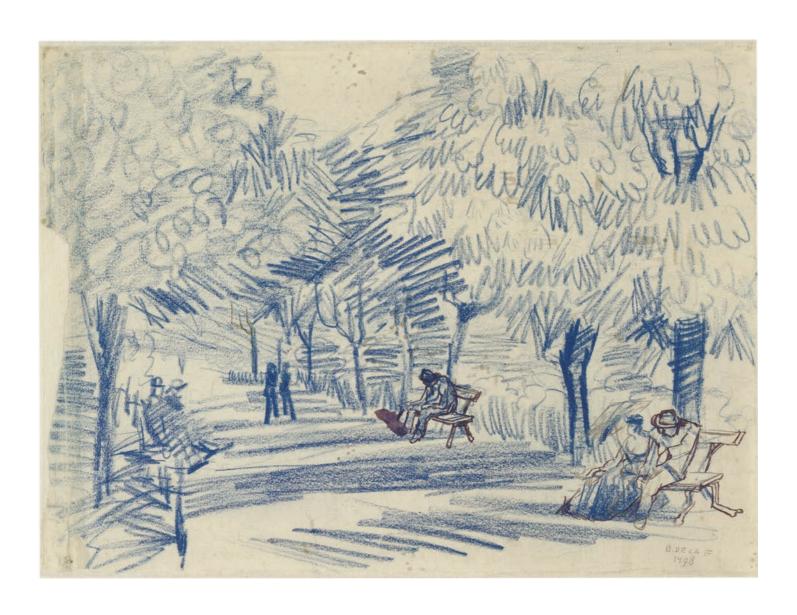
The scene depicted in Avenue in a park is closely related to other park views painted and drawn in Arles, such as Avenue in the public garden (fig. 331a), Man with newspaper strolling in the public garden (F 566 JH 1585) and Avenue with blossoming chestnut trees (fig. 331b). These three works depict similar scenes: people in the park, strolling or resting on a bench. Benches similar to those in the present work occur in the drawings The park and pond in front of the Yellow House (cat. 329) and Public garden with benches (fig. 331c). When Van Gogh drew Avenue in a park, the trees were in blossom and the sun was shining: indeed, the lady on the right holds a parasol and shadows are cast on the ground.

The sketchy style of *Avenue in a park* makes it impossible to say exactly where the drawing was made, but considering the scene depicted, it is likely that this park view, like the two sheets most recently discussed (*cats. 329, 330*), was drawn near the Yellow House. At the beginning of May 1888 Van Gogh had told his brother that he found the studio there so attractive because it was opposite a park. It is certain that he made a number of drawings and paintings at various spots in this park during the time he was working in the Yellow House.²

In the past, various dates have been suggested for *Avenue in a park*. Heenk placed the sheet in the Paris period on the basis of the wove paper and blue chalk, materials used in the drawings of musicians Van Gogh made at that time.³ It is conjectured that he took the sketchbook containing those drawings to Arles, where he drew *Landscape with hut (cat. 333)* on the back of the park view. It is possible that he applied the purple ink with which he accentuated the figures and the benches to the right of the avenue only at this later date.⁴ However, in their study of Van Gogh's Paris drawings in the Van Gogh Museum, the authors doubted Heenk's view and continued to assume an Arles dating.⁵ The possibility that this park view was drawn in Paris cannot be ruled out entirely, but the available evidence has tipped the scales in favour of a Provençal origin.

When Van Gogh left Paris for the south of France, he presumably took along both his sketchbook and his blue chalk. Close examination has in fact shown that *Avenue in a park* and *Landscape with hut* (see *cat. 333*) are not the only drawings made on paper corresponding to that of the musician drawings from Van Gogh's Paris period. During his first months in Arles, Van Gogh used the same sketchbook for a number of other works. When *Avenue in a park* was drawn, the sheet was still stitched into the sketchbook at its left edge; the damage to this side, which has caused the loss of a small part of the depiction, probably occurred when the sheet was torn out of the book.

As mentioned above, Van Gogh used blue chalk in Paris, but it occurs in

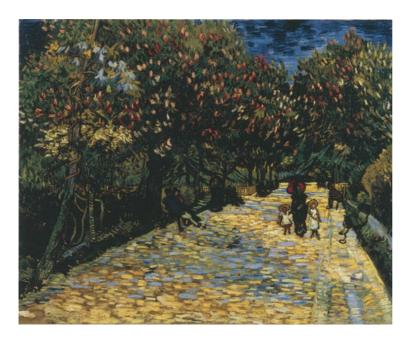




331a Avenue in the public garden (F 472 JH 1598), 1888. Whereabouts unknown.

331b Avenue with blossoming chestnut trees (F 517 JH 1689), 1889. Private collection.

331c Public garden with benches (F 1487 JH 1410), 1888. Whereabouts unknown.





his Arles drawings as well.⁸ He also used purple ink in both places, but further research is needed to determine whether it was the same kind of ink.⁹ The purple ink in *Avenue in a park* has faded and turned brown in places.

On the basis of the above-mentioned similarities to other park views, the paper comparable to other sheets made in Van Gogh's first months in Arles, as well as the use of purple ink, the dating of *Avenue in a park* is here maintained to the first week of May 1888. The sheet was most likely part of the consignment of drawings which Van Gogh sent to his brother on 7 May.¹⁰

- 8 For example, in The Zouave (fig. 341e).
- **9** See Drawings 3, cat. 230, and the Introduction, pp. 32, 33.
- 10 See note 27 in the Introduction, p. 5.

PROVENANCE

May 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 150, vol. 4, pl. CLXIX; De la Faille 1970, pp. 521, 665; Hulsker 1980, pp. 368, 371; Amsterdam 1987, p. 454 no. 2.517; Löb 1988, p. 61 ill. 86; Dorn 1990, p. 300 note 425; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 150, 390, 391, vol. 2, pl. CLXIX; Heenk 1995, pp. 153, 168, 270; Hulsker 1996, p. 371; Drawings 3, p. 237 note 6.

Exhibitions

192**7-2**8 Berlin, no. 67; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 67; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 67.

3 May 1888 Pencil, pen, reed pen and ink (now red-brown), on wove paper 25.8 x 34.7 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 416 V/1962 F 1496 JH 1496

- 1 The former title was used at the exhibition *Teekeningen van Vincent van Gogh* in the Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal in Leiden in 1893, and the latter in Rotterdam 1896. no. 60.
- 2 See exhib. cat. Teekeningen en aquarellen door Vincent van Gogh uit het bezit van den heer Ir. V.W. van Gogh te Laren, Rotterdamsche Kring 1929-30, no. 48.
- 3 See Rotterdam 1947, no. 83.
- 4 The letters were first published in their entirety in 1869 in Paris.
- 5 The choice fell on the Moulin Ribet, also known as the Moulin Saint-Pierre, because it was in the best condition and most closely fit the description of the windmill in Daudet's Lettres de mon Moulin. For information on the windmills at Fontvieille, see Honoré Coudière, Fontvieille. Les moulins et le musée Alphonse Daudet, Cavaillon 1981, pp. 39-47.
- 6 Van Gogh first mentioned Daudet's name in a letter of August 1877 (see letter 127/107). In October 1882 Vincent told Theo that he had read a book by Daudet (see letter 274/237).
- 7 Letter of 9 March 1888: 'Je viens de lire Tartarin sur les Alpes qui m'a énormement amusé.'
- **8** Regarding Van Gogh and Daudet, see also Chicago/Amsterdam 2001-02, pp. 97, 98.
- **9** See letters 605/481 of 4 May and 642/506 of 9 or 10 July 1888.
- 10 Letter of 29 July 1888: 'Le village où ils restent est du *vrai Millet*, des petits paysans, rien que cela, absolument *agreste* et intime.' Van Gogh was in awe of the French painter Jean-François Millet (1814-1875), whom he viewed as the great master of peasant life.
- 11 Fontvieille's fourth windmill, which is also still standing, is the Moulin Tissot, situated to the northeast of the Moulin Ramet.

332 Landscape with windmills at Fontvieille

For a long time this drawing was given general, descriptive titles such as *Windmill* or *Landscape with windmill*. The location of the windmills was first identified at an exhibition held in Rotterdam in 1929, and the title subsequently became *Windmills at Fontvieille*, referring to a small village approximately nine kilometres north-east of Arles. Since 1947 the work has been called *Landscape with Daudet's windmill*. The title refers to the writer Alphonse Daudet (1840-1897), best known for his short stories *Lettres de mon Moulin*, which he wrote between 1866 and 1869 while staying at Fontvieille. 4

Although Daudet's name is inextricably tied to the village and the windmills, we prefer the more general title Landscape with windmills at Fontvieille. In fact, two windmills are depicted, and Daudet never owned or described either of them explicitly. There were - and still are - four windmills in Fontvieille, all close to one another. Daudet, who stayed at nearby Montauban Castle during his visits to the village, does not seem to have been inspired by any particular windmill when writing Lettres de mon Moulin. In 1935 Le Ribet (fig. 332a) – the newest of the four windmills, situated highest on the hill and visible in the drawing as the furthest to the right – was turned into a museum in memory of Daudet.5 Nowhere does Van Gogh betray familiarity with Lettres de mon Moulin, or any knowledge of the connection between Daudet and Fontvieille. This is all the more remarkable because from 1882 onwards his letters mention no fewer than eleven books by this author and sometimes contain allusions to his writings. Van Gogh's view of the inhabitants and the landscape of Provence was even influenced to a great extent by Daudet, who in Van Gogh's opinion belonged – together with Zola, Goncourt and Balzac – to 'the very great people in literature' [553/442]. He was 'greatly amused' [585/467] by the satirical novels *Tartarin de Tarascon* (1872) and Tartarin sur les Alpes (1885), which poke fun at the inhabitants of southern France.8

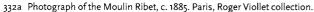
Van Gogh himself visited Fontvieille at least twice, to see the artists Eugène Boch (1855-1941) and Dodge McKnight (1860-1950). He met them there on 3 May 1888, but when he returned around 8 July, the two had gone on a trip to Switzerland. The village his friends lived in was, in Van Gogh's opinion, 'true Millet, small-holders, nothing else, absolutely rustic and intimate' [652/514].

The present drawing shows the view from the hill to the west of the Moulin Ribet, where the Moulin Sourdon was located, the oldest of the four windmills and the only one no longer in use in Van Gogh's day. The road in the middle distance is the Allée des Pins (*fig.* 332b).

The eye-catcher in this representation is the Moulin Ribet and its outbuilding, which was used to dry wheat. On the left is the Moulin Ramet. The balanced composition consists of three-quarters landscape and one-quarter sky. Open,









332b Photograph of the Allée des Pins at Fontvieille, n.d.

untreated spaces in the right foreground are suggestive of slabs of rock or stones. The sails of the windmills dominate the horizon; the sky has been left blank.

The presence of two figures and a donkey or horse in the middle of the picture gives *Landscape with windmills at Fontvieille* an anecdotal touch – the scene could pass for an illustration from *Don Quixote*. This is completely in keeping with Van Gogh's allusions to the 'Tartarin side and the Daumier side of this droll region' [687/539],¹² which in his view was 'not a magnificent, sublime country, but only Daumier come to life' [708/552].¹³

Van Gogh filled in each of the various planes in the landscape in a different way. He chose a similar approach for the drawn views from Montmajour. Landscape with windmills at Fontvieille is comparable in its simplicity with, for example, View of La Crau (fig. 335a), which was made in the last week of May 1888. In July of that year Van Gogh would use a similar division of planes in his more stylised and ambitious landscapes, such as La Crau seen from Montmajour (cat. 343) and Landscape with train, seen from Montmajour (fig. 342c).

Considering the more mature style of the drawings from July and August, which are in stark contrast to the simple rendering of *Landscape with windmills at Font-vieille*, it is remarkable that the latter has until now usually been dated to the summer of 1888.¹⁴ We assume it was made in May 1888, since the drawing corresponds more closely, in both style and technique, to the earlier drawings.¹⁵ Van Gogh probably drew it on 3 May, during his first visit to Fontvieille, and sent the sheet, along with four other drawings, to Theo on 7 May.¹⁶ As usual, Van Gogh began the composition by making an underdrawing in pencil. After sketching in the large windmill, he worked up the drawing in pen and ink (now a rather light red-brown). Dark brown lines appear in only a few places, such as the centremost windmill and the trees lining the road, where the same ink was probably applied more thickly. Although less intense than in *Landscape with windmills at Fontvieille*, the light, red-

- 12 Letter of 18 September 1888: 'A travers le côté Tartarin et le côté Daumier du pays si drole.'
- 13 'c'est pas un pays superbe et sublime, ce n'est que du Daumier bien vivant.'
- 14 See De la Faille 1970; Hulsker 1996, p. 332; Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.513; Roskill 1971, p. 171; Millard 1974, p. 159. Bowness was alone in considering this an April drawing. See London 1968-69, no. 117.
- 15 Van Gogh was possibly referring in letter 606/482 of 4 May to cat. 332 when he wrote: 'I have another drawing' ('j'ai encore un dessin'). See also Amsterdam/New York 2005, p. 151.
- 16 See letter 607/483 of 7 May 1888, in which Van Gogh reports that he has finished two large and five small drawings. He sent the five small drawings to Theo in Brussels that same day. Regarding the consignment, see the Introduction, p. 5, and for Theo's stay in the Belgian capital, see cats. 327 and 328, note 7.

brown hue is also to be found in other drawings Van Gogh made towards the beginning of his stay in Arles (see, for example, *cats. 334* and *330*). The playful lines in the trees resemble Van Gogh's rendering of the vegetation in catalogue numbers 324, 328 and 334. Like the four above-mentioned sheets, the paper of *Landscape with windmills at Fontvieille* came from the same sketchbook to which a number of other sheets belonged. The left edge of the sheet was stitched into the book. Because a bit of ink runs right up to the edge of the paper, it can be assumed that Van Gogh tore the page out of the sketchbook before he began to draw.

17 A similar red-brown shade is also seen in *Haystacks* (F 1427 JH 1525) and *Boats at sea* (F 1430a JH 1526). It is possible that the same kind of ink was used in these drawings.

18 See the Introduction, p. 5, note 27.

Provenance

May 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Du Quesne-Van Gogh 1911, ill. after p. 32; Meier-Graefe 1921, ill. 68; Hartlaub 1922, ill.; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 149, vol. 4, pl. CLXVIII; Amsterdam 1958, nos. 276, 277; London 1968-69, p. 80 no. 111; De la Faille 1970, pp. 520, 521, 665; Hulsker 1980, pp. 336, 340; Amsterdam 1987, p. 453 no. 2.513; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 135; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 149, 390, vol. 2, pl. CLXVIII; Heenk 1995, p. 178; Hulsker 1996, pp. 332, 340, 341; Silverman 2000, p. 60; Amsterdam/New York 2005, p. 151 note 1.

Exhibitions

1893 Leiden, no catalogue; 1896 Rotterdam, no. 60?; 1897 Groningen, no cat. known; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 398 [Dfl. 225]; 1909-10 Berlin, no. 203 (not for sale); 1910 Berlin, no. 53 [DM 800]; 1911 Frankfurt am Main, no cat. known; 1912 The Hague & Amsterdam, no. 11 (not for sale); 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 149; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1923-24 London, no. 12 [Dfl. 1,200]; 1924 Basel, no. 90 [Dfl. 1,800]; 1924 Zürich, no. 90 [Sfr. 4,300]; 1924 Stuttgart, no. 8 [Dfl. 1,800]; 1925 Paris, unnumbered [Dfl. 1,800]; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 73; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 73; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 73; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 66; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 48; 1930 Laren, no. 52; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 46, no cat. known; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 83; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 263; 1953 Zürich, no. 88; 1955 Antwerp, no. 272; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 167; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 106; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 70; 1958 Mons, no. 69; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 135; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 31; 1960 Enschede, no. 50; 1961 Arles, no. 19; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 89; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 109; 1968-69 London, no. 111; 1971-72 Paris, no. 184; 1972 Bordeaux, no. 63; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 69; 1975 Malmö, no. 74; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 74; 1977 Paris, unnumbered.

First week of May 1888
Pencil, pen, reed pen and ink
(now brown and purple),
on wove paper
34.8 x 25.7 cm
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 331

Inv. d 166 V/1962 F 1498r JH 1457

- 1 Letter of c. 8 October 1889: 'Enfin pour moi, en fait d'architecture, ce que je connais de plus admirable, c'est la chaumière au toit de chaume moussu avec son foyer noirci.'
- 2 See also cat. 323, note 2.
- 3 See letters 663/520 ('diable'), 695/543 ('sacré') and 700/B18 ('méchant').
- 4 With thanks to Marie-Hélène Sibille, curator of cultural heritage at the Musée de la Camargue in Arles. See also Cabanes de Camargue. Documents sur l'architecture traditionnelle au début du XXe siècle, published by the Musée Camarguais, Parc Naturel Régional de Camargue, Arles 1983. This publication contains an excerpt from R. Pepiot, Cabanes de Camargue, rapport dactylographié, Musée National des Arts et Traditions Populaires, 1943. In the drawings made in Saintes-Maries, which will be discussed later, Van Gogh rendered the whitewashed areas by leaving them blank (see cats. 339 and 340).
- 5 See Hulsker 1996, p. 320. Here he assumes, in agreement with New York 1984, pp. 83-92, that Van Gogh left in the last week of May 1888 for Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer and stayed there about a week. De la Faille 1970 and Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.509, also assign this work to June 1888, but give no grounds for this dating. Heenk 1995, p. 162, thinks that the drawing was made at the beginning of June in Saintes-Maries, because its execution supposedly displays many similarities to that of other works made at the time. Bowness, in London 1968-69, no. 117, dates the drawing to May-July 1888. According to Millard 1974, p. 160, the work was drawn in July 1888; Roskill 1971, p. 171, places it in August of that year. For more information on Van Gogh's stay in Saintes-Maries, see cats. 338-340.
- 6 Another journey to the Camargue, which Van Gogh was planning to undertake with a veterinary surgeon, did not take place because his travelling companion did not show up; see letters 638/507 and 639/508 of c. 1 July and 5 July 1888.

333 Landscape with hut

The motif of simple huts in the unspoiled countryside is a constant in Van Gogh's oeuvre. As early as 1883, in Drenthe, he immortalised similar 'human nests, those huts on the heath' [536/425], which bear witness to the simple life of their occupants. At the beginning of October 1889, he expressed his partiality as follows: 'What I ultimately admire most in architecture is a hut with a mossy thatched roof and a black chimney' [811/B20].¹

Van Gogh drew *Landscape with hut* on the back of *Avenue in a park (cat. 331*). Before starting to draw, he folded back the upper edge, which explains why this part of the sheet is blank. The holes left by drawing pins in the upper corners, on either side of the fold, indicate that Van Gogh first folded the sheet and then pinned it to the board. He folded back the edge to hide the damage most likely caused by tearing the sheet out of the sketchbook; the park view on the verso thus lost a narrow strip on the left side (see *cat. 331*).

While there is some doubt as to whether the park view on the verso was made in Paris or Arles, *Landscape with hut* was definitely made in the vicinity of Arles. Van Gogh depicted a characteristic Provençal hut with a thatched roof; the outer wall on one of the short sides is rounded, narrowing at the top into a conical shape (*fig. 333a*). This rounded side always faces north, to offer resistance to the mistral – the especially strong north-to-north-westerly wind.² The closely planted cypresses behind the hut also offered protection from the wind, most likely to a farmhouse lying behind them on the right. Van Gogh wrote regularly about the 'deuced', 'confounded' and 'wretched' mistral (and his struggles with it), which made it difficult to work out of doors.³ It is possible that this hut was unfinished when Van Gogh drew it: there seem to be building materials propped up against it, and the walls and roof do not yet have the coat of whitewash that would serve to reflect the strong sunlight (*fig. 333b*).⁴

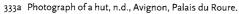
Over the years this drawing has been assigned a variety of dates within the period May-September 1888. Like De la Faille, Hulsker suggested that Van Gogh had drawn the hut in or near Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (see *cats. 339, 340*). His reasons were based not so much on style and technique as on the type of hut, which is typical of the Camargue, the marshy, brackish region between Arles and Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer. Van Gogh hiked through this scenic area on his way to and from the coast, at the end of May and beginning of June, respectively. As far as we know, he did not visit the area again.

Van Gogh did in fact draw similar, simple houses in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (cats. 339, 340), but such huts, with one rounded side, occurred in other regions too, as did the mistral. Evidently Van Gogh did find similar structures elsewhere, as emerges, for example, from a drawing he made in May, View of La Crau (fig. 335a), and another made in July, La Crau seen from Montmajour (cat. 343). Compared with



333 Landscape with hut







333b Photograph of a hut with whitewashed walls and roof, n.d., Avignon, Palais du Roure.

the Camargue, there was less reed to be found in the vicinity of La Crau – where one often built with the river stones readily available in the region – yet the roofs of the huts in the two above-mentioned works do seem to show reed thatching. That Landscape with hut was likewise made in this area is apparent from the background, where the higher-lying plateau of La Crau is visible, as it is in the two views mentioned above. This rules out the possibility that Van Gogh made the drawing in June, on his way back from Les Saintes-Maries. It is therefore assumed to have originated in the spring, possibly in the first week of May.

The composition of *Landscape with hut* is in keeping with those of several early Arles drawings: the field in the foreground takes up a large part of the drawing, as it does in several landscapes dating from April 1888 (*cats. 327, 328*). It is not entirely clear what Van Gogh wanted to indicate with the horizontal lines in the foreground; perhaps they were intended to suggest a pool of water. The hut, cypresses, deciduous trees and small farmhouse are all placed close to the high horizon line.

As regards material and technique, *Landscape with hut* also corresponds to works Van Gogh made before he left for the coast on 30 or 31 May. The depiction is drawn on a piece of wove paper from the sketchbook that also provided the supports for catalogue numbers 323, 324, 327, 328, 330-332 and 334. In contrast to those, however, this sheet has not browned to such an extent. A comparison with the kind of paper Van Gogh used in Saintes-Maries shows that none of those works was made on such sketchbook pages: the drawings made in that coastal town are larger and, in nearly every case, drawn on laid paper (see *cats. 338-340*).

In the present drawing, the loosely drawn field – nearly all of which was sketched directly in ink, a bit of which was spilled on the right – contrasts with the detailed and carefully rendered background. Only the hut and the area behind it have a complete underdrawing in pencil. After drawing with pen, reed pen and ink, Van Gogh again took up the pencil to accentuate the row of cypresses – a working method he also used in *Landscape with path and pollard willows* (cat. 323).



333c Detail of cat. 333.

Finally, a dating to the first week of May is supported by the presence of purple ink. At first glance the purple ink used in *Landscape with hut* is no longer apparent – in this it resembles most of the other drawings – having turned almost completely brown. Some of the lines in the foreground have a purple sheen, however, and some purple ink is still clearly visible to the right of the hut (*fig.* 333c).

PROVENANCE

May 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 150, vol. 4, pl. CLXIX; London 1968-69, p. 83 no. 117; De la Faille 1970, pp. 521, 665; Hulsker 1980, pp. 328, 333; Amsterdam 1987, p. 452 no. 2.509; Paris/Tokyo 1988, p. 218 no. 325; Hulsker 1989, pp. 328, 332, 333; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 150, 390, vol. 2, pl. CLXIX; Heenk 1995, pp. 153, 162, 168; Hulsker 1996, pp. 322, 331, 491; Drawings 3, p. 237 note 6.

Exhibitions

1929 Amsterdam, no. 67; 1930 Laren, no. 49?; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 47, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 206; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 81; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 67; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 71; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 84; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 264; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 89; 1954-55 Bern, no. 144; 1955 Antwerp, no. 288; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 183; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 68; 1958 Mons, no. 70; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 136; 1959-60 Utrecht, no. 88; 1960 Enschede, no. 51; 1961 Arles, no. 20; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 55; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 57; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 55; 1968 Liège, no. 55; 1968-69 London, no. 117; 1971-72 Paris, no. 185; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 72; 1988 Paris & Tokyo, no. 325 [only Paris]; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, ex-catalogue [only Amsterdam].

First week of May 1888 Pencil, pen, reed pen and brown ink, on wove paper 25.8 x 34.9 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 345 V/1962 F 1506 JH 1375

- 1 See, for example, letter 585/467 of 9 March 1888.
- 2 See letter 590/B2 of 18 March 1888.
- 3 According to Ködera 1990, pp. 29-39, the sun motif in Van Gogh's Provence oeuvre has a religious significance. There is however no proof of this.
- 4 See Kõdera 1990, pp. 33-39 and cats. 339 and 340, note 6.
 5 For the sketchbook and the other drawings from it,
- see the Introduction, p. 5. It can no longer be ascertained whether Van Gogh made the drawing before or after he tore the page from the sketchbook; the lines do not run to the edge of the paper on this side.

 6 A reproduction of this drawing appeared in A. Sensier, La vie et l'œuvre de J.-F. Millet, Paris, 1881. Van Gogh had read this book as early as 1882 (see letter 209/180) and had owned a copy of it since August 1884 (see letter 457/R47). For Millet, see also cat. 332, note 10. In June and November 1888, Van Gogh, inspired by Millet, would make colourful paintings of sowers in the sun (F 422 JH 1470, fig. 344a and F 450 JH 1627, fig. 344d).
- 7 Microscopic examination of Field with houses gave no definite answer: no white drawing material could be seen, nor was there anything to indicate that Van Gogh used a rubber eraser. The white circle around the sun in Wheatfield with sun and cloud (fig. 334c) contains very small pieces of white pigment from opaque water-colour. Van Gogh probably used a damp brush to apply accents in such watercolour. It is possible that the paper is not discoloured in this place because such accents resist discolouring. With thanks to Teio Meedendorp.

334 Field with houses

By late October 1887 Van Gogh had expressed the wish 'to go to the South, where there is more colour and more sun' [576/W1]. Once in Arles, he described frequently and enthusiastically the landscape, the atmosphere and the huge, radiant sun. It all made him think of Japan, as he knew it from the Japanese prints he found so inspiring. He often incorporated the sun – for him a typical feature of the Provençal landscape – in his drawings and paintings. 3

Field with houses most likely shows the sun shortly after rising. This is implied by the placing of the tall trees with respect to the house on the left. In Provence, trees were generally planted on the south side of houses, to benefit from their shadow during the hottest part of the day. Caution is called for, however, since Van Gogh often took liberties when placing the sun in drawings and paintings alike.⁴

The right edge of this sheet was once stitched into a sketchbook that Van Gogh often used in Arles.⁵ In the other pen-and-ink drawings from that sketchbook, the sky – which Van Gogh left blank – takes up less of the page, but here the huge expanse of sky is dominated by the sun in all its radiant glory. The prominent role played by this dazzling orb recalls *Parc à moutons (Park with sheep)* by Van Gogh's great example Jean-François Millet, a depiction that Van Gogh knew from a book (*fig. 334a*).⁶ In *Field with houses* Van Gogh used a fine pen to place short lines perpendicular to the long sunbeams he had drawn with a reed pen, thus creating the effect of a halo. In some places the pen contained no more ink, or only very little, so that in these places only scratches are visible. Remarkably, the short lines do not stop at the horizon, but run through into the field, where they intersect the furrows.

When Van Gogh drew the Bank of the Rhône (fig. 334b) at the beginning of May 1888 and View of Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (fig. 339e) at the end of May or beginning of June, he rendered the sun in similar fashion, but without letting the halo continue into the foreground. Later, in Saint-Rémy, he drew a more daring variant of this sun, with ominous clouds and light effects (fig. 334c). Remarkably, both that drawing (Wheatfield with sun and cloud in the collection of the Kröller-Müller Museum at Otterlo) and *Field with houses* display white places in the area of the sun: in Field with houses two diagonal white lines overlap the ink line depicting the sun on both left and right; in Wheatfield with sun and cloud a white circle surrounds the sun. It is unclear how these white areas came about, and whether they were intentional or accidental.⁷ Before he began to draw with pen and ink, Van Gogh made a sketch in pencil. The underdrawing is confined to the most prominent farmhouse and the horizon. Where the houses and trees in the right background stand, he first drew thin vertical lines with a fine pen, which are clearly visible in and below the trees on the right. Van Gogh was presumably dissatisfied with these lines, whose function is unclear, and subsequently drew over them with more robust pen strokes. Like the sun, the houses in the centre background were drawn directly in





334a Reproduction after J.-F. Millet, Parc à moutons, 1881. From A. Sensier, La vie et l'œuvre de J.-F. Millet, manuscript published by Paul Mantz, Paris, 1881.



334b Bank of the Rhône (F 1472a JH 1497a), 1888. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen.

reed pen and ink. The sunbeams display traces of black chalk that probably rubbed off from another drawing.

Field with houses is here assigned, not without reservations, to the first week of May 1888. This dating is based on the elements in the depiction that are suggestive of spring: the trees, for example, are already in leaf. The paper, as stated above, corresponds to that of other drawings made in the March-May period. The brown ink is also comparable to that used in the landscapes dating from March and April (see cats. 323, 327 and 328). By contrast, the drawing style of Field with houses is less refined and therefore nearer to the more expressive drawings Van Gogh made during the first week of June in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer. However, given the differences in the landscape and the houses, as well as the use of paper of another kind and format, it is unlikely that Field with houses was drawn near that coastal village.9 It could well be an early example of Vincent's efforts to find a more clear-cut working method, about which he wrote to Theo at the end of May: 'What is always of pressing importance is the drawing, and whether it is done directly with the brush or with something else, like the pen, one never draws enough. I'm now trying to exaggerate the essential, deliberately keeping the mundane vague' [615/490].10

8 The ink has penetrated the paper, so the representation is also visible on the verso.

9 See cats. 338-340 for more information on the works produced in Saintes-Maries. Roskill 1971, p. 169, assumed that *Field with houses* was made in Saintes-Maries, basing this opinion on the assumption that what he saw in the left background was a boat. This seems unlikely. What one sees there are probably trees or factory chimneys, though the sketchy style makes it difficult to say exactly what is depicted. Various authors have arrived at a dating without giving reasons: Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.514, dates the drawing to the summer of 1888, as does De la Faille 1970. Heenk 1995, p. 178, maintains that it was made in the second half of August or early September. Hulsker 1996, p. 308, on the other hand, places *Field with houses* – on the basis

of its similarity in style and composition to cat. 323, F 1500 JH 1373 and F 1517 JH 1374 – in March of that year. Millard 1974, p. 157, also assumes that Van Gogh made the drawing early in his Arles period. 10 Letter of 26 May 1888: 'Ce qui est toujours pressé

c'est de dessiner, et que cela soit fait directement à la

brosse ou bien à autre chôse comme à la plume, on n'en fait jamais assez. Je cherche maintenant à exagérer l'essentiel, à laisser dans le vague exprès le banal.' Cat. 334 was possibly part of the consignment that Van Gogh sent to his brother on 7 May. See the Introduction, p. 5.



334c Wheatfield with sun and cloud (F 1728 JH 1706), 1889. Otterlo, Kröller-Müller Museum.

PROVENANCE

May 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

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Du Quesne-Van Gogh 1911, ill. after p. 48;
Bremmer 1924, vol. 4, pp. 30, 31 no. 31; De la
Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 152, vol. 4, pl. CLXXIII;
Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 26; London 1968-69,
p. 80 no. 112; De la Faille 1970, pp. 522, 523, 665;
Hulsker 1980, pp. 308, 309, 316; Amsterdam
1987, p. 453 no. 2.514; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 136;
De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 152, 392, 393, vol. 2,
pl. CLXXIII; Heenk 1995, p. 178; Hulsker 1996,
pp. 308, 309, 314; Amsterdam/New York 2005,
p. 150.

EXHIBITIONS

1893 Leiden, no catalogue; 1897 Groningen, no cat. known; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 373 [Dfl. 125]; 1910 Berlin, no. 71 [not for sale]; 1911 Frankfurt am Main, no cat. known; 1912 The Hague & Amsterdam, no. 12 (not for sale); 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 145; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923 Utrecht, no. 39; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 75; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 75; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 75; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 69; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 50; 1930 Laren, no. 42?; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 49, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 207; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 82; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 59; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 62; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 86; 1947 Basel, no. 159; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 155; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 105, no. 106; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 267; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 76; 1952 Basel, no. 81; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 92; 1953 The Hague, no. 115; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 139; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 124; 1954-55 Bern, no. 146; 1955 Antwerp, no. 289; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 184; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 108; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 59; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 69; 1958

Mons, no. 71; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 138; 1959-60 Utrecht, no. 87; 1960 Enschede, no. 53; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 129; 1961 Arles, no. 22; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 127; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 127; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 101; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 101; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 67; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 57; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 59; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 57; 1968 Liège, no. 57; 1968-69 London, no. 112; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 33; 1971-72 Paris, no. 186; 1972 Bordeaux, no. 64.

Technical details 335-337 on pp. 114, 115

335-337 Montmajour, first series

In the midst of the flat plain, approximately five kilometres north-east of Arles, the rocky hill of Montmajour rises to a height of 43 metres above the surrounding countryside. On the eastern side of this long, steep, chalky cliff lie the ruins of the abbey of Montmajour. The abbey and the Romanesque church stem from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the Benedictine abbey was in its glory. In the fourteenth century a fortified tower was added to protect the monks from marauding bands who made the area around Arles unsafe. In the seventeenth century the monastery was reformed by Maurists, a movement within the order whose monks adhered strictly to the rule of St Benedict. Setting to work with great vigour, they had the marshes around Arles drained, and around 1700 had a new monastery built next to the old one. The new building burned down soon after completion, however, and in 1786 the abbey was secularised. In the following years the hill and its various buildings were sold to different owners. Thus in 1791 the hill and the abbey came into the possession of a private individual who largely demolished the Maurist monastery that had burned down. The medieval abbey was spared and put to use as a sheepfold and storage place for hay. In 1797 the painter Jacques Réattu (1760-1833) acquired the fortified tower. From 1859 the old part of the abbey and its tower passed into the hands of the city of Arles, at which time restoration work began.² In 1981 the complex was put on Unesco's World Heritage List.

When Van Gogh was living in Arles, Montmajour had been secularised for more than a century, and the abbey church, cloisters and tower had fallen into disrepair. The importance of the buildings had indeed been recognised and, as mentioned above, restoration work was underway. Contemporary guidebooks advised visitors to Arles to make an excursion to Montmajour.³ In addition to the picturesque ruins, which were described in all the guidebooks, Baedeker also praised the view from the 26-metre-high tower.⁴ It was a long walk, but one could take advantage of the new railway connecting Arles and Salon, which ran along the north side of Montmajour.⁵ The road from Arles led up to the entrance gate of the site, at the southwest side.⁶

Some two and a half weeks after his arrival in Arles on 20 February 1888, Van Gogh visited Montmajour for the first time. On 9 March he wrote enthusiastically to Theo: 'But I saw some very beautiful things nonetheless: the ruins of an abbey on a hill planted with holly, pines and grey olive trees. We'll attack that [subject] soon, I hope' [585/467].⁷ That he was immediately charmed by the location and the view also emerges from a passage in a letter of 15 July, in which he describes his first visit to Montmajour to his friend Emile Bernard (1868-1941): 'Listen, one of the first days after coming to this spot I spoke to a painter friend of mine: "How boring it would be to paint that," he said. I myself said nothing, but I found that so astonishing that I didn't even have the strength to bawl the idiot out' [645/BIo].⁸

- 1 The information about the rock, the abbey and its history was taken from Rouquette/Bastié 2000, esp. pp. 1-22.
- 2 The ruins of the Maurist monastery were not acquired until 1921.
- 3 See James 1884, p. 225; Baedeker 1889, pp. 213, 214; Beissier 1889, pp. 137-39; Hare 1890, pp. 403-06; Preston 1890, pp. 323-39.
- 4 Baedeker 1889, p. 214.
- 5 Beissier 1889, p. 133 and Baedeker 1889, p. 213. Visitors to Montmajour travelled six kilometres by train from Arles and then had to walk the last four kilometres up the hill.
- 6 James 1884, p. 225 and Preston 1890, p. 334, also mention the possibility of entering the grounds from the road on the north-east side. Nowadays the entrance is on the north side. The old road on the south-west side is no longer in use.
- 7 'Mais néamoins j'ai vu de bien belles choses une ruine d'abbaye sur une colline plantée de houx, de pins, d'oliviers gris. Nous attaquerons cela sous peu j'espère.'
- 8 'Ecoutez: j'ai parlé les premiers jours de mon arrivée à cet endroit là avec un ami peintre: "Voilà ce qui serait embêtant à faire", dit-il. Moi, je ne dis rien; mais je trouvais cela tellement épatant, que je n'avais pas même la force d'engueuler cet idiot.' This painter friend was probably Christian Vilhelm Mourier-Petersen (see below in this entry).

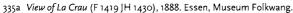


335 Montmajour











335b View from Montmajour (F1418 JH 1431), 1888. New York, Courtesy of Wildenstein & Co., Inc.

As far as may be gleaned from Van Gogh's correspondence and oeuvre, it was the end of May before he went to work at Montmajour for the first time. In the intervening period he gave the hill and the ruins only a modest place in the background of two small pen-and-ink drawings. Only around 18 May, when Theo asked him if he wanted to submit some drawings to an exhibition to be held by the Dutch Etching Society in Amsterdam, did Vincent decide it was high time to go to Montmajour and 'attack' it. O Several days previously, Theo had received a letter from the artist Jan Veth (1864-1925), who had asked Theo to provide him with work for the above-mentioned exhibition. Uncent told Theo that he would do his utmost to send some new drawings. The exhibition was to open on 1 June, so he probably set to work at once.

On 26 May, around six days after receiving Theo's request, Vincent reported that he had sent the drawings:¹³ 'Today I sent you some more drawings and I'm enclosing another two. They are views taken from a rocky hill where you can see the plain of the *Crau* (a region where very good wine comes from), the town of Arles and Fontvieille. The contrast between the wild & romantic foreground and the distant perspective, wide and still, with horizontal lines fading into the chain of the Alpines, so famous for the great climbing feats of Tartarin P.C.A. and the Alpine Club – this contrast is very picturesque. The two drawings that I'm now adding afterwards will give you an idea of the ruin crowning the rocks' [615/490].¹⁴

de l'avant plan sauvage & romantique – et les perspectives lointaines larges et tranquilles à lignes horizontales se degradant jusqu'à la chaine des Alpines – si célèbres par les hauts faits d'escalades de Tartarin P.C.A. et du club Alpin. Cette opposition est très pittoresque. Les deux dessins que j'y ajoute après coup

maintenant te donneront une idée de la ruine qui couronne les rochers.' Van Gogh refers in this passage to Tartarin de Tarascon, a character in a novel by Alphonse Daudet. The letters P.C.A. stand for 'Président du Club des Alpines'. For Daudet and his novels, see cat. 332.

9 F 1518 JH 1493 and F 1518a JH 1495.

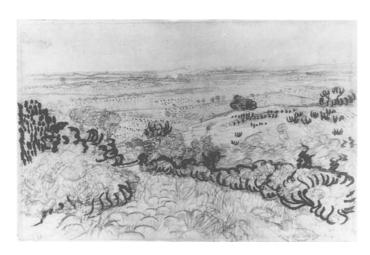
10 The exhibition, held at Arti et Amicitiae in Amsterdam, opened on 1 June 1888.

11 Veth was a member of the board of the Dutch Etching Society. The letter – which, incidentally, does not mention the work of Van Gogh – is preserved in the archives of the Van Gogh Museum, inv. b 3573 V/1962. See also the Introduction, p. 6.

12 See letter 613/489 of c. 20 May 1888.

13 Strangely enough, Van Gogh does not mention the works made at Montmajour in a letter he wrote around 22 May to Bernard (614/B5), the only letter he wrote before actually sending Theo the drawings he had promised. He does however mention in some detail the paintings he had made in previous weeks.

14 'Aujourd'hui je t'ai envoyé encore quelques dessins et j'y ajoute encore deux autres. Ce sont des vues prises sur une colline rocheuse d'où l'on aperçoit le côté de la *Crau* (un pays d'où vient un très-bon vin), la ville d'Arles et le côté de Fontvieilles. L'opposition



335c View from Montmajour (F 1448 JH 1432), 1888. Whereabouts unknown.



335d View of Arles (F 1475 JH 1435), 1888. Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen.

The last two sheets (*cats. 335, 336*) are the only works from Arles in which Van Gogh depicted a tourist attraction. He generally avoided famous monuments.

Van Gogh's letter does not mention how many drawings he sent, but this is fairly easy to determine from the works themselves. There are four drawings depicting the view from a high vantage point overlooking a plain (*figs. 335a-d*), two sheets featuring the ruins (*cats. 335, 336*) and a drawing whose main subject is the vegetation of the rocky hill itself (*cat. 337*). ¹⁵ Each of these seven drawings was made on a half-sheet of laid paper containing part of the watermark AL (in a scroll) PL BAS. ¹⁶ In each case he drew in purple ink over a rapid sketch in pencil. Six of the works bear a title; the seventh is signed. ¹⁷ It was clearly Van Gogh's intention to make a cohesive series for the exhibition in the Netherlands.

Van Gogh used aniline ink to draw this series.¹⁸ This ink is now light brown in colour, sometimes so light as to be nearly invisible. The edges of two sheets (*cats*. 335, 337) display a bright purple colour, its brightness preserved by mounts that protected the ink from exposure to light, thus preventing it from fading.

Van Gogh began *Montmajour* (*cat.* 335) by making a preliminary sketch in pencil, and then went on to apply purple ink with two reed pens of differing widths, a fine pen and a brush. With the same ink and a fine pen he wrote 'Montmajour' at the lower left. ¹⁹ Fading has caused the drawing to lose much of its vigour and legibility, as emerges from a comparison with a reproduction made around 1928 (*fig.* 335e). Now, for example, it is no longer apparent that the wall and the tower are two separate structures lined up with one another. Furthermore, the underdrawing is too conspicuous in the sheet's present condition, and the thick ink lines that are less faded stand out jarringly. Van Gogh used a brush to apply the broad, blackish streaks in the right foreground and to the left of the tower. The darker colour and grainy character of these passages suggest that the ink here contains carbonaceous pigments, ²⁰ but infrared imaging has shown that in these places, too, the ink was unmixed and transparent. Where the lines run to the edge of the paper they are

- 15 Annet Tellegen, one of the editors of De la Faille 1970, was the first to describe the drawings as a group (in Tellegen 1967). De la Faille 1928, then the only catalogue raisonné that included Van Gogh's drawings, linked the passage in the letter to cats. 336 and 343, and F 1419 JH 1430 and F 1418 JH 1431.
- 16 Van Gogh presumably bought a number of sheets of this paper at the beginning of May. He used it frequently after completing the small pen-and-ink drawings of March-early May. See Otterlo 1990, pp. 219, 220 and cats. 338-340.
- 17 The titles on the drawings read as follows: 'Vue de la Crau' (F 1419 JH 1430), 'Vue prise à Montmajour' (F 1448 JH 1432), 'Vue d'Arles' (F 1475 JH 1435), 'Montmajour' (cat. 335), 'Ruine de Montmajour' (cat. 336) and 'Bruyère' (cat. 337). The signed drawing is *View from Montmajour* (F 1418 JH 1431).
- 18 This ink was first identified as 'aniline' in Otterlo 1990, p. 221. For this ink, see the Introduction, pp. 32, 33.
- 19 Otterlo 1990, p. 221 mistakenly maintains that Van Gogh applied the inscriptions to all seven sheets with a reed pen.
- 20 The same phenomenon was observed in *View of Arles* (F 1475 JH 1435) in the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, Rotterdam.

discernible as dark purple (fig. 335f). The drawing – with all its discolouring – now gives an unbalanced impression, but it must once have been very convincing indeed (see fig. 335e).

Van Gogh drew *Montmajour* on a half-sheet of laid paper with the watermark AL (in a scroll). The torn left edge was already irregular at the drawing stage; in fact, the ink even runs over the edge in places. ²¹ The other drawings in this series have straighter edges, even those that were torn. Around the whole sheet are moisture stains, resulting from earlier treatment in which glue residue was removed from the verso. The sheet has a large lacuna at its lower edge.

The drawing shows the dilapidated wall of the refectory (on the ground floor) and the dormitory (on the first floor) of the medieval abbey, behind which is the 26-metre-high fortified tower. This tower is called Pons de l'Orme after the abbot who had it built in 1369. ²² Van Gogh made this drawing from a spot near the old entranceway on the south-west side of the complex. A photograph taken through this gate shows the same part of the ruins from nearly the same angle (fig. 335g). Van Gogh's vantage point was closer and slightly more to the left. A comparison of the drawing and the photograph reveals the precision with which Van Gogh depicted the structure.

Showing the same exactitude, he made the other drawing of the ruins, *The ruins of Montmajour (cat. 336*), from a position on the east side of the terrain, near the

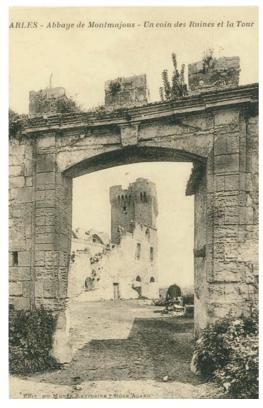
- 21 The other deckle-edges are as they were originally.
- 22 See Rouquette/Bastié 2000, pp. 48-50, 56.



335e Reproduction of cat. 335 from De la Faille 1928.



335f Detail of cat. 335.



335g Photograph of the abbey seen through the gate, n.d. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



335h Photograph of the abbey, n.d. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

southern part of the wall – just visible at the far left – that once surrounded the abbey. ²³ This wall can also be seen in an old photograph taken from a point slightly more to the north (*fig. 335h*). From his vantage point, Van Gogh had a good view of the choir of the church and the crypt below, which is wider than the choir. Discernible between the church and the fortified tower are parts of the medieval abbey, such as its tall, triangular bell-tower rising above the church. ²⁴ To the left of this, in the distance, one sees part of the wall of the Maurist monastery. The foreground, which takes up half the drawing, features graves hewn from the rock, which were originally covered with flat stones and earth. ²⁵ To the right of the church, on the north side of the hill, is a low-lying road on which three figures walk, the middle one carrying a parasol. ²⁶

Van Gogh made an underdrawing in pencil, paying special attention to the outlines of the buildings and the slope of the hill.²⁷ The fading of the ink has made this underdrawing discernible with the naked eye. When drawing in pen and ink Van Gogh corrected this preliminary sketch, rendering the stout tower broader and taller, making the roof of the choir less steep, and moving the edge of the right-hand wall slightly to the left. The suggestion of the hill to the right of the church consists of a number of pencil lines, all of which lie higher than the ink lines to which they relate. The need for so many corrections was possibly the result of working without a perspective frame on a depiction that is perspectivally very complex.

Van Gogh then worked up the drawing with two reed pens and purple ink, applying the peep-hole in the tower with a brush. Because the ink there was applied more thickly, it is now too conspicuous in a drawing that is otherwise extremely faded and discoloured. A 1928 reproduction betrays no incongruity in this passage (fig. 335i). Unlike the other two drawings discussed here, this sheet has no purple ink at

- 23 Only the south wall is still standing, which was also the case in Van Gogh's day.
- 24 The bells chimed the canonical hours, as is customary in a monastery. See Rouquette/Bastié 2000, pp. 51, 52.
- 25 The oldest of these graves, which stem from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, have the stylised shape of a human body. The fourteenth-century rockhewn graves are rectangular. See Rouquette/Bastié 2000, p. 32.
- 26 Strictly speaking, this could be an umbrella, but weather reports confirm that it was especially fine weather there in late May 1888, with almost no wind and a temperature of around 23 degrees Celsius.
- 27 The robust nature of these lines has usually caused the graphite to be mistaken for black chalk.

the edges, though some colour is still visible, particularly in the peep-hole. The ink seems to be of a different hue from that used in the other two drawings, probably because it has discoloured to a different extent. Van Gogh applied the inscription at the lower left, 'Ruine de Montmajour', with a fine pen and coloured ink, but it is so faded as to be nearly illegible.

This sheet bears the watermark PL BAS. Its lower edge marked the middle of the full sheet, the other half bearing the countermark AL (in a scroll); the other sides display the original deckle-edges. That the sheet had been reduced to this size before Van Gogh began to draw is evident from the placing of the inscription and the holes left by the drawing pins. The vertical fold in the middle of the upper edge probably came about when the paper was laid, and was therefore already present when Van Gogh made the drawing.

The third Montmajour drawing, *Heath*, was also made on a sheet of PL BAS paper (*cat. 337*). Van Gogh first made a thin sketch of the composition in pencil, over which he drew with various reed pens and purple ink. Finally, he introduced more contrast by going over a number of passages with a soft pencil.²⁸ With a brush he applied a wash to the shrub in the lower left-hand corner. The title 'Bruyère' – at the lower edge, to the left of centre – was applied with a reed pen and purple ink, but is now so faded that only the first four letters are legible.

This drawing, too, is so faded that the various drawing materials are now out of balance. Originally the ink would have been a much more noticeable, determining feature in combination with the thickly applied graphite; now the black pencil lines are more prominent than the ink. Bright purple ink is still visible on all four edges. In various places the drawing material gives off a burgundy glow, which might indicate that Van Gogh used more than one colour of ink in this drawing. There are fingerprints between the trees on the left and the vegetation in the foreground.

This landscape with olive trees was drawn in an orchard that lay to the south of the road leading to the abbey, at the foot of the hill. As can be seen in the drawing, the trees grew in clusters, owing to a pruning method in which new trees are encouraged to grow on an old trunk sawn off close to the ground. In the background, above the olive trees, one sees the branches of Aleppo pines. This combination of trees, still to be found on the south side of the hill, could well be the 'pines and grey olive trees' that Vincent described in a letter to Theo.²⁹ The slope indicates that Van Gogh was facing east when he made this drawing. The title Van Gogh gave to the sheet – 'Bruyère', or 'Heath' – is mysterious: there is no heath to be seen for miles around, and given the composition of the soil in the region, there could not have been one in Van Gogh's time either.³⁰

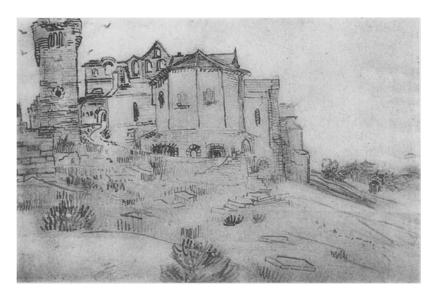
Vincent began to have doubts the day he sent the drawings to Theo: 'Is it worth the trouble to make frames for this ... exhibition? It seems idiotic to me, and I would rather not be in it. I prefer to think that Bernard or Gauguin will exchange drawings with us, in which the Dutch will see *nothing*' [615/490].³¹ He obviously feared an unfavourable reception in Holland. When his sister Wil asked him, several weeks later, whether he had sent anything to the exhibition, his firm reply was 'certainly not'.³² He then went on at great length about the lack of understanding H.G. Tersteeg, his and Theo's former employer in The Hague, and the Dutch artists had shown for the impressionist paintings Theo had sent to Tersteeg earlier that spring.

²⁸ The literature always calls this black chalk.

²⁹ Letter 585/467 of c. 9 March 1888, quoted above.

³⁰ Heather grows on moist, acidic soil, which is not to be found on the rock of Montmajour.

^{31 &#}x27;Est ce cependant la peine de faire des cadres pour cette exposition Dordrecht. je trouve cela si bête et préférerais ne pas en être. J'aime mieux croire que Bernard ou Gauguin nous échangeront les dessins où les hollandais ne verront rien.' Theo had received another letter from Veth, saying he would like Theo to have the drawings framed before sending them to him. Inv. b 3574 V/1962, archives of the Van Gogh Museum.
32 Letter 633/W4 of 16-22 June 1888.



335i Reproduction of cat. 336 from De la Faille 1928.

He evidently thought it augured ill for the reception of his own drawings. Theo respected Vincent's wish and did not submit the drawings.³³ An exchange for the work of his artist friends, which was the plan Vincent favoured, never took place. The sheets remained with Theo.³⁴

It is possible that Van Gogh found these works, which he had made in only five or six days, too rudimentary for an exhibition. Six weeks later he referred to *The ruins of Montmajour (cat. 336*) as a hasty sketch.³⁵ Indeed, the drawings seem to be more an initial exploration of motifs than a series of balanced works of art. Van Gogh did achieve the latter, however, in a second Montmajour series made in midJuly (see *cats. 342, 343*).³⁶

Not one of the first seven drawings served as an immediate example for the second series, but because the suites were made on the same location, there are inevitable similarities in subject-matter. The background of one of the later drawings (fig. 342b), for example, shows the tower and the abbey almost exactly as they appear in Montmajour (cat. 335). A view from the hill with Arles in the background (cat. 342) is comparable to View of Arles (fig. 335d), and one of the later works is devoted entirely to the vegetation on the rock (fig. 342a), as is Heath (cat. 337). In July Van Gogh was also planning to make a drawing featuring the ruins, the subject of The ruins of Montmajour (cat. 336), but apparently this work never materialised.³⁷

It is unclear how the Montmajour drawings were sent to Theo. On 26 May Vincent wrote to Theo that he was sending several drawings that same day and would add two more, the ones of the ruins (*cats. 335, 336*).³⁸ On the basis of another passage from the same letter, Roskill wrongly concluded that Van Gogh had given two sheets from the Montmajour series to his Danish friend Christian Vilhelm Mourier-Petersen (1858-1945), who left Arles on 22 May to travel to Paris, where he was to give the drawings to Theo.³⁹ Roskill felt confirmed in his view by a second

33 Theo did however lend works from his own collection and from that of the firm Boussod & Valadon. See Arti et Amicitiae – Catalogus van de Tweede Jaarlijksche Tentoonstelling der Nederlandsche Etsclub, The Hague

34 In 1893 Jo van Gogh-Bonger gave F 1475 JH 1435 (fig. 335d) to the Dutch artist and critic R.N. Roland Holst (1868-1938), and in 1906 she sold F 1419 JH 1430 (fig. 335a) to the German collector K.E. Osthaus (1874-1921) of Hagen (see Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 131 and Stolwijk/Veenenbos 2002, p. 194). F 1448 JH 1432 (fig. 335c) was purchased a year later by the German art dealer P. Cassirer (1871-1926) (see Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 132). F 1418 JH 1431 (fig. 335b) left the collection before 1928, as may be deduced from De la Faille 1928.

35 Letter 643/509 of c. 13 July 1888.

36 See also Otterlo 1990, p. 217, in which the first series is compared with painted *études* and the second series with *tableaux*. That Van Gogh was indeed capable of making a fully fledged drawing at Montmajour at the end of May is evidenced by a large sheet with a view of Arles seen from the hill of Montmajour (fig. 342d). He made it a couple of days after sending the first series of Montmajour drawings and later considered it part of the second Montmajour series.

37 Letter 643/509 of c. 13 July 1888.

38 See note 14 for the passage in question.

39 Roskill 1971, p. 168. Letter 615/490: 'Have you met the Dane, Mourier-Petersen? He will have brought you two more drawings' ('Est ce que tu as rencontré le danois Mourier Petersen – il t'aura apporté encore deux dessins aussi').

40 'ces dessins – des albums de 6 ou 10 ou 12 comme les albums de dessins originaux japonais. J'ai grand envie de faire un tel album pour Gauguin et un pour Bernard. Car cela deviendra mieux que ça les dessins.' 41 These are, from left to right, Farmhouse in a wheatfield (cat. 328), View from Montmajour (fig. 335b), Montmajour (cat. 335) and The Langlois bridge (F 1470 JH 1377).

reference to the drawings Mourier had taken along and a letter sketch; from that letter of 28 May it appears that Theo had not yet received the drawings. Van Gogh proposed assembling 'these drawings' into 'albums of 6 or 10 or 12, like those albums of original Japanese drawings. I very much want to make such an album for Gauguin, and one for Bernard. For the drawings are going to be better than these' [617/492].40 The above-mentioned letter sketch served to illustrate one such folded-paper album, and depicts four drawings, including two of the Montmajour sheets (fig. 327e).41 In the letter of 28 May, however, after telling Theo that Mourier is bringing some drawings, Vincent outlines his plans to make albums in a new paragraph, which means that 'these drawings' could refer to recent drawings in general and not specifically to those entrusted to Mourier for delivery. For that matter, it seems unlikely that Van Gogh would have sent drawings from the Montmajour series, since he had only just started the suite. Moreover, the letter sketch of the album shows two drawings that have nothing to do with Montmajour: Farmhouse in a wheatfield, which had been sent to Theo at the end of April, and The Langlois bridge, a sheet not mentioned in the letters, which was probably drawn in mid-May. It is possible that this was one of the works that Mourier-Petersen took with him.

Montmajour
20-26 May 1888
Pencil, pen, reed pen, brush and purple ink
(now brown in most places), on laid paper
48.1 x 31.4 cm
Watermark: AL (in a scroll)
Unsigned
Inscribed at lower left: Montmajour

Inv. d 163 V/1962 F 1423 JH 1433

Letters 615/490, 617/492

PROVENANCE

May 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 130, vol. 4, pl. CL; Amsterdam 1958, nos. 250, 251 + ill.; De Gruyter 1961, p. 105 no. 38; Tellegen 1967, p. 19 note 4; Tralbaut 1969, p. 250; De la Faille 1970, pp. 498, 501, 662; Hulsker 1980, pp. 322, 324, 325, 338; New York 1984, pp. 69, 77, 111, 117; Amsterdam 1987, p. 452 no. 2.505; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 131; Otterlo 1990, pp. 221, 222, 227; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 130, 370, vol. 2, pl. CL; Heenk 1995, p. 167; Hulsker 1996, pp. 320, 324, 325, 334; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 150, 350, 356; Van Heugten 2005, pp. 48, 49.

EXHIBITIONS

1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 405 [Dfl. 200]; 1908
Berlin, no cat. known [Dfl. 500]; 1909-10 Munich, unnumbered, Frankfurt am Main, Dresden
& Chemnitz, no cat. known [Dfl. 800]; 1910
Leiden, no cat. known; 1911 Amsterdam, no. 66;
1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 173; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1920 New York, no. 11 [\$1,500];
1923 Utrecht, no. 27? [possibly cat. 336]; 1923
Rotterdam, no cat. known [possibly cat. 336]; 1924
Basel, no. 89? [Dfl. 3,000] [possibly cat. 336]; 1924
Zürich, no. 89? (Sfr. 7,200) [possibly cat. 336];
1924 Stuttgart, no. 11? [Dfl. 1,800] [possibly cat. 336]; 1925 Paris, unnumbered [Dfl. 3,000]
[possibly cat. 336]; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue

[possibly cat. 336]; 1926 Amsterdam, no. 51? [possibly cat. 336]; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 53; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 36, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 201; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 62; 1948 Amersfoort, no cat. known; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 27; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 84.

336

The ruins of Montmajour
20-26 May 1888
Pencil, reed pen, pen, brush and purple ink
(now brown), on laid paper
31.3 x 47.8 cm
Watermark: PL BAS
Unsigned
Inscribed at lower left: Ruine de Montmajour

Inv. d 164 V/1962 F 1417 JH 1434

Letters 615/490, 643/509

PROVENANCE

May 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 128, vol. 4, pl. cl.; Tellegen 1967, pp. 18-20, 24; Tralbaut 1969, p. 250; De la Faille 1970, pp. 496, 497, 662; Hulsker 1980, pp. 322, 324, 325, 338; New York 1984, pp. 69, 77, 110, 117; Amsterdam 1987, p. 451 no. 2.504; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 130; Otterlo 1990, pp. 221, 222; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 128, 368, vol. 2, pl. cl; Heenk 1995, p. 167; Hulsker 1996, pp. 320, 324, 325, 334; Amsterdam/New York 2005, p. 150; Van Heugten 2005, pp. 48-50.

Exhibitions

1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 416 [Dfl. 250]; 1908 Berlin, no cat. known [not for sale]; 1909-10 Munich, unnumbered, Frankfurt am Main, Dresden & Chemnitz, no cat. known [Dfl. 800]; 1910 Leiden, no cat. known; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 163; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923 Utrecht, no. 27? [possibly cat. 335]; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known [possibly cat. 335]; 1924 Basel, no. 89? [Dfl. 3,000] [possibly cat. 335]; 1924 Zürich, no. 89? (Sfr. 7,200) [possibly cat. 335]; 1924 Stuttgart, no. 11? [Dfl. 1,800] [possibly cat. 335]; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue [possibly cat. 335]; 1925 Paris, unnumbered [Dfl. 3,000] [possibly cat. 335]; 1926 Amsterdam, no. 51? [possibly cat. 335]; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 50; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 200; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 77; 1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 61; 1948 Amersfoort, no cat. known; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 249; 1954-55 Bern, no. 136; 1955 Antwerp, no. 276; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 171; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 123.

337
Heath
20-26 May 1888
Pencil, reed pen and purple ink (now brown in most places), on laid paper
31.3 x 48.1 cm
Watermark: PL BAS
Unsigned
Inscribed at bottom centre: Bruyère

Inv. d 167 V/1962 F 1493 JH 1436

Letter 615/490

PROVENANCE

May 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 148, vol. 4, pl. CLXVIII; Tellegen 1967, p. 19 note 4, 29, 31; De la Faille 1970, pp. 520, 665; Hulsker 1980, pp. 322, 325; New York 1984, p. 77; Amsterdam 1987, p. 451 no. 2.503; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 135; Otterlo 1990, pp. 221, 222, 227, 252 no. 178; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 148, 389, vol. 2, pl. CLXVIII; Heenk 1995, p. 167; Hulsker 1996, pp. 320, 325; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 150, 350; Van Heugten 2005, pp. 49, 50.

Exhibitions

1896 Rotterdam, no. 67; 1897 Groningen, no cat. known; 1900-01 Rotterdam, no. 18 [Dfl. 125]; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 392 [Dfl. 200]; 1909-10 Berlin, no. 211 (not for sale); 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 179; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1920 New York, no. 12 [\$2,500]; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 56; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 56; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 56; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 64; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 44, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 203; 1932 Manchester, no. 62; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 80; 1947 Paris, no. 81; 1947 Geneva, no. 81; 1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 63; 1948 Amersfoort, no cat. known; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 261; 1953 Zürich, no. 86; 1955 Antwerp, no. 271; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 166; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 67; 1958 Mons, no. 68; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 36; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 87; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 107; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 70; 1990 Otterlo, no. 178.

30, 31 May-circa 5 June 1888 Pencil, pen, reed pen and brown ink, on laid paper 31.0 x 47.5 cm Watermark: AL (in a scroll) Unsigned

Inv. d 162 V/1962 F 1432 JH 1455

- 1 'J'ai enfin vu la Méditerranée.'
- 2 See, for example, letters 601/B4 of 19 April 1888,
 603/479 of c. 25 April 1888 and 606/482 of 4 May 1888.
 3 See letters 622/499 of c. 3 or 4 June and 624/494 of 5 or 6 June 1888.
- 4 See Harriet W. Preston, 'A Provençal Pilgrimage', in *The Century Magazine*, vol. xL, July 1890, no. 3, pp. 338, 339; Otterlo 1990, pp. 223, 224; *Arles, Guidebook*, Editions du patrimoine, Paris 2001. There are several versions of this legend. Mary Magdalene is said not to have stayed in Saintes-Maries but to have gone on to Sainte-Baume, not far from Marseilles.
- 5 For an overview of the ideas of Jan Hulsker, Ronald Pickvance, Victor Merlhès, the editors of *De brieven* 1990 and Roland Dorn, see Dorn 1997-98, pp. 15-25. Dorn assumes that Van Gogh spent the week of 10-16 June in Saintes-Maries, his main reason being that Van Gogh, in saying 'refiler' ('to return') in letter 624/494 of 5 or 6 June 1888, actually meant 'filer' ('to go off'), and that he had not yet been in Saintes-Maries at the time of writing. The team researching Van Gogh's letters at the Van Gogh Museum do not share this opinion (with thanks to Nienke Bakker, Hans Luijten and Leo Jansen). Van Gogh's date of departure can be inferred from letter 620/495 of 29 or 30 May 1888. On c. 5 June Van Gogh again wrote a letter to Theo from Arles (letter 623/500).
- 6 'Demain matin de bonne heure je pars pour Stes

338 Beach at Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer

'At last I have seen the Mediterranean,' Van Gogh wrote around 7 June 1888 to Emile Bernard [625/B6], after spending almost a week at Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer.¹ During the first three months of his stay in Arles, he wrote several times that he intended to visit Marseille or Martigues on the coast. He ended up going to Saintes-Maries.² After his visit there, his wish to return was never fulfilled.³

This fishing village on the edge of the Camargue owes its name to the legend of the Three Marys: Mary the mother of James, Mary Salomé and Mary Magdalene. According to tradition, they left Jerusalem with their servant Sarah and several other followers, finally arriving around AD 45 in Saintes-Maries and subsequently converting the inhabitants of Provence to Christianity. The relics of Mary the mother of James and Mary Salomé are said to be preserved, since their exhumation in the fifteenth century, in the chapel of Notre-Dame-de-la-Mer, the church at Saintes-Maries; the remains of Sarah are said to be in the crypt. To this day, there is an annual gypsy pilgrimage to the church, on 24 and 25 May, in honour of Sarah, their patron saint.⁴

Various dates have been proposed for Van Gogh's visit to the coast. Recent research, including close study of the datings of the letters from this period, suggests that Van Gogh left for the coast on 30 or 31 May 1888 and returned to Arles on around 5 June, in the morning.⁵

On 29 or 30 May, shortly after the annual pilgrimage had taken place, Vincent first mentioned the village in a letter to Theo, informing him of his intention to go there: 'Early tomorrow I start for Saintes-Maries on the Mediterranean; I'll stay there until Saturday evening. ... You go by diligence; it's about 50 kilometres from here. You cross the *Camargue*, grassy plains with herds of bulls and herds of small white horses, half wild and very beautiful.' He intended to do a great deal of drawing: 'I'm taking especially everything I need for drawing. I must draw a great deal, for the very reason you spoke of in your last letter – things here have so much style. And I want to get my drawing more deliberate and more exaggerated' [620/495]. The plan to take along drawing materials in particular must have had something to do with his fear that the wind would prevent him from painting. In a letter to the painter Arnold Koning, Van Gogh said he was curious about the region and the sea he was about to set eyes on. 8

Maries au bord de la Méditerranée. j'y resterai jusqu'à Samedi soir. [...] On y va en dilligence, c'est à 50 kilomètres d'ici. On traverse la *Camargue*, des plaines d'herbe où il y a les manades de taureaux et des troupeaux de petits chevaux blancs à demi sauvages et bien beaux.' 'J'emporte tout ce qu'il faut pour dessiner surtout. il faut que je dessine beaucoup justement

pour cette raison dont tu parlais dans ta derniere lettre – les chôses d'ici ont tant de style. Et je veux arriver à un dessin plus volontaire et plus exagéré.' He achieved this more spontaneous style in his drawings of houses in Saintes-Maries (see cats. 339, 340).

- 7 See letter 620/495 of 29 or 30 May 1888.
- 8 See letter 621/498a of 29 or 30 May 1888.





338a Photograph of boats at Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, n.d. Avignon, Palais du Roure.

- **9** See letter 622/499 of c. 3 or 4 June 1888 and 625/B6 of c. 7 June 1888.
- 10 See letter 622/499 of c. 3 or 4 June 1888.
- 11 'comme la Hollande moins les dunes et plus le bleu'.
- 12 'Sur la plage toute plate, sablonneuse, de petits bateaux verts, rouges, bleus tellement jolis comme forme & couleur qu'on pensait à des fleurs, un seul homme les monte, ces barques-là ne vont guère sur la haute mer ils fichent le camp lorsqu'il n'y a pas de vent et reviennent à terre s'il en fait un peu trop.'
- 13 See letter 622/499 of c. 3 or 4 June 1888.
- 14 In a letter to Theo [622/499], Vincent said, 'I brought three canvases and have covered them two marines a view of the village' ('J'ai emporté trois toiles et je les ai couvertes deux marines une vue du village') (F 415 JH 1452, F 416 JH 1447 and F 417 JH 1453). He does not say how many drawings he made; the above-mentioned nine include, in addition to the present sheet, cats. 339 and 340, F 1428 JH 1458, F 1434 JH 1449, F 1436 JH 1454, F 1439 JH 1446, F 1440 JH 1451, F 1479 JH 1456. Heenk 1995, p. 168, places cat. 333 in Saintes-Maries as well. In this collection catalogue, however, that work is assigned an earlier date. Ronald Pickvance, in New York 1984, p. 84, mentions nine drawings, and later, in Martigny 2000, pp. 77 and 300, variously reports eight and nine drawings.
- 15 See letter 623/500 of c. 5 June 1888. Back in Arles, he made a watercolour (F 1429 JH 1459) and a painting (F 413 JH 1460) after this drawing.
- 16 With thanks to Cees van Romburgh of the Scheepvaartmuseum in Amsterdam; Anton Kos of the Zuiderzeemuseum in Enkhuizen; Bernard Vigne at Nîmes and Philippe Rigaud of the Allège du Rhône.

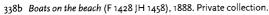
During the journey, which took about five hours, he traversed the broad plain of the Camargue, which reminded him of the Dutch landscape. Once at the coast, he thought often of his uncle Jan van Gogh (1817-1885), the seaman who had certainly seen this area dozens of times. Deven the sandy beach without cliffs or rocks was, in Van Gogh's opinion, 'like Holland, but without the dunes, and with blue' [622/499]. On the perfectly flat sandy beach' he saw 'little green, red and blue boats, so pretty in shape & colour that they made one think of flowers. A single man is their whole crew, for these boats hardly sail on the open sea. They shove off when there is no wind and return to shore when there is too much of it' [625/B6]. Van Gogh visited Saintes-Maries before the bathing season, which did not begin until the following month. At the time of his stay, the number of people bathing varied from 20 to 50.

Van Gogh made nine drawings and three paintings in Saintes-Maries.¹⁴ Although he had intended to make 'a furious onslaught on the figure' [621/498a], Van Gogh eventually chose as his subject-matter the beach, the sea, the boats (*fig.* 338a) and the village with its characteristic *cabanes* (huts with thatched roofs; see *cats.* 339 and 340).

In Saintes-Maries Van Gogh watched the fishing boats sailing out every morning. He confessed that they left too early for him to paint the scene, but shortly before his departure he did manage to produce one drawing of boats preparing to put out to sea (fig. 338b).¹⁵

It is not known on which day or even at what time of day Van Gogh drew *Beach at Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer*. The position of these one-man vessels, so-called *bettes* or *nacelles*, could indicate either recent arrival or imminent departure: some are beached, while others are just off shore. On the left, several figures stand next to a boat tied up with a rope; it is difficult to say whether they are ready to embark or about to pull the light vessel onto the beach. ¹⁶ The spontaneous style of drawing might offer a clue as to the time of day, since it suggests that Van Gogh was forced to record the scene quickly, before the boats put out to sea, which would place this drawing in the morning.







338c Sketch in a letter written to Theo on 5 August 1882 (254/222). Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

After making a preliminary sketch in pencil, Van Gogh worked with a reed pen and brown ink, using a finer pen for the thinner lines. He did not follow the underdrawing exactly when rendering the three boats in the sea on the right. This is also true of the foreground, where the graphite has been rubbed out slightly, whether purposely or otherwise. To the left of the very sketchily rendered figures, Van Gogh drew in pencil what is possibly fishing tackle. The boat at the far right was drawn directly with a few flowing strokes of the pen. Also the boats on the left, far away at sea, were done only in pen and ink. This ink is now a soft brown shade; only the boats and carts are rather dark, where the ink was applied more thickly.

Van Gogh told his brother that he had made 'half-page drawings' at Saintes-Maries [622/499].¹⁷ By this he must have meant sheets of approximately the same format as a half-sheet of laid paper with the watermark AL (in a scroll) PL BAS, about 31 by 47 centimetres. Seven drawings fit this description.¹⁸ Beach at Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer, with its strikingly curved horizon, is one of them: for this work Van Gogh used laid paper measuring 31.0 by 47.5 centimetres with the watermark AL (in a scroll).¹⁹ Its upper edge shows that Van Gogh had torn it in half. The collection of the Van Gogh Museum has two other works made at Saintes-Maries that were drawn on the same kind of paper: one of these also bears the watermark AL (in a scroll) (cat. 340); the other bears the countermark PL BAS (cat. 339).²⁰ The last two drawings have been trimmed, so it can no longer be ascertained whether they were

The sheets can differ slightly in format, however.

20 Of the other small drawings made at Saintes-Maries, F 1434 JH 1449 bears the watermark AL; it is not known whether F 1436 JH 1454 and F 1440 JH 1451 have a watermark. Even though F 1479 JH 1456 is the same format, this drawing was not made on laid paper, as has hitherto been assumed, but on wove paper without a watermark. With thanks to Christie's, London, who in 2003 allowed us to study the lastmentioned drawing. The Van Gogh Museum has only one other drawing on AL paper: cat. 335. The PL BAS watermark was found on cats. 336, 337 and 351.

^{17 &#}x27;de dessins demifeuille'.

¹⁸ Van Gogh also made two larger drawings: F 1428 JH 1458 (39.5 x 53.6 cm) and F 1439 JH 1446 (43.0 x 60.0 cm). The latter was made on a full sheet of whatman; see Heenk 1995, pp. 167, 168. The watermark of the former is not known, though according to Heenk

^{1995,} p. 168, it is possibly Glaslan. See note 14 for all nine drawings.

¹⁹ The Van Gogh Museum has one drawing made on a full sheet of paper with the watermark AL (in a scroll) PL BAS, namely *Tree with ivy in the garden of the asylum* (cat. 358). It measures 61.8 x 47.1 cm.

- 21 In letter 623/500 of c. 5 June 1888, Van Gogh told his brother that he was sending drawings made in Saintes-Maries by the same post. The other drawings were F 1428 JH 1458 (see fig. 338b), F 1436 JH 1454 (see fig. 339b), cat. 339, F 1479 JH 1456 and F 1439 JH 1446 (see fig. 339e). He kept F 1434 JH 1449 (see fig. 339a), cat. 340 and probably also F 1440 JH 1451 (see fig. 339c) to use as examples for paintings. See Roskill 1971, p. 169 and Amsterdam/New York 2005, no. 49.
- 23 Letter of c. 5 June 1888: 'Le japonais dessine vite, très vite, comme un eclair, c'est que ses nerfs sont plus fins, son sentiment plus simple.'
- 24 On the use of the perspective frame, see the Introduction, pp. 36-38 and Drawings 1, pp. 22-25.
- 25 'Je ne suis ici que quelques mois mais dites moi, est ce qu'à Paris j'aurais dessiné en une heure le dessin des bateaux? Même pas avec le cadre, or ceci c'est fait sans mesurer, en laissant aller la plume.' As far as we know, Van Gogh did not use the perspective frame again for drawing until he was in Saint.-Rémy. Traces of perspective guidelines are to be found in F 1497 JH 1852.

ever joined. Vincent most likely sent Theo *Beach at Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer* as soon as he returned to Arles.²¹

If this beach on the south coast of France reminded Van Gogh of his native country, the drawing, in turn, recalls his Dutch work. Its spontaneous character is reminiscent, for example, of his rapidly painted *Seascape at Scheveningen*, which he made during a storm in August 1882.²² Like that work, the present drawing is approximately one-third sky, betrays a high viewpoint, and features vegetation in the foreground which serves as a repoussoir. The drawing was made at a greater distance from the sea, however, causing the beach to take up more than half the sheet.

This work differs from the drawings previously made in Arles by virtue of its sketchiness. To be sure, it has – like the other works – an underdrawing in pencil, but the pen strokes are looser. This fluent and unerring style of drawing is part and parcel of Van Gogh's ambition to work in the spirit of Japanese artists: 'The Japanese draw quickly, very quickly, quick as lightning, because their nerves are finer, their feeling simpler' [623/500].²³ Moreover, Van Gogh had meanwhile developed so much confidence in his own capabilities that he thought he could dispense with the perspective frame, a tool he had been using since June 1882 (fig. 338c).²⁴ Full of pride, he wrote around 5 June 1888 to Theo about *Boats on the beach* (fig. 338b): 'I've been here only a few months, but tell me: could I, in Paris, have done the drawing of the boats *in an hour*? Not even with the perspective frame, and now this was done without measuring, just by letting my pen go' [623/500].²⁵

Provenance

June 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 133, vol. 4, pl. cliii; Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 36; Novotny 1953, p. 36; De Gruyter 1961, pp. 105, 106 no. 40; London 1968-69, p. 85 no. 120; De la Faille 1970, pp. 503, 663; Hulsker 1980, pp. 328, 332; Amsterdam 1987, p. 452 no. 2.506; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 131; Hulsker 1989, pp. 328, 332, 333; Otterlo 1990, p. 224; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 133, 373, vol. 2, pl. cliii; Heenk 1995, p. 168; Hulsker 1996, pp. 322, 328, 491.

EXHIBITIONS

1900-01 Rotterdam, no. 14? [Dfl. 100]; 1902 Paris, no cat. known [Ffr. 225]; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 399 [Dfl. 225]; 1909-10 Berlin, no. 216 (not for sale); 1910 Berlin, no. 59 [DM 600]; 1911 Frankfurt am Main, no cat. known; 1912 The Hague & Amsterdam, no. 6 (not for sale); 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 150; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923 Utrecht, no. 38; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 65; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 65; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 65; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 54; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 38; 1930 Laren, no. 51; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 212; 1932 Manchester, no. 66; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 84; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 54; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 58; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 94; 1947 Paris, no. 95; 1947 Geneva, no. 95; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 146; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 95, no. 96; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 63; 1952 Basel, no. 71; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 76; 1953 Zundert, no. 53; 1953

Hoensbroek, no. 103; 1954-55 Bern, no. 138; 1955 Antwerp, no. 279; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 174; 1956 Haarlem, no. 58; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 65, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 126; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 28; 1960 Enschede, no. 42; 1961 Arles, no. 12; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 120; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 120; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 46; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 48; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 45; 1968 Liège, no. 45; 1968-69 London, no. 120; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 23; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 92 & Columbus, no. 24; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 92; 1971-72 Paris, no. 173; 1974 Florence, no. 16; 1975 Malmö, no. 69; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 69; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 63.

339, 340 Houses in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer

Technical details 339, 340 on p.127

It was not only the wide plain of the Camargue and the sandy beach of Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer that made Van Gogh think of Holland: the simple houses in this fishing village – which numbered, according to him, fewer than a hundred – also recalled his native country. 'And the houses! Like the ones on our heaths & peat bogs in Drenthe. You'll see examples of them in the drawings', he told Theo in a letter written around 3 or 4 June 1888 [622/499] from the coastal village.¹

Van Gogh made five drawings in Saintes-Maries of these so-called 'herdsmen's huts' ('cabanes de gardians'), whose occupants included not only herdsmen, as the name implies, but also Camarguesque fishermen and peasants. Two of these drawings are to be found in the Van Gogh Museum: Houses in the sun in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (cat. 339) and Houses in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (fig. 339a), Several houses in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (fig. 339b) and Two houses in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (fig. 339c).²

The two drawings discussed here can be considered the result of Van Gogh's striving to achieve a manner of drawing that is 'more deliberate and more exaggerated' [620/495].³ The first drawing is part of the series sent to Theo around 5 June. *Houses in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer* was sent later, after serving as the example for a painting (see *fig. 339d*).⁴ Because the contours of the houses in the drawing correspond rather closely to those in the painting, it is likely that Van Gogh transferred the composition to the canvas by means of tracing.⁵

In Houses in the sun in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (cat. 339), a woman and child walk in the sun on a path running alongside a row of houses. The same path and houses also appear, seen from a different angle, in the drawing View of Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (fig. 339e). The cart on the road in catalogue number 339 was probably used to transport hay (cf. figs. 339f).

In *Houses in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer*, Van Gogh concentrated on depicting three huts, which he observed from a close vantage point. The huts on the right and in the middle, both with rounded sides to protect them from the mistral, are of the same type as the one featured in *Landscape with hut* (see *cat*. 333). The houses are

- 1 'Et encore quelles maisons comme dans nos bruyères & tourbières de Drenthe, tu en verras des specimens dans les dessins.'
- 2 Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer with cemetery (F 1479 JH 1456) and View of Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (fig. 339e) show similar houses, but seen from a considerably greater distance. They are not the main subject of these works.
- 3 'Et je veux arriver à un dessin plus volontaire et plus exagéré.' The letter dates from 29 or 30 May 1888.
- 4 See letter 623/500 of c. 5 June 1888. Cat. 338, F 1436 JH 1454, F 1479 JH 1456, F 1428 JH 1458 and F 1439 JH 1446 were probably sent at the same time. Moreover, Van Gogh kept both cat. 340 and F 1434 JH 1449 to serve as examples for F 420 JH 1462. He presumably sent F 1440 JH 1451 to Theo later. See Heenk 1995, p. 169. For an overview of Van Gogh's Saintes-Maries drawings, see cat. 338. According to Pickvance in New York 1984, p. 84, Van Gogh sent five drawings to Theo and kept four to use as examples for paintings, three of

which were executed in the Yellow House. The works in question included, in any case, F 1434 JH 1449 and cat. 340; Pickvance does not say, however, which drawing could be the third one of the huts. He assumes that F 1428 JH 1458 was one of the drawings that Van Gogh kept. However, in his letter to Theo of c. 5 June, Vincent referred explicitly to 'the sketch of the boats' [623/500] and declared, moreover, that in the painting after this drawing, which he was working on at the time, there was 'more sea and sky on the right'. From this it may be concluded that this drawing was sent in the first consignment and was intended to give Theo some idea of what the painting looked like. Pickvance, in Otterlo 1990, p. 224, states that Van Gogh made a total of nine drawings and that he kept F 1434 JH 1449, cat. 340 and F 1440 JH 1451, but later, in Martigny 2000, he says that Van Gogh made eight drawings at Saintes-Maries and kept three drawings of huts, without describing these more closely. Elsewhere in the publication he says that Van Gogh made nine drawings on his visit to the coast. See Martigny 2000, pp. 76 and 300.

- 5 See also cat. 338, note 21 and Amsterdam/New York 2005, no. 49. For a description of this method, see cat.
- **6** Van Gogh drew this view (fig. 339e) from the south, which means that he added the sun at his own discretion, since it appears here in the north. From approximately the same viewpoint Van Gogh made a painting in which no sun is to be seen (F 416 JH 1447). See also Kōdera 1990, p. 37.







339a Street in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (F 1434 JH 1449), 1888. Private collection.

339b Several houses in Les Saintes-Maries-dela-Mer (F 1436 JH 1454), 1888. Philadelphia, The Philadelphia Museum of Art.

339c *Two houses in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer* (F 1440 JH 1451), 1888. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library & Museum.





339d Three houses in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (F 419 JH 1464), 1888. Zürich, Kunsthaus Zürich.

339e View of Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (F 1439 JH 1446), 1888. Winterthur, Oscar Reinhart Collection 'Am Römerholz'.





grouped in such a way that would have suffered the least from the violent wind.⁷ The house in the middle has a cross on the roof, which was customary in the Camargue. Van Gogh suggested the whitewashed parts of the roofs and walls simply by leaving them blank.

Before setting to work, Van Gogh tacked the sheets to a board. After making an underdrawing in pencil, he used reed pens of various sizes but did not follow his first sketch exactly. The lines of the sun in *Houses in the sun in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer*, which were made with a finer pen, deviate markedly from the underdrawing, which Van Gogh made no effort to rub out. He used a brush to render the door on the left in *Houses in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer* and the roof on the far right in *Houses in the sun in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer*.

In contrast to the working method seen in earlier works made in Arles, Van Gogh applied the ink generously in these drawings of houses. The ink is dark brown, and – in the places where it was applied thickly – of a grainy structure. Moreover, it has penetrated the paper, so that the drawing is now visible on the verso.

As in Beach at Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer and Boats on the beach (cat. 338 and fig. 338b), Van Gogh dispensed with the perspective frame in making this drawing.

7 With thanks to Jean-Luc Massot, Aix-en-Provence.
8 It is possible that Van Gogh mixed this ink with other inks or drawing materials, creating an opaque substance. With thanks to Nico Lingbeek.



339f Photograph of a cabane and cart, n.d. Avignon, Palais du Roure.

Such free-hand sketching contributed to the development of a more personal and daring style of drawing. He seems initially to have had trouble in rendering proper proportions: the cart, in particular, is rather large in relation to the houses. This is also the case with *Several houses in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (fig. 339b*), the composition of which is similar, though the houses are depicted on the left. The rightmost figure in that drawing also seems too large, but old photographs show that the roofs were so low that an adult would have been able to look down at their edges (*fig. 333a*).

The two drawings discussed here, together with *Several houses in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer* (*fig. 339b*), can be counted among the works Van Gogh himself described as 'rather harsh' [623/500]:9 the dark passages, characterised by a liberal use of ink, contrast with the split lines, which were drawn when the pen had practically run out of ink. They give the foreground in particular a coarse appearance, an effect that was heightened by the structure of the laid paper on which these drawings were made.¹⁰

Like Beach at Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer (cat. 338), both drawings were made on a half-sheet of laid paper. ¹¹ Each displays part of the watermark Al (in a scroll) Pl BAS: catalogue number 340 contains Al (in a scroll), vaguely discernible with the naked eye in the open space between the houses; catalogue number 339 displays the other part, Pl BAS. Because the lower edges of these drawings were later trimmed, it can no longer be determined whether they were once two halves of the same sheet.

The paper has yellowed over time. Houses in the sun in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer displays a worn spot on the roof at the right, where some ink has disappeared from the top of a fold in the sheet. Houses in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer also has several folds — including a vertical one on the upper right — which possibly came about when the paper was laid. There is an ink stain in the lower right foreground, and the left side of the drawing contains ink spots. Furthermore, Houses in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer displays traces of yellow paint on the verso, which possibly occurred when Van Gogh was working on the paintings he made after his Saintes-Maries drawings.

^{9 &#}x27;un peu durs'. See also Amsterdam/New York 2005, nos. 48 and 54.

¹⁰ See also New York 1984, pp. 85-87 and Otterlo 1990, p. 224. In contrast to what he wrote in 1984, in 1990 Pickvance no longer assigned cat. 340 to the group of 'harsh' drawings, calling it instead a transitional work, suspended between the two styles. Of the drawings of houses, F 1434 JH 1449 and F 1440 JH 1451 are among those with a softer, more polished appearance.

¹¹ See letter 622/499 and cat. 338.

339

Houses in the sun in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer 30-31 May – circa 5 June 1888 Pencil, pen, reed pen, brush and brown ink, on laid paper 30.5 x 47.2 cm Watermark: PL BAS Unsigned

Inv. d 426 V/1962 F 1437 JH 1450

PROVENANCE

June 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 134, vol. 4, pl. CLIV; De Gruyter 1961, p. 106 no. 41; London 1968-69, p. 85 no. 121; Wadley 1969, p. 36; De la Faille 1970, pp. 504, 505, 663; Roskill 1971, pp. 152, 169; Millard 1974, p. 159; Hulsker 1980, pp. 328, 331; New York 1984, p. 85; Amsterdam 1987, p. 452 no. 2.507; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 132; Hulsker 1989, pp. 328, 331; Otterlo 1990, pp. 224, 225; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 134, 374, vol. 2, pl. CLIV; Heenk 1995, p. 168; Hulsker 1996, pp. 322, 327, 491; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 176, 177 no. 54.

Exhibitions

1892-93 Amsterdam, no. unknown?; 1893 Leiden, no catalogue; 1897 Groningen, no cat. known; 1901 Zwolle, no. 58?; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 381 [Dfl. 275]; 1908 Berlin, no cat. known [Dfl. 500]; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 141; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1920 New York, no. 13 [\$3,500]; 1921 New York, no catalogue; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue?; 1926 Munich, no. 2108 (for sale); 1927-28 Berlin, no. 64; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 64; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 64; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 55; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 39; 1930 Laren, no. 25; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 37, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 211; 1932 Manchester, no. 69; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 86; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 55; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 59;

1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 92; 1947 Paris, no. 93; 1947 Geneva, no. 93; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 144; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 93, no. 94; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 252; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 101; 1951 Lyons & Grenoble, no. 89; 1951 Arles, no. 89; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 64; 1952 Basel, no. 72; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 77; 1953 The Hague, no. 102; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 123; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 120; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 53; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 65; 1958 Mons, no. 66; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 121; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 121; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 95; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 95; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 62; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 47; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 49; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 46; 1968 Liège, no. 46; 1968-69 London, no. 121; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 24; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 93 & Columbus, no. 25; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 93; 1971-72 Paris, no. 174; 1972 Bordeaux, no. 59; 1977 Paris, unnumbered; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 54.

340

Houses in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer 30, 31 May – circa 5 June 1888 Pencil, reed pen, brush and brown ink, on laid paper 30.2 x 47.4 cm Watermark: AL (in a scroll) Unsigned

Inv. d 161 V/1962 F 1438 JH 1448

PROVENANCE

June 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

Literature

Lettres 1911, pl. LXIX; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 134, vol. 4, pl. CLIV; Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 35; Tralbaut 1969, p. 244; De la Faille 1970, pp. 504,

505, 663; Roskill 1971, pp. 169, 177 note 193; Millard 1974, p. 159; Hulsker 1980, p. 328; New York 1984, pp. 69, 70, 87 no. 36, 180; Amsterdam 1987, p. 452 no. 2.508; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 132; Hulsker 1989, p. 328; Otterlo 1990, pp. 23, 224, 254, 255 no. 182; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 134, 374, vol. 2, pl. cl.IV; Heenk 1995, pp. 168, 169; Hulsker 1996, pp. 326, 327; Dorn 1997-98, p. 23; Martigny 2000, pp. 77, 271, 301 no. 56; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 168, 169 no. 49.

EXHIBITIONS

1893 Leiden, no catalogue; 1897 Groningen, no cat. known; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 380 [Dfl. 225]; 1910 Cologne & Frankfurt am Main, no catalogue [Dfl. 550]; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 142; 1923 Utrecht, no. 52; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 66; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 66; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 66; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 56; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 40; 1930 Laren, no. 50; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 38, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 213; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 79; 1947 Basel, no. 153; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 145; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 94, no. 95; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 253; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 100; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 65; 1952 Basel, no. 73; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 78; 1953 Zundert, no. 54; 1953 Hoensbroek, no. 104; 1954-55 Bern, no. 139; 1955 Antwerp, no. 280; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 175; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastleupon-Tyne, no. 114; 1956 Haarlem, no. 59; 1957 Breda, no. 64; 1957 Marseilles, no. 59; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 66, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 127; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 29; 1959-60 Utrecht, no. 84; 1960 Enschede, no. 43; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 125; 1961 Arles, no. 13; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 85; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 105; 1975 Malmö, no. 70; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 70; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 64; 1984 New York, no. 36; 1990 Otterlo, no. 182; 2000 Martigny, no. 56; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 49.

20-25 June 1888
Pencil, reed pen and brown ink,
opaque watercolour, on wove
paper
49.3 x 61.2 cm
Watermark: J WHATMAN
TURKEY MILL 1879
Signed at lower left: Vincent

Inv. d 752 M/1979 F 1443 JH 1485

Letters 634/502, 635/B8

- 1 See cats. 338-340.
- 2 The heavy rains lasted from 20 to 23 June; on 24 and 25 June it was still raining, but not so hard: Bulletin annuel de la commission météorologique du département des Bouches-du-Rhône, 1888-1890, in the library of Méteo-France in Paris. In letter 631/501 of 21 June 1888, Van Gogh said that it had been pouring for the last two days; in letter 635/B8 of Tuesday, 26 June, he reported that he spent 'three or four days drawing and painting from a model a Zouave' ('dessiné et peint depuis trois ou quatre jours avec un modèle un zouave'). See also New York 1984, no. 52, p. 106.
 3 'j'ai enfin un modèle'. On this subject, see also letter 634/502 of 23 June: 'And yet the figure interests me much more than the landscape' ('Et pourtant la figure
- m'intéresse bien davantage que le paysage').
 4 This letter dates from 29 or 30 May 1888.
- 5 See letter 630/B7 of c. 19 June 1888. Milliet and the Zouave portrayed here are in any case not one and the same person: the features and the uniform of *The Zouave* (F 423 JH 1486) differ from those seen in the portrait of Milliet (F 473 JH 1588). This was first observed by Douglas Cooper in *The Burlington Magazine*, 73 (1938), no. 428 (November), p. 227.

341 Seated Zouave

After returning to Arles from Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer on circa 5 June 1888, Van Gogh first painted several copies of drawings he had made at the coast. He then moved his sphere of work outdoors to make studies of the landscape and the activities associated with harvest time. Unremitting rain forced him indoors for a few days, starting on 20 June. One of the works produced at this time is the *Seated Zouave*. Van Gogh was not disappointed in the slightest at discontinuing his outdoor activities: he saw himself primarily as a figure painter and draughtsman, and was in fact overjoyed to have a model at last [631/501]. He had already told Arnold Koning at the end of May of his intention to concentrate on the figure: 'This is what I am aiming at, only it seemed to me that walking and working in the open air would be better for my health & I didn't want to start on a figure until I felt a bit stronger' [621/498a].⁴

It is not known how Van Gogh found his model, whose identity is a mystery. He probably met him through Paul Eugène Milliet, a second lieutenant in the French Zouave regiment. Van Gogh got along very well with Milliet, who in this period was his drawing pupil.⁵

The sitting figure in this drawing is recognisable as a Zouave by the characteristic uniform of the 'Zouaouwa' from the province of Kabyllia in Algeria. This North African tribe had submitted to French rule in 1830, and since that time had provided the French army with an elite corps. Gradually their ranks were supplemented by Frenchmen, until eventually it consisted entirely of French soldiers, who continued to wear the colourful costume of the Kabyli tribe. The uniform consisted of a sleeveless garment, a tunic, red pantaloons, a jacket, white gaiters, a red sash worn around the waist, and a red cap with a tassel (fig. 341a). ⁶

This Seated Zouave looks straight ahead, posing with his knees wide apart, his hands on his thighs and his elbows turned outward. As regards the figure's attitude, this work is related to the vigorous studies of working figures that Van Gogh made in Antwerp during the first months of 1886.⁷ The striking position of the arms and hands recalls the pose of Louis-François Bertin in the distinctive and lifelike portrait made of him by Jean Auguste Ingres (1780-1867), which Van Gogh knew from a reproduction (fig. 341b).⁸

It is clear that Van Gogh deliberately chose his Zouave in order to portray a tough,

- 6 With thanks to Lieutenant-Colonel Henri Ortholan, curator of the 'département contemporain' of the Musée de l'Armée in Paris and to Marijke Zonneveld-Kouters of the Stichting Nederlands Zouavenmuseum.
 7 See, for instance, Drawings 3, cat. 224. See also Otterlo 1990, p. 235.
- 8 With thanks to Louis van Tilborgh. Ingres painted

this work in 1831. It is reproduced in a book by Charles Blanc, *Grammaire des arts du dessin, architecture, sculpture, peinture*, Paris 1867; Van Gogh had purchased a copy of this publication in August 1884 (see letter 457/R47). Both the author and the book are mentioned in Van Gogh's letters from Arles (e.g. letter 727/558a of c. 21 November 1888).





341a Photograph of a Zouave, c. 1890. Aldo Bastié, Abbey of Montmajour, Arles.



341b Jean Auguste Ingres, Louis-François Bertin, reproduction from Charles Blanc, Grammaire des arts du dessin, architecture, sculpture, peinture, Paris 1867.

virile type. He saw the Zouaves, who were quartered in the Calvin barracks at Arles, as womanisers who frequented the red-light district. He was especially impressed with the manliness of his friend Milliet, who was said to have spent the eve of a very important examination in a brothel. In a letter he wrote to Theo on 21 June, Vincent enthusiastically described his model: a boy with a small face, a bull neck and the eye of a tiger [631/501]. In the months after this model had posed for him for several days, Van Gogh continued to portray such types as the peasant the poet and the lover.

Seated Zouave is the only Arles drawing done from a model; all the figure drawings made later in this period were derived from paintings. ¹⁴ The drawing of the Zouave was made on a full sheet of wove paper with the watermark J Whatman turkey mill 1879. ¹⁵

After making a preliminary sketch in pencil, Van Gogh drew the Zouave in ink, using two or three reed pens of various thicknesses. Striving for a vigorous, expressive style, he first rendered the important body masses before placing the contour lines. He had long been familiar with this approach, which he had borrowed from Delacroix.¹⁶

13 See F 473 JH 1588. Van Gogh, who saw soldiers as virile lovers, had Milliet pose for this work. On 25 September 1888 (letter 691/541a), he told Theo that Milliet would be an excellent model for a 'painting of lovers' ('un tableau d'amoureux'). For more information on these figure types, see Amsterdam 1990, pp. 142-47.

- 14 See Otterlo 1990, p. 235.
- 15 Other drawings in the Van Gogh Museum on a full sheet of wove paper with this watermark are cats. 342, 343 and 345. Cat. 326 was also drawn on such paper, which was trimmed on the left and lower edges.
- **16** See Drawings 2, p. 27; cat. 162, pp. 192,193. See also Drawings 3, p. 14.

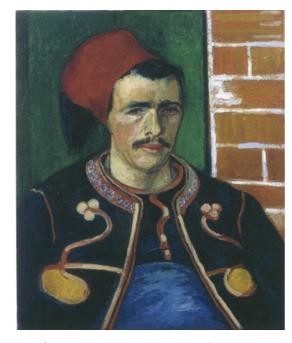
- **9** See letter 664/522 of c. 12 August 1888. See also Chicago/Amsterdam 2001-02, pp. 123,124. The barracks were located in the Avenue Victor-Hugo; see *L'Indicateur Marseillais des Bouches du Rhône*, Marseille 1888, p. 173.
- 10 'c'est un garçon à petite figure, à cou de taureau, à l'oeil de tigre.' Referring to the portrait in oil (fig. 341c), Van Gogh compared the eyes of the Zouave to a cat's eyes. See letter 657/W5 of 31 July 1888.
- 11 See F 444 JH 1563, F 1461 JH 1564, F 443 JH 1548 and F 1460 JH 1549. The model was Patience Escalier, gardener and formerly a herdsman in the Camargue (see letter 663/520 of 18 August 1888).
- 12 See F 462 JH 1574. The model for the painting of the poet ('le poète') was Van Gogh's friend Eugène Boch, 'that young man with the look of Dante' ('ce jeune homme à mine Dantesque', letter 677/531 of 3 September 1888).

Van Gogh concentrated mainly on the upper body and decorated jacket. The underdrawing in pencil, which is easily discernible, shows that the figure's arms and legs were originally positioned differently. Pencilled auxiliary lines are also visible in the face. The background – a window frame and ledge – and the tiles on the floor of the studio are indicated by only a few ink lines. The ink is brown, and the edges of the thickly applied lines betray a blue sheen (visible under the microscope) that is visible on the verso as well. This could indicate that the ink was originally a different colour. Van Gogh tried to mask the vertical ink lines above the head by means of white opaque watercolour, a material also found on the right in the decoration of the jacket. Because the originally white paper has yellowed over time, these white areas are now more noticeable. The upper and lower edges, which were once covered by a mount, give some idea of the former, lighter colour of the paper. The thin vertical fold running through the Zouave's face was present when Van Gogh began to draw.

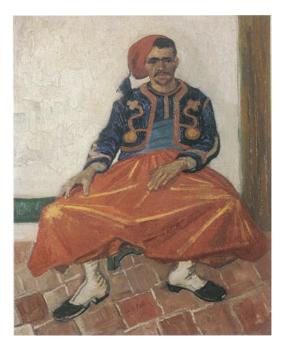
Although the drawing may be considered successful in terms of its vigorous style, it is clear that Van Gogh had difficulty in rendering the figure correctly. The hands and wrists are much too long; the eyes are crooked, the nose did not turn out well, and the way the Zouave holds the pipe in his mouth is not very convincing either. The cap hangs so far to one side that it seems to be falling off the man's head. The distortion of the face could be due to the fact that Van Gogh had not drawn from models since the end of 1887 and, moreover, had just begun to use the reed pen.¹⁸

Van Gogh made this drawing in a period that saw the production of at least two

- 17 These tiles were deep red; see letters 627/497 and 633/W4.
- 18 See Otterlo 1990, p. 235. In the period October-December 1887, he made a portrait in pencil of Père Tanguy. See Drawings 3, cat. 322.



341c *The Zouave* (F 423 JH 1486), 1888. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



341d Seated Zouave (F 424 JH 1488), 1888. Private collection.



341e *The Zouave* (F 1482 JH 1487), 1888. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



341f *The Zouave* (F 1482a JH 1535), 1888. New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum.

19 With thanks to Lieutenant-Colonel Henri Ortholan, curator of the 'département contemporain' of the Musée de l'Armée in Paris, as well as to Mr Louis Ph. Sloos, curator of the Army Museum in Delft, and to Marijke Zonneveld-Kouters of the Stichting Nederlands Zouavenmuseum. In 1955 Pierre Weiller was the first to state that this Zouave was a trumpeter. See 'Nous avons retrouvé le zouave de Van Gogh', in Lettres françaises, 26 March 1955, p. 8.

20 'C'est donc une combinaison brutale de tons disparates pas commode à mener'; 'Maintenant le deuxième portrait sera assis; en pied contre mur blanc.' See New York 1984, p. 106.

21 See letter 634/502 of 23 June 1888. In a letter written on 26 June to Bernard [635/B8], Van Gogh listed the works he had meanwhile produced in a different order: 'a drawing of a seated Zouave, two sketches: one painted sketch of the Zouave against a completely white wall, and finally his portrait against a green door and some orange bricks of a wall' ('un dessin du zouave assis – une esquisse peinte du zouave contre un mur tout blanc et enfin son portrait contre une porte verte et quelques briques orangées d'un mur').

expressive oil paintings of the same model (figs. 341c, 341d). The rendering of the figure is more successful in these works. Later on, Van Gogh made a watercolour and a pen-and-ink drawing (figs. 341e, 341f) after the first of the two paintings, which is now in the collection of the Van Gogh Museum (fig. 341c). On the basis of the colours in this work, the Zouave can be identified as a soldier of the third regiment, the embroidery on his collar revealing that he served as a trumpeter. ¹⁹ The other portrait (fig. 341d) shows the Zouave full length, as he is portrayed in the drawing.

Of the three works that originated in June (*cat. 341, figs. 341c, 341d*), only the painted portraits can be put with any certainty in chronological order. In the letter Vincent wrote to Theo on 21 June, he first mentioned the bust, describing it as 'a savage combination of incongruous tones, not easy to manage', and went on to say, 'The second portrait will be full length, seated against a white wall' [631/501].²⁰ On 23 June he announced to Theo that he would be sending him a drawing of the Zouave that very day (*cat. 341*).²¹

Even though both the drawing and the painted portrait show the Zouave sitting in front of a neutral background, there are differences between these two works: the figure in the painting has no pipe in his mouth, he wears pantaloons instead of trousers, and he sits in a different position. The difference in dress (trousers as opposed to pantaloons) indicates that the works were made in separate sessions. It is also likely that the drawing preceded the painting (fig. 341d) and was made as a preparatory study before painting the seated figure in oil. Perhaps Vincent sent the drawing to Theo to show him what he was working on.

That Van Gogh considered Seated Zouave to be a fully fledged, independent work



341g Benjamin Constant, *Seated Arab*, date unknown. San Francisco, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.



341h Emile Bernard, *Brothel scene*, 1888. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

is evident from the fact that he signed it with 'Vincent'. ²² In July he also urged Theo to offer the *Seated Zouave* – along with others of his most successful pen-and-ink drawings, including *La Crau seen from Montmajour (cat. 343)* and *Landscape with train, seen from Montmajour (fig. 342c)* – to the art dealer George Thomas for the purpose of financing Gauguin's journey to Arles. ²³

Van Gogh mentioned to both his brother and Emile Bernard how dissatisfied he had initially been with the result of his labours: he thought the drawing and paintings 'hard and utterly ugly and badly done' [635/B8].²⁴ Even so, he was fully convinced of the usefulness of his work: 'In the end making studies of figures so as to experiment and to learn will be the shortest way for me to do something worth while' [634/502].²⁵ Although these works were, in his own eyes – and, in his view, even more so in the eyes of others – 'nearly always detestable ... yet it is the study of the figure that strengthens one's powers most, if one does it in a way other than that taught us at Monsieur Benjamin Constant's, for instance' [635/B8].²⁶

It is no coincidence that Van Gogh mentioned, precisely in connection with the Zouave, the French orientalist Benjamin Constant (1845-1902). Van Gogh was not referring to a particular work by this artist, but a drawing like *Seated Arab* (*fig. 341g*) may be seen as the academic counterpart to his own attempts to render true-to-life figures. Van Gogh hoped to follow in the footsteps of such artists as Léon Lhermitte (1844-1925), Honoré Daumier (1808-1879) and Jean François Raffaëlli (1850-1924), whose art had been 'made with a *will*, with *feeling*, with passion and love', with a certain honesty, even though the execution was not completely correct in the eyes of the academicians.²⁷ In his striving to portray character, to render the life in a figure,

- 22 Ronald Pickvance, in New York 1984, p. 6, considered cat. 341 to be an independent work. In his view, the drawing, which cannot automatically be seen as a preparatory study, possibly originated after the painting. Perhaps Van Gogh took up the painting (fig. 341d) again in August, at which time he wrote, 'I've worked again on the figure of a Zouave, seated on a bench against a white wall' (j'ai encore travaillé à une figure de zouave assis sur un banc contre un mur blanc') (letter 661/519 of 8 August 1888). See Roskill 1971, p. 51.
- 23 See letter 643/509 of c. 13 July 1888.
- 24 Letter of 26 June 1888: 'C'est dur et enfin laid et mal foutu.'
- 25 Letter of 23 June 1888: 'faire des études de figures pour chercher et pour apprendre ce serait encore après tout pour moi le plus court chemin de faire quelque chose qui vaille.'
- 26 'pourtant c'est l'etude de la figure qui fortifie le plus si on la fait d'une autre façon qu'on ne nous l'enseigne chez monsieur benjamin constant par exemple.' The last sentence expresses Van Gogh's aversion to academic art, which was often ably executed according to the book but totally lacking in life. The academies had a 'choice of models for historical, Arabic, Louis xv and, in a word, all figures that are actually nonexistent', according to letter 522/418 of c. 14 July 1885.
- **27** See letter 522/418 of c. 14 July 1885.

Van Gogh also found a source of inspiration in naturalistic literature. In a letter to the artist John Peter Russell (1858-1931), Van Gogh remarked that the inhabitants of the Provence often reminded him of the characters one encountered in Zola. ²⁸

To Bernard, from whom Van Gogh had received a drawing of a brothel scene on 23 June (*fig. 341h*), ²⁹ he wrote on 27 June 1888, 'If *the two of us* were to execute a brothel, I'm sure we would take my study of the Zouave for character' [636/B9], by which he was referring to the painted bust (*fig. 341c*). ³⁰ Van Gogh wanted to keep the painting to exchange with Bernard, but this never happened. ³¹ Van Gogh did however send him a version on paper, signed 'Vincent' and bearing the inscription 'a mon cher copain Emile Bernard' (*fig. 341e*). ³² Like Bernard's brothel scene, which displays the inscription 'A mon ami Vincent ce croquis bête. E. Bernard 88' ('To my friend Vincent, this silly sketch. E. Bernard 88') (*fig. 341h*), this one is characterised by the combination of red and green in the clothing and by an emphasis on contours. Moreover, the works were made on paper of similar format. ³³ The Van Gogh Museum acquired the *Seated Zouave* in 1979, ³⁴ at which time the collection could finally boast a signed figure study from Van Gogh's time in Arles.

days' ('de ces jours ci'). It is possible that he sent the watercolour to reciprocate the brothel scene. In contrast to Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 222, 223, the first to interpret the watercolour version of the Zouave as a colour and portrait study that preceded the painted version (fig. 341c), here the sheet is considered to be one of the drawings after paintings which Van Gogh sent to Bernard in mid-July 1888. See also Roskill

1971, p. 170; Millard 1974, p. 160; New York 1984, no. 62; Otterlo 1990, p. 230; Heenk 1995, p. 172.

34 Inscribed on the verso in brown ink at the lower right is 'Vincent van Gogh. "Zouaaf". "Penteekening." Echtheid von uns völlig garantiert, Artz & de Bois, Haag 30 Aug 12' (Vincent van Gogh. 'Zouave'. 'Penand-ink drawing'. Authenticity fully guaranteed by us, Artz & de Bois, The Hague, 30 Aug. 12').

- 28 See letter 629/501a of c. 17 June 1888.
- 29 See letter 634/502 of 23 June 1888.
- **30** 'Si à nous deux nous exécutions un bordel je suis sûr que comme caractère nous y employerions l'étude du zouave.'
- 31 Van Gogh sent the painting to his brother.
- 32 In the watercolour Van Gogh worked in pencil, pen and ink, coloured chalk and opaque watercolour on wove paper (31.5 x 23.6 cm). Russell received a penand-ink drawing after *The Zouave* (fig. 341f). This drawing was sent at the end of July or beginning of August 1888. For more information on the drawings Van Gogh sent to Russell, see, for example, Roskill 1971, p. 171 and Millard 1974, pp. 160, 161.
- 33 In letter 635/B8 of 26 June, Van Gogh tells Bernard that he finds his sketch very interesting and expresses his intention to send a drawing in return 'one of these

PROVENANCE

June/july 1888-91 Theo van Gogh; 1891-1912
J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1912 Kunsthandel Artz & De Bois, The Hague; 1912-? Alfred Flechtheim, Düsseldorf; ?-1929 Paul Cassirer, Berlin; 1929 bought by Galerie Mathiessen for de Hauke & Co., New York; 1929 bought by John Nicholas Brown; 1942-44 on loan to The Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha; 1978 bequest to Brown University, Providence; 1979 bought by the Van Gogh Museum with the support of the Vincent van Gogh Foundation, New York (Christie's), 16 May, no. 101; on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Lettres 1911, p. 112; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, pp. 135, 136, vol. 4, pl. clv1; De la Faille 1970, pp. 506, 663; Hulsker 1980, pp. 334, 339; New York 1984, pp. 70, 72, 103, 106 no. 52, 152, 163, 172; Amsterdam 1987, p. 452 no. 2.510; Feilchenfeldt 1988, pp. 132, 156; Rome 1988, no. 83; Otterlo 1990, pp. 22, 234, 235, 275 no. 203; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 135, 136, 376, vol. 2, pl. clv1; Heijbroek/Wouthuysen 1993, pp. 39, 204; Heenk 1995, p. 177; Hulsker 1996, pp. 328, 338, 339; Martigny 2000, p. 77; Chicago/Amsterdam 2001-02, pp. 123, 124; Stolwijk/Veenenbos 2002, pp. 54, 151, 195; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 222, 223.

EXHIBITIONS

1897 Groningen, no cat. known; 1902 Paris, no cat. known [Ffr. 200]; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 383 [Dfl. 200]; 1907 Berlin, no. 119 (DM 1,000); 1908 Munich, no. 87 (Dfl. 450); 1908 Dresden, no. 91 [Dfl. 450]; 1908 Frankfurt am Main, no. 98 (for sale); 1908 The Hague & Amsterdam, resp. no cat. known, no. 100; 1909-10 Berlin, no. 217 (not for sale); 1912 The Hague & Amsterdam, no. 1 [Dfl. 1,000]; 1913-14 Düsseldorf, unnumbered; 1919 Hanover, no. 73; 1929 New York, no catalogue; 1930 New York, no. 106; 1931 Providence, no catalogue; 1962 Cambridge, no. 37; 1973-74 Hartford, Hopkins & Boston, no. 66; 1984 New York, no. 52; 1988 Rome, no. 83; 1990 Otterlo, no. 203; 2000-01 Detroit, Boston & Philadelphia, unnumbered [only Philadelphia].

342, 343 Montmajour, second series

Technical details 342, 343 on pp. 145, 146

'I've gone to Montmajour a full 50 times to look at that flat view' [643/509], Vincent wrote to Theo around 13 July 1888. That number must not be taken literally; he simply wanted to make it clear that he had made frequent excursions to that intriguing site. The charm this vast countryside holds for me is very intense, he told Theo in the same letter. So I felt no *weariness*, despite the really tiresome circumstances, the mistral and the mosquitoes. If a view makes you forget those petty vexations, it must have something. To give Theo an impression of the southern French countryside, Van Gogh referred to seventeenth-century Dutch landscape painting. Apart from a difference in colour and the clearness of the atmosphere, the area around La Crau reminded him, as did the Camargue, of the old Holland of Ruisdael's time' [643/509].

In July the area inspired Van Gogh to make five pen-and-ink drawings that are convincing depictions of the characteristic features of the landscape. He hoped that they would give Theo an impression of 'a very beautiful corner of Provence' [641/505].⁵ Fascinated by the view of the flat countryside around Montmajour, he paid almost no attention to Les Alpilles, a chain of mountains to the north-east of the hill.⁶ Unlike the series made in May (see *cats*. 335-337), these were not rapid sketches but large, elaborate drawings.

On 8 or 9 July Vincent informed Theo that he had two large, new drawings. In view of what follows, these must have been *The rock of Montmajour with pine trees* (cat. 342) and *Pine trees on Montmajour* (fig. 342a); he was planning to make four more. 7 On 9 or 10 July he sent a letter to Theo, telling him that he and his friend Milliet had been to Montmajour, where they had explored the garden and the ruins. On that occasion he had made a drawing, 'though not of the garden' [642/506], by which he was referring to the sheet displaying part of the ruins (fig. 342b). He then drew *La Crau seen from Montmajour* (cat. 343) and *Landscape with train, seen from Montmajour* (fig. 342c). Van Gogh viewed these sheets, which he described in the letter of around 13 July as 'two views of La Crau and of the fields along the Rhône' [643/509], as the best drawings he had ever made with the pen. ¹⁰ In the same letter he told Theo that he had just sent him a roll with five pen-and-ink drawings of the area around Montmajour and that Theo already had another sheet from this series: 'A group of very dark pines and the town of Arles in the background'

- 1 'Seulement voila bien 50 fois que je vais à Mont Majour pour regarder cette vue plate.'
- **2** For Van Gogh and Montmajour, see also cats. 335-337 and Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 236-47.
- 3 'Le charme que ces campagnes vastes ont pour moi est bien intense. Aussi je n'ai senti aucun *ennui* malgré des circonstances essentiellement ennuyeuses, le mis-
- tral et les moustiques. Si une vue fait oublier ces petites misères-là il faut qu'il y ait quelquechôse.'
- 4 'sauf une différence de couleur et de limpidité de l'atmosphère me fait penser à l'antique Hollande du temps de Ruysdael'
- 5 Letter of 8 or 9 July 1888: 'tu auras le resumé d'un bien beau coin de Provence.'

- 6 Silverman 2001, pp. 55-57, observes that Van Gogh felt most attracted to views that resembled the Dutch landscape. However, there is nothing in his letters to indicate that Van Gogh consciously chose only views that reminded him of Holland.
- 7 See letter 641/505 of 8 or 9 July 1888. Ever since Ronald Pickvance published F JH add. 3 (fig. 342a), whose existence was long unknown, as *Olive trees: Montmajour* in New York 1984, no. 55, the title has always referred to olive trees. The trees are however Aleppo pines (*Pinus Halepensis*).
- 8 'non pas du jardin cependant'.
- 9 The order suggested here in which Van Gogh produced this group of five works was earlier described in New York 1984, pp. 109, 110; and later in Heenk 1995, pp. 174, 175. However, according to Millard 1974, p. 160, cat. 343 and F 1424 JH 1502 were possibly executed in mid-July as the first of the series. In his catalogue raisonné of 1928, De la Faille deviates from what is now the generally accepted dating. He places cat. 343 and F 1424 JH 1502 in May 1888. De la Faille 1970 does however date these drawings to mid-July. Bowness, in London 1968-69, nos. 115 and 116, also dates cat. 343 and F 1424 JH 1502 to May 1888. Cat. 342 has, without exception, always been dated to July 1888. 10 'Selon moi les deux vues de la Crau et de la campagne du côté des bords du Rhône sont ce que j'ai fait de mieux de ma plume.'







342a Pine trees on Montmajour (F - JH add. 3), 1888. Tournai, Musée des Beaux-Arts.



342b Montmajour (F 1446 JH 1504), 1888. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

[643/509], which he had drawn at the end of May (fig. 342d). His plan to draw an overall picture of the ruins was never realised. 12

The intensity with which Van Gogh threw himself into drawing at this time had to do with his fear of wasting painting materials, for he wanted to have enough paint and canvas on hand if Gauguin should decide to join him in Arles. 13 An added advantage of drawing was the fact that it almost never went wrong: 'so many sheets of Whatman, so many drawings' [642/506]. 14 Moreover, the wind was making it impossible for him to paint the area: 'That is the maddening thing here, no matter where you plant your easel. And that is largely why the painted studies are not so finished as the drawings. The canvas is always shaking. It doesn't bother me when drawing' [643/509]. In addition to saving money, drawing had another advantage: Van Gogh wanted to make a financial contribution to Gauguin's journey to Arles. He hoped that Theo could persuade the art dealer George Thomas to buy the large sheets. He wrote the following to Theo about La Crau seen from Montmajour (cat. 343) and Landscape with train, seen from Montmajour (fig. 342c): 'he cannot have them for less than 100 francs apiece. Even if I have to give him the other three in that case as a present, because we urgently need the money. But we cannot give them for less, that is the price. Not everyone would have the patience to get themselves devoured by mosquitoes and to struggle against the nagging malice of this constant mistral,

11 'Un groupe de pins très sombre et la ville d'Arles dans le fond.' In his letter Van Gogh calls this the sixth sheet. The drawing was made around 27-29 May 1888. See Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 162, 163.

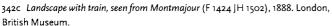
12 See also letter 643/509 of c. 13 July 1888.

13 Regarding Gauguin's arrival, see the Introduction, pp. 17, 18.

14 Letter of 9 or 10 July 1888: 'autant de feuilles Whatman, autant de dessins.' All six drawings in the series were made on full sheets of wove paper with the watermark J WHATMAN TURKEY MILL 1879. See New York 1984, pp. 111-17 and Heenk 1995, pp. 168, 174. The collection of the Van Gogh Museum contains several other sheets with this watermark: cats. 326, 341 and 345. Cat, 326, which has been trimmed, contains only part of the watermark, namely J WHATMAN.

15 'C'est là ce qui est désolant ici quant on plante son chevalet quelquepart. Et c'est bien pour cela que les etudes peintes ne sont pas aussi faites que les dessins. la toile tremble toujours. Pour dessiner cela ne me gêne pas.' Drawing-pin holes in the corners of cats. 342 and 343 probably indicate that Van Gogh pinned these sheets to a sturdy base before starting to draw.







342d View of Arles from Montmajour (F 1452 JH 1437), 1888. Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet.

not to mention that I have spent whole days outside with a little bread and milk, since it was too far to return to town at any time' [643/509].¹⁶

Two of the six sheets in the series are preserved in the Van Gogh Museum: *The rock of Montmajour with pine trees* (cat. 342) and La Crau seen from Montmajour (cat. 343). The first one in particular (cat. 342) gives an intimate picture of the countryside around the abbey, from a point facing west. The composition of this strong drawing is characterised by its emphasis on the diagonal. Van Gogh chose a low vantage point, so that the viewer is forced to look up at the high, chalky rock and the trees standing out against the clear sky. This he left practically untouched, except for a few birds, rapidly sketched in with a reed pen, such as those in *Pine trees on Montmajour* (fig. 342a). The height of the rock is accentuated by the view opening up on the left, revealing the low-lying plain of Le Trebon with the towers and roofs of Arles in the distance.¹⁷

A landscape with rocks and trees is a traditional motif in Japanese art, with which Van Gogh was very familiar. ¹⁸ However, his rendering of the rugged, overpowering environment in catalogue number 342 also recalls a seventeenth-century example: *The bush (fig. 342e)* by Jacob van Ruisdael (1628/29-1682) portrays the grandeur of nature by focusing on a group of windswept trees and contrasting them with the prospect of a distant city. The presence of a man with dogs stresses how insignificant humankind is in the face of nature, a sentiment likewise expressed by Van Gogh in the panoramas made on Montmajour (*cat. 343, fig. 342c*). Van Gogh had admired Ruisdael's painting in February 1875 in the Louvre. ¹⁹

After finishing the underdrawing in pencil – visible in stumped form mainly in the right foreground – Van Gogh drew and painted in black ink, which he applied in two consistencies, beginning with the diluted, lighter shade and moving on to the darker one. This vigorous style seems to have been a conscious attempt to

- 16 'il ne les peut pas avoir à moins de 100 fr. pièce. Dussé-je lui donner les *trois* autres *comme cadeau* dans ce cas, puisque nous sommes pressés d'avoir de l'argent. Mais nous ne pouvons les donner à moins, cela coûte cela. Et tout le monde n'aurait pas la patience de se faire boulotter par les moustiques, de lutter contre cette agaçante contrariété du mistral continuel, sans compter que j'ai passé les journées dehors avec un peu de pain et de lait, cela étant trop loin pour retourner à tout moment à la ville.' See also Chicago/Amsterdam 2001-02, p. 125. In letter 644/510 of 15 July 1888, Van Gogh again urges Theo to offer Thomas the Montmajour drawings (and others).
- 17 The star-shaped shrubs on the right are probably rosemary; the left foreground contains several grass-like shrubs.
- 18 See Amsterdam 1987, p. 228.
- 19 Van Gogh was also familiar with the 'masterly' etching that Charles François Daubigny (1817-1878) had made after the above-mentioned work by Ruisdael (see letter 157/136 of 24 September 1880). See Amsterdam 1987, p. 228.



342e Jacob van Ruisdael, *The bush*, c. 1650-1680. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

emphasise the magnificence of nature. He not only worked with a reed pen, but drew the finer lines of the landscape in the background with a thin pen and rendered part of the vegetation in the foreground with a brush.²⁰

Van Gogh used a different pattern for each element of the scene: the rocks, for example, are depicted mainly with cross-hatching. These tight lines, some of which were drawn when the pen had almost no ink, contrast with the lively, sickle-shaped touches and brushstrokes in the left foreground and with the sweeping shape of the pine trees. The signature at the lower right is so smothered by forceful pen strokes that it almost escapes notice.

Even though in some places the glowing ink looks dark, it is evident from comparison with a 1928 facsimile that it was once even more striking and that the contrast with the originally white – but now yellowed – paper must have been much stronger. ²¹ Only the edges, hidden in the past beneath a mount, are still fairly light in colour. There are now several spots in the sky that were not there when the reproduction was made in 1928.

Van Gogh drew *La Crau seen from Montmajour (cat. 343)* from the southern access road to the abbey, which is no longer used (*fig. 342f*). He was facing south-east (*fig. 342g*). In the lower left-hand corner he wrote: 'La Crau / Vue prise à Mont Major'. ²² This title does not fully describe the view: the higher-lying area in the background is in fact La Crau, but the drawing focuses on the vineyards and wheatfields of the fertile plain of Le Trebon. ²³ Visible on the left is part of Mont de Cordes, which Van Gogh had drawn several times in May (see, for example, *figs. 335a, 335b*).

In rendering the various parts of the flat landscape covered with 'vines and stubble fields' [643/509], 24 Van Gogh used a variety of dots, lines and geometrical patterns to

- 20 Van Gogh wrote the following about F 1452 JH 1437 (fig. 342d): 'I made it with very thick reeds on thin Whatman and worked in the distance with a quill pen for the finer lines.' See letter 621/498a of 29 or 30 May 1888
- 21 See Meier-Graefe 1928, no. XIII.
- 22 He did the same in Landscape with train, seen from Montmajour (fig. 342c), stressing the text 'la campagne du côté des bords / du Rhône vue de / Mont Majour' by drawing a frame around it.
- 23 This was previously observed by Jirat-Wasiutyński 2002, p. 83. Le Trebon, the region to the north-east of Arles, covers approximately 3,430 hectares and is bordered in the north by Tarascon and Fontvieille, in the east by the hills of La Crau, in the west by the Rhône and in the south by the plateau of Mouleyres. See Paul Allard, *Arles et ses terroirs*. 1820-1910, Paris 1992, p. 35.
 24 'de vignes et de champs de chaumes'.



342f Photograph of the southern access road to the abbey of Montmajour, n.d. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



342g Photograph of the view from Montmajour, by M.E. Tralbaut, c. 1955. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

accentuate the flatness of the landscape. ²⁵ Abruptly cutting off both Mont de Cordes and the fields and roads to left and right makes the view appear even more vast, as it seemingly stretches beyond the bounds of the paper. The breadth of the landscape is emphasised by the high vantage point and the varied graphic means Van Gogh used for his meticulous rendering of the fields. Because there is more than one vanishing point, the eye roams from the rock, past the olive trees in the foreground, over the expanse of countryside and the range of hills in the distance. ²⁶ By placing a few small figures in the landscape, Van Gogh stressed just how vast it was.

The panoramic view from Montmajour onto a vast, low-lying plain is comparable to seventeenth-century panoramas, such as those painted by Jacob van Ruisdael, whose work Van Gogh knew well (fig. 342h). ²⁷ Although La Crau seen from Montmajour (cat. 343) and Montmajour (fig. 342b) do not form a seamless whole – contrary to the suggestion that in combination they form a complete panorama – Van Gogh did take pains to document the area as accurately as possible. ²⁸

The Landscape with train, seen from Montmajour (fig. 342c), which can be considered a pendant to catalogue number 343, shows the train to Fontvieille. Van Gogh drew this prospect facing north-west, towards the banks of the Rhône. On the horizon is a glimpse of the mountain chain of Les Alpilles. According to Van Gogh, he drawings La Crau seen from Montmajour and Landscape with train, seen from Montmajour resembled at first glance 'a map, an ordnance survey map, as far as the facture is concerned' [643/509]. As one would with a map, he wrote the location on both drawings, opossibly with a view to selling them one day.

- 25 This working method has been compared with the heraldic method, in which colours are indicated by means of different linear patterns. The diversity of lines and dots in *La Crau seen from Montmajour* can be seen as the equivalent of the various colours in a painting. See Carl Nordenfalk, *The Life and Work of Van Gogh*, London 1953, p. 145.
- 26 See also New York 1984, p. 117.
- **27** See Amsterdam 1987, p. 226.
- 28 See Carroy 1962, pp. 139-42; Tellegen-Hoogen-doorn 1964, pp. 57-61; Walker 1982, p. 383. Heenk 1995, p. 176, maintains that Van Gogh used a perspective frame to make fig. 342b and cat. 343 a unified

pair; there is however no evidence that he used this tool in these works.

29 'c'est à premiere vue une carte geographique, un plan stratégique quant à la *facture*.'

30 Marian Mazzone pointed out that such characteristics as the high vantage point, the varied pen strokes, the manipulation of the perspective and the addition of written information are elements that also occur in seventeenth-century landscapes. Such panoramas were in turn closely connected with the way in which information was presented on maps in the Dutch Golden Age. In those days a drawn or painted panorama, like a map, was a surface containing an assemblage of the world. In Mazzone's opinion, Van Gogh - who viewed the French landscape through Dutch eyes - used a working method similar to that employed by the Dutch landscape artists of the Golden Age. See Mazzone 1990, pp. 19-44. See also Svetlana Alpers, 'The Mapping Impulse in Dutch Art', in The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century, Chicago 1984, pp. 119-68. It is unlikely, however, that Van Gogh actually set himself the goal of making a work that resembled a seventeenth-century Dutch panorama. Van Gogh only mentioned this tradition to give Theo some idea of the landscape in the south of France. There is also nothing to indicate that he had a seventeenth-century map in mind when he compared his drawing to an 'ordnance survey map'.

31 'Regardes les dans un café bien clair où il n'y ait rien d'autre en tableaux – ou dehors. Il y faudrait peutêtre une bordure de roseau comme une baguette. Ici je travaille moi dans un intérieur nu, 4 murs blancs et des pavés rouges par terre. Si j'insiste que tu regardes ces deux dessins ainsi c'est que je voudrais tant te donner UNE IDÉE VRAIE de la simplicité de la nature d'ici.'

32 See letter 630/B7 of c. 19 June 1888.

33 'cela m'a bien donné à penser que les vrais japonais n'ont RIEN SUR LES MURS. La description du cloitre ou de la pagode où il n'y a *rien* (les dessins, curiosités, sont cachés dans des tiroirs). Ah c'est donc comme ça qu'il faut regarder une japonaiserie – dans une piece bien claire, toute nue, ouverte sur le paysage.'

34 'Ca n'a PAS l'air japonais et c'est la chôse la plus japonaise reellement que j'aie faite. un personnage microscopique de laboureur, un petit train qui passe dans les blés, voila toute la vie qu'il y a là-dedans.'

When Van Gogh sent the series to his brother, he strongly advised him to look at the two panoramic views (*cat.* 343, fig. 342c) 'in a bright café where there are no other pictures, or outside. Perhaps it should have a reed frame, like a thin strip of wood. Here I work in a bare room, 4 white walls and red tiles on the floor. If I urge you to look at those two drawings in this way, it's because I so much want to give you A TRUE IDEA of the simplicity of nature here' [643/509].³¹ He got the idea to view the works in a sober interior from a novel he had just read, Pierre Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* (1888), from which he had gleaned some interesting information about Japan.³² 'It gave me the impression that the real Japanese have NOTHING ON THEIR WALLS, that description of the cloister or pagoda where there was *nothing* (the drawings, curiosities, being hidden in the drawers). So that is how you should look at Japanese art – in a bright room, completely bare, open to the landscape' [643/509].³³

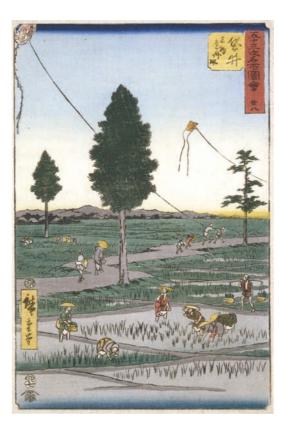
In a letter to Emile Bernard, Van Gogh spoke briefly of the Japanese element in the drawings themselves: 'It does Not have a Japanese look, and yet it is *truly* the most Japanese thing I have ever made. The microscopic figure of a labourer, a little train crossing the wheatfield, that is all the life it contains' [645/Bro].³⁴ He gave no more explanation of the way Japanese art had influenced his drawing, but a comparison with Japanese examples reveals a number of similarities: the bird's-eye view, for example, is typical of the *kakemono* (a painting on a hanging scroll of silk or paper) and of scenes painted on screens. Moreover, various aerial views with high horizons are to be found in Hiroshige's series *Fifty-three stations along the Tōkaidō* (*fig. 342i*). Annet Tellegen pointed out the 'narrative perspective' that characterises Japanese art, which is also to be found in Van Gogh's drawing: the land-



342h Jacob van Ruisdael, *Bleaching fields* near Overveen, n.d. The Hague, Mauritshuis.



342j Shunkōsai Hokuei, *Iwai* Shijaku as Neigyokujo, 1833. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.





scape cannot be taken in at a single glance; rather, the images follow one another in succession, as in a story. Its lack of shadow as a way of suggesting volume and space also connects catalogue number 343 to Japanese art.³⁵ Van Gogh's drawing is further distinguished by the use of lively, characteristic pen strokes for each part of the drawing. A similar working method employing various patterns is to be seen in a woodcut owned by the Van Gogh brothers (fig. 342j). Finally, the framed description of Landscape with train, seen from Montmajour has also been linked to Japanese examples (fig. 342i).³⁶

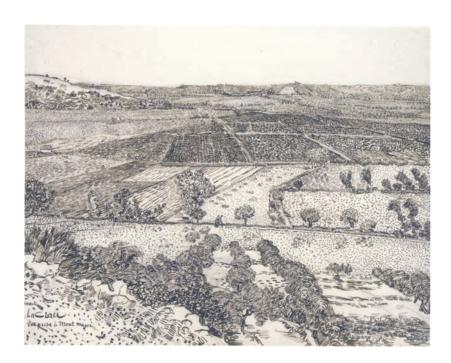
When drawing *La Crau seen from Montmajour*, Van Gogh used a working method similar to that of *The rock of Montmajour with pine trees* (*cat. 342*). The stumped underdrawing in pencil is clearly visible in the foreground, as are the pencil lines roughly marking out the fields. The trees, shrubs, figures and hut in the middle distance and background were drawn directly in ink, two colours of which are distinguishable: the ink that is now light brown was applied first, after which Van Gogh changed to black ink. That the black ink was applied last is evidenced by the passage with the walking couple: they were drawn first and the black dots in the landscape were carefully placed around them afterwards. This was also the case with the light brown trees in the next field to the right, behind the road. It is possible that Van Gogh applied the black ink entirely or in part in his studio.³⁷ At the lower left, this black ink was partly rubbed out in places, after Van Gogh had signed the drawing. The inscription – which is black, like the signature and the drawing in that place – was applied afterwards: here the letters overlap the rubbed-out pen stroke.

Comparison with a 1928 reproduction (fig. 342k) leads to the conclusion that La Crau seen from Montmajour has changed much in appearance.³⁸ Its colours originally formed a more harmonious whole: what is now light brown used to be very dark olive green, and the black was much more striking than it is now.

³⁵ See Tellegen 1967, pp. 30, 31.

³⁶ See Amsterdam 1987, p. 226 and Amsterdam 1991 II, p. 27.

³⁷ See New York 1984, p. 110. See also Heenk 1995, p. 175, who observed that Van Gogh applied the black ink after drawing in brown ink, suggesting that many of the dots and lines were added later on in the studio.
38 Meier-Graefe 1928, no. 111.



342k Reproduction of cat. 343. From: Faksimiles 1928. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

The contrast between the two colours, which now clearly display an interwoven pattern in the vineyards, used to be minimal. The fading of the ink has also caused the underdrawing to become more conspicuous. Furthermore, the contrast between the originally cream-coloured (but now yellowed) paper and the similarly discoloured inks is now not nearly so pronounced as Van Gogh intended.³⁹

Unlike *The rock of Montmajour with pine trees* discussed above, *La Crau seen from Montmajour* displays no brushstrokes. It does, however, testify to Van Gogh's use of reed pens of various thicknesses. He used a very fine pen for the thin vertical hatching in the background. Depth is suggested by the use of fairly wide pen strokes in the foreground, thinner ones in the middle distance and very fine lines in the background. Despite its altered appearance, and apart from the slight damage visible in several places, this drawing is still impressive and may certainly be considered one of the masterpieces in Van Gogh's corpus of drawings.

39 Undulations in the paper caused it to discolour unevenly in the sky, hence the vertical lines.

342

The rock of Montmajour with pine trees
6-8 July 1888
Pencil, pen, reed pen, brush and black ink,
on wove paper
49.1 x 61.0 cm
Watermark: J Whatman turkey mill 1879
Signed at lower right: Vincent

Inv. d 344 V/1962 F 1447 JH 1503

PROVENANCE

July 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Van Meurs 1910, ex-catalogue; Bremmer 1927, vol. 3, pp. 22, 23 no. 23; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 136, vol. 4, pl. CLVII; Marées-Gesellschaft 1928, pl. x111; Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 22; Amsterdam 1958, nos. 252, 253 + ill.; De Gruyter 1961, p. 107 no. 45; Tellegen 1967, pp. 18 note 3, 26, 27; Tralbaut 1969, p. 251; De la Faille 1970, pp. 506, 507, 663; Roskill 1971, pp. 170, 177 note 193; Millard 1974, p. 160; Hulsker 1980, pp. 338, 342, 343; New York 1984, pp. 71, 78, 110, 111 no. 54, 125, 180, 251; Amsterdam 1987, pp. 228, 229, 454 no. 2.519; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 132; Dorn 1990, p. 300 note 425; Otterlo 1990, pp. 35, 227, 259 no. 186; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 136, 377, vol. 2, pl. civii; Heenk 1995, p. 174; Hulsker 1996, pp. 334, 342, 343; Dorn 1997-98, p. 21; Tokyo 2000, pp. 78, 79, 174 no. 21; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 49, 240, 241 no. 83.

Exhibitions

1893 Leiden, no catalogue; 1896-97 Paris, without cat. [not for sale]; 1900-01 Rotterdam, no. 5 [Dfl. 175]; 1902 Paris, no cat. known [Ffr. 400]; 1905 Amsterdam I, no. 396 [Dfl. 450]; 1906 Berlin, no. 54 (DM 1,000); 1911 Amsterdam, no. 64; 1913 The Hague, no. 151; 1914 Antwerp, no. 78; 1914 Berlin, no. 56; 1914 Cologne & Hamburg, no cat. known; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 175; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1915 Amsterdam, no. 27; 1920 New York, no. 5 [\$4,000]; 1921 New York, no catalogue; 1926 Amsterdam, no. 54; 1926-27 London, no. 20 [Dfl. 2,000]; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 61; 1928 Vienna

& Hanover, no. 61; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 61; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 57; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 41; 1930 Laren, no. 55; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 39, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 204; 1935-36 New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, San Francisco, Kansas City, Minneapolis, Chicago & Detroit, no. 108; 1937 Paris, no. 75; 1937 Oslo, no. 33; 1938 Copenhagen, no. 29; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 83; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 61; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 65; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 93; 1947 Paris, no. 94; 1947 Geneva, no. 94; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 148; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 97, no. 98; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 255; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 103; 1951 Lyons & Grenoble, no. 91; 1951 Arles, no. 91; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 67; 1952 Basel, no. 74; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 80; 1953 The Hague, no. 104; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 125; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 122; 1954-55 Bern, no. 140; 1955 Antwerp, no. 281; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 176; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 115; 1957 Breda, no. 65; 1957 Marseilles, no. 60; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 69, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 128; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 30; 1959-60 Utrecht, no. 83; 1960 Enschede, no. 44; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 126; 1961 Arles, no. 14; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 122; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 122; 1963 Amsterdam, no. 102; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 49; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 51; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 48; 1968 Liège, no. 48; 1968-69 London, no. 129; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 26; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 96 & Columbus, no. 28; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 96; 1971-72 Paris, no. 176; 1972 Bordeaux, no. 60; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 65; 1975 Malmö, no. 71; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 71; 1984 New York, no. 54; 1990 Otterlo, no. 186; 2000 Tokyo, no. 21; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 83.

343

La Crau seen from Montmajour
11-12 July 1888
Pencil, pen, reed pen and ink (now brown and black), on wove paper
49.0 x 61.0 cm
Watermark: J Whatman turkey mill 1879
Signed at lower left: Vincent
Inscribed at lower left: La Crau/Vue prise à Mont Major

Inv. d 349 V/1962 F 1420 JH 1501

Letter 643/509

PROVENANCE

July 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Plasschaert 1898, ill.; Cohen Gosschalk 1908, ill. p. 227; Van Meurs 1910, no. 16; Lettres 1911, pl. LXVII; Bremmer 1918, vol. 11, pp. 127, 128 no. 85; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 129, vol. 4, pl. CXLIX; Marées-Gesellschaft 1928, pl. 111; Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 21; London/Birmingham/Glasgow 1947-48, pp. 55, 56 no. 142; Gaunt 1950, p. 59; De Gruyter 1961, p. 104 no. 37; Carroy 1962; Tellegen-Hoogendoorn 1964; Tellegen 1967, pp. 18 note 3, 22, 24, 26-28, 30; London 1968-69, p. 82 no. 115; Wadley 1969, p. 37; De la Faille 1970, pp. 497, 662; Roskill 1971, pp. 170, 175 note 183, 177 note 193; Millard 1974, p. 160; Chetham 1976, p. 163, ill. 117; Hulsker 1980, pp. 338, 342; Walker 1982; New York 1984, pp. 71, 78-80, 109, 110, 117 no. 57, 118, 125, 133, 180, 251; New York 1986-87, p. 96; Amsterdam 1987, pp. 226, 227, 454 no. 2.518; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 131; Dorn 1990, p. 300 note 425; Mazzone 1990; Otterlo 1990, pp. 24, 26, 227, 260 no. 187; Amsterdam 1991 11, p. 27; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 129, 369, vol. 2, pl. cxlix; Heenk 1995, pp. 174-76, 246; Hulsker 1996, pp. 334, 342; Dorn 1997-98, p. 21; Silverman 2001, pp. 55-57; Chicago/ Amsterdam 2001-02, p. 163; Jirat-Wasiutyński 2002, p. 83; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 49, 50, 244, 245 no. 85.

EXHIBITIONS

1897 Groningen, no cat. known; 1898 The Hague, ex-catalogue; 1900-01 Rotterdam, no. 13 [Dfl. 200]; 1901 Zwolle, no. 1; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 413 [Dfl. 500]; 1906 Berlin, no. 60 (not for sale); 1911 Amsterdam, no. 62; 1913 The Hague, no. 150; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 140; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1915 Amsterdam, no. 26; 1924 Basel, no. 88 (not for sale); 1924 Zürich, no. 88 (not for sale); 1924 Stuttgart, no. 12 (not for sale); 1925 Paris, unnumbered [not for sale]; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue; 1926-27 London, no. 22 [not for sale]; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 60; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 60; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 60; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 51; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 36; 1930 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 34, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 205; 1937 Paris, no. 72; 1937 Oslo, no. 32; 1938 Copenhagen, no. 28; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 85; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 51; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 55; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 85; 1947 Paris, no. 86; 1947 Geneva, no. 86; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 78; 1947 Basel, no. 150; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 142; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 91, no. 92; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 250; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 97; 1951 Lyons & Grenoble, no. 88; 1951 Arles, no. 88; 1953 Zürich, no. 74; 1953 The Hague, no. 101; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 122; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 119; 1955 Antwerp, no. 277; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 172; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 113; 1957 Breda, no. 63; 1957 Marseilles, no. 58; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 63, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 124; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 26; 1959-60 Utrecht, no. 82; 1960 Enschede, no. 39; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 124; 1961 Arles, no. 9; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 117; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 117; 1964 Zundert, no. 22; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 44; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 46; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 43; 1968 Liège, no. 43; 1968-69 London, no. 115; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 21; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 91 & Columbus, no. 23; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 91;

1971-72 Paris, no. 171; 1972 Bordeaux, no. 57; 1972 Munich, no. 955; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 64; 1984 New York, no. 57; 1990 Otterlo, no. 187; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 85

344 The sower

After sending Theo the five large sheets drawn at Montmajour (see *cats. 342, 343*) on 13 July 1888, Van Gogh began to make drawings after canvases he had painted in the past two months. The first fifteen were intended for Emile Bernard, as Van Gogh's contribution to an exchange of drawings. At the end of July he decided to make similar drawings for his friend John Peter Russell (1858-1931): the twelve sheets drawn for this Australian artist living in France were sent around 3 August and were meant to persuade Russell to buy a painting by Gauguin from Theo.²

Vincent was still busy making drawings for Russell when he wrote the following to Theo on 31 July: 'I hope to make for you, too, sketches after the painted studies. You will see that they have something of a Japanese air' [656/516].³ He did not explain that last remark, but it emerges from his letters how impressed he was by, for instance, the swiftness with which the Japanese drew.⁴ It is therefore quite possible that he thought his sketches resembled Japanese prints and drawings by virtue of their fluent, graphic lines, purposely varied to give each element of the composition its own character.⁵

Van Gogh later elaborated on his reasons for making these drawings after paintings: he wanted to show his brother the clear lines of his painted studies, with which the mistral had wreaked havoc. It was his intention to send Theo twelve drawings, the same number he had sent to Russell, but when he sent the sheets on 8 August (together with three other drawings), he mentioned only five: I just sent 3 large drawings as well as some other smaller ones Now the Harvest, the Garden, the Sower and the two marines are sketches after painted studies. I think all these ideas are good, but the painted studies lack clearness of touch. That is another reason why I felt the need to draw them' [661/519]. At the end of the letter Van Gogh expresses his hope to send other sketches of painted studies, but as far as we know, he never did. *The sower*, drawn after the painting of the same name in the Kröller-Müller Museum (fig. 344a), is the only one of the five copies made for Theo that is currently in the collection of the Van Gogh Museum.

The painting of The sower, after which this drawing was made, originated in the

1 Around 29 July Van Gogh received ten drawings from Bernard which he forwarded to Theo several days later, hoping he could interest others in Bernard's work. These sheets are preserved in the Van Gogh Museum: inv. nos. d 611 V/1962, d 637 V/1962, d 639-d 642 V/1962, d 644-d 647 V/1962. See Roskill 1970 II, pp. 219, 220.

2 The proceeds of the hoped-for sale were to be used to finance Gauguin's journey to Arles. For a list of the

works sent to Bernard and Russell, see Thannhauser 1938, p. 8, notes 55 and 56 (only Russell); Roskill 1971, pp. 141-56, 170, 171; Millard 1974, pp. 160, 161; Otterlo 1990, pp. 231-33; Heenk 1995, pp. 170-72; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 266-77.

3 'J'espère faire pour toi aussi de ces croquis d'après des etudes peintes, tu verras que cela a un certain air japonais.' For the three groups of drawings, see the Introduction, p. 13-15.

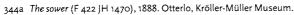
Circa 3-8 August 1888
Pencil, pen, reed pen and brown ink, on wove paper
24.4 x 32.0 cm
Unsigned

Inv. d 348 V/1962 F 1441 JH 1543

Letter 661/519

- 4 See letter 623/500 of c. 5 June 1888.
- 5 The speed with which the Japanese draw is also described in Pierre Loti's *Madame Chrysanthème* (1888), a book that Van Gogh first mentions in letter 630/B7 of c. 19 June 1888; see also cats. 342, 343 and the Introduction, p. 11.
- **6** See letter 660/518 of 6 August 1888.
- 7 'Je viens d'expédier 3 grands dessins ainsi que quelques autres plus petits [...] Maintenant la moisson, le jardin, le semeur et les deux marines sont des croquis d'après etudes peintes. Je crois que toutes ces idées sont bonnes mais les études peintes manquent de netteté dans la touche. Raison de plus pourquoi j'ai senti le besoin de les dessiner.' The three large drawings depicted gardens: F 1455 JH 1512, F 1456 JH 1537 and F 1457 JH 1539. In the same letter Van Gogh said that he again wanted to make paintings based on the drawings. Heenk 1995, p. 172, thinks that the drawings in question are the small copies, but considering what Van Gogh says later on in the letter, it is more likely that he is referring to the garden drawings. He did in fact make a painting after F 1456 JH 1537 after sending off the drawing (F 578 JH 1538). See cat. 345.
- **8** The other four were F 1492 JH 1544, F 1451 JH 1545, F 1430 JH 1541 and F 1431 JH 1542, respectively. Roskill 1971, pp. 152, 153, was the first to include *The sower* among the drawings made for Theo, before which time the drawing was always dated to June and seen as a preparatory study for the painting.







344b The sower (F 1442 JH 1508), 1888. Private collection.

second half of June and was Van Gogh's first attempt to create a symbolic vocabulary of colour through strong contrasts unconnected with the real colours of a motif. He was striving for an expressive, colouristic reinvigoration of the figure piece, thus hoping to make his mark on modern art. Dissatisfied with the effect of his first version, he altered the composition at the end of June and introduced an additional colour contrast. The study still fell short of his expectations, and in mid-August he declared the exercise a failure. Nevertheless, he continued to recognise the importance of this first attempt to express something by means of colour, for in February 1889 he suggested exhibiting this work at the Salon des Independants in Paris. Paris.

The sheets made for Bernard also included a drawing of a sower (fig. 344b), which was made - like the drawing for Theo - after the retouched version of the painting.¹³ In contrast to Bernard's sower, which is rather close to the original, Van Gogh deviated noticeably from the painting in the drawing of *The sower* he made for Theo, leaving out the house and the vegetation on the horizon and the birds in the field, and enlarging the sun, the sower and the edge of the wheatfield. The sower in this drawing, in comparison with his counterpart in the painting, is not only larger but his pose is more dynamic and more expressive of his work. In the drawing he seems to be crossing the field with long, measured strides, scattering seeds with an energetic swing of his arm. The overly long right arm is partly exposed, and the hand has been rendered in some detail, drawing even more attention to the act of sowing. The result is a grander, more focused image. Although not one of the more than 30 drawings Van Gogh made after paintings represents an exact copy of the original – they should be seen, rather, as translations into lines - this one is unique in displaying such farreaching adjustments to the composition. These changes possibly reflect Van

⁹ For this painting, see Amsterdam 1990, no. 49 and Otterlo 2003, pp. 233-37.

¹⁰ See letter 637/503 of c. 28 June 1888.

¹¹ See letter 664/522 of c. 12 August 1888.

¹² See letter 749/576 of 3 February 1889. In the end he submitted other works to this exhibition, which was held from 3 September to 4 October 1889. See Paris 1889, p. 20, nos. 272, 273.

¹³ The first version is documented in two letter sketches (F-JH 1471 and F-JH 1472) in letters 629/501a to Russell and 630/B7 to Bernard, respectively.





344c Jean-François Millet, *The sower*, 1850. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.



344d The sower (F 450 JH 1627), 1888. Zürich, E.G. Bührle Collection.

Gogh's search for solutions to what he considered the less successful elements in the painting.

The drawing was made on a sheet of wove paper measuring 24.4 by 32 centimetres that came from a sketchpad. Van Gogh began to draw in this pad, which was glued along one of its long sides, in mid-July 1888, and very likely used it for all the drawings made after paintings. In August and September 1888, and possibly later in Saint-Rémy as well, he used this sketchpad for several independent drawings. ¹⁴

Van Gogh first made an underdrawing in pencil, sketching in the sun and the sower, marking out the wheatfield with two horizontal lines, and indicating the field with a few cursory lines. ¹⁵ He then executed the drawing with various pens and ink. In rendering the field, he used a reed pen to make vigorous dashes, curves, curlicues and dots, which combine to give a good impression of the uneven terrain. Vertical and diagonal lines, with dots and v-shaped strokes above them to represent the ears of wheat, suggest simply but effectively the wheatfield in the background. This strip of wheat at once closes off the composition and lends the picture balance. Using a fine pen, Van Gogh drew the sun and filled the sky with small dots to indicate the blistering heat. In executing the figure he did not follow the underdrawing in pencil; instead, he placed the right foot slightly lower and brought the left arm closer to the body.

Van Gogh's modifications have made the figure in the drawing look more like the one in *The sower* by Jean-François Millet (1814-1875). This painting of 1850, which Van Gogh knew only from a print, was a great source of inspiration to him throughout his artistic career (*fig. 344c*). The earliest preserved sower by Van Gogh dates from 1881 and is a drawn copy of a print after Millet's masterpiece. ¹⁶ The subject continued to fascinate him during his years in Holland, where he made many

¹⁴ For this sketchpad, see the Introduction, pp. 15, 39.15 The outline of the sun continues in places under the wheat.

¹⁶ This is F 830 JH 1. See Drawings 1, cat. 16.

depictions of sowers,¹⁷ in which the figure is generally the focal point, and the land-scape only of secondary importance. When Van Gogh took up the theme again, in Arles, he produced works in which nature plays a more dominant role and the sower is merely an aspect of the landscape.

During his Dutch years, Van Gogh barely expressed an opinion on the significance of this motif. It was only after producing the painting after which this drawing was made that he wrote that the sower and sheaves of wheat were, in his view, symbols of infinity, of eternity. The sower represents the beginning of a new cycle and therefore stands for life, just as the reaper, who ends the cycle, symbolises death. Yan Gogh is not known to have said anything to substantiate the previously suggested Christian interpretation of the subject – the sower in the sense of one who spreads the word of God. Yan Gogh.

The painting (fig. 344a) was made in the weeks when Van Gogh was wholly taken up with painting pictures of the harvest. These works were part of a project intended to portray the Four Seasons: the harvest, which stood for the summer, was the sequel to the blossoming fruit trees he had depicted in the spring. Traditionally, and also to Van Gogh's mind, the sower symbolised autumn, emphasised in the painting by the colours purple and yellow, a colour contrast he had connected with autumn as early as 1884. ²¹ Van Gogh could not have seen a sower at harvest time, so the scene was his own invention, his first exercise in assembling a composition based on his imagination. Perhaps the above-mentioned connection between the reaper and the sower prompted him to put a long-standing plan into action, namely, to make a painting of a sower on a grand scale. ²²

It would be almost six months before Van Gogh found a satisfactory way of depicting the motif that was so close to his heart (*fig. 344d*). Remarkably, the innovation eventually brought to bear on Millet's example involved form and not colour. The two sowers Van Gogh painted after this are translations into colour of reproductions of Millet's sower.²³

- 17 On the motif of the sower in Van Gogh's work, see Werness 1972, pp. 135-47 and Van Tilborgh and Van Heugten in Paris 1998-99, pp. 90-105.
- 18 See letter 630/B7 of c. 19 June 1888.
- 19 See letter 801/604 of 5 or 6 September 1889.
- 20 See, for example, Werness 1972, pp. 138-40; Osaka 1986, no. 8; Van Uitert 1983, p. 87; Sund 1988, pp. 660-76. Regarding the motif and its meaning, see also Silverman 2000, chapter 2, pp. 47-118.
- 21 See letter 454/372 of c. 2 July 1884.
- 22 See letter 631/501 of 21 June 1888.
- 23 F 690 JH 1837 of November 1889 and F 689 JH 1836 of January-February 1890. In Saint-Rémy he also made pencil sketches of sowers in the field (see cats. 399, 400 and 423).

PROVENANCE

August 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

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Exhibitions

1892 Rotterdam, no cat. known [for sale]?; 1893 Leiden, no catalogue; 1897 Groningen, no cat. known; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 384 [Dfl. 225]; 1906 Berlin, no. 69 (DM 575); 1908 Munich,

no. 74 (Dfl. 350); 1908 Dresden, no. 78 [Dfl. 350]; 1908 Frankfurt am Main, no. 85 (for sale); 1908 The Hague & Amsterdam, resp. no cat. known, no. 90; 1909-10 Berlin, no. 206 (not for sale); 1912 The Hague & Amsterdam, no. 29 (not for sale); 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 148; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1920 New York, no. 34 [\$2,000]; 1926 Amsterdam, no. 49; 1937 Paris, no. 173; 1938 London, no. 71; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 89; 1947 Paris, no. 90; 1947 Geneva, no. 90; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 80; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 147; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 96, no. 97; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 254; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 99; 1951 Lyons & Grenoble, no. 90;

1951 Arles, no. 90; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 66; 1953 Zürich, no. 79; 1953 The Hague, no. 103; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 124; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 121; 1956 Haarlem, no. 60; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 67, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1961 Scarborough, no catalogue; 1962 London, no. 54; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 96; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 96; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 63; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 48; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 50; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 47; 1968 Liège, no. 47; 1968-69 London, no. 123; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 25; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 95 & Columbus, no. 27; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 95; 1971-72 Paris, no. 175; 1972 Munich, no. 958; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 65; 1980-81 Stuttgart, unnumbered; 1981 Utrecht, no. 74; 1984 New York, no. 83; 1988 Rome, no. 33; 1988-89 Amsterdam, no. 72; 1990 Otterlo, no. 199; 2000 Tokyo, no. 22; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 76.

345 Garden of a bathhouse

This superb sheet is one of the three large drawings that Vincent sent to Theo on 8 August 1888. In the accompanying letter he told him that it represented 'the little garden of a bathing establishment' [661/519]. In those days Arles had at least two public baths: one at rue du Grand-Prieuré 18 and the other at rue de Vers 38.2 It is not known which of the two appears in this drawing.3

In his letter Van Gogh mentioned, in addition to Garden of a bathhouse, a 'garden in horizontal format' (fig. 345a), a 'little cottage garden in vertical format' (fig. 345b) and a couple of small drawings. 4 Of the garden in horizontal format, made around mid-July, there are two painted versions, depicted from different vantage points. He also made a painted variant of the other drawing after sending it to Theo. 7 He told Theo what a deep impression the profusion of colour had made on him: 'Underneath the blue sky, the orange, yellow, red splashes of the flowers take on an amazing brilliance, and in the limpid air there is something or other happier, more lovely than in the North. It vibrates like the bouquet by Monticelli which you have' [661/519].8

It is possible that these garden drawings were inspired by the 'very interesting round of the farms' Van Gogh had recently made with someone who knew the country well [661/519].9 He was lyrical about what he had seen: 'Oh, those farm gardens, with their beautiful, big red Provençal roses, the vineyards, the fig trees, it's very poetic, and the eternally bright sun, in spite of which the foliage remains very green' [661/519]. This detailed and enthusiastic description recalls the report Van Gogh had made a month earlier, after visiting the old garden of the abbey of Montmajour, which had reminded him of the 'Paradou' (Paradise) in Emile Zola's novel La faute de l'abbé Mouret (1875) – an enormous garden with the ruins of an old villa, situated near the village of Artaud in the south of France. II In September 1888 Van Gogh would delve more deeply into the subject of gardens (see cat. 348) in such works as the ensemble *The poet's garden* (see cat. 330).

- 1 'un petit jardin d'un etablissement de bains'.
- 2 These were listed in L'Indicateur Marseillais des Bouches du Rhône, Marseille 1888, p. 1743, but it is possible that there were other public baths as well.
- 3 The architecture and the neighbourhood of rue du Grand-Prieuré differ so much from Van Gogh's drawing that this possibility can be excluded. With thanks to Véronique Cherguy of the Arles land registry. The bathhouse in rue de Vers was the closest one to both Van Gogh's hotel and the Yellow House.
- 4 'jardin en largeur' and 'petit jardin de paysan en hauteur'. For the other drawings, see cat. 344.
- 5 See letter 648/512 from the period between 17 and 20 July 1888. Pickvance also assumes in Otterlo 1990,

p. 236, that Van Gogh made the garden drawing in horizontal format in July but did not send it until August, but he names F 1454 JH 1532 (fig. 15, p. 16) as one of the drawings on a full sheet of Whatman paper. This is incorrect, for that drawing is a copy of F 429 JH 1513, made on a small sheet of wove paper in the period 31 July-3 August and intended for Russell. Bogomilla Welsh-Ovcharov wrongly supposes in Toronto/Amsterdam 1981, no. 20, that F 1454 JH 1532 was the preparatory study for F 429 JH 1513. 6 See letter 661/519: 'The third garden in horizontal format is the one of which I also made painted studies' ('Le troisieme jardin en largeur est celui dont j'ai fait des études peintes aussi'). This refers to the paintings

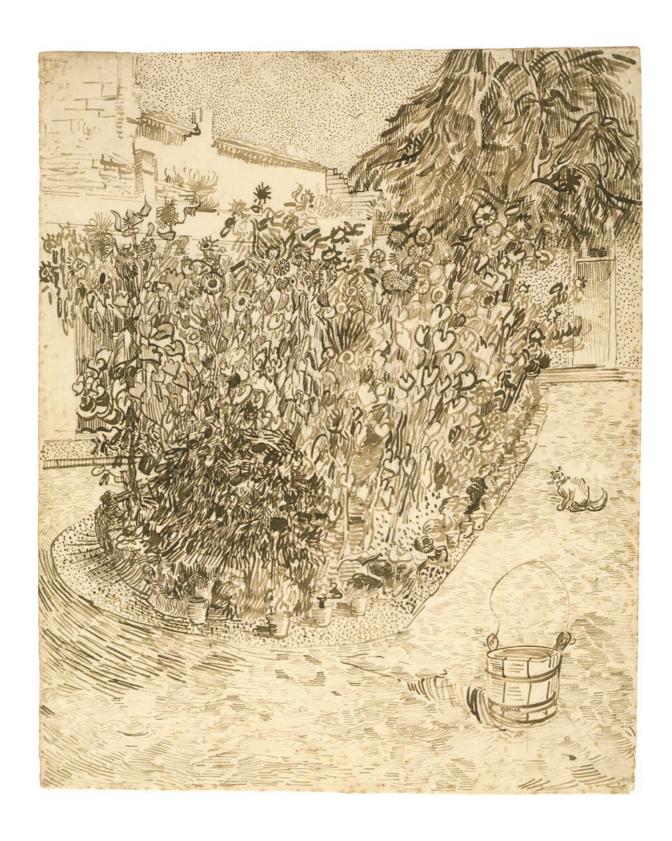
First week of August 1888 Pencil, reed pen, brush and brown ink, on wove paper 60.7 x 49.2 cm Watermark: J Wнатман TURKEY MILL 1879 Signed at lower right on the bucket: Vincent

Inv. d 175 V/1962 F 1457 JH 1539

Letter 661/519

F 429 JH 1513 (fig. 14, p. 16) and F 430 JH 1510. See also Winterthur 2003, p. 520.

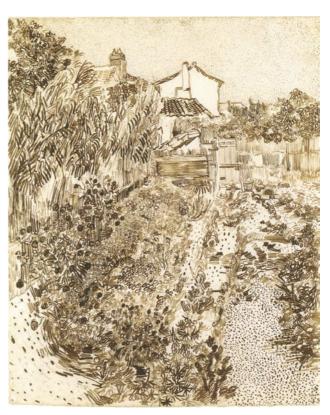
- 7 F 578 JH 1538. In letter 662/521 of 9 August, Van Gogh told his brother: 'I already have my eye on half a dozen subjects, especially that little cottage garden I sent you the drawing of yesterday' ('je guette déjà une demi douzaine de motifs, surtout ce petit jardin de paysan dont je t'ai envoyé hier le dessin'). See also Otterlo 1990, pp. 236, 237.
- 8 'Sous le ciel bleu les taches orangés, jaunes, rouges des fleurs prennent un éclat étonnant et dans l'air limpide il y a je ne sais quoi de plus heureux et plus amoureux que dans le nord. Cela vibre – comme le bouquet de Monticelli que tu as.' The painting by Adolphe Monticelli (1824-1886) is now preserved in the Van Gogh Museum, inv. s 251 V/1962. Van Gogh had high regard for this French painter's use of colour. 9 Letter of 8 August 1888: 'une tournée dans les fermes, très intéressant'.
- 10 'Ah ces jardins des fermes avec les belles grosses roses de Provence rouges, les vignes, les figuiers, c'est bien poétique et l'éternel soleil fort malgré lequel la verdure reste très verte.' See also Otterlo 1990, p. 237. 11 On this subject, see also Kodera 1990, p. 91.



345 Garden of a bathhouse



345a Garden with flowers (F 1455 JH 1512), 1888. Winterthur, The Oskar Reinhart Collection 'Am Römerholz'.



345b Garden with flowers (F 1456 JH 1537), 1888. Private collection.

This monumental drawing of the garden of a bathhouse, of which he made no painting, is the only one of the three garden views mentioned above to end up in the collection of the Van Gogh Museum.¹² Like the other two drawings, the *Garden of a bathhouse* was made on a full sheet of heavy wove paper with the watermark J Whatman turkey mill 1879.¹³

In the background of *Garden of a bathhouse* we see, to both left and right, a wall with a door or entrance gate. It is unclear whether the building in the background is part of the bathhouse or the adjacent premises. On the right, the view is obstructed by a large tree. ¹⁴ The flowerbed features sunflowers, which explains why this drawing was usually called *Garden with sunflowers*. In the same month in which he made this drawing, this flower inspired Van Gogh to paint four of the seven now-famous still lifes. ¹⁵ The plant with heart-shaped leaves and deep violet flowers with a black centre is identifiable as *volubilis*, a climber that is trained on stakes or grows on a host plant – in this case, sunflowers. ¹⁶

A cat sits next to the flowerbed on the right, its head turned towards the bucket in the foreground, on which Van Gogh signed his name in small letters. He used hatching to indicate the shadows cast to the left of both bucket and cat. The oval and sickle-shaped pen strokes were possibly intended to suggest puddles of water. That Van Gogh's choice of motif and manner of execution could have been inspired by Japanese printmaking is evident from comparison with a woodcut in the brothers' collection: *The garden bathtub (Niwa sakuken)* by Utagawa Kunisada also displays a wooden bucket, this one bearing an inscription on its side in Japanese characters (fig. 345c).¹⁷

Van Gogh filled the sky with dots, as seen in the other two large garden views (figs. 345a, 345b) and in many other drawings made during the second half of July

- 12 The little cottage garden in vertical format (fig. 345b) was sold in 1907 by Jo van Gogh-Bonger, Theo's widow. It is not known when the garden in horizontal format (fig. 345a) disappeared from the family collection. See Stolwijk/Veenenbos 2002, pp. 20, 195.

 13 See Heenk 1995, p. 177. Other Arles drawings in the collection of the Van Gogh Museum that were made on a full sheet with this watermark are cats. 341-343. For cat. 326 Van Gogh used the same paper; this sheet was trimmed on the left and at the bottom.
- 14 It could be a Deodar cedar (Cedrus Deodara).
- 15 The four still lifes of sunflowers painted in August are F 453 JH 1559, F 454 JH1562, F 456 JH 1561, F 459 JH 1560. See Chicago/Amsterdam 2001-02, pp. 130, 132. See also New York 1984, no. 85. Van Gogh made F 454 JH 1562 and F 456 JH 1561 to decorate the studio he and Gauguin were to share. See letter 670/526 of 21 or 22 August 1888.
- 16 Its Latin name is Ipomea Volubilis.
- 17 See Amsterdam 1991 11, p. 136.

18 See Otterlo 1990, p. 236. Another suggestion given there is that Van Gogh was influenced by the mechanical dots in prints appearing in illustrated magazines, though this seems a less likely explanation.

19 See Otterlo 1990, p. 236. In this publication Pickvance names F 1454 JH 1532 as the first drawing in which a stippled sky occurs. That drawing is however a copy of F 429 JH 1513, made for Russell, and was drawn some time between 31 July and 3 August (see note 5).

20 For information on the copies sent to Russell and Theo, see, for example, Roskill 1971, p. 171; Millard 1974, pp. 160, 161; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 266-77. See also cat. 344 and the Introduction, pp. 13-15.

21 This was observed earlier in Toronto/Amsterdam 1981, no. 20.

and August 1888. The use of stippling to define discrete areas can be traced to Japanese examples in Van Gogh's collection, as evidenced by the background of Utagawa Kunisada's *In the garden (fig. 345d)*. ¹⁸ This technique, which recalls pointillism, is used to good effect in Van Gogh's drawings to render the shimmering summer heat of Provence. The *Garden with flowers* in horizontal format, which Van Gogh had drawn in July (*fig. 345a*), is the first drawing to display a sky completely filled with dots. ¹⁹ Similar stippled skies occur in the group of twelve drawings made after paintings, which Van Gogh sent between 31 July and 3 August to Russell, as well as in the drawings made after paintings for Theo. After August Van Gogh no longer employed this technique. ²⁰

Most of the depiction was drawn directly in reed pen and brown ink; only the flowerbed bears traces of an underdrawing in pencil. Various pen strokes are discernible in the tree on the right. Remarkably, Van Gogh drew the flowers after first depicting the architecture in the background. *Garden of a bathhouse* is one of the drawings in which Van Gogh – after months of practice – finally succeeded in finding a style of his own. This work reveals a huge variety of pen strokes, and the flowers form a lively, almost ornamental whole. The paper support was left blank only in the walls of the building in the background, suggesting the reflection of sunlight. ²¹

In a letter written to Theo on 8 August, Vincent says a remarkable thing about the three large drawings of gardens: 'If the drawings I send you are too hard, it's





345c Utagawa Kunisada, The garden bathtub (Niwa sakuken), c. 1820. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

345d Utagawa Kunisada, In the garden, c. 1830. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum. because I've made them in such a way as to be able later on, if they're still around, to use them as the basis for painting' [661/519]. According to Ronald Pickvance, this 'hardness' had to do with the carefully articulated strokes and with the stylisation that is also apparent in the drawn copies Van Gogh made for Russell and Theo. This could very well be true, since he had made several of those copies because he felt that the paintings lacked precision in the brushwork and he wanted to improve upon this in the drawings.

22 'Si les dessins que je t'envoie sont trop durs c'est que je les ai fait de façon à pouvoir plus tard, si elles restent, m'en servir encore à titre de renseignement pour la peinture.'

- 23 See Otterlo 1990, p. 237.
- 24 See letter 661/519 of 8 August 1888. See also cat. 344 and the Introduction, pp. 13-15.

PROVENANCE

August 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

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Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 30; London 1962, pp. 12,
72, 73 no. 55; De la Faille 1970, pp. 509, 663;
Roskill 1971, pp. 152 note 23, 170, 177 note 193;
Millard 1974, p. 161; Hulsker 1980, pp. 346, 352,
353; Toronto/Amsterdam 1981, p. 130 no. 20;
New York 1984, pp. 72, 148, 149 no. 85, 162, 251;
Amsterdam 1987, p. 454 no. 2.521; Feilchenfeldt
1988, p. 133; Dorn 1990, p. 278 note 272; Otterlo
1990, pp. 234, 236, 238, 278 no. 206; De la Faille
1992, vol. 1, pp. 139, 379, 380, vol. 2, pl. CLX;
Kyoto/Tokyo 1992, p. 98 no. 21; Hulsker 1996,
pp. 346, 353; Martigny 2000, p. 79; Amsterdam/
New York 2005, pp. 260, 261 no. 92.

EXHIBITIONS

1902 Paris, no cat. known [Ffr. 325]; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 390 [Dfl. 225]; 1910 Cologne & Frankfurt am Main, no catalogue [Dfl. 600]; 1910 Berlin, no. 72 [not for sale]; 1911 Frankfurt am Main, no cat. known; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 164; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923 Utrecht, no. 47; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1924 Basel, no. 97 [Dfl. 2,800]; 1924 Zürich, no. 97 (Sfr. 6,700); 1924 Stuttgart, no. 16 [Dfl. 2,000]; 1925 Paris, unnumbered [Dfl. 2,000]; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 68; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 68; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 68; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 58; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 42; 1930 Laren, no. 53; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 40, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 210; 1932 Manchester, no. 70; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 92; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 63; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 67; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 90; 1947 Paris, no. 91; 1947 Geneva, no. 91; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 149; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 98, no. 99; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 256; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 104; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 68; 1952 Basel, no. 75; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 81; 1953 The Hague, no. 105; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 129; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 125; 1955 Antwerp, no. 291; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 186; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastleupon-Tyne, no. 117; 1956 Haarlem, no. 61; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 54; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 70, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 129; 1960 Enschede, no. 45; 1962 London, no. 55; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 97; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 97; 1965 Charleroi

& Ghent, no. 64; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 50; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 52; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 49; 1968 Liège, no. 49; 1968-69 London, no. 130; 1971-72 Paris, no. 177; 1974 Florence, no. 17; 1975 Malmö, no. 72; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 72; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 66; 1981 Toronto & Amsterdam, no. 20; 1984 New York, no. 85; 1990 Otterlo, no. 206; 1992 Kyoto & Tokyo, no. 21; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 92.

Mid-August 1888 Pencil, pen, reed pen and brown and black ink, on wove paper 24.2 x 32.0 cm Signed at lower left: Vincent

Inv. d 347 V/1962 F 1495 JH 1555

346 Railway storage yard

Around 12 August Van Gogh wrote that he had made a 'little study of Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée carriages'. And, with a touch of humour, he also reported that Milliet, the 'very resplendent second lieutenant of the Zouaves', had praised it as having 'quite the modern touch' [664/522]. In addition to the painting referred to in the letter – *Railway carriages* (*fig. 346a*), in which the initials P.L.M. (Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée) appear twice on the rightmost carriage – Van Gogh also made this drawing of the subject. To draw *Railway storage yard*, Van Gogh stood on the other side of the tracks, in a road to the right with a low wall running alongside it. The drawing shows that the telegraph pole, which in the painting towers above one of the carriages, was actually on the right-hand side of the tracks, between the carriage and the low wall.

The railway route Paris-Lyon-Marseille skirted Arles, which is 777 kilometres from Paris. The express train did not stop at Arles, so passengers for Arles had to change at nearby Tarascon and take a slow train, as Van Gogh, too, had done.

Railway storage yard was probably drawn not far from the Yellow House, at a place on the Rhône which Van Gogh had discovered at the end of July.² It depicts a depot where materials and tools necessary for railway construction and maintenance were stored. The crane in the background was probably used to shift sleepers or pieces of rail, or for loading and unloading ships on the Rhône.

Visible behind the ramshackle fence and the low wall are the back and right side of a carriage with windows. The back has a sheltered area with a small, rectangular window. A similar carriage is depicted in the painted study (*fig.* 346a). In the drawing, the handle of a handbrake is visible to the left of the shelter. When the engine driver gave the signal, this handle was turned to apply or release the brakes. Behind the carriage – on the right in the drawing – stands a carriage without a braker's shelter. In the 1880s a braker was stationed every few carriages, especially on goods trains.³

The right part of the picture is taken up by the road, at the end of which a man is walking. This figure is disproportionately large in comparison to the crane depicted further on. The telegraph pole in the middle features prominently and – together with the crane, the man and the telegraph pole on the far right – plays an important role in the suggestion of depth. In the painted composition, Van Gogh achieved a similar effect in reverse order, only the human figure is lacking and the crane has made way for a signal post.

Railway storage yard was drawn on a sheet of wove paper from the sketchbook that also supplied the paper for catalogue numbers 347, 344 and 348.4 As usual, Van Gogh first made an underdrawing in pencil; this is still clearly visible in the vegetation in the foreground and in the road on the right. The crane originally stood more to the left, as evidenced by a vague sketch in pencil. After making the underdrawing,

- 1 'une petite etude de wagons du Paris Lyon Mediterranee lesquelles deux dernieres études ont été approuvées comme "bien dans la note moderne" par le jeune émule du brav' général Boulanger, le très brillant sous lieutenant Zouaves'. The other painting Van Gogh refers to here is F 445 JH 1554, 'a little study of a roadside inn, with red and green carts' ('une petite étude d'une halte de forains, voitures rouges et vertes'). Van Gogh here calls Milliet, a bit derisively, 'the young rival of good old General Boulanger', referring to Georges Ernest Jean Marie Boulanger (1837-1891), the French Minister of War in 1886-87. See Jean Garrigues, *Le général Boulanger*, Paris 1991.
- 2 In letter 656/516 of 31 July, Van Gogh told Theo about discovering this 'railway depot' ('un chantier du chemin de fer'), where soon afterward he made the drawing Sand barges on the Rhône (F 1462 JH 1556).
- 3 With thanks to Lex van Marion, Nederlands Spoorwegmuseum (Dutch Railway Museum) in Utrecht.
- 4 See also the Introduction, p. 15.





346a Railway carriages (F 446 JH 1553), 1888. Avignon, Angladon-Dubrujeaud Foundation.

Van Gogh worked in ink with reed pens of various thicknesses, as well as a very fine pen. The ink is now brown, and in some places gleaming black. Perhaps the black parts are less faded because the ink was applied more thickly in those places, but it is also possible that Van Gogh used more than one shade of ink.

The figure in the background was drawn directly in ink. There is an ink stain at the lower right, and the sky above the train contains a splash of white paint with craquelures. This is probably opaque watercolour that was spilled on the drawing in the studio. The yellowing of the paper has made the white spot more noticeable.

Van Gogh filled the entire sheet and covered the sky with stippling. These dots were drawn with the reed pen, as is apparent from their small v-shape, the result of the rapid and resolute pressing of pen on paper. The dots contrast with the often short, vigorous lines that dominate the rest of the drawing. On the basis of the stippled sky, which is typical of the drawings made in July and August, as well as the paper, *Railway storage yard* can be dated to the summer. A passage in a letter, in which Van Gogh mentions a painted study of the same subject, even makes it possible to date it more exactly to mid-August 1888, before or after the painting of the same subject.⁵

Railway storage yard has always been viewed as an independent drawing, made on the spot. What makes the work special is the signature in the lower left-hand corner, since Van Gogh did not generally sign his small drawings. He did however sign a large number of the drawings made after paintings in July and August.

- 5 See also London 1968-69, no. 131; Roskill 1971, p. 171; Millard 1974, p. 161; Hulsker 1996, pp. 356, 357; Amsterdam 1987 no. 2.512. De la Faille 1970 dates the work to the summer of 1888. See cat. 345 for more information on the use of stippling in Van Gogh's
- **6** A restored tear runs through the signature.
- **7** See Heenk 1995, p. 178. If this drawing is indeed a copy, then the painting has been lost.

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Vogelsang 1905, ill. after p. 68; Van Meurs 1910, no. 20; Lettres 1911, pl. LIV; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 149, vol. 4, pl. CLXVIII; Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 34; De Gruyter 1961, pp. 106, 107 no. 43; London 1968-69, p. 90 no. 131; De la Faille 1970, pp. 520, 521, 665; Hulsker 1980, pp. 356, 357; Amsterdam 1987, p. 453 no. 2.512; Amsterdam 1988, p. 196; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 135; Otterlo 1990, pp. 220, 235; Glasgow/Amsterdam 1990-91, p. 168 no. 45; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 149, 390, vol. 2, pl. CLXVIII; Heenk 1995, p. 178; Hulsker 1996, pp. 356, 357.

Exhibitions

1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 372 [Dfl. 140]; 1909-10 Berlin, no. 214 (not for sale); 1912 The Hague & Amsterdam, no. 17 (not for sale); 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 151; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923 Utrecht, no. 40; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 74; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 74; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 74; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 65; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 47; 1930 Laren, no. 56; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 45, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 192; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 81; 1947 Paris, no. 82; 1947 Geneva, no. 82; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 82; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 152; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 103, no. 104; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 262; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 108; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 73; 1953 Zürich, no. 87; 1953 The Hague, no. 111; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 134; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 126; 1954-55 Bern, no. 143; 1955 Antwerp, no. 287; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 182; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 120; 1956 Haarlem, no. 65; 1957 Breda, no. 67; 1957 Marseilles, no. 62; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 71, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 134; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 33; 1959-60 Utrecht, no. 85; 1960 Enschede, no. 49; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 128; 1961 Arles, no. 18; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 125; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 125; 1964 Zundert, no. 25; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 88; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 108; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 54; 1968 Liège, no. 54; 1968-69 London, no. 131; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 30; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 97 & Columbus, no. 29; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 97; 1971-72 Paris, no. 183; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 68; 1975 Malmö, no. 73; 1976 Stockholm &Oslo, no. 73; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 71; 1990-91 Glasgow & Amsterdam, no. 45.

August 1888 Pencil, pen, reed pen and brown ink, on wove paper 24.4 x 32,0 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 422 V/1962 F 1466 JH 1552

- 1 On the basis of their large flowers and leaves, as well as their tall stalks, the thistles in this drawing can be identified as a type of milk thistle, *Silybum Marianum*, a roadside plant. Its flowering time runs from June until late August.
- 2 'En fait d'études j'ai deux etudes de *chardons* dans un terrain vague, des chardons blancs de la fine poussière du chemin.' Van Gogh used 'étude' to refer to a painted study.
- 3 Letter of c. 21 August 1888 to Bernard: 'des chardons poussiereux avec grand essaim de papillons tourbillonnant dessus'. See also letter 670/526 of 21 or 22 August 1888 to Theo. This painting with butterflies is not known. Dorn 1990, p. 44 (no. 7), identifies it as Corner of a garden with flowers and butterflies (F 460 JH 1676). There are however no thistles depicted in that painting; moreover, Van Tilborgh places F 460 JH 1676 in the Paris period. See Paintings 2.
- 4 Letter of 3 October 1888: 'Une etude de chardons gris et poussiereux'. At one time this work was in the possession of the artist Henri Moret. See Bernard 1994, vol. 1, p. 307.
- 5 In the painting (F 447 JH 1550, fig. 347a) the thistles are indeed white, as Van Gogh described them in his letter to Theo. A piece of the sky is visible and a woman is walking down the road. In addition to this work, painting F 447a JH 1551, too, has always been connected with this passage in letter 664/522 of c. 12 August 1888 to Theo. We know this painting only from reproductions (department of documentation, Van Gogh Museum; see also De la Faille 1970, F 447a;

347 Thistles by the roadside

In addition to three paintings with thistles as their main subject, in Arles Van Gogh also made a drawing of this theme (cat.347). He mentioned two of the painted works in a letter he wrote to Theo around 12 August 1888: 'As regards studies, I have two of thistles on indistinct terrain, thistles white from the fine dust of the road' [664/522]. Later Van Gogh described another painting of 'dusty thistles with a big swarm of butterflies whirling above' [669/B15].³

The subject of the drawing corresponds to some extent with that of the painting *Thistles* (fig. 347a), which Van Gogh described in a letter to Bernard as 'a study of grey and dusty thistles' [700/B18].⁴ The drawing and that painting were not made in exactly the same spot. In both cases Van Gogh chose a vantage point that is high in relation to the road and low in relation to the thistles. In contrast to the painting, the horizon in the drawing remains outside the picture and no human figure has been added to the composition.⁵

Like *Garden of a bathhouse (cat. 345*), for example, *Thistles by the roadside* displays a great variety of lively pen strokes: rapidly placed dots and dashes, circles and semicircles, vertical and horizontal lines, and fanciful flourishes. Van Gogh splendidly suggested the dusty road simply by leaving the middle distance blank.⁶

There are traces of a pencil underdrawing only in the foreground and in the road; the rest of the composition was drawn directly in brown ink. Using a reed pen, Van Gogh first executed the thistles in the foreground in considerable detail. The background – or rather, the other side of the road – was drawn later. The lines and dots of the roadside, like the building on the left, were carefully placed around the thistles. It is difficult to say what exactly is on the other side of the road. On the left, Van Gogh drew the wall of a house or shed that seems to stand perpendicular to the road. On the right is a row of trees.

To elaborate the thistle stalks and leaves in the middle of the picture, Van Gogh used a fine pen, as he did for the dots in the background. The ink was applied in various quantities, in some places so heavily that it bled a bit. Some ink was splattered in the foreground. The verso also displays black ink stains, as well as a few flecks of red, blue, yellow and orange paint.

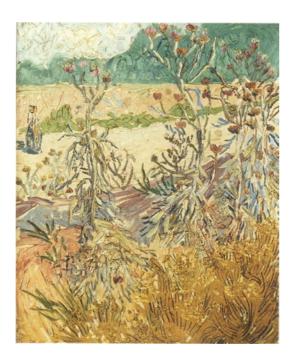
The picture is drawn on a small sheet of wove paper measuring 24.4 by 32.0 centimetres that came from a sketchpad. Catalogue numbers 344, 348 and 346,

Hulsker 1996, JH 1551; and the auction catalogue of Sotheby's London, 31 March 1987, lot 12). There, however, the typification of the thistles and the work's spatial arrangement are far less pronounced, and judging from one of the reproductions in the archives of the Van Gogh Museum, it seems that the style and use of colour in that work are less vigorous and direct than in

other works Van Gogh made in the summer of 1888. More research is required to determine the place of this work in Van Gogh's oeuvre, but its connection with the passage in the letter remains, for the time being, very dubious.

6 See also Kyoto/Tokyo 1992, no. 22; New York 1984, no. 86.





347a *Thistles* (F 447 JH 1550), 1888. Private collection.

- 7 Ronald Pickvance previously pointed out that these sheets had the same format. See Otterlo 1990, p. 221. Van Gogh also used this sketchpad in Saint-Rémy. See the Introduction, p. 15.
- **8** Only De la Faille 1970 places this work in the autumn of 1888. The editors of that catalogue raisonné stressed that there was no connection with the paintings F 447 JH 1550 (fig. 347a) and F 447a JH 1551.

likewise made in the (late) summer, are also drawn on paper from this sketch-pad.⁷

Thistles by the roadside is generally dated to August 1888. We have maintained this dating, for one reason because Van Gogh made the paintings of the same subject at this time, and also because the stylisation and use of stippling are characteristics seen in many of the drawings originating in July and August 1888 (see, for example, *cats*. 345, 346).

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 142, vol. 4, pl. CLXI; Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 40; De la Faille 1970, pp. 511, 664; Hulsker 1980, pp. 350, 356; New York 1984, p. 150 no. 86; Mabuchi 1985, pp. 167, 174 ill. 34; Amsterdam 1987, p. 454 no. 2.520; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 133; Otterlo 1990, p. 220; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 142, 382, vol. 2, pl. CLXI; Kyoto/Tokyo 1992, p. 100 no. 22; Heenk 1995, p. 178; Hulsker 1996, pp. 350, 356.

EXHIBITIONS

1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 366 [Dfl. 125]; 1910 Cologne & Frankfurt am Main, no catalogue [Dfl. 350]; 1910 Berlin, no. 63 [DM 600]; 1911 Frankfurt am Main, no cat. known; 1912 The Hague & Amsterdam, no. 2 (not for sale); 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 147; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 69; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 69; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 69; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 59; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 43; 1930 Laren, no. 29?; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 41, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 190; 1932 Manchester, no. 61; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 94; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 64; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 68; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 81; 1947 Basel, no. 156; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 150; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 99, no. 100; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 257; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 105; 1951 Lyons & Grenoble, no. 92; 1951 Arles, no. 92; 1951

Amsterdam, no. 69; 1952 Basel, no. 76; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 82; 1953 The Hague, no. 106; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 130; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 128; 1954-55 Bern, no. 141; 1955 Antwerp, no. 282; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 177; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 121; 1956 Haarlem, no. 62; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 55; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 66; 1958 Mons, no. 67; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 130; 1960 Enschede, no. 46; 1961 Arles, no. 15; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 123; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 123; 1964 Zundert, no. 24; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 51; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 53; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 50; 1968 Liège, no. 50; 1968-69 London, no. 138; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 27; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 98 & Columbus, no. 30; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 98; 1971-72 Paris, no. 178; 1972 Bordeaux, no. 61; 1972 Munich, no. 956; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 66; 1977 Paris, unnumbered; 1984 New York, no. 86; 1992 Kyoto & Tokyo, no. 22.

348 Park with fence

Like most of the drawings Van Gogh made in July and August 1888, *Park with fence* fills nearly the whole sheet. It was drawn with reed pens of various thicknesses. In the places where the brown ink was applied more heavily, it has a slight sheen and has bled through to the verso. Traces of the pencil underdrawing are visible only in the foreground.

Opinions differ as to when *Park with fence* was drawn: the sheet has been dated variously to the spring and (late) summer of 1888, sometimes with no reason given. A dating to the spring is ruled out here, considering the huge stylistic differences from the early Arles drawings (see *cat. 330*). Van Gogh's painstaking and varied style is clearly an elaboration of the manner of drawing characteristic of the works he made that summer. His handling of the reed pen corresponds to that seen in the large drawings of gardens made in August, such as the previously discussed *Garden of a bathhouse (cat. 345*). Even though that drawing, like this park view, displays a combination of flowing lines, hatching, dots and heart-shaped pen strokes, *Park with fence* is more stylised. In this respect it is more closely related to

19-24 September 1888
Pencil, reed pen and brown ink,
on wove paper
31.9 x 24.4 cm
Unsigned

Inv. d 346 V/1962 F 1477 JH 1411

- 1 Roskill 1971, p. 166, assigns this drawing to the March-May period; Hulsker 1996, p. 320, dates it to late April; Millard 1974, p. 161, places the sheet in mid-August; Heenk 1995, p. 177, thinks the drawing was made in the second half of August or early September; Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.516, dates it to the summer; New York 1984, p. 179, dates the sheet to mid-August. London 1968-69, no. 135 and De la Faille 1970 assume the drawing originated in September.
- 2 See New York 1984, cat. 106; Otterlo 1990, p. 221.



348a Grassy area with weeping tree (F 1449 JH 1534), 1888. Private collection.



348 Park with fence

Grassy area with weeping tree, which Van Gogh sent to his friend Russell some time between 31 July and 3 August (fig. 348a). This drawing was made on wove paper from the sketchpad that also provided the sheets for *Park with fence* and catalogue numbers 344, 346 and 347.4

Park with fence was presumably drawn between 19 and 24 September. Van Gogh, who had been concentrating mainly on painting since mid-August, worked frequently in the park on Place Lamartine during these days. The night of 17-18 September was to be his first in the Yellow House,⁵ whose two small upstairs rooms look out over this 'public garden, from which one can see the sun rise in the morning' [681/W7].⁶ Concerning his work in general, Vincent told Theo that he felt freer, and expressed the hope that he would now be able to devote more attention to style and quality.⁷ After making three paintings in the park (figs. 348b, 348c),⁸ Vincent wrote to Theo on 18 September to inform him that his paint, his canvas and his purse were all 'completely exhausted', and that the following day he was going to 'draw, until the paint comes' [687/539].⁹ On 25 September he received new painting supplies.¹⁰

Park with fence features the same or similar trees as the last two paintings he made before running out of supplies (figs. 348b, 348c). These works, produced in the park on the Rhône side of Place Lamartine, show a path beneath plane trees, a grassy area, dark conifers and a wooden fence in the background. For the drawing Van Gogh chose a new vantage point, viewing the scene from the street, on the other side of the fence. The windows of a building are visible in the left background.

- 3 Grassy area with weeping tree (F 1449 JH 1534) is a copy of a lost painting. See New York 1984, no. 79.
- 4 See the Introduction, p. 15.
- 5 See letter 686/538-538a of 18 September 1888.
- **6** Letter of 9-c. 14 September 1888: 'il y a 2 petites pieces en haut qui donnent sur un jardin public très joli et où le matin on peut apercevoir le soleil levant.'
- 7 See letter 687/539 of 18 September 1888.
- 8 The third painting was F 468 JH 1578. For these works, see letter 685/537 (F 468 JH 1578), letter 686/538 (fig. 348b) and letter 687/539 (fig. 348c).
- 9 Letter 687/539 of 18 September 1888: 'Mais ma couleur, ma toile, ma bourse est epuisée aujourd'hui completement' and 'Demain je vais dessiner jusqu'à ce qu'arrive la couleur.'
- 10 In letter 691/541a of 25 September 1888, Van Gogh thanks his brother for the canvas and paint.
- 11 See letters 686/538 and 687/539, both of 18 September 1888.



348b Path in the park (F 470 JH 1582), 1888. Otterlo, Kröller-Müller Museum.



348c An avenue in the public garden with weeping tree (F 471 JH 1613), 1888. Destroyed during the Second World War.

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Mercure de France 1893, ill. p. 75; Lettres 1911, pl. Lv; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, pp. 144, 145, vol. 4, pl. CLXIII; London 1968-69, p. 92 no. 135; Wadley 1969, p. 37; De la Faille 1970, pp. 514, 664; Roskill 1971, pp. 166, 175 note 183, 177 note 193; Hulsker 1974, pp. 27, 30 note 5; Millard 1974, pp. 161, 165 note 64; Chetham 1976, pp. 164, 165, ill. 123; Hulsker 1980, pp. 316, 318, 320; New York 1984, pp. 160, 180 no. 106, 216; Amsterdam 1987, p. 453 no. 2.516; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 134; Otterlo 1990, pp. 220, 235, 247 no. 173; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 144, 145, 385, vol. 2, pl. CLXIII; Hulsker 1996, p. 320; Amsterdam/ New York 2005, pp. 264, 265 no. 94.

Exhibitions

1893 Leiden, no catalogue; 1902 Paris, no cat. known [Ffr. 175]; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 402 [Dfl. 150]; 1910 Cologne & Frankfurt am Main, no catalogue [Dfl. 450]; 1910 Berlin, no. 60 [DM 600]; 1911 Frankfurt am Main, no cat. known; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 162?; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue?; 1923 Utrecht, no. 53; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 76; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 76; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 76; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 63; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 194; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 78; 1947 Paris, no. 79; 1947 Geneva, no. 79; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 153; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 102, no. 103; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 260; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 71; 1952 Basel, no. 78; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 85; 1953 The Hague, no. 109; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 132; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 127; 1955 Antwerp, no. 286; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 181; 1956 Haarlem, no. 64; 1957 Breda, no. 66; 1957 Marseilles, no. 61; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 72, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 133; 1959-60 Utrecht, no. 86; 1960 Enschede, no. 48; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 127; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 124; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 124; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 100; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 100; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 66; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 54; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 56; 1968-69 London, no. 135; 1971-72 Paris, no. 182; 1972 Munich, no. 957; 1975 Malmö, no. 76; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 76; 1984 New York, no. 106; 1990 Otterlo, no. 173; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 94.

349 The Yellow House (The street)

On I May I888 Van Gogh proudly wrote to his brother that he had rented a house for I5 francs a month: the right wing of a building on Place Lamartine (fig. 349a). The house consisted of two rooms on the ground floor and two rooms upstairs (fig. 349b). It had red-tiled floors and the rooms were whitewashed. The outside walls were yellow and the door, the window frames and the shutters were painted green.

Van Gogh was well acquainted with the square, located just outside the town walls on the north side of the city (fig. 349c). Upon arriving in Arles he had crossed it on his way from the railway station to the town centre, and he passed it frequently in the first months of his stay, en route to the fields and orchards outside Arles (where he went to paint and draw), his route taking him to Place Lamartine, where he turned into the road to Tarascon. He had also spent time drawing in the public gardens in this square (see cats. 329, 330). Indeed, it was the proximity of these public gardens that made the premises so appealing to him.²

The house had been empty for a while and was in need of repair before Van Gogh could move in.³ He also had to furnish it, and this involved so much money that it could not be done right away. It was September before he could finally purchase – after receiving 300 francs from Theo – enough furniture and household utensils to be able to live there,⁴ until which time he used the house only as a studio and storeroom for his paintings.⁵

Renting the house gave Van Gogh a sense of comfort, possession and security, and released him from the unreasonable demands of hotel owners, who charged him extra to store his paintings. Moreover, the house brought him closer to realising his dream of establishing an artists' community, a plan that he and Theo had discussed with various artists shortly before he left Paris. ⁶

Because Vincent wanted to give Theo an impression of the house immediately, he added a quick sketch to his letter of I May (fig. 329a), in which he described the house. He also referred in that letter to a 'hasty sketch' he had recently sent, in which the house appeared in the background (cat. 329) – and announced his intention to send a better drawing, a promise he did not fulfil until months later.

Theo did not see another picture of the Yellow House until the end of September, when Vincent sent a letter containing a sketch made from memory of the painting he had just made of the Yellow House (figs. 349d, 349e). In this letter, too, he promised to send a better drawing soon, and this time he did keep his promise. In the first week of October he sent the present watercolour drawing, which he made after the painting, since around 9 October he wrote: 'Did you see that drawing of mine which I put in with Bernard's drawings, representing the house? You can get some idea of the colour. I have a size 30 canvas after that drawing' [705/548].⁸

The last remark was long thought to indicate that the watercolour drawing preceded the painting. The 1970 edition of De la Faille's catalogue raisonné was the

3-8 October 1888
Pencil, reed pen, pen and brown ink, opaque and transparent watercolour, on laid paper 25.7 x 32.0 cm
Watermark: Glaslan
Unsigned

Inv. d 431 V/1962 F 1413 JH 1591

Letter 705/548

- 1 Letter 604/480. See cat. 329 and the Introduction,
- p. 17, for the passage describing the house.
- 2 See letter 606/482 of c. 3 May 1888.
- 3 In late May or early June he had the house painted inside and out. See letters 616/491 of 27 May 1888 and 626/496 of 12 June 1888.
- 4 He first slept there on the night of 17-18 September; see letter 686/538 of 18 September 1888.
- 5 In mid-May, after a conflict with the owner of Hôtel Carrel, Van Gogh changed hotels, staying from then on at another establishment on Place Lamartine, the Café de la Gare, owned by Mr and Mrs Ginoux.
- 6 Regarding this artists' community, see the Introduction, p. 17.
- 7 See letter 695/543 of c. 29 September 1888.
- 8 'As tu vu que le dessin de moi, que j'ai ajouté aux dessins Bernard, represente la maison. Tu pourras te faire une idee de la couleur. J'ai une toile de 30 de ce dessin-là.' At the end of September Van Gogh had received Bernard's drawings, comprising eleven water-colours in a wrapper titled *At the brothel (Au bordel)*; see letter 693/B17 written between 27 September and 1 October 1888. The series is preserved in the Van Gogh Museum, inv. nos. d 623-d 634 V/1962.
- 9 Cooper 1955 I places the drawing in the period July-September and Bowness, in London 1968-69, in June-July. Before Cooper's publication the sheet was generally linked to letter 604/480 and therefore dated to May.



349a Photograph of the Yellow House, beginning of the twentieth century.

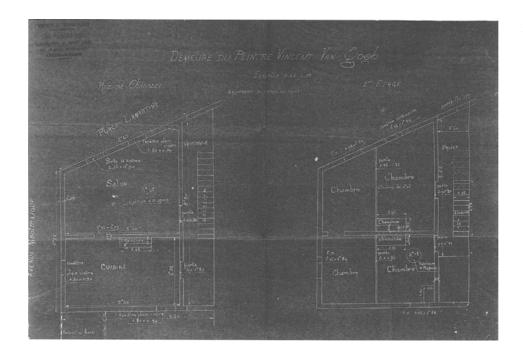


first publication to suggest that the drawing followed the painting, an idea that did not gain general acceptance until the 1980s. ¹⁰ Except for the above-mentioned reference, which should be read simply as an allusion to the painting rather than an indication of the works' chronology, there is nothing to suggest that the watercolour drawing was made before the painting. No fewer than half of the sheets executed in watercolour were made after paintings. They were intended to give Theo an impression not only of the compositions but also of the colours used. ¹¹ The theory that this watercolour drawing was a preparatory study for the painting was probably prompted by the differences between the two works, ¹² but it neglects to take into account that none of the drawings Van Gogh made after paintings is an exact copy.

Around 9 October, therefore, Theo must have received the watercolour drawing, which had probably been sent between 4 or 5 October – when Van Gogh still had Bernard's drawings – and 8 October. Since Van Gogh was busy painting *The green vineyard* (F 475 JH 1595) during the first days of October, and he reported on 3 October that it was finished and he had no more canvas, it seems likely that the drawing was made between 3 and 8 October. It would be quite some time before he made another drawing.

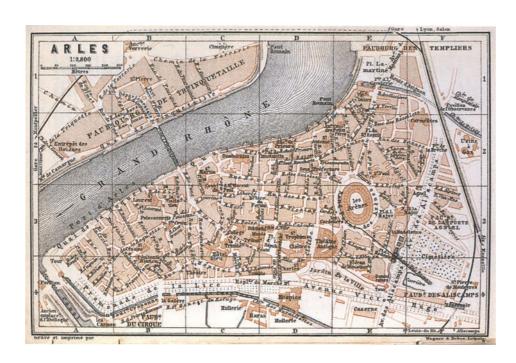
The focal point of the picture is Van Gogh's Yellow House. In the left wing of the building was a grocer's shop with Comestibles written on the façade. The pink building behind the tree on the left is the restaurant Vénissac where Van Gogh ate every day. The pavement in front of this building, where the tree grows, is surrounded by a high fence; in the painting one can see the glass screens attached to it. The street that closes off the composition on the right is Avenue de Montmajour, which ran from Arles to Montmajour and which Van Gogh called the 'main road' or 'the road to Tarascon' (fig. 349f). On the pavement is a covered outdoor café with people sitting at tables. In the road are two women in traditional Arlésienne dress and a man. Two railway viaducts cross this road: the foremost one, with a train passing over it, is en route from Arles to Lunel, on the other side of the Rhône; the hindmost viaduct was used by trains entering Arles station. Between the two railway

- 10 Roskill 1971, Millard 1974 and Hulsker 1977 still date the watercolour drawing to September, i.e. preceding the painting.
- 11 See cat. 326 for a list of the watercolour drawings from the Arles period.
- 12 See Roskill 1971, p. 173. Notable differences are the placing of the figures, the pattern of the awning on the house next door and the placing of the lamp-post.
- 13 See letter 701/545 of 4 or 5 October 1888.
- 14 See letter 698/544 of 3 October 1888. On 8 October he received money from Theo, which he immediately spent on canvas; see letter 703/546 of 8 October 1888.
- 15 Except for a watercolour copy of a painting by Bernard (F 1422 JH 1654), Van Gogh made no drawings from the beginning of October 1888 to the beginning of May 1889. See cat. 350.
- 16 The painting lacks this inscription, whereas the letter sketch (fig. 349d) after the painting does include it.
- 17 See letter 695/543 of c. 29 September 1888.
- 18 This outdoor café possibly belonged to the shop run by the liqueur seller E. Brunel. His business was located at Avenue de Montmajour 72. See Indicateur Marseillais 1888.



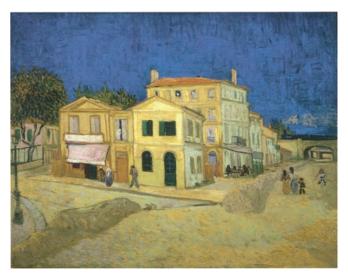
349b Floor plan of the Yellow House, from the 1923 Coquiot manuscript. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

349c Map of Arles, from Baedeker 1889.





349d Sketch in a letter written to Theo on c. 29 September 1888 [695/543], F 1453 JH 1590. Private collection.



349e The Yellow House (The street) (F 464 JH 1589), 1888. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

bridges, in an alleyway on the left, was the post office where Van Gogh's friend Joseph Etienne Roulin (1841-1903) worked.¹⁹

Along the pavement and in the foreground are pencil lines that can be explained only in relation to the painting, in which piles of sand are visible in those places. In the watercolour drawing Van Gogh merely indicated their place, without rendering them in any detail. The street had probably been broken up in order to lay down gas pipes, to which the ground floor of the Yellow House was eventually connected.²⁰ The lamp-post at the lower left is placed lower than its counterpart in the painting. This is the result of modifications in the relative proportions of the foreground, the block of houses and the sky: in the watercolour drawing, the foreground is less deep and the houses are somewhat smaller, leaving considerably more room for the sky.

Van Gogh first made a rather accurate sketch in pencil of the main outlines of the scene: the contours of the buildings and such details as doors and windows, the railway viaducts, the road with sand-piles, and the tree on the left. He then traced over most of the pencil lines with pen and brown ink, using this material to add the train, the figures and the window panes of the Yellow House. Only afterward did he add colour by means of opaque and transparent watercolour, which he had ordered from Theo at the end of May. As in the painting, he gave the two wings of the building two different shades of yellow: his own house is lemon yellow, while the shop next door is a softer shade. He left the paper blank in the foreground and in the street on the right, causing those passages to be lighter than they appear in the painting, where they are yellow. Only after colouring in the buildings and trees did Van Gogh paint the sky blue. As a finishing touch, he applied the white opaque watercolour that represents the clouds of steam coming from the train, and used a ruler to frame the picture with pen and ink. *The Yellow House (The street)* is the only drawing from Arles that Van Gogh drew on laid paper with the watermark Glaslan.

- 19 Ibidem
- 20 The first mention of gas in the Yellow House is in letter 711/B22 of 17 October. See also letters 719/558b, 738/570, 758/583, 714/556 and Amsterdam/Pittsburgh 2000-01, p. 202.
- 21 See cat. 326 regarding this order.
- 22 Heenk 1995 thinks that F 1478 JH 1444, F 1516 JH 1376, F 1428 JH 1458 and F 1484 JH 1438 were also made on this paper, but no watermark was found on the first two, and the strokes of the letters visible in the last one belong to the watermark Lalanne. We do not know whether F 1428 JH 1458 contains a watermark.



349f Photograph of Avenue de Montmajour (seen from Place Lamartine) with the Yellow House on the left, c. 1905. From Clébert and Richard 1981, p. 82.

This working method was described by Pickvance as typical of Van Gogh's independent watercolour drawings. ²³ In his view, Van Gogh generally began copies of paintings by making an underdrawing in pencil, then painting directly in watercolour, and finally working up the drawing with the pen. *The Yellow House (The street)* and *Night café* (F 1463 JH 1576), a copy in watercolour made at the beginning of September, are clearly an exception to this working method, since in these works Van Gogh used watercolour to colour in the elements marked out in pencil and pen and ink. ²⁴

By allowing blue and yellow to dominate the picture, Van Gogh hoped to capture the warmth and bright light of the South. He employed the same contrast, in which a cool colour brings out the warmth in a warm colour, in various versions of the *Sunflowers* dating from August and in the *Outdoor café in the Place du Forum* of September. On more than one occasion he associated such colour combinations with the work of Johannes Vermeer (1632-1675).

In the letter in which Vincent told Theo he had rented the Yellow House, he also expressed the hope of living there with other artists. The first person Van Gogh had in mind as a housemate was Paul Gauguin (1848-1903),²⁷ who joined him in Arles at the end of October. This was the first step towards establishing a true community of artists.²⁸ To prepare for Gauguin's arrival, Van Gogh started work in the second half of August on a series of paintings intended both to decorate the Yellow House and to contribute to the realisation of a house for artists. The painting of *The Yellow House* (*fig. 349e*) was part of this decoration.²⁹ Van Gogh was extremely pleased with these works, and was convinced that they would be worth a lot of money when finished.³⁰

For Van Gogh, the painting of the Yellow House had qualities above and beyond its value as a portrait of his house. By using the colours yellow and blue he had succeeded in rendering the yellow houses and the street just as they were in the hot midday sun, standing out against the hard blue sky, which in his view was a very difficult motif.³¹ Such a street, deserted in the blistering heat of high noon, made him think of passages from books by Emile Zola and Gustave Flaubert, authors he admired.³² Moreover, the house in blinding sunlight forms the counterpart to *Starry night* (F 474 JH 1592) – a painting Van Gogh was working on at this time – a sketch of which he also enclosed in the letter he wrote to Theo at the end of September.³³

- 23 In Otterlo 1990, p. 229.
- 24 This was not observed by Pickvance, ibid.
- 25 The sunflowers dating from August in which this colour contrast was used are F 453 JH 1559, F 459 JH 1560, F 456 JH 1561. The outdoor café is F 467 JH 1580.
- 26 See, for example, letters 662/521 of 9 August and 687/539 of 18 September 1888. Earlier on Van Gogh had connected blue and yellow with Eugène Delacroix, in, for instance, letter 598/476 of c. 11 April 1888.
- 27 Letter 604/480 of 1 May 1888.
- **28** For Gauguin's stay in Arles and the artists' community, see the Introduction, pp. 17, 18.
- 29 See letter 708/552 of 13 October 1888.
- **30** See letters 686/535 of 18 September and 715/551 of 22 October 1888.
- **31** See letters 695/543 of c. 29 September 1888 and 696/553b of 2 October 1888.
- **32** Zola's L'Assommoir and Flaubert's Bouvard et Pécuchet.
- **33** Letter 695/543. The sketch is F 1515 JH 1593. On the various aspects of the painting, see also Dorn 1990, pp. 131-33.

Van Gogh did not immediately give the painting a title, at first referring to it, for example, as 'my house and its surroundings'.34 At the beginning of October he described it as 'the view of the house, which might be called *the street*' [700/B18].35 But 'The street' was not the title he used ten days later when he included the canvas in a list of the paintings made to decorate the house, in which it is recorded simply as 'the house' [708/552].36 The title *The Yellow House* derives from Van Gogh's name for the house itself, not the way he referred to the painting. He often spoke of 'the yellow house' or 'my little yellow house'. This was first used as the title of the painting in a publication by Douglas Cooper of 1953, since which time 'the yellow house' has usually been part of the title, or even the whole title.37

Neither living with Gauguin nor the hope of founding an artists' community lasted very long. Gauguin thought Van Gogh seemed agitated, and their stubborn and temperamental natures soon clashed. On 23 December, two months after Gauguin's arrival in Arles, the situation worsened dramatically: after weeks of tension they had a violent quarrel and Van Gogh, suffering an acute mental breakdown, cut off part of his earlobe and was subsequently admitted to hospital. Sauguin left Arles a couple of days later without saying goodbye. When he had recovered, Van Gogh returned to the Yellow House on 7 January 1889, but on 7 February he again suffered from paranoid delusions and had to be admitted to hospital. A short time later, when he had recovered enough to go to the house to paint during the day, the neighbours protested vehemently. They succeeded in having him confined to hospital, and persuaded the police to bolt the door of his house to keep him out. Van Gogh kept the Yellow House until 21 April, but never lived there again.

- 34 See letters 695/543 of c. 29 September 1888 ('la maison et son entourage') and 696/553b of 2 October 1888 ('une vue de ma maison et de l'entourage').
- 35 'puis la vue de la maison pourrait s'appeler *la rue*'. The letter dates from 3 October 1888. It has been suggested that Van Gogh was referring here to the seventeenth-century genre of *straatjes* (little streets), such as *The little street* by Vermeer (Amsterdam 1990, p. 154). It is indeed possible that these works exerted an indirect influence on Van Gogh he was, after all, well acquainted with the older Dutch art but there is nothing to suggest a direct connection between the two.
- 36 'la maison'; letter of 13 October 1888.
- 37 Cooper 1953.
- 38 See the Introduction, p. 18. In the asylum at St.-Rémy, where Van Gogh stayed from May 1889 until May 1890, he was diagnosed as having epilepsy. See the Introduction, note 96.
- 39 See the Introduction, p. 18, and note 97 there.
- **40** See the Introduction, note 98. The ground floor of both wings of the building was converted into a café in the 1920s. In June 1944 the building was destroyed by bombing.

Provenance

October 1888-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 127, vol. 4, pl. CXIVIII; Cooper 1953, pp. 95, 96; Cooper 1955 I, pp. 69-72 no. 23; De Gruyter 1961, pp. 90, 91 no. v1; London 1962, pp. 12, 68, 69 no. 53; London 1968-69, pp. 88, 89 no. 127; De la Faille 1970, pp. 495, 572, 662; Roskill 1971, pp. 173, 177 note 193; Cooper 1974; Millard 1974, p. 161; Hulsker 1980, p. 364; Toronto/Amsterdam 1981, p. 137 no. 25; New York 1984, pp. 160, 172, 175, 176 no. 102, 186, 223, 235; Amsterdam 1987, p. 455 no. 2.523; Arles 1989, pp. 56, 57 no. 23; Dorn 1990, pp. 227 note 10, 376, 377; Otterlo 1990, pp. 230, 264 no. 191; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 127, 366, 367, vol. 2, pl. CXIVIII; Heenk 1995, p. 173; Hulsker 1996,

pp. 362, 364, 365; Tokyo 2000, pp. 82, 83, 175 no. 23; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 298, 299 no. 98.

Exhibitions

1905 Amsterdam 11, no. 474 [Dfl. 250]; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 181; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1926 Amsterdam, no. 48; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 47; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 34; 1930 Laren, no. 45; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 30, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 199; 1937 Paris, no. 73; 1937 Oslo, no. 30; 1938 Copenhagen, no. 26; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 87; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 70; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 72; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 84; 1947 Paris, no. 85; 1947 Geneva, no. 85; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 141; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 89, no. 90; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 246; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 98; 1953 Zürich, no. 71; 1953 The Hague, no. 99; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 119; 1954-55 Bern, no. 135; 1955 Antwerp, no. 274; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 169; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 116; 1957 Breda, no. 61; 1957 Marseilles, no. 56; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 62, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 121; 1959-60 Utrecht, no. 80; 1960 Enschede, no. 37; 1961 Arles, no. 7; 1962 London, no. 53; 1963 Paris, no. 32; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 99; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 99; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 41; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 43; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 40; 1968 Liège, no. 40; 1968-69 London, no. 127; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 18; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 94 & Columbus, no. 26; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 94; 1971-72 Paris, no. 168; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 63; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 60; 1977 Paris, unnumbered; 1981 Toronto & Amsterdam, no. 25; 1984 New York, no. 102; 1989 Arles, no. 23; 1990 Otterlo, no. 191; 2000 Tokyo, no. 23; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 98.

First week of May 1889
Pencil, reed pen, pen, brush and brown and black ink, on laid paper
46.6 x 59.9 cm
Watermark: AL (in a scroll) PL
BAS
Signed at lower right on the watering-can: Vincent

Inv. d 222 V/1962 F 1467 JH 1688

Letters 784/595, 786/597, 791/603, 793/T12

- 1 The building was erected in 1573 to house all the charitable institutions of the city, which took care of the sick, orphans, and children whose parents could not care for them. The building was used as a hospital until 1974. See Arles Guide 2001, pp. 93, 94.
- 2 The asylum of Saint-Paul-de-Mausole in Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, 25 kilometres north-west of Arles, was first mentioned in letter 763/585 of 21 April 1889. At the beginning of May, Theo decided that his brother should be admitted to this institution.
- 3 'C'est une galerie à arcades comme dans des batiments arabes, blanchie à la chaux. Devant ces galeries un jardin antique avec un étang au milieu et 8 parterres de fleurs, du myosotys, des roses de noël, des anémones, des renoncules, de la giroflée, des marguérites &c. Et sous la galerie des orangers et des lauriers roses. C'est donc un tableau tout plein de fleurs et de verdure printanière. Trois troncs d'arbres noirs et tristes cependant le traversent comme des serpents et sur le premier plan quatre grands buissons tristes de buis sombres.'
- 4 Pickvance in Arles 1989, p. 20 and in Otterlo 1990, p. 239; and Tokyo 2000, p. 176.
- 5 Pickvance, in Arles 1989, p. 20 and Frehner, in Winterthur 2003, p. 534, maintain that Van Gogh made the drawing from the north-east corner. Our assumption that it was the north-west corner is based on the placing of the groups of men and women in the two works. Men and women were cared for in separate wings. Examination of both drawing and painting leads to the conclusion that the men's ward was located in the north and east wings, the women's ward in the west (and probably also the south) wing. If Van Gogh had positioned himself in the north-east corner to make the drawing, the men on the left would have been in the south wing.

350 Garden of the hospital

Van Gogh's first period of hospitalisation in Arles, at the Hôtel-Dieu Saint-Esprit, lasted two weeks, from 24 December 1888 to 7 January 1889. When he had recovered, he returned for a month to the Yellow House. On 7 February he had another attack, and from then until his move to Saint-Rémy on 8 May, he remained in hospital (see also *cat.* 349). Shortly before his departure from Arles, Van Gogh made this impressive reed-pen drawing of the garden in the courtyard of the hospital.²

The rectangular building – four, two-storey wings – encloses the garden. Two of the wings meet in the background of this drawing. Flowerbeds surround the pond at the centre of the garden, where paths radiate out to join a wider path running around the entire garden. The four corners of this path are marked by tall, straighttrunked trees. Van Gogh also made a painting of this garden (fig. 350a), which he described shortly after its completion in a letter written some time between 28 April and 2 May: 'It is an arcaded gallery like those one finds in Arab buildings, all whitewashed. In front of those galleries an antique garden with a pond in the middle, and eight flowerbeds, with forget-me-nots, Christmas roses, anemones, ranunculas, wallflowers, daisies &c. And under the gallery orange trees and oleander. It really is a picture completely full of flowers and spring green. However, three tree trunks, black and dreary, cross it like snakes and in the foreground four large, sad clusters of dreary box' [768/W11].3 The above-mentioned orange trees and oleanders planted in large pots stand beneath the arcades in the painting but are ranged around the garden in the drawing. This has led to the assumption that the drawing was made later than the painting⁴ - the pots would meanwhile have been moved to their summer location – but it is also quite possible that the small trees and shrubs had temporarily been moved from their protected positions to let them get used to the sun again after a severe winter. Nowadays, too, this is done in the spring by placing plants for increasingly longer periods in the sun. As far as the placing of the pots is concerned, the drawing and painting could theoretically have been made at different times on the same day. The slightly more luxuriant aspect of the garden in the drawing, as well as Van Gogh's statement that he was making reed-pen drawings at the beginning of May (see below), leads us to conclude that the drawing originated after the painting, in the first week of May.

The drawing is neither a preparatory study for, nor a free copy of, the painting, but an independent work in its own right. This is evident, first of all, from the fact that the drawing and painting were made from different vantage points on the first floor: the drawing from the north-west corner, the painting from the south-east corner. This means that the corner in the background of the painting is the spot where the drawing was made. Taking up a different position caused the sombre elements in the painting – the three tree trunks and four large shrubs in the foreground – either to disappear from the drawing completely or to diminish in importance.





350a *Garden of the hospital* (F 519 JH 1687), 1889. Winterthur, Oskar Reinhart Collection 'Am Römerholz'.



350b Ward of the hospital (F 646 JH 1686), 1889. Winterthur, Oskar Reinhart Collection 'Am Römerholz'.

The canvas nonetheless exudes a certain sense of tranquillity, whereas this sheet, owing to the profusion of pen strokes, makes a restless impression.

In addition to the drawn and painted versions of this courtyard, Van Gogh made in the same period a painting of the hospital ward (fig. 350b) that in some respects can be considered a pendant to the painting of the garden. All three works originated at a time when Van Gogh's departure from Arles was clearly approaching, representing in a way his leave-taking not only from the hospital but also from Arles and an especially happy and fruitful period in his life.

Since making the watercolour copy of the Yellow House (cat. 349) in the first week of October 1888, Van Gogh had made only one work on paper: another watercolour copy (F 1422 JH 1654), this one of the painting Breton women and children by Bernard, which Gauguin had brought with him to Arles. Van Gogh had made his last reed-pen drawing at the beginning of September. When he began Garden of the hospital, he had not touched his pens for more than seven months, a remarkably long time for an artist who viewed drawing as a fully fledged part of his work.8 It was not until his last letter from Arles, written on 3 May, that he mentioned making drawings once more: 'I am also thinking again of beginning to draw more with a reed pen, which - just like last year's views of Montmajour - is less expensive and distracts me just as much. Today I made one such drawing, which turned out very black and rather melancholy for spring, but anyway, whatever happens to me and in whatever circumstances I find myself, it's something that could keep me busy for a long time and somehow might even become a livelihood' [771/590]. The sheet he describes here is Weeping tree in the grass (fig. 350c). That Van Gogh had already drawn the Garden of the hospital at this time can be deduced from a passage in the same letter in which he describes the decoration of his hospital room. In addition to Japanese prints and reproductions of paintings by Delacroix and Meissonier, he

- 6 Striking contrasts include indoors/outdoors, dark/light, great depth/enclosed picture and private/public. See letter 768/W11 and Frehner in Winterthur 2003, pp. 536, 537.
- 7 Outdoor café at night (F 1519 JH 1579), Dallas Museum of Art.
- 8 On this subject, see the Introduction, p. 19.
- 9 'Aussi j'y songe de recommencer à dessiner davantage à la plume de roseau ce qui, ainsi les vues de Mont Major de l'année passée est moins cher et me distrait tout autant. Aujourd'hui j'ai fabriqué un de ces dessins qui est devenu tres noir et assez melancolique pour du printemps mais enfin quoi qu'il m'arrive et dans quelles circonstances je me trouverai, c'est là une chose qui peut me rester longtemps comme occupation et en quelque sorte pourrait devenir un gagnepain même.'



350c Weeping tree in the grass (F 1468 JH 1498), 1889. Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago.

had also hung up 'two large reed-pen drawings'. To Strictly speaking, Van Gogh could have been referring to drawings made earlier, but his mention in this letter both of his plans to start drawing again and of his drawing of the weeping tree makes it likely that the works decorating his wall were recent ones. Considering that in later letters he mentions these two drawings in the same breath, so to speak, it is reasonable to assume that these sheets are the ones referred to in the letter. To

By comparing the drawings with the sheets he had made in July on Montmajour (see *cats. 342, 343*), Van Gogh was referring to more than just saving money and keeping himself occupied. It emerges from a letter written six weeks later that he considered *Weeping tree in the grass* and *Garden of the hospital* to be in the same league as those works: 'The drawings of the hospital at Arles – the weeping tree in the grass, the fields and the olive trees, are a continuation of those old ones of Montmajour' [784/595].¹²

The second mention occurs in a letter of 17 or 18 June, in which Van Gogh reports having sent the two sheets. He had taken the drawings, probably together with the two paintings of the hospital (figs. 350a, 350b), on 8 May to Saint-Rémy, leaving behind six other canvases that were not dry enough to transport. He finally collected these works on 7 July and sent them to Theo a few days later. He fact that he took the two reed-pen drawings and the two paintings to his new 'home' reveals the importance Van Gogh attached to these works: not only were they

10 'puis deux grands dessins à la plume de roseau'. Ronald Pickvance in Otterlo 1990, p. 238, also identified the second reed-pen drawing as *Garden of the hospital*, at the same time assuming, strangely enough, that Van Gogh made this drawing after writing the letter.

11 Letters 784/595 of 17 or 18 June 1889 and 786/597 of 2 July 1889.

12 Letter of 17 or 18 June 1889: 'Les dessins hospice d'Arles – l'arbre pleureur dans l'herbe, les champs et les oliviers, font suite à ceux de Mont major de dans le temps.' Van Gogh's description of 'the fields and olive trees' refers to a single work. This is apparent from his statement in letter 791/603 regarding how many works he had sent and from the identification of those works; see also cats. 351, 354, 355.

13 See letter 786/597 of 2 July 1889. On the basis of a description of these works given in letter 792/600 of 14 or 15 July, they can be identified as F 516 JH 1685, F 517 JH 1689, F 514 JH 1681, F 575 JH 1422, F 520 JH 1690, and F 511 JH 1386 or F 515 JH 1683. See New York 1984, pp. 293-96.

14 See letters 790/599 of 6 July 1889 and 792/600 of 14 or 15 July 1889. The two paintings of the hospital at Arles were not among the six canvases temporarily left behind in Arles (see note 13). It emerges from letters 817/611 and 814/W15 that in any case he had one of the two in Saint-Rémy. In the second half of October 1889, he added elements to the painting of the hospital dormitory (see cats. 372, 373).

- 15 See also Otterlo 1990, p. 283.
- 16 At the end of April, Frédéric Salles (1841-1897), minister of the Reformed Church in Arles, visited the director of the asylum in Saint-Rémy (see letter 767/588 of 30 April). Van Gogh had understood from him that he would not be given permission to work outside the institution. Theo, who had received a letter from the director, wrote to Vincent to tell him that the situation was not so bleak after all: the director wanted to examine Van Gogh before deciding whether he would be allowed to work outside the asylum. See letter 769/T6 of 2 May 1889.
- 17 See letter 775/591 of c. 10-15 May 1889.
- **18** The drawing with the weeping tree (fig. 350c) was also drawn in this ink. The black chalk of the underdrawing is a prominent feature of this sheet.
- 19 Weeping tree in the grass (fig. 350c) also contains ink lines that have bled.
- 20 'Les dessins me paraissent avoir peu de couleur cette fois ci et pour un peu le papier trop lisse en est bien cause. Enfin l'arbre pleureur et la cour de l'hospice d'Arles sont plus colorés mais cela te donnera pourtant une idée de ce que j'ai en train.' The editors of De la Faille 1970 thought that Van Gogh was referring here to watercolour drawings of these compositions, and observed that such works had never been found. Pickvance in Otterlo 1990, p. 220, incorrectly infers from this passage in the letter that it was the present drawing with which Van Gogh was dissatisfied because of its paper. On p. 283, however, he seems to interpret the passage correctly.
- 21 'Je te remercie bien de tes lettres et des beaux dessins que tu as envoyé. L'hospice à Arles est très remarquable, le papillon et les branches d'églantiers sont biens beaux aussi: simple comme couleur et d'un bien beau dessin.' Letter of 16 July 1889.
- 22 See letter 739/GAC 34, written to Van Gogh between 8 and 16 January 1889: 'Your brother has given me a lithograph of a painting you made earlier, Dutch very interesting in terms of the colour in the drawing' ('Votre frère m'a donné une reproduction lithographiée d'un ancien tableau de vous, hollandais tres intéressant comme couleur dans le dessin').
- 23 Giant peacock moth (cat. 351) and Periwinkle (cat. 354) were also drawn on AL PL BAS paper. In 1952 the

recollections of the hospital at Arles, but he might also have wanted to show them to the director of the asylum at Saint-Rémy as examples of his artistry. ¹⁵ It was, after all, unclear whether he would be given permission to work outside. ¹⁶ The views of the garden of the hospital could demonstrate that Van Gogh would be content for the time being merely to work in the garden of the asylum and would not necessarily have to leave the grounds. If this had been his intention in taking along the drawings and canvases, he was successful in his efforts, for he was soon given permission to work in the large garden of the asylum. ¹⁷

Van Gogh began the drawing by making a preliminary sketch in pencil, working over it with a variety of fairly thick pens, a brush, and brown and black ink, ¹⁸ and deviating from the underdrawing, which is still clearly visible in places. The black ink, which – like the ink in *The rock of Montmajour with pine trees (cat. 342)* – has a bright sheen, was applied only in the second phase of drawing. The ink has bled in various places (for example, in the vegetation in the mid-foreground), where it seems as though two kinds of ink were applied on top of one another. ¹⁹

Remarkably, Van Gogh later used the terms 'colour' ('couleur') and 'coloured' ('coloré') in connection with this drawing and that of the weeping tree. He did so on 2 July, when he sent Theo some recent drawings and commented on them as follows: 'The drawings seem to me to have little colour this time, and the paper, which is too smooth, is certainly a little to blame for that. Still, the weeping tree and the courtyard of the hospital at Arles have more colour, but anyway this will give you an idea of what I'm doing' [786/597]. 20 Theo, in turn – expressing his opinion of these drawings and the ones sent two weeks previously - praised the colour in the present drawing and others as well: 'I thank you for your letters and the fine drawings you sent me. The hospital at Arles is very remarkable, the butterfly and the branch of eglantine are very beautiful too: simple in colour and very beautifully drawn' [793/T12].21 It is difficult to say whether Vincent and Theo, in referring to colour, meant literally the colourfulness of the drawings or were using the word 'colour' in a figurative sense. The ink in the other drawings mentioned in the quoted passage, Giant peacock moth (cat. 351) an Periwinkle (cat. 354), is now blue-black in colour. Gauguin, for example, used the term to mean gradations of shade in the ink as a result of how thickly or thinly it was applied.22 The connection Van Gogh made between lack of colour and the smoothness of the paper suggests that here as well the reference was to the gradations of ink shades. The figurative meaning, of course, does not necessarily exclude the literal meaning: coloured ink also displays fewer gradations of shade on smooth (and therefore less absorbent) paper than on more textured paper.

The *Garden of the hospital* was drawn on a sheet of laid paper with the watermark AL PL BAS.²³ Van Gogh had used this kind of paper frequently in May and June 1888 (see *cats*. 335-337 and 338-340), and probably bought a new supply to take with him to the asylum at Saint-Rémy.²⁴ Many of the drawings made in his first month there are on this paper.

sheet containing *Garden of the hospital* was torn while being transported to an exhibition. The tear ran from top to bottom, approximately 18 centimetres from the left edge. When the drawing was restored, it was glued to a backing.

24 Weeping tree in the grass (fig. 350c) was drawn on wove paper with the watermark J. Whatman Manufacturer 1888. For the paper, see the Introduction, p. 39.
25 The sick were cared for by Augustinian nuns; see Arles Guide 2001, p. 94.

The drawings Van Gogh made in the summer of 1888 are characterised by a controlled and structured style displaying a wide variety of lines and dots; the style of drawing seen in *Garden of the hospital* — with its fluent, supple lines and the use of thick reed pens and brushes — is closer to that of the first drawings made in Saint-Rémy.

The loose brushwork did not prevent Van Gogh from adding a wealth of detail: a group of men stand at the edge of the covered balcony on the first floor, two nuns are visible in front of the arcade in the background, ²⁵ a cart stands below the arcades on the left, and the garden itself is full of plants and flowers, some of them in pots. Standing in front of one of these pots, in the right foreground, is a watering-can on which Van Gogh subtly placed his signature. ²⁶

26 In Arles, Van Gogh had signed only one other drawing in similar fashion: cat. 345, where the signature appears on a bucket.

PROVENANCE

June 1889-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Cohen Gosschalk 1908, ill. p. 231; Glaser 1921, ill. 14; Bremmer 1924, vol. 4, p. 29 no. 29; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 142, vol. 4, pl. CLX1; Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 39; Amsterdam 1958, nos. 304, 305 + ill.; De Gruyter 1961, p. 107 no. 44; Wadley 1969, p. 38; De la Faille 1970, pp. 512, 664; Hulsker 1980, pp. 388, 389; New York 1984, p. 251; Copenhagen 1984-85, p. 119 no. 68; New York 1986-87, pp. 33, 83; Amsterdam 1987, pp. 248, 249, 455 no. 2.526; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 133; Arles 1989, pp. 20, 21 no. 5; Dorn 1990, p. 473; Otterlo 1990, pp. 219, 234, 237, 238, 281 no. 209, 283, 284; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 142, 382, vol. 2, pl. CLX1; Heenk 1995, pp. 179, 185; Hulsker 1996, pp. 388, 389; Martigny 2000, p. 90; Tokyo 2000, pp. 84, 85, 175, 176 no. 24; Winterthur 2003, pp. 534, 536; Amsterdam/ New York 2005, pp. 290, 291 no. 99.

EXHIBITIONS

1891 Brussels, no. 12; 1892 Antwerp, no. 11; 1892 Rotterdam, no cat. known [for sale]; 1893 Copenhagen, no. 194 [Dkr. 225]; 1900-01 Rotterdam, no. 12 [Dfl. 100]; 1905 Amsterdam I, no. 393 [Dfl. 500]; 1906 Berlin, no. 53 (not for sale); 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 144; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1915 Amsterdam, no. 25; 1923 Utrecht, no. 35; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue; 1926 Amsterdam, no. 55; 1926-27 London, no. 27 [not for sale]; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 59; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 59; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 60; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 44; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 42, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 214; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 93; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 75; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 77; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 86; 1928 Paris, no. 59; 1947 Paris, no. 87; 1947 Geneva, no. 87; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 158; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 100, no. 101; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 258; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 106; 1951 Lyons & Grenoble, no. 93; 1951 Arles, no. 93; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 70; 1952 Basel, no. 77; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 83; 1953 The Hague, no. 107; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 135; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 131; 1954-55 Willemstad, no. 36; 1955 Palm Beach, Miami & New Orleans, no. 36; 1955 Antwerp, no. 283; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 178; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 122;

1957 Nijmegen, no. 56; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 76, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 131; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 35; 1960 Enschede, no. 54; 1961 Arles, no. 24; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 128; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 128; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 98; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 98; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 65; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 52; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 54; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 51; 1968 Liège, no. 51; 1968-69 London, no. 144a; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 28; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 99 & Columbus, no. 31; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 99; 1971-72 Paris, no. 179; 1972 Bordeaux, no. 62; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 67; 1975 Malmö, no. 79; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 79; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 67; 1984-85 Copenhagen, no. 68; 1989 Arles, no. 5; 1990 Otterlo, no. 209; 2000 Tokyo, no. 24; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 99.

Technical details 351-353 on pp. 189, 190

35¹-353 Drawings of a giant peacock moth

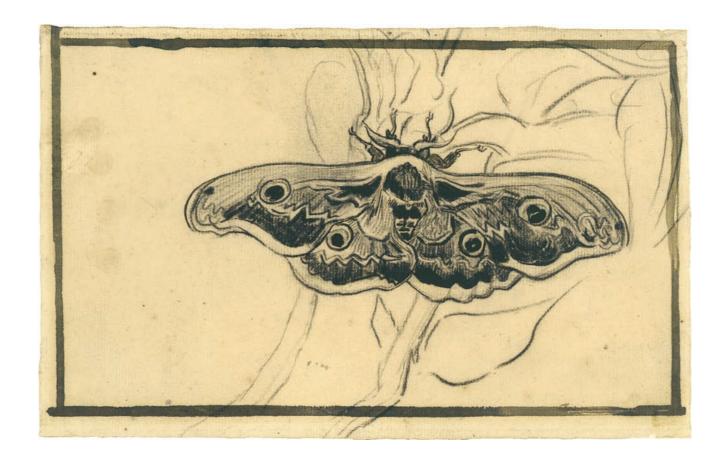
On 8 May 1889 Van Gogh, escorted by the Reverend Frédéric Salles, travelled by train from Arles to Saint-Rémy-de-Provence, where he had himself admitted to the psychiatric asylum housed in the former monastery of Saint-Paul-de-Mausole. There he was given two rooms, both on the first floor but in different wings: from his bedroom he had a view of a walled wheatfield, while his studio looked out over the garden of the extensive complex. This neglected garden, which was surrounded by a high wall, was overgrown with large trees, shrubs and flowers.

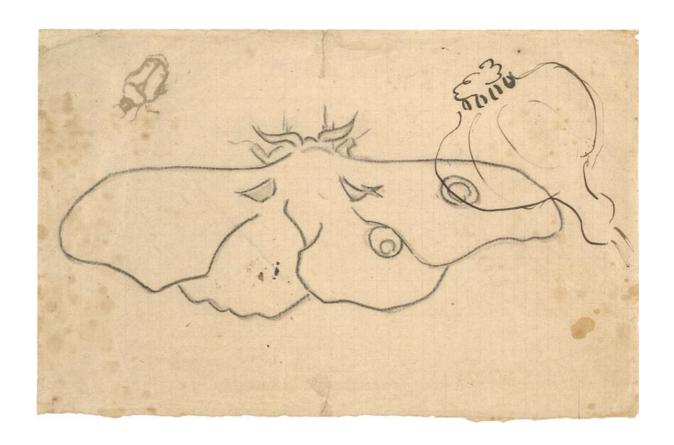
Shortly before his departure from Arles, Van Gogh had felt misgivings about the move (see *cat*. 350), but these soon evaporated. The day after his arrival he wrote to Theo, telling him how relieved and peaceful he felt. Living among psychiatric patients was not as bad as he had expected, and he came to look upon madness as 'a disease like any other'.³ From the same letter it emerges that he had been given permission straight away to paint in the garden: on his first day there he had started two canvases, *Irises* (F 608 JH 1691) and *Lilacs* (F 579 JH 1692), and around 23 May he wrote to Theo that he had painted two more pictures.⁴ These four large garden views had almost exhausted the supply of paint and canvas he had brought from Arles, so in the next two weeks his impressions of the garden would be committed mainly to paper.⁵

That Van Gogh had already made several drawings before about 23 May is apparent from the following list: 'So this month I have 4 size 30 canvases and two or three drawings' [778/592].⁶ In this letter he also described the subjects of the sheets: 'Yesterday I drew there a large, rather rare moth called the death's head, of a colouration of amazing distinction: black, grey, white, variegated, and with reflections of carmine or vaguely tending towards olive green; it is very big [fig. 351a]. To paint it, one would have to kill it, and that would have been a pity, the creature was so beautiful. I'll send you the drawing along with some other drawings of plants.' The study of the moth is discussed here (together with two related line drawings on squared paper), while the sheets with plants will be dealt with in the following entry (cats. 354, 355).

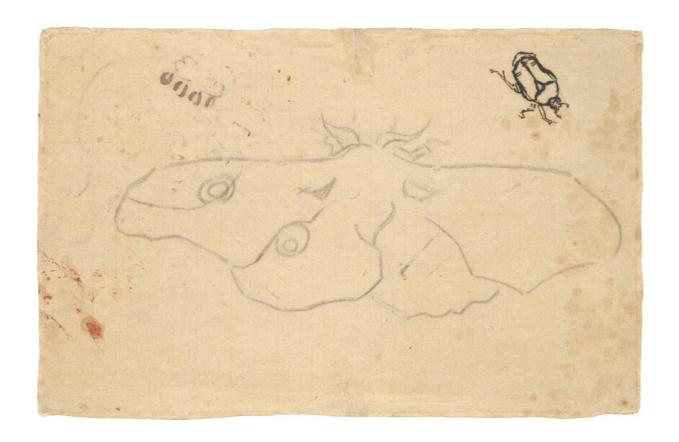
The drawing of the moth (*cat.* 351) was therefore made around 22 May. Van Gogh thought that it was a death's-head moth (*Acherontia atropos*), but that species has a long body and four narrow wings without eyes on them, which they fold by their sides when at rest (*fig.* 351b). The drawing, combined with the description of the colours and the insect's large size, make it possible to identify it as a giant peacock moth (*Saturnia pyri*) (*fig.* 351c). This moth closely resembles the emperor moth (*Saturnia pavona*) but is quite a bit bigger: the emperor moth has an unremarkable wingspan of 6 to 8.5 centimetres, whereas the giant peacock moth is 10 to 14 centimetres across and therefore among the largest moths in Europe. It is indeed striking that Van Gogh depicted the abdomen with a face or death's head instead

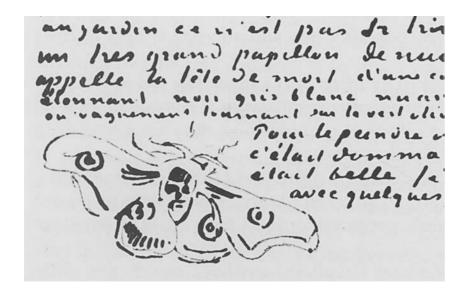
- 1 The journey (via Tarascon) of 28 kilometres lasted approximately 1,5-2 hours. See Baedeker 1889, p. 210.
- 2 Letter 778/592 of about 23 May 1889.
- **3** 'une maladie comme une autre'. Letter 775/591 of 9 May 1889.
- 4 In letter 778/592 he describes *Trees with ivy* (F 609 JH 1693). The fourth work is most likely *The garden of the asylum at Saint-Rémy* (F 734 JH 1698).
- 5 In letter 778/592 he ordered paint and canvas, which would arrive around 9 June (see letter 781/594). A letter written by Dr Théophile Peyron, the director of the asylum, to Theo on 26 May 1889 confirms Van Gogh's preoccupation with drawing in this period (inv. b 1058 V/1962, Van Gogh Museum).
- 6 'Ainsi ce mois ci j'ai 4 toiles de 30 et deux ou trois dessins.'
- 7 'J'y ai dessiné hier un tres grand papillon de nuit assez rare qu'on appelle la tête de mort, d'une coloration d'un distingué étonnant: noir, gris, blanc, nuancé et à reflets carminés ou vagement tournant sur le vert olive; il est très grand. Pour le peindre il aurait fallu le tuer et c'était dommage tellement la bête était belle. Je t'en enverrai le dessin avec quelques autres dessins de plantes.'
- **8** Bowness, in London 1968-69, no. 153, was the first to observe that Van Gogh's identification of the insect as a death's-head moth was incorrect. Bowness called it an emperor moth.





352 Giant peacock moth and poppy seed pod





351a Sketch from a letter to Theo of c. 23 May 1889 [778/592], F – JH 1701. Whereabouts unknown.

of with the stripes that the giant peacock moth actually has. The place where the death's-head moth displays this feature is higher on its body, however, between its front wings.

As the passage quoted above reveals, Van Gogh wanted to paint the insect at once, but chose not to, because he was reluctant to kill it.⁹ He later made a painting based on the drawing, choosing arums for the background of that stylised representation (*fig.* 351d). The plant on which the moth in the drawing sits is sketchily depicted, but given the shape of its leaves, it could be a periwinkle (see *cat.* 354).

Van Gogh finally sent the sheet to Theo around 18 June, together with five other works, including *Garden of the hospital (cat. 350*), drawn in Arles: 'I am sending you a roll of drawings The drawings [of the] hospital at Arles, the weeping tree in the grass, the fields and the olive trees are a continuation of those of Montmajour of a while ago. The others are hasty studies, done in the garden' [784/595]. ¹⁰ That one of those 'hasty studies' was the sheet with the moth is apparent from Theo's reaction of 16 July to the shipment: 'I thank you for your letters and the beautiful drawings you sent me. The hospital at Arles is very remarkable, the moth and the sprigs of eglantine are also very beautiful: simple in colour and very well drawn' [793/T12]. ¹¹

Van Gogh drew the moth with black chalk, paying great attention to detail. The tone of the wings was obtained by stumping the strokes of the chalk. He then used a fine pen and brown ink to fill in the legs and feelers and to put some lines in the wings, part of which he supplied with an extra contour line. He also accentuated the dark parts of the moth with a brush and brown ink, applied thickly. Finally, using the same ink, he drew framing lines – first with a pen and then with a brush – around the depiction. It is possible that this ink was originally of a different colour (see also *cat.* 350).¹²

The drawing was made on laid paper with the watermark PL BAS. It was torn from a large piece of AL (in a scroll) PL BAS, the paper Van Gogh had bought shortly

- **9** The relevant passage in the letter has been misinterpreted by various authors, probably because of the inaccurate English translation: 'I had to kill it to paint it, and it was a pity, the beastie was so beautiful.' See note 7 for the original French passage.
- 10 'Je t'envoie un rouleau de dessins [...] Les dessins hospice d'Arles l'arbre pleureur dans l'herbe, les champs et les oliviers, font suite à ceux de Mont major de dans le temps. Les autres sont des études hatives prises dans le jardin.' The first two drawings mentioned above were cat. 350 and F 1468 JH 1498. It is not known which work is referred to by 'the fields and the olive trees'. The size of the shipment is revealed in letter 791/603 of 14 or 15 July 1889.
- 11 'Je te remercie bien de tes lettres et des beaux dessins que tu as envoyé. L'hospice à Arles est très remarquable, le papillon et les branches d'églantiers sont biens beaux aussi: simple comme couleur et d'un bien beau dessin.' Theo's mention of branches of eglantine most likely refers to *Periwinkle* (cat. 354).

 12 The edges of these thick lines display a blue tinge, and this colour is discernible on the verso, where these passages have bled through. See the Introduction,

p. 32, 33.



351b Photograph of a death's-head moth, from H. Bellmann, Vlinders, rupsen en waardplanten, Baarn 2003, p. 96.



351c Photograph of a giant peacock moth, from H. Bellmann, Vlinders, rupsen en waardplanten, Baarn 2003, p. 89.

before leaving Arles.¹³ The present drawing and *Periwinkle (cat. 354)*, one of the plant studies, may once have formed one full sheet. The latter drawing bears the complementary watermark AL, the location of which suggests that the lower edge of the moth drawing was once attached, with the verso turned upwards, to the left side of the plant study.¹⁴ The four round impressions visible along the left edge of the *Giant peacock moth* are spots of glue that have bled through from the verso. Moreover, during work on the painting (*fig. 351d*) made after this drawing, spatters of oil paint in the colours green, pastel green, yellow, yellow-green, blue-green and red ended up on the paper of the *Giant peacock moth*.¹⁵

The collection in the Van Gogh Museum contains a small piece of squared paper, both sides of which display the contours of the moth and part of the pattern on its wings (*cats. 352, 353*). Van Gogh used these line drawings to transfer the composition of the drawing to the canvas. ¹⁶ The painted moth is slightly bigger: the contours and the light-coloured edge along the underside of the wings fall outside the contours of the drawn versions.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly how Van Gogh transferred the drawing to the canvas. The squared paper is not transparent, so it cannot have served as tracing paper. The small sheet is half of a piece of paper of the kind Van Gogh used to write letters in this period.¹⁷ The letter in which he described and sketched the moth was also written on this kind of paper.¹⁸ Remarkably, the contours of the moth in the three drawn versions discussed here correspond exactly. Since the paper is not suitable for tracing, the black chalk used to draw all three versions could have been rubbed as a means of transfer. Two drawings (*cats. 351*, *352*) display characteristic signs of this procedure, from which we may deduce that the detailed drawing (*cat. 351*) was made first and subsequently served as the basis for the line drawings.

- 13 See cat. 350 for a list of works made on this kind of paper.
- 14 The edges yield no clues. The thickness of the paper and the distance between the vergures do not in any case rule out the possibility that these drawings were made on paper originally forming one full sheet.
- 15 Another drawing that Van Gogh used while executing a painting was *Arums* (cat. 356), a sheet that also displays spatters of pastel-green oil paint.
- **16** See also Pickvance in Otterlo 1990, p. 22 and Heenk 1995, p. 184. Both authors wrongly assume that the sketches were drawn on tracing paper.
- 17 The paper has blue squares of 0.4 x 0.4 cm. Letter paper consisted of a sheet 21 x 27 cm in size, folded in two. For these drawings Van Gogh tore a sheet in half along the fold. The sheet on which the drawing was made is not folded, which means it was not sent with a letter. Heenk 1995, p. 184, thinks that the sheet was torn from a small notebook.
- 18 This is letter 778/592.



351d Giant peacock moth (F 610 JH 1701), 1889. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



351e Roses (F 749 JH 2012), 1889. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

Indeed, the chalk in the detailed drawing has been rubbed out in the area of the left wing, which is something that easily happens when another sheet is laid on top of a chalk drawing.

A striking feature of catalogue number 352 is the presence of two different lines in black chalk on top of each other: the first is thin and blurred, the other heavy. It is possible that Van Gogh rubbed the vague line from the *Giant peacock moth (cat. 351)* and then thickened it for the purpose of transferring it, via an intermediary drawing in chalk or charcoal, to the canvas.¹⁹ This working method would also explain why the moth in catalogue number 352 is the mirror image of the *Giant peacock moth*. It can no longer be determined whether the contour drawing on the other side of the sheet (*cat. 353*) originated in this way or whether Van Gogh traced the outlines showing through from the recto, where the moth appears in the same view seen in catalogue number 351. Since the detailed drawing was sent to Theo around 18 June 1889, the line drawings must have originated before that time. The spots of oil paint on the squared paper – in orange, green and yellow – indicate that Van Gogh had this sheet to hand while executing the painting of the moth.

On both sides of the squared paper Van Gogh made another detailed study in pen and ink: on the recto the seed pod of a poppy and on the verso a beetle. The poppy bulb was drawn over the moth; it cannot be determined whether the beetle was drawn before or after the moth. Seed pods form after poppies bloom (in April-May), so Van Gogh could not have seen them before June. The beetle also occurs in Van Gogh's painting *Roses* (*fig. 351e*), whose subject and composition – an insect against a natural backdrop – are very similar to the painting of the moth (*fig. 351d*).



351f Anonymous artist, *Autumn flowers*, end of nineteenth century. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

These plants and animals in close-up views, which Van Gogh drew and painted at the beginning of his stay in Saint-Rémy,²⁰ were inspired by Japanese prints of flowers and plants, several examples of which he had in his collection (fig. 351f). In Arles Van Gogh had expressed his appreciation of such work, but it was not until Saint-Rémy that he finally came to make similar, closely observed nature studies.

20 Cats. 351, 354, 355, 356 and the paintings F 610 JH 1701 (fig. 351d), F 749 JH 2012 (fig. 351e), Irises (F 608 JH 1691), Wild roses (F 597 JH 2011) and Butterflies and poppies (F 748 JH 2013). See Amsterdam 1991 11, pp. 40-43. For further information, see cats. 354, 355.

351
Giant peacock moth
Circa 22 May 1889
Black chalk, pen, brush and (now) brown ink, on laid paper
16.3 x 25.8 cm, the framed scene
14.2 x 24.2 cm
Watermark: Pl. BAS

Unsigned
Inv. d 185 V/1962

F 1523 JH 1700

Letters 778/592, 784/595, 791/603, 793/T12

Provenance

June 1889-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 155, vol. 4, pl. clxxv; De la Faille 1970, pp. 528, 666; Jampoller 1971; Hulsker 1980, p. 392; Van der Wolk 1980, p. 219; New York 1986-87, p. 28; Amsterdam 1987, p. 455 no. 2.527; Otterlo 1990, pp. 22, 283, 284; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 155, 397, 398, vol. 2, pl. clxxv; Heenk 1995, p. 184; Hulsker 1996, p. 392; Martigny 2000, p. 88.

Exhibitions

1947 Rotterdam, no. 91; 1947-48 London,
Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 160; 1948 Bergen &
Oslo, resp. no. 108, no. 109; 1948-49 The Hague,
no. 271; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 135;
1955 Antwerp, no. 357; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 61;
1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 63; 1967-68 Dallas,
Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 61; 1968
Liège, no. 61; 1971-72 Paris, no. 190; 1975 Malmö,
no. 81; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 81; 1976-77
Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 80; 1986-87
Rotterdam, no. 370; 2005 Amsterdam & New
York, ex-catalogue [only Amsterdam].

352

Giant peacock moth and poppy seed pod Circa 22 May-18 June 1889 Black chalk, pen and brown ink, on bluesquared wove paper 13.5 x 21.0 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 353

Inv. d 313 V/1970 F – JH –

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-70 V.W. van Gogh; 1970 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1970-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; not in De la Faille 1970; not in Hulsker 1980; Amsterdam 1987, p. 455 no. 2.528; not in De la Faille 1992; Heenk 1995, p. 184; not in Hulsker 1996.

EXHIBITIONS None.

353

Giant peacock moth and beetle Circa 22 May-18 June 1889 Black chalk, pen and brown ink, on bluesquared wove paper 13.5 x 21.0 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 352

Inv. d 313 V/1970 F – JH –

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-70 V.W. van Gogh; 1970 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1970-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; not in De la Faille 1970; not in Hulsker 1980; Amsterdam 1987, p. 456 no. 2.529; not in De la Faille 1992; Heenk 1995, p. 184; not in Hulsker 1996.

EXHIBITIONS None.

354, 355 Plant studies

Technical details 354, 355 on pp. 195, 196

The drawings Van Gogh had made by about 23 May, which he sent to Theo around 18 June, included not only the Giant peacock moth (cat. 351) but also two depictions of plants. He called them 'hasty studies done in the garden' [784/595]. One of those 'hasty studies' was probably Periwinkle (cat. 354), as can be inferred from Theo's reaction to the shipment: 'I thank you for your letters and the beautiful drawings you sent me. The hospital at Arles is very remarkable, the moth and the sprigs of eglantine are also very beautiful: simple in colour and very well drawn' [793/T12].³ Theo most likely took the periwinkle to be 'sprigs of eglantine' (sweetbrier); both plants have leaves arranged in pairs along the stem.⁴ Periwinkle displays similarities, as regards both drawing material and paper, to the Giant peacock moth (cat. 351), the drawing that Theo mentioned in the same sentence as the 'sprigs of eglantine'. The only plant study that resembles the *Periwinkle* – in that it was observed from close up, depicted in great detail and placed against an empty background – is Tassel hyacinth (cat. 355).5 This was probably the second sheet of 'drawings of plants' that Van Gogh had finished by around 23 May but did not send until about 18 June.6

The fact that periwinkle (*Vinca major*, actually big-leaf periwinkle) grew in the garden of the asylum is known from the above-quoted letter of around 23 May, in which Van Gogh described a painting he had just made: 'Large tree trunks covered with ivy, the ground similarly covered with ivy and periwinkle, a stone bench and a faded rose bush in the cool shadow. In the foreground, some plants with white spathes' [778/592].⁷ The plants described do in fact appear in this painting (*fig. 366c*), in the letter sketch drawn after it (F – JH 1694) and in the drawing he later made after the canvas (*cat. 366*). These depictions show the flowering ground-cover plant growing between the ivy and the arums.⁸ The tassel hyacinth (*Muscari commosum*) – with its small, tight florets ranged along the stem – does not occur in any other work from Saint-Rémy.⁹

These drawings have been variously assigned to both the Saint-Rémy and Auvers periods. In his 1928 catalogue raisonné, De la Faille placed both sheets in Saint-Rémy, without giving a more precise dating within that period. The editors of the 1970 edition assigned the drawings to the Auvers period without further explanation. This change was probably the result of re-dating the related paintings *Wild roses* (F 597 JH 2011), *Butterflies and poppies* (F 748 JH 2013) and *Roses* (fig. 351e),

- 1 See cats. 351-353 and letters 778/592 of c. 23 May and 784/595 of c. 18 June 1889. The size of the shipment is revealed in letter 791/603 of 14 or 15 July 1889.
- 2 Letter of c. 18 June 1889: 'des études hatives prises dans le jardin'.
- 3 Letter of 16 July 1889: 'Je te remercie bien de tes let-
- tres et des beaux dessins que tu as envoyé. L'hospice à Arles est très remarquable, le papillon et les branches d'églantiers sont biens beaux aussi: simple comme couleur et d'un bien beau dessin.'
- **4** The leaves of the eglantine (*Rosa rubiginosa*, or sweet-brier) are serrated, however, and the flowers are

larger than those of the periwinkle. Pickvance, in
Otterlo 1990, p. 284, was the first to connect this
passage with the drawing *Periwinkle*. It is unclear why
Theo speaks of 'sprigs', since only one sprig is visible.
5 The plant depicted has also been regarded as a

- shepherd's purse (Capsella medicus), which it does indeed resemble, though its leaves are different (see, for example, De Gruyter 1961, p. 108). In 1977 and again in 1996, Hulsker called the work Blossoming branches.
- **6** See letter 778/592. Pickvance, in Otterlo 1990, p. 284, assumes that *Arums* (cat. 356) was the second sheet. For arguments in favour of dating this sheet to a later period, see cat. 356.
- 7 'Des gros troncs d'arbres couverts de lierre, le sol egalement couvert de lierre & de pervenche, un banc de pierre et un buisson de roses palies à l'ombre froide. Sur l'avant plan quelques plantes à calice
- 8 Periwinkle blooms from February to June.
- **9** This plant blooms in May and June. See, for example, Heukels and Van der Meijden, *Flora van Nederland*, Groningen 1983, pp. 432, 433.
- 10 Arums (cat. 356) was also re-assigned to the Auvers period in that publication.



354 Periwinkle



355 Tassel hyacinth

the style of which was thought to be more in keeping with the Auvers oeuvre. ¹¹ The Auvers dating of the drawings was rejected in 1990 in favour of a dating to the first weeks of Van Gogh's stay in Saint-Rémy. ¹²

The last-mentioned dating is confirmed by the paper on which *Periwinkle* was drawn: a sheet with the watermark AL (in a scroll), the left side of which was possibly attached to the lower edge of *Giant peacock moth* (*cat. 351*), which bears the countermark PL BAS. Van Gogh used cream-coloured sheets of this type of paper towards the end of his stay in Arles and during his first month in Saint-Rémy.¹³

Periwinkle was first drawn in pencil and black chalk. Then a wash was added and the contours and veins in the leaves accentuated with a brush and blue-black ink, which has turned brown in places (see also cat. 350). The many drawing-pin holes in Periwinkle – no fewer than eighteen – show that the work was pinned up repeatedly. The traces of oil paint and coloured ink suggest that the drawing lay about the studio for some time.

For *Tassel hyacinth* Van Gogh made a preliminary drawing in pencil, over which he drew with a fine brush and brown ink.¹⁴ Comparison with a 1911 reproduction confirms that the ink has faded considerably over the years (*fig. 354a*). The drawing was made on smooth wove paper without a watermark, but since it was cut from a larger piece of paper, it cannot be ruled out that the original sheet did have a watermark. As regards smoothness and thickness, the paper closely resembles that used for *Arums* (*cat. 356*) – also cut from a larger piece of paper and likewise bearing no watermark – as well as the support of *Tree and bushes in the garden of the asylum* (*cat. 360*), which was painted on a full sheet of paper lacking a watermark. The smoothness of these three sheets recalls that of the sheets blind-stamped LATUNE ET CIE

- 11 An additional argument was the similarity between these three canvases and *Still life with pink roses* (F 595 JH 2009), a painting that was owned by Dr Paul Gachet. Differences can also be pointed out, however, such as the larger format, the uniformity of the background and the position of the flowers in this painting, namely in a vase.
- 12 Otterlo 1990, p. 284, where cats. 354 and 356 are re-assigned to the Saint-Rémy period; *Tassel hyacinth* is not discussed in that catalogue. The only later publication to place *Periwinkle* in the Auvers period is Kyoto/Tokyo 1992, p. 118.
- 13 The vertical fold at the lower left came about during manufacture and was therefore already present when Van Gogh made the drawing. See cat. 350 for other works made on this paper.
- ${f 14}$ The ink is extremely faded and rather transparent.





354a Reproduction of cat. 355. From Lettres 1911.

354b Reproduction of Étude d'herbe (Study of grass) (1845). From Le Japon Artistique, May 1888.

BLACONS (see *cats*. 366-369), which Van Gogh used in any case in June and early July 1889.

The plants, which were observed at very close range, strongly resemble - in both the amount of detail and their placing against an empty background - a Japanese brush drawing of a blade of grass (fig. 354b) that Gogh knew from a reproduction in the magazine Le Japon Artistique, published by Siegfried Bing, which Theo had sent to him in September 1888: 'I find admirable in Bing's reproductions the drawing of the blade of grass and the carnations and the Hokusai' [690/542].15 Van Gogh considered such works (so-called kachō-prints) proof of the wisdom and simplicity of the Japanese: 'If one studies Japanese art one sees a man who is unquestionably wise and philosophical and intelligent who passes his time - doing what? - studying the distance between the earth and the moon? - no, studying Bismarck's policy? - no, he studies a single blade of grass. But this blade of grass leads him to draw all the plants - then the seasons, the grand aspects of landscapes, at last animals and then the human figure. Thus he spends his life, and life is too short to do everything. Come now, isn't it almost a true religion that these simple Japanese teach us, who live in nature as though they themselves were flowers? And one couldn't study Japanese art, it seems to me, without becoming much more gay and happy, and that brings us back to nature in spite of our upbringing and our work in a world of convention' [690/542].16

Van Gogh's enthusiasm for the drawing of the blade of grass endured: in October 1888 he praised the precision of the work and shortly before his departure from Arles he wrote to Theo that he had hung it on the wall of his hospital room. A couple of weeks later, shortly after his move to the asylum in Saint-Rémy, he too felt the need to return to nature, as it were, and to make similar, closely observed nature studies. Drawing them was probably comforting, and brought him peace; indeed, he wrote to his sister Wil in July 1889 that he sometimes went out to look at 'a blade of grass, the branch of a pine tree, an ear of wheat, in order to calm down' [788/W13]. Perhaps they represented for him, as they did for the Japanese, the first step towards depicting the nearby – but for Vincent still inaccessible – landscape.

354
Periwinkle
Circa 22 May 1889
Pencil, black chalk, brush and blue-black
(partly browned) ink, on laid paper
47.6 x 40.0 cm
Watermark: AL (in a scroll)
Unsigned

Inv. d 213 V/1962 F 1614 JH 2060

Letters 778/592, 784/595, 791/603, 793/T12

Provenance

June 1889-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 173, vol. 4, pl. CC111; De la Faille 1970, pp. 549, 564, 669; Roskill 1970 11, p. 104; Hulsker 1980, p. 471; Amsterdam 1987, p. 474 no. 2.638; Otterlo 1990, p. 284; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 173, 421, vol. 2, pl. CC111; Kyoto/Tokyo 1992, p. 118 no. 31; Heenk 1995, pp. 183, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 470, 471.

- 15 Letter of 23 or 24 September 1888: 'Je trouve admirable dans les reproductions de Bing le dessin du brin d'herbe et des oeillets et le Hokoussai.' For Bing's publication, see also letters 689/540 of 21 September, 690/542 of 23 or 24 September, 700/B18 of 3 October 1888 and 771/590 of 3 May 1889. See also cats. 351-353. 16 Letter of 23 or 24 September 1888: 'Si on etudie l'art japonais alors on voit un homme incontestablement sage et philosophe et intelligent qui passe son temps - à quoi - à étudier la distance de la terre à la lune – non, à étudier la politique de Bismarck – non, il etudie un seul brin d'herbe. Mais ce brin d'herbe lui porte à dessiner toutes les plantes – ensuite les saisons, les grands aspects des paysages, enfin les animaux, puis la figure humaine. Il passe ainsi sa vie, et la vie est trop courte, à faire le tout. Voyons cela, n'est ce pas presque une vraie religion ce que nous enseignent ces japonais si simples et qui vivent dans la nature comme si eux memes étaient des fleurs. Et on ne saurait etudier l'art japonais, il me semble, sans devenir beaucoup plus gai et plus heureux et cela nous fait revenir à la nature malgré notre education et notre travail dans un monde de convention.'
- 17 These are letters 700/B18 of 3 October 1888 and 771/590 of 3 May 1889, respectively. Van Gogh's copy has not survived.
- 18 Letter of 2 July 1889: 'un brin d'herbe, une branche de pin, un épi de blé, pour me calmer'.

Exhibitions

1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 193; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 57; 1948 Luxemburg, no. 29; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 87; 1952 Basel, no. 90; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 128; 1954-55 Bern, no. 166; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 115; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 115; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 78; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 85; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 87; 1971-72 Paris, no. 207; 1992 Kyoto & Tokyo, no. 31.

355
Tassel hyacinth
Circa 22 May 1889
Pencil, brush and brown ink, on wove paper
41.2 x 30.9 cm
Unsigned

Inv. d 425 V/1962 F 1612 JH 2059

Letters 778/592, 784/595, 791/603

PROVENANCE

June 1889-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Lettres 1911, pl. LXIV; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 172, vol. 4, pl. CCIII; De Gruyter 1961, p. 108 no. 47; London 1968-69, p. 120 no. 188; Wadley 1969, p. 40; De la Faille 1970, pp. 549, 564, 669; Roskill 1970 II, p. 104; Rosenblum 1975, pp. 84, 85; Hulsker 1980, p. 471; Amsterdam 1987, p. 474 no. 2.639; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 172, 421, vol. 2, pl. CCIII; Heenk 1995, pp. 183, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 470, 471.

Exhibitions

1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 371 [Dfl. 75]; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 168; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 88; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 88; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 88; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 83; 1930 Laren, no. 47; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 59, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 216; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 108; 1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 59; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 295; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 146; 1951 Lyons & Grenoble, no. 97; 1951 Arles, no. 97; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 85; 1953 Zürich, no. 126; 1953 The Hague, no. 152; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 179; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 164; 1954-55 Bern, no. 165; 1955 Antwerp, no. 359; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 231; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 131; 1957 Marseilles, no. 82; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 88, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 151; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 53; 1959-60 Utrecht, no. 91; 1960 Enschede, no. 67; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 135; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 140; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 140; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 83; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 85; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 85; 1968 Liège, no. 85; 1968-69 London, no. 188; 1971-72 Paris, no. 205; 1977 Paris, unnumbered.

356 Arums

Like the sheets discussed previously (cats. 354, 355), Arums is a closely observed plant study, although it differs from the others in its execution. If Van Gogh's main interest in the first two studies was to depict the plants as realistically as possible against a neutral background, here he goes a step further and integrates the leaves and flowers in a 'natural' setting by giving the plants not only a backdrop but also ground to grow in. The background is filled with vertical stripes, the ground suggested with horizontal ones. The elegant shapes of the leaves and spathes, as well as the lines covering the whole sheet, lend the drawing a decorative character.

The original effect of the white spathes and the leaves displaying hatching executed with a fine pen – the whole set against a very dark background – has been drastically diminished by the irregular discoloration of the ink (fig. 356a). Because of this reduction in contrast, the forms seem to flow into one another, making the picture rather restless and difficult to decipher, unintentionally giving the sheet an abstract quality.

Van Gogh drew the representation directly in ink, using a thick reed pen in addition to the previously mentioned fine pen. Before beginning to draw, he fastened the sheet to a base of some kind by means of large drawing pins, apparent from the areas approximately 1.5 centimetres in diameter in the upper corners around the pin holes, where no ink is discernible. The sheet on which *Arums* is drawn strongly resembles, in both thickness and smoothness, the supports of *Tassel hyacinth* (cat. 355) and *Tree and bushes in the garden of the asylum* (cat. 360).¹

The plants depicted are arums (*Arum Italicum*), also known as cuckoo-pint, a plant with arrow-shaped leaves, white spathes and yellow spadixes, which flowers in May and June. We know that they grew in the garden of the asylum from the painting *Trees with ivy* (*fig. 366c*) and the description Van Gogh gave of that work: 'Large tree trunks covered with ivy, the ground similarly covered with ivy and periwinkle, a stone bench and a faded rose bush in the cool shadow. In the foreground, some plants with white spathes' [778/592].² Arums also occur in the painting of the giant peacock moth (*fig. 351d*).

Pickvance thinks that *Arums* is connected with the painting *Trees with ivy* described by Van Gogh.³ He assumes that the present drawing – together with the drawing of periwinkle (*cat. 354*), a plant that also appears in that painting – is one of the 'drawings of plants' which Van Gogh said he had finished in a letter written around 23 May.⁴ However, the extremely modest role that these plants play in the painting, as well as the broad handling, make it unlikely that Van Gogh had need of precise studies. Moreover, the elaborate nature and decorative effect of *Arums* are not in keeping with a subordinate role of this kind. Heenk considers the possibility that Van Gogh used the drawing for the painting *Giant peacock moth* (*fig. 351d*).⁵ What this canvas and the drawing have in common, apart from the arums, is the way in which the plants are depicted from a low, close-up viewpoint. An exact trans-

Last week of May-June 1889 Reed pen, pen and brown ink, on wove paper 31.4 x 41.3 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 335 V/1962 F 1613 JH 1703

¹ As regards the paper, see also cat. 355.

² Letter of c. 23 May: 'Des gros troncs d'arbres couverts de lierre, le sol egalement couvert de lierre & de pervenche, un banc de pierre et un buisson de roses palies à l'ombre froide. Sur l'avant plan quelques plantes à calice blanc.'

³ Otterlo 1990, p. 284.

^{4 &#}x27;dessins de plantes'.

⁵ Heenk 1995, p. 184.



356 Arums

356a Reproduction of cat. 356. From *Lettres* 1911, pl. LXV.



fer of the drawn depiction to the canvas is out of the question, but the presence of pastel-green oil paint on the drawing suggests that *Arums* was indeed used for the painting of the moth. ⁶ This colour dominates the *Giant peacock moth*. It is possible that Van Gogh had recourse to the drawing because the real flowers had wilted by the time he started to work on the canvas. This can be deduced from the red berries in the background of the painting, which show arums at a later stage. These berries do not form until August and September, and are therefore never seen – at least in nature – together with the white spathes.

Like the previously discussed studies of plants, the drawing of Arums has been variously assigned to both the Saint-Rémy and Auvers periods. Until 1970 it was assumed to have originated in Saint-Rémy, with Bowness being the first (in 1968) to maintain that Van Gogh made the drawing during his stay in the asylum, in late April or early May 1890.7 Strangely enough, he saw similarities in composition to the *Almond blossoms* (fig. 395b), a painting depicting a branch against a blue sky. His dating is highly unlikely, however, since at that time Van Gogh had barely recovered from a long period of illness and was only making sketches in pencil or black chalk in a small format. The 1970 edition of De la Faille's catalogue raisonné assigns this sheet, together with Periwinkle and Tassel hyacinth, to the Auvers period, May-June 1890, though no arguments are put forward in support of this hypothesis. The Auvers dating was rejected in 1990, and the drawing was subsequently placed in the first weeks of Van Gogh's stay at Saint-Rémy.9 This was done, as explained above, on the basis of the periwinkle and arums occurring in *Trees* with ivy (fig. 366c). Given the elaborate and decorative nature of this drawing, it is not counted here among the 'drawings of plants' mentioned in the letter of around 23 May. The work probably originated slightly later, and bearing in mind that arums bloom in May and June, a somewhat wider timespan is allowed for here, namely the last week of May through June 1889.

- 6 Along the right edge and in the large leaf at the upper left. Traces of coloured chalk were also found on the sheet: blue on both recto and verso, and orangered on the verso.
- 7 London 1968-69, p. 120.
- **8** On this subject, see cats. 354 and 355. Hulsker dates the drawing to May 1889 in his 1980 catalogue.
- 9 Otterlo 1990, p. 284, where Arums and cat. 354 are re-assigned to the Saint-Rémy period; *Tassel hyacinth* (cat. 355) is not discussed in that catalogue.

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Lettres 1911, pl. 1xv; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 172, vol. 4, pl. cc111; De Gruyter 1961, p. 110 no. 53; London 1968-69, p. 120 no. 189; De la Faille 1970, pp. 549, 564, 669; Roskill 1970 11, p. 104; Hulsker 1980, pp. 392, 393; London 1986, pp. 10 ill. 10, 34, 36; Amsterdam 1987, p. 474 no. 2.637; Otterlo 1990, pp. 284, 289 no. 211; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 172, 421, vol. 2, pl. cc111; Heenk 1995, pp. 183, 184; Hulsker 1996, pp. 392, 393.

EXHIBITIONS

1897 Groningen, no cat. known; 1900-01 Rotterdam, no. 27 [Dfl. 100]; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 368 [Dfl. 125]; 1923 Utrecht, no. 49; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1926-27 London, no. 23 [Dfl. 1,800]; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 90; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 90; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 90; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 84; 1930 Laren, no. 48; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 215; 1932 Manchester, no. 77; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 124; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 98; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 102; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 109; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 296; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 86; 1952 Basel, no. 89; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 127; 1955 Antwerp, no. 360; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 232; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 132; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 75; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 79; 1958 Mons, no. 80; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 152; 1959-60 Utrecht, no. 90; 1960 Enschede, no. 68; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 136; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 84; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 86; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 86; 1968 Liège, no. 86; 1968-69 London, no. 189; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 43; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 111 & Columbus, no. 43; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 111; 1971-72 Paris, no. 206; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 76; 1974 Florence, no. 20; 1975 Malmö, no. 97; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 97; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 96; 1990 Otterlo, no. 211.

357 Fountain in the garden of the asylum

By around 23 May Van Gogh's supply of paint and canvas had dwindled so much that he asked Theo to send him new materials. While waiting for the shipment, which would arrive around 9 June, Vincent made drawings in a large format that are among the most beautiful from the Saint-Rémy period, including *Fountain in the garden of the asylum*. Because he did not receive permission to work outside the walls of the asylum until the end of the first week in June, these sheets – like the paintings made just before this – have as their subject the garden of the complex. Van Gogh's drawing activities in this period also emerge from a letter written by Théophile Peyron, the director of the asylum, to Theo on 26 May: 'He occupies himself with drawing all day long in the park'. 4

In addition to the *Fountain in the garden of the asylum*, Van Gogh made four more pen-and-ink drawings in the garden during the last week of May and the first week of June (*cats.* 358, 359 and F 1497 JH 1852, F 1505 JH 1697), as well as seven brush drawings in colour (see *cats.* 360-362). All the pen-and-ink drawings are large in format and depict a part of the garden. Furthermore, Van Gogh's position under the trees meant that most of the drawings include no sky, so that the paper is covered from top to bottom with ink lines. As regards style, technique and paper, the five pen-and-ink drawings do not form a cohesive group, however. *Fountain in the garden of the asylum* is the only drawing in which the ink was applied solely with a reed pen and a fine pen, and in which short, straight strokes and angular shapes predominate. For the other sheets Van Gogh used a brush as well, which resulted in more flowing lines. The support used for the present drawing is a wove paper without a watermark, whereas the other four were drawn on sheets of laid paper bearing the watermark Al Pl Bas, two of which are cream-coloured and the other two pink.

The main subject of this drawing is the fountain in the garden of the asylum located near the entrance to the men's wing on the north side. It was in this building, seen on the right in the drawing, that Van Gogh had a studio with a view of the garden. The fountain also occurs in *Vestibule in the asylum (cat. 373)* and *Trees, stone bench and fountain in the garden of the asylum (cat. 389)*, as well as in a painting (fig. 357a). The water spouts up from a sculpture representing a basket of fruit. The jet of water was rendered by scraping a sharp implement over the area, causing the ink

- 1 Letter 778/592. confirm
- 2 Receipt of the painting supplies is confirmed in letter 781/594.
- 3 In letter 781/594 of c. 9 June 1889, Van Gogh writes: 'Also for several days I've been out of doors, working in the vicinity' ('Aussi est-il que depuis quelques jours je sors dehors pour travailler dans les environs'). This is
- confirmed in a letter, dated 9 June 1889, written by Théophile Peyron, the director of the asylum, to Theo van Gogh; inv. b 1060 V/1962, Van Gogh Museum.
- 4 'll s'occupe à dessiner toute la journée dans le parc'. Inv. b 1058 V/1962, Van Gogh Museum.
- 5 The two pen-and-ink drawings in the collection of the Van Gogh Museum both display a view of trees in a

Last week of May–first week of June 1889 Brown chalk, reed pen, pen and ink, now red-brown, scraped, on wove paper 49.8 x 46.3 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 440 V/1962 F 1531 JH 1705

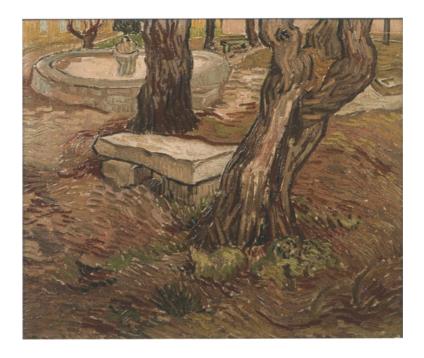
Letter 840/T24

corner of the garden. Pickvance, in Otterlo 1990, p. 285, suggests the existence of pairs among the drawings, which were made at the end of May and beginning of June. He paired the drawing of the fountain with cat. 362, but does not give his reasons for

- 6 Heenk 1995, p. 184, note 3, thinks that because the ink ran, Van Gogh must have used iron-gall ink for these drawings. However, other kinds of ink tend to run as well (see the Introduction, p. 32).
- 7 Only in *Pine trees in the walled garden of the asylum* (F 1497 JH 1852) was paper left empty at the top for the sky. If Van Gogh had continued working on cat. 359, most of that sheet would be covered as well.
- 8 The paper was later trimmed on all four sides. Pickvance, in Otterlo 1990, p. 284, wrongly reports that the drawing was made on AL PL BAS paper.
- **9** These are cat. 358 and F 1505 JH 1697 and cat. 359 and F 1497 JH 1852, respectively.



357a Stone bench and fountain in the garden of the asylum (F 732 JH 1842), 1889. São Paulo, Museu de Arte.



to disappear and exposing the light-coloured fibres in the paper. ¹⁰ That Van Gogh scraped somewhat too vigorously is apparent from the ten-centimetre-long tear now marking the jet of water. The fountain reflects the trees standing nearby. Remarkable indeed is the rendering of the bench behind the fountain: in the drawing it is composed of thin stones, which in reality were heavy and substantial (*fig. 357b*). ¹¹

Van Gogh began by sketching the main lines of the composition in brown chalk, recording the contours of the fountain, the jet of water and the trees. With pen and ink he then filled in the passages between the trees and the building. A striking aspect of this drawing is the use of cross-hatching, a rare occurrence in the drawings Van Gogh made in southern France. The discolouring and fading of the ink, as well as the browning of the paper, have robbed the drawing of contrast and sharpness (fig. 357c). A 1928 facsimile shows dark brown ink, with red-brown ink in the background; the first colour has turned to red-brown, while the latter has faded so much as to be barely visible. Tide lines 2.5 centimetres in width, which are visible along the left and right edges, were caused by the water used to remove glue from the verso. Both recto and verso display spatters of paint in the colours pastel pink, green-blue, orange and yellow.

At first it was assumed that the drawing represented the fountain in the courtyard of the hospital in Arles. ¹³ This mistake was rectified by the editors of the catalogue compiled to accompany the exhibition held at Otto Wacker's gallery in Berlin in 1927-28. De la Faille's catalogue raisonné, which appeared shortly thereafter (1928), also assigned the work to the Saint-Rémy period. A closer dating within this period, namely to May 1889, was not suggested until 1951, ¹⁴ since which time this dating, sometimes expanded to include both May and June, has seldom been disputed. ¹⁵

- 10 Only in his Hague period had Van Gogh previously used an implement to scrape his drawings, in most cases to remove lithographic chalk so that the underlying graphite would become visible. See Drawings 1, cats. 47-51.
- 11 Paintings featuring this bench (or a similar one) generally reflect its sturdy character. See F 609 JH 1693, F 659 JH 1850, F 660 JH 1849, F 730 JH 1841, F 732 JH 1842 (fig. 357a). Only in F 734 JH 1698 does it appear, as in the present drawing, to be made of thin stones.
- 12 Cross-hatching also occurs in *Sun over the walled wheatfield* (SD 1728 JH 1706), a drawing likewise dated to the end of May or beginning of June 1889. See Hulsker 1996, pp. 392, 393, 496.
- 13 In Lettres 1911, pl. LXXVIII, the drawing is first assigned (in the caption to the illustration) to the Saint-Rémy period. This was not generally adopted by the editors of early exhibition catalogues.
- 14 In Saint-Rémy 1951, no. 93.
- 15 The dating to a wider timespan (May-June 1889) is given in De la Faille 1970 and Heenk 1995, pp. 184, 185. De Gruyter 1961, p. 108, no. 48, is the only one who dates the sheet later, namely to the autumn of 1889.



357b Photograph of the fountain in the garden of the asylum, 1950s. Van Gogh Museum Archives.



357c Colour reproduction of cat. 357, 1928. From Faksimiles 1928, pl. x.

- 16 Letter of 8 January 1890: 'Il y avait dans un des rouleaux aussi un superbe dessin à la plume qui représente une fontaine dans un jardin.' Heenk 1995, p. 184, was the first to publish this reference.
- 17 'La fontaine dans le jardin de l'hospice vaut fr 400, c'est le dessin auquel mon mari tenait le plus et qu'il trouvait le plus beau de toute la collection je ne pourrais m'en défaire qu'à ce prix là.' Unpublished letter of 7 February 1891 to Octave Maus, The Contemporary Art Archives, Brussels.
- 18 'excepté la fontaine'.
- **19** Copenhagen 1984-85, pp. 121-23. The asking price had meanwhile been halved.
- **20** The exhib. cat. Berlin 1906, no. 52, states that the drawing is not for sale.

It was more than six months before Van Gogh finally sent the drawing to Theo. He added the sheet to a roll of canvases sent at the beginning of January 1890. Upon receiving them, Theo wrote: 'In one of the rolls there was also a superb penand-ink drawing representing a fountain in a garden' [840/T24]. According to Jo van Gogh-Bonger, Fountain in the garden of the asylum was Theo's favourite drawing. When she lent the sheet in 1891 to the exhibition of Les XX, she wrote: 'The fountain in the garden of the asylum costs 400 francs. It is the drawing my husband was most attached to and the one he thought the most beautiful of the entire collection. I could not part with it except for that price.' She asked 300 francs for the other drawings sent to the salon. Enthusiasts who wanted more than one drawing could buy two for 500 francs, 'the fountain excepted'. At an exhibition in Copenhagen two years later she again gave this answer when requested to lower her asking price for this drawing. The work remained unsold, and in 1906 Jo decided to keep it in her collection, letting it be known that it was no longer for sale.

PROVENANCE

January 1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Cohen Gosschalk 1908, ill. p. 233; Van Meurs 1910, no. 23; Bremmer 1911, ill. 26; Lettres 1911, pl. LXXVIII; Bremmer 1924, vol. 4, pp. 28, 29 no. 28; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 157, vol. 4, pl. CLXXVIII; Marées-Gesellschaft 1928, pl. x; Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 41; Rewald 1950, p. 68; Novotny 1953, p. 36; Amsterdam 1958, nos. 334, 335 + ill.; De Gruyter 1961, p. 108 no. 48; London 1968-69, p. 100 no. 148; Tralbaut 1969, p. 287; Wadley 1969, p. 38; De la Faille 1970, pp. 530, 666; Hulsker 1980, pp. 392, 393; Copenhagen 1984-85, pp. 121-23; New York 1986-87, p. 82; Amsterdam 1987, p. 456 no. 2.530; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 136; Otterlo 1990, pp. 284, 285, 293 no. 215; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 157, 400, vol. 2, pl. clxxviii; Baer 1994, p. 136 no. x; Heenk 1995, pp. 184, 185; Hulsker 1996, pp. 392, 393; Martigny 2000, p. 309; Stolwijk/Veenenbos 2002, p. 26; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 55 note 11, 302, 303 no. 103.

Exhibitions

1891 Brussels, no. 15 [Ffr. 400]; 1891 The Hague, no cat. known; 1892 Rotterdam, no cat. known [for sale]; 1892 Antwerp, no. 10; 1892-93 Amsterdam, no. unknown; 1893 Copenhagen, no. 195 [Dkr. 225]; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 394 [Dfl. 400]; 1906 Berlin, no. 52 (not for sale); 1914 Antwerp, no. 93; 1914 Berlin, no. 78; 1914 Cologne & Hamburg, no cat. known; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 143; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1915 Amsterdam, no. 24; 1923 Utrecht, no. 34; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 82; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 82; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 82; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 73; 1930 Laren, no. 34; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 53, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 219; 1935-36 New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, San Francisco, Kansas City, Minneapolis, Chicago & Detroit, no. 122; 1937 Paris, no. 189; 1937 Oslo, no. 35; 1938 Copenhagen, no. 35; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 121; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 78; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 82; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 130; 1947 Paris, no. 131; 1947 Geneva, no. 131; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 162; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 110, no. 111; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 274; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 137; 1951 Lyons & Grenoble, no. 94; 1951 Saint-Rémy, no. 94; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 79; 1952 Basel, no. 84; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 100; 1953 The Hague, no. 144; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 170; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 155; 1954-55 Willemstad, no. 37; 1955 Palm Beach, Miami & New Orleans, no. 37; 1955 Antwerp, no. 329; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 219; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastleupon-Tyne, no. 124; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 62; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 79, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 140; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 55; 1960 Enschede, no. 58; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 131; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 132; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 132; 1963 Sheffield, no. 20; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 107; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 107; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 71;

1966 Paris & Albi, no. 64; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 66; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 64; 1968 Liège, no. 64; 1968-69 London, no. 148; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 36; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 102 & Columbus, no. 34; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 102; 1971-72 Paris, no. 193; 1972 Bordeaux, no. 66; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 72; 1975 Malmö, no. 82; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 82; 1977 Paris, unnumbered; 1990 Otterlo, no. 215; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 103.

Last week of May—first week of June 1889 Pencil, reed pen, brush and brown ink, on laid paper 61.8 x 47.1 cm Watermark: Al (in a scroll) Pl BAS Unsigned

Inv. d 340 V/1962 F 1532 JH 1696

- 1 Paintings from the Paris period with this motif are F 306 JH 1317, F 307 JH 1318, F 308 JH 1313, F 309 JH 1315 and F 309a JH 1312.
- 2 F 371 JH 1296 and F 450 JH 1627, respectively.
- 3 Letter of c. 23 May 1889: 'un de ces chromos de bazar qui représentent les éternels nids de verdure pour les amoureux.' The 'chromos' were popular chromo-lithographs (colour lithographs).
- 4 Letter of 28 April-2 May 1889: 'le lierre aime les vieux saules ébranchés chaque printemps, le lierre aime le tronc du vieux chêne et ainsi le cancer, cette plante mysterieuse, s'attache si souvent aux gens dont la vie ne fut qu'ardent amour et dévouement. Quelque terrible que soit donc le mystère de ces douleurs, l'horreur en est sacrée et y aurait-il là en effet une chôse douce et navrante ainsi que nous voyons sur le vieux toit de chaume la mousse verte en abondance.'
- 5 See letter 815/T19 of 22 October 1889.
- **6** Van Gogh was to order new brushes from Theo around 2 June; see letter 780/593.
- **7** See cat. 350 for works made on the same kind of paper.

358 Tree with ivy in the garden of the asylum

Soon after his arrival in Saint-Rémy, Van Gogh was captivated by the ivy-covered trees in the garden of the asylum. He had painted similar *sous-bois* motifs many times during his stay in Paris, and in Saint-Rémy his first depiction of the subject was also done in oil (*fig. 366c*). It was probably shortly after this that he drew *Tree with ivy in the garden of the asylum*, his first drawing of this motif. Drawn quickly and freely, each pictorial element has its own, characteristic line. Van Gogh filled nearly the whole sheet with lines, which gives the drawing a decorative quality. The composition – with a tree trunk in the foreground, cutting across the picture – was undoubtedly inspired by Japanese prints. Van Gogh had earlier incorporated this pictorial element in paintings made in Paris and Arles (*fig. 344d*). In the middle distance a low wall marks the edge of the southern part of the garden, which was higher; in the background vertical lines indicate the wall surrounding the garden.

Van Gogh compared the above-mentioned painting of an ivy-covered tree (fig. 366c) to 'one of those colour prints from a shop, which represents the eternal nests of greenery for lovers' [778/592].³ Three weeks previously, shortly before leaving Arles, he had associated ivy and moss with – of all things – illness: 'Ivy loves old willows that are pruned every spring, ivy loves the trunk of the old oak – and in the same way cancer, that mysterious plant, so often fastens on people whose lives were nothing but ardent love and devotion. However terrible the mystery of these sufferings may be, the horror of it is sacred, and isn't there actually something sweet and pathetically touching about it, just like seeing the abundant growth of green moss on the old thatched roof?' [768/WII].⁴ Theo's reaction to the painting does not refer to any symbolic significance of the motif. He saw it as a realistic rendering of a piece of nature and praised it for this very reason.⁵

Van Gogh first sketched the composition in pencil, then worked it up in ink with a reed pen and brush, although without following the pencilled lines closely. One of the brushes that he used was frayed, which is apparent from the fuzzy edges of some of the lines. While working up the drawing in ink, Van Gogh went over the edge of the paper in places, which is something not often seen in his drawings. This work was drawn on a full sheet of cream-coloured laid paper bearing the watermark AL (in a scroll) PL BAS, probably from the batch purchased in Arles shortly before his departure for Saint-Rémy.

Before making this drawing, Van Gogh had already used the sheet for another pencil sketch. The right-hand side in particular displays lines that have nothing to do with the final drawing (*fig.* 358a). If the drawing is turned 90 degrees clockwise, its straight lines, which sometimes meet to form right angles, resemble a close-up study of a short flight of steps in the garden (cf. cat. 361).

The literature first gave Tree with ivy in the garden of the asylum a neutral title, such



358 Tree with ivy in the garden of the asylum



358a Infrared image of cat. 358.

- 8 See, for instance, De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 158.
- **9** Cooper in London/Birmingham/Glasgow 1947-48, no. 164.
- 10 In London 1962, pp. 13, 81.
- 11 In London 1968-69, no. 147.
- 12 Only De la Faille 1970 rejected this, dating the work instead (but stating no reasons) to July 1889.
- 13 Hulsker 1980 and Hulsker 1996 also date the drawing to May. Here it is consedered to be one of the drawings Van Gogh made after paintings in June and early
- 14 In New York 1986-87, p. 85. Quotation from 784/595 of 19 June 1889: 'des études hatives prises dans le jardin'.
- 15 In Otterlo 1990, p. 284.

as *Jardin*, and dated it to the Saint-Rémy period in general.⁸ In the 1940s a more precise dating to the summer of 1889 was first suggested, but not explained.⁹ It was 1962 before it was given a title – *Tree with Ivy (Hospital Garden)* – indicating its depiction of a view in the garden of the asylum.¹⁰ The first to date the work to May 1889, for the reason that Van Gogh was not allowed to leave the asylum for the first few weeks of his stay, was Alan Bowness in the late 1960s.¹¹ This dating gained wide acceptance.¹² Hulsker, who argued for placing it in May, referred to the similarity of its composition to *Trees with ivy in the garden of the asylum (cat. 366*), the drawing made after the first painting of this theme.¹³

Pickvance suggested at first that this drawing was one of the 'hasty studies made in the garden', which Vincent sent to Theo on 19 June 1889. ¹⁴ Later he corrected himself by referring to Theo's reaction to the shipment, from which it appears that it contained different sheets (see *cats.* 351, 354, 355). ¹⁵

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 158, vol. 4, pl. CLXXVII; Amsterdam 1958, nos. 338, 339 + ill.; London 1962, pp. 13, 80, 81 no. 63; De la Faille 1970, pp. 530, 666; Hulsker 1980, pp. 391, 392; New York 1986-87, pp. 31, 80, 82, 83 no. 2, 85, 86, 88; Amsterdam 1987, p. 456 no. 2.532; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 136; Otterlo 1990, pp. 284, 285, 296 no. 214; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 158, 400, vol. 2, pl. CLXXVII; Kyoto/Tokyo 1992, p. 112 no. 28; Heenk 1995, p. 184; Hulsker 1996, pp. 391, 392; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 300, 301 no. 102, 346.

EXHIBITIONS

1893 Leiden, no catalogue; 1896-97 Paris, no cat. known [Ffr. 50]; 1900-01 Rotterdam, no. 61? [Dfl. 150] [possibly cat. 366]; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 357 [Dfl. 225]; 1910 Berlin, no. 68 [not for sale]; 1911 Frankfurt am Main, no cat. known; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 188; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1926-27 London, no. 40 [Dfl. 1,800]; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 85; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 85; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 85; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 74; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 54, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 218; 1932 Manchester, no. 73; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 129; 1947 Paris, no. 130; 1947 Geneva, no. 130; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 164; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 111, no. 112; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 275; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 80; 1952 Basel, no. 85; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 101; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 63; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 71; 1958 Mons, no. 72; 1962 London, no. 63; 1964 Zundert, no. 26; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 65; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 67; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 65; 1968 Liège, no. 65; 1968-69 London, no. 147; 1986-87 New York, no. 2; 1990 Otterlo, no. 216; 1992 Kyoto & Tokyo, no. 28; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 102.

Last week of May-first week of June 1889 Pencil, reed pen and browngreen ink, on pink laid paper 47.2 x 61.5 cm Watermark: AL (in a scroll) PL BAS Unsigned

Inv. d 223 V/1962 F 1501 JH 1739

1 The paper Van Gogh used in 1889 is 0.15-0.22 mm thick, whereas the sheets from 1890 have a thickness of 0.11-0.16 mm. The paper used for these distinct groups of drawings also shows a slight difference in the distance between the vergures.

- 2 Amsterdam 1931 assigns the drawing to either the Saint-Rémy or Auvers period.
- 3 De la Faille 1970. The studies of pine trees in the garden of the asylum are dated in that publication to a period spanning May to autumn 1889.
- 4 In New York 1986-87, p. 82 and Otterlo 1990, pp. 284, 285, 291.
- 5 Heenk 1995, p. 185.

359 Trees in the garden of the asylum

In *Trees in the garden of the asylum*, a drawing done mostly in pencil, Van Gogh used pen and brown-green ink to accentuate certain elements, such as the tree in the middle, the bushes behind it and the blossoming shrub on the left. The low vegetation is depicted only in contours, whereas the tree is rendered in more detail. The drawing was made on a full sheet of pink laid paper with the watermark AI (in a scroll) PL BAS. Van Gogh used paper of this make and colour in late May and early June 1889, shortly after his arrival in Saint-Rémy (F 1497 JH 1852), in September-October of that year (*cats. 372, 373* and F 1529 JH 1808) and in the spring of 1890, towards the end of his stay at the asylum (*cats. 412, 396, 413, 397, 438, 439*). The paper he used in this last period is somewhat thinner than the sheets used in 1889. The present drawing was made on the thicker type of paper, so it probably originated in 1880.

The dating of this sheet has been the topic of much discussion. De la Faille, in his catalogue raisonné of 1928, thought it originated in Arles, but its assignment to that period was soon rejected. In 1970 De la Faille placed the drawing in Saint-Rémy and dated it to 1889, probably because of the similarity of its subject to the study sheets of pine trees in the garden of the asylum (cats. 377-394). Hulsker saw more of a resemblance to several independent drawings from June of that year, including Olive trees with the Alpilles in the background (cat. 363). Pickvance considered the sheet to be one of the drawings Van Gogh made in the garden of the asylum in May 1889, soon after his arrival in Saint-Rémy. Opposed to these early dates is the very late dating proposed by Heenk, who takes the tree in the middle to be a blossoming almond and therefore dates the drawing to January or February 1890.

It is very much open to question, however, whether the tree is actually in blossom. The cause of this misconception is possibly the contrast between its small, oval leaves – which Heenk interprets as blossoms – and the conifers pencilled in with long lines in the background. The flowers visible here and there between the tussocks of grass are another reason for rejecting the dating to the winter months of January and February. The shrub on the left also displays little circles that suggest blossoms. A dating to the late spring therefore seems the most plausible.

The style of drawing, the materials used and the subject all point to the spring of 1889. The work that most closely resembles this drawing is *Pine trees in the walled garden of the asylum (fig. 359a)*, a drawing from late May or early June 1889. The sheets share not only the motif and the manner in which it is rendered, but also the pink paper, the rather detailed pencil drawing and the limited use of pen and ink. Even the colour of the ink – brown-green – and its blurred aspect are similar.

Another important reason for dating the work to late May–early June 1889 is the location depicted. After all, Van Gogh had not yet been given permission to wander





359a Pine trees in the walled garden of the asylum (F 1497 JH 1852), 1889. London, Tate Britain.

outside the grounds of the asylum, so he frequently worked in the large, park-like garden, part of which is distinctly depicted here, although it is difficult to determine the exact spot. On the left in the drawing, the garden is enclosed by a wall with a door, and on the right a low wall runs in the direction of a building vaguely discernible in the background.

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 151, vol. 4, pl. CLXIX; Washington etc. 1958-59, p. 54 no. 147; De la Faille 1970, pp. 522, 551, 665; Hulsker 1980, pp. 398, 399; New York 1986-87, p. 82; Amsterdam 1987, p. 460 no. 2.554; Otterlo 1990, pp. 284, 285, 291 no. 213; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 151, 391, vol. 2, pl. CLXIX; Heenk 1995, p. 185; Hulsker 1996, pp. 398, 399.

Exhibitions

1924 Basel, no. 95? [Dfl. 2,000]; 1924 Zürich, no. 95? (Sfr. 4,800); 1924 Stuttgart, no. 18? [Dfl. 2,000]; 1925 Paris, unnumbered [Dfl. 2,000]?; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue?; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 217; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 83; 1947 Paris, no. 84; 1947 Geneva, no. 84; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 154; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 104, no. 105; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 266; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 91; 1953 The Hague, no. 112; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 138; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 130; 1954-55 Bern, no. 145; 1955 Antwerp, no. 327; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 217; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 58; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 86, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 Washington, New York, Minneapolis, Boston,

Cleveland & Chicago, no. 147; 1963-64 Amsterdam, no. 65; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 91; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 110; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 79; 1990 Otterlo, no. 213.

360-362 Garden views in colour

Technical details 360-362 on pp. 220, 221

In late May and early June, Van Gogh made – in addition to pen-and-ink drawings (see *cat. 357*) – seven brush drawings in colour of the garden of the asylum, three of which are in the collection in the Van Gogh Museum (*cats. 360-362*). They form a cohesive group as regards format, style, technique and drawing materials. In all seven drawings Van Gogh captured the luxuriant atmosphere of the garden with brisk and unerring brushstrokes. Characteristic of this group is the focus on a single element in the garden – a tree, a group of shrubs, a short flight of stairs or a stone bench – which, in combination with the manner of execution, leaves these sheets with little feeling of depth.

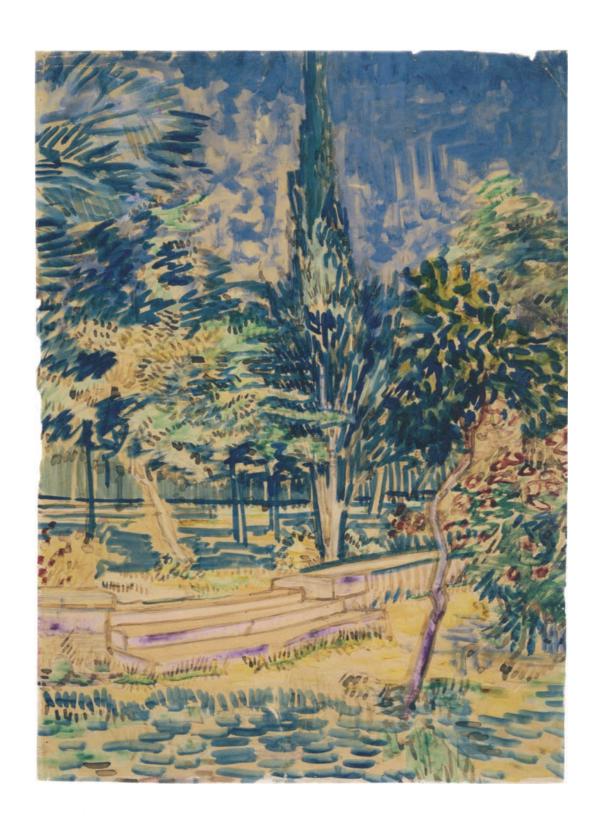
Each subject, with the exception of the stone bench, occurs in two drawings: the tree in Tree and bushes in the garden of the asylum (cat. 360) is also depicted in Trees and bushes (fig. 360a); the stairs in Stairs in the garden of the asylum (cat. 361) recur, seen from a different angle and from slightly farther away, in Trees in the garden of the asylum (fig. 360b); the blossoming shrubs appear in F 1527 JH 1708 (fig. 360c) and in F 1526 JH 1707 (fig. 360d). Heenk has suggested the possibility that Van Gogh intended them as pendants.² Pickvance, too, earlier alluded to pairs of studies depicting the garden of the asylum, but did not confine himself to the group of sheets in colour: he also considered the pen-and-ink drawings from the same period to be part of this scheme.3 He thus regarded Tree and bushes in the garden of the asylum (cat. 360) as the companion piece of Tree with ivy in the garden of the asylum (cat. 358),4 and even suggested that this pairing was based on a well-considered decorative scheme. His basis for this assumption is not clear – in any case Van Gogh himself did not remark on the subject – and apart from the fact that the drawings all depict the garden, there is nothing to warrant this presumed connection. It is possible that Van Gogh's multiple studies of overlapping subjects were attempts to arrive at the most attractive composition, which entailed changing his distance from the subject (in all three cases) and altering the format from horizontal to vertical (or vice versa, in the case of the stairs).

Until now it has been assumed that the seven garden views were painted in watercolour. The gleam of the most thickly applied passages, the sporadic occurrence of craquelure and the brownish-yellow oil spots on the verso indicate, however, that in four of the seven drawings in any case, Van Gogh used highly diluted oils. He had probably run out of canvas and had just enough oil paint left to attempt these paintings on paper. In addition to paint, he used one or more coloured inks, which have meanwhile discoloured to brown, although the edges of *Stairs in the garden of the asylum (cat. 361*), which were protected from the light by a mount, still display bright colours (*fig. 360e*). Pickvance took the brown lines to be ink, and considered the sheets fully fledged reed-pen drawings in brown ink, to which the artist later added colour. The ink was applied with a brush, however, and

- 1 The other four are F 1527 JH 1708 (fig. 360c), F 1526 JH 1707 (fig. 360d), F 1534 JH 1709 (fig. 360a) and F 1536 JH 1712 (fig. 360b). Pickvance considers F 1534 JH 1709 to be a pastiche of cat. 360. See New York 1986-87, p. 86. Bowness, in London 1968-69, no. 157, also assumes that Van Gogh made a series of six, and excludes cat. 362 from the group.
- 2 Heenk 1995, p. 185.
- 3 Otterlo 1990, p. 285.
- 4 He thinks that vertical and horizontal formats belong together, and sees the following as pairs: F 1497 JH 1852 F 1501 JH 1739, F 1531 JH 1705 (cat. 357) F 1537 JH 1711 (cat. 362), and F 1535 JH 1713 (cat. 361) F 1536 JH 1712.
- 5 We have examined four of the seven sheets: the three discussed here and the blossoming shrub in the Kröller-Müller Museum (fig. 360c). Of the other three, one is in a private collection and the present whereabouts of the other two are unknown.
- 6 In letter 778/592 of c. 23 May 1889, Van Gogh ordered canvas and paints, which he received around 9 June.
- **7** In New York 1986-87, p. 86 and in Otterlo 1990, pp. 284, 285.



360 Tree and bushes in the garden of the asylum



361 Stairs in the garden of the asylum



360a Trees and bushes (F 1534 JH 1709), 1889. Whereabouts unknown.

360b Trees in the garden of the asylum (F 1536 JH 1712), 1889. Private collection.





often overlaps the oil paint. The diluted oil paint has also faded and discoloured: the stairs in *Stairs in the garden of the asylum* were all purple on the front, the light greens and reds were brighter, and the blue in the trees contained more green.

In all three garden views discussed here Van Gogh first made an underdrawing in black chalk and then used various brushes to work up the composition in diluted oil paint and ink.⁸ In *Stone bench in the garden of the asylum (cat. 362*) he began with the ink, in *Tree and bushes in the garden of the asylum (cat. 360*) he applied the ink at the end, and in *Stairs in the garden of the asylum (cat. 361*) the ink is both below and above the lines of oil paint. All three works display dry and ragged brushstrokes, which indicate that Van Gogh was working with old brushes and not with new ones, as Pickvance suggested.⁹ In the first week of June he asked Theo to send him 'some ordinary brushes, as soon as possible' [780/593], perhaps when he was

- 8 The drawing in the Kröller-Müller Museum (fig. 360c) has no underdrawing; it was painted directly in diluted oil paint with various brushes. It is difficult to ascertain whether Van Gogh used coloured ink here as well. The colours overlap like the threads in a piece of fabric.
- **9** In Otterlo 1990, p. 284.





360c Blossoming shrubs (F 1527 JH 1708), 1889. Otterlo, Kröller-Müller Museum.

360d Blossoming shrubs (F 1526 JH 1707), 1889. Mexico, JAPS Collection.

working on this group of drawings. ¹⁰ However, by the time he received the new brushes, around 9 June, he had again turned his attention to painting. ¹¹

Van Gogh did not use the same kind of paper for all the garden views in colour.¹² Tree and bushes in the garden of the asylum (cat. 360) and Blossoming shrubs (fig. 360c) were made on full sheets of wove paper without a watermark.¹³ Stairs in the garden of the asylum (cat. 361) was painted on thin, smooth cardboard, and the stone bench (cat. 362) on cream-coloured laid paper bearing the watermark AL (in a scroll) PL BAS.¹⁴

The central motif of *Tree and bushes in the garden of the asylum* is a tree with some bushes and low vegetation growing under it. The whole sheet is teeming with streaks of colour placed in a markedly rhythmic pattern. By concentrating on the tree in the middle foreground, the artist created little depth in the drawing. Behind the tree, running across the entire width of the sheet, is a path with a man strolling along it on the right. Only his contours have been sketched in, and compared with the trees he is rather small. This drawing is the only one of these seven garden views to feature a figure. After completion, it ended up on top of another garden view that was not yet fully dry, with the result that the verso displays the residue of oil paint in the colours green, red and moss green – hues that also occur in this group of drawings.

The garden of the asylum had, and still has, three levels connected by two short flights of stone stairs: the lowest, near the northern men's wing, contains the sizeable fountain (see *cat*. 357); the highest level lies nearest the entrance to the complex and is bordered by a high wall. The position of the wall indicated with vertical blue lines in the background indicates that the stairs in *Stairs in the garden of the asylum* lead from the middle section to the highest part of the garden. When making *Trees*

- 10 'de m'envoyer le plus tôt possible quelques brosses ordinaires'; this letter was written between c. 31 May and c. 6 June 1889.
- 11 See letter 781/594.
- 12 According to Heenk 1995, p. 185, most of them were painted on smooth wove paper.
- 13 It is possible that Van Gogh used the same kind of paper for cat. 357.
- 14 See cat. 350 for other works drawn on this paper. Blossoming shrubs (F 1527 JH 1708) has been trimmed slightly on all four sides and now measures 61.4×46.7 cm. In Otterlo 1990, p. 297, Pickvance incorrectly describes the paper of cat. 360 as Ingres, or laid paper.

360e Detail of the left edge of cat. 361.



in the garden of the asylum (fig. 360b), Van Gogh was standing on the lowest level: here the two flights of steps are both visible, in line with each other.

The third sheet discussed here depicts one of the stone benches, most of which were in the lowest section of the garden (see also *cat.* 357).¹⁵ The bench stands between two trees of which only the trunks are depicted. Part of a shrub with red flowers is visible in the background. Van Gogh took a similar shrub as the subject of two of the colour brush drawings (*figs.* 36oc, 36od). The upper edge of this sheet is missing a sizeable piece across its whole width, but the most damage has been suffered at the upper right-hand corner, ¹⁶ which was already missing in 1928.¹⁷

Until the end of the 1940s the three garden views were loosely dated to the Saint-Rémy period. Cooper was the first to give two of the drawings more precise dates: summer 1889 (*cat.* 360) and autumn 1889 (*cat.* 361). In 1955 he moved the date of the former to May or early June 1889. Bowness was the first to date the latter to this same period. It was 1970 before *Stone bench in the garden of the asylum* was given a more exact dating within the Saint-Rémy period, when De la Faille dated it to the autumn of 1889. Seven years later Hulsker assigned the drawing, just like the other garden views in colour, to May 1889. Since then this dating has not varied much for the works discussed here. Pickvance was the first to fine-tune the dating to a period spanning only two weeks, from 22 May to around 5 June, It adaing that has found general acceptance. The slight change in the dating of the letters used to determine the parameters of this period prompts us to assign these works to the last week of May and the first week of June 1889.

- 15 De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 159, took the bench to be a tomb
- 16 A full sheet of AL PL BAS paper measures approximately 47 x 62 cm. If Van Gogh used a full sheet, it now lacks some 10 cm along the upper edge and 17 cm at the upper right-hand corner.
- 17 See De la Faille 1928. According to De la Faille 1970, this part was not torn off but eaten away.
- **18** In London/Birmingham/Glasgow 1947-48, nos. 165, 166. Cat. 362 is not discussed in that catalogue.
- 19 Cooper 1955 1, p. 80.
- 20 In London 1968-69, p. 103. De la Faille 1970 did not adopt this and maintained instead that the work originated in July 1889.
- 21 In Otterlo 1990, p. 284.
- 22 The only exception is Amsterdam 1987, p. 456, no. 2.533, which maintains Hulsker's May dating.
- 23 Letter 778/592 was previously dated to 22 May but is now dated to c. 23 May 1889. The dating of letter 780/593 has been changed from c. 2 June to c. 31 May-c. 6 June 1889.

360

Tree and bushes in the garden of the asylum Last week of May–first week of June 1889 Black chalk, brush, diluted oil paint and ink, now brown, on wove paper 46.9 x 61.9 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 334 V/1962 F 1533 JH 1710

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 158, vol. 4, pl. CLXXIX; Cooper 1955 1, pp. 82, 83 no. 27; London 1968-69, p. 103 no. 157; De la Faille 1970, pp. 530, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 392, 394, 395; New York 1986-87, p. 86; Amsterdam 1987, p. 456 no. 2.533; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p.136; Otterlo 1990, pp. 284, 285, 297 no. 219; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 158, 400, 401, vol. 2, pl. CLXXIX; Heenk 1995, p. 185; Hulsker 1996, p. 394; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 53, 304, 305 no. 104.

Exhibitions

1896-97 Paris, no cat. known [not for sale]; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 356 [Dfl. 400]; 1906 Berlin, no. 58 (DM 1,000); 1909-10 Munich, unnumbered, Frankfurt am Main, Dresden & Chemnitz, no cat. known [Dfl. 1,800]; 1911-12 Hamburg, no cat. known [DM? 2,000]; 1911-12 Bremen, no catalogue; 1912 Dresden & Breslau, no. 11; 1913 The Hague, no. 152; 1914 Antwerp, no. 75; 1914 Berlin, no. 60; 1914 Cologne & Hamburg, no cat. known; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 170; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1922 Amsterdam, no cat. known [possibly cat. 361]; 1926 Amsterdam, no. 62; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 57; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 57; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 57; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 75; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 53; 1930 Amsterdam, no. 118; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 197; 1937 Oslo, no. 36; 1938 Copenhagen, no. 36; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 91; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 68; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 78; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 131; 1947 Paris,

no. 132; 1947 Geneva, no. 132; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 165; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 112, no. 113; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 276; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 138; 1953 Zürich, no. 102; 1953 The Hague, no. 145; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 172; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 157; 1954-55 Bern, no. 152; 1955 Antwerp, no. 330; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 220; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 126; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 64; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 82, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 141; 1960 Enschede, no. 59; 1963 Amsterdam, no. 105; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 93; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 113; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 66; 1968 Liège, no. 66; 1968-69 London, no. 157; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 37; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 103 & Columbus, no. 35; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 103; 1971-72 Paris, no. 194; 1972 Bordeaux, no. 67; 1975 Malmö, no. 84; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 84; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 82; 1990 Otterlo, no. 219; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 104.

361

Stairs in the garden of the asylum
Last week of May–first week of June 1889
Black chalk, brush, diluted oil paint and ink,
now brown, on thin cardboard
63.I x 45.6 cm
Unsigned

Inv. d 438 V/1962 F 1535 JH 1713

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1927-30 on loan to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 158, vol. 4, pl. CLXXVII; Cooper 1955 I, pp. 86, 87 no. 29; De Gruyter 1961, p. 91 no. VII; London 1968-69, p. 103 no. 156; De la Faille 1970, pp. 530, 531, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 392, 395; New York 1986-87, pp. 84, 85 no. 3; Amsterdam 1987, pp. 250, 251, 456 no. 2.534; Otterlo 1990, pp. 284, 285, 296 no. 218; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 158, 401, vol. 2, pl. CLXXVII; Heenk 1995, p. 185; Hulsker 1996, pp. 394, 395; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 53, 306, 307 no. 105.

EXHIBITIONS

1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 418 [Dfl. 500]; 1909-10 Munich, unnumbered, Frankfurt am Main, Dresden & Chemnitz, no cat. known [Dfl. 1,800]; 1910 Berlin, no. 56 [DM 600]; 1911 Frankfurt am Main, no cat. known; 1914 Antwerp, no. 79; 1914 Berlin, no. 59; 1914 Cologne & Hamburg, no cat. known; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 171; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1922 Amsterdam, no cat. known [possibly cat. 360]; 1926 Munich, no. 2098 (not for sale); 1926-27 London, no. 2 [Dfl. 4,000]; 1930 Amsterdam, no. 119; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 198; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 96; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 69; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 79; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 132; 1947 Paris, no. 133; 1947 Geneva, no. 133; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 166; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 113, no. 114; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 277; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 103; 1953 The Hague, no. 146; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 173; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 158; 1954-55 Bern, no. 153; 1955 Antwerp, no. 331; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 221; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 129; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 65; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 83, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 58; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 133; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 133; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 108; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 108; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 66; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 68; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 67; 1968 Liège, no. 67; 1968-69 London, no. 156; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 38; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 104 & Columbus, no. 36; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 104; 1971-72 Paris, no. 195; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 73; 1977 Paris, unnumbered; 1986-87 New York, no. 3; 1990 Otterlo, no. 218; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 105.

362

Stone bench in the garden of the asylum
Last week of May–first week of June 1889
Black chalk, brush, diluted oil paint and ink,
now grey-brown, on laid paper
37.3 x 61.8 cm
Watermark: Al (in a scroll) Pl BAS
Unsigned

Inv. d 226 V/1962 F 1537 JH 1711

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 159, vol. 4, pl. CLXXIX; De la Faille 1970, pp. 531, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 392, 395; New York 1986-87, p. 86; Amsterdam 1987, p. 457 no. 2.535; Otterlo 1990, pp. 284, 285, 298 no. 220; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 159, 401, vol. 2, pl. CLXXIX; Heenk 1995, p. 185; Hulsker 1996, p. 394; Tokyo 2000, pp. 86, 87, 176 no. 25.

Exhibitions

1947 Rotterdam, no. 93; 1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 64; 1948 Amersfoort, no cat. known; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 278; 1953 Assen, no. 47; 1953-54 Bergen op Zoom, no. 55; 1954-55 Bern, no. 154; 1955 Antwerp, no. 332; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 72; 1958 Mons, no. 73; 1990 Otterlo, no. 220; 2000 Tokyo, no. 25; 2006-07 Amsterdam & New York [only Amsterdam], unnumbered.

Second week of June 1889 Black chalk, brush and brown ink, on wove paper 49.9 x 65.1 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 225 V/1962 F 1543 JH 1743

- 1 See letter 781/594.
- 2 See also Otterlo 1990, p. 285 and Hulsker 1996, pp. 398, 403. The latter dates cat. 363 to 17 or 18 June 1889, but gives no grounds for doing so. De la Faille 1970 dates the work later, to September-October 1889, likewise giving no reasons. Van Gogh's extant correspondence does not mention either work.
- 3 See letter 784/595 of c. 18 June, in which Van Gogh's reference to 'the fields and the olives' probably describes cat. 363.
- 4 See letters 766/587, 825/615 and 878/614a. In nineteenth-century treatises the olive tree is sometimes compared to the willow, which also has an extensive root system and needs little attention besides regular pruning. See Jirat-Wasiutyński 1993, p. 653. It is not known if Van Gogh ever read such treatises.
- 5 Letter of 28 April 1889: 'Ah mon cher Theo si tu voyais les oliviers à cette epoque ci... Le feuillage vieil argent & argent verdissant contre le bleu. Et le sol labouré orangeâtre. C'est quelque chôse de tout autre que ce qu'on en pense dans le nord c'est d'un fin d'un distingué. C'est comme les saules ébranchés de nos prairies hollandaises ou les buissons de chêne de nos dunes, c.à.d. le murmure d'un verger d'oliviers a quelque chose de très intime, d'immensement vieux. C'est trop beau pour que j'ose le peindre ou puisse le concevoir. Le laurier rose ah cela parle amour et c'est beau comme le Lesbos de Puvis de chavannes où il y avait les femmes au bord de la mer. Mais l'olivier

363 Olive trees with the Alpilles in the background

After Van Gogh had been forced to spend his first month in Saint-Rémy drawing and painting inside the walled grounds of the asylum, he wrote to his brother on 9 June to tell him that for the past several days he had been going out to work in the surrounding neighbourhood. Although from then on he again devoted most of his attention to painting, it was probably around this time that he made two large studies on paper: Olive trees with the Alpilles in the background (cat. 363) and Olive grove (cat. 364). It is possible that he sent the former work to Theo around 18 June 1889.

The olive tree so characteristic of Provence was in Van Gogh's view the southern equivalent of Holland's pollard willow;⁴ various letters reveal how taken he was by the olive groves and their ever-changing colours: 'Oh, my dear Theo, if you saw the olive trees at this time... The foliage old silver and silver turning green against the blue. And the ploughed earth orangey. It is something completely different from one's idea of it in the North – it has such subtlety, such distinction. It is like the pollard willow of our Dutch meadows or the oak bushes of our dunes, that is to say, the rustle of an olive grove has something very intimate about it, something tremendously old. It is too beautiful to dare to paint it or to fathom it. The oleander – ah – it speaks of love and is beautiful like the Lesbos of Puvis de Chavannes, with women on the seashore. But the olive is something else, if you want to compare it to something, it is Delacroix' [766/587]. Between June and December 1889 the olive tree became one of Van Gogh's favourite subjects. ⁶

Olive trees with the Alpilles in the background was drawn in a remarkably broad style resembling that of Olive grove (cat. 364). Like that work, this drawing was made with brisk brushstrokes that fill the entire sheet. Unlike most of the other works in ink, here Van Gogh used neither pen nor reed pen. The brown ink is of two shades, the dark brown ink having a blue-purple sheen. Before applying the ink with brushes of various thicknesses, Van Gogh first made an underdrawing in black chalk (fig. 363a). In some places he again drew with chalk over the ink, and in the mountains in the right background he drew the contours and several distinct areas exclusively in chalk. Because the ink has faded and turned brown over the years, Olive trees with the Alpilles in the background now has an entirely different

c'est autre chôse, c'est si on veut le comparer a quelque chôse, du Delacroix.' For comparisons of pollard willows and olive trees, see also letters 766/587, 787/598, 807/608, 824/B21 and 878/614a.

6 In the autumn, painting olive trees was to become an important point of discussion between Van Gogh and both Bernard and Gauguin, with Van Gogh arguing passionately in favour of reality as the basis for any subject whatsoever. Van Gogh did not like the way

Bernard and Gauguin had painted Christ in the garden of Gethsemane. He opposed their method, because their works were not at all based on observation. Van Gogh reacted by setting out with enthusiasm to paint in the olive groves. See letters 822/614 of c. 19 November 1889 and 824/B21 and 825/615 of c. 26 November 1889. See also New York 1986-87, nos. 41, 160; Amsterdam 1990, p. 234; Jirat-Wasiutyński 1993, pp. 654-56 and 662.





363a Infrared image of cat. 363.

the various elements done in ink are no longer in balance: thus the contour of the mountain ridge in the background is now markedly darker than the foliage of the tree in front of it. Because the other brown brushstrokes do not vary much in intensity, the composition now displays a rich cluster of brushstrokes with no accents, so that it is difficult to distinguish the forms and structure of the composition in their intended relation. The drawing lacks depth, even though the chalk drawing (fig. 363a) shows that Van Gogh sought to divide it into a foreground, middle distance and background.

7 The fading took place before 1928 in any case, as emerges from the reproduction in the edition of De

Stylistically, the depiction is related – through its brisk and lively brushstrokes

Stylistically, the depiction is related – through its brisk and lively brushstrokes – to the garden views in colour that Van Gogh made in late May and early June (cats. 360-362). Unlike Olive trees with the Alpilles in the background, however, the garden views were painted primarily in diluted oils. Moreover, those sheets are much more developed than this sketchy brush and ink study.

appearance. The black chalk must have been less prominent originally; moreover,

The cream-coloured sheet of wove paper on which the drawing was made has been damaged: a piece measuring 23.7 x 18.9 centimetres has been torn from the upper right-hand corner, causing the loss of a sizeable part of the mountains or rocks that were depicted there.⁹

- emerges from the reproduction in the edition of De la Faille from that year, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXI. No earlier reproductions of the work are known. Something similar happened to the first Montmajour series of May 1888 (see cats. 335-337), in which the pencil lines now play a dominant role because the ink has faded.

 8 Van Gogh also used both black chalk and ink for those compositions.
- **9** A reproduction in De la Faille 1928 shows that this piece was missing even then, which must be the reason for its limited exhibition history.

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 160, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXI; De la Faille 1970, pp. 532, 533, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 398, 403; New York 1986-87, p. 33; Amsterdam 1987, p. 460 no. 2.557; Otterlo 1990, pp. 284, 285, 302 no. 224; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 160, 403, vol. 2, pl. CLXXXI; Heenk 1995, p. 185; Hulsker 1996, pp. 398, 403; Martigny 2000, p. 90.

Exhibitions

1947 Rotterdam, no. 94; 1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 65; 1948 Amersfoort, no cat. known; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1953 Zundert, no. 55; 1953 Hoensbroek, no. 105; 1990 Otterlo, no. 224.

364 Olive grove

Olive grove, like Olive trees with the Alpilles in the background (cat. 363), is a swiftly drawn study that gives an impression of a spot in the immediate vicinity of the asylum. In comparison with the latter work, however, Olive grove is freer and more airy, owing in part to the space between the brushstrokes and their more ordered character. The spontaneity of the picture is enhanced by the fact that Van Gogh worked directly in brush and ink, without first making an underdrawing — as he did in catalogue number 363. The sheets of wove paper that he used for these two drawings are nearly identical in format and type, but the paper of Olive grove has a watermark that does not occur in any of the other drawings in the Van Gogh Museum: a locomotive pulling a train bearing the date 1889, to the left and right of which appear the letters Gog.

The drawing is related, as regards composition and brushwork, to several paintings of olive groves in an impressionistic style that Van Gogh produced in the four weeks between mid-June and mid-July.³ The present drawing most closely resembles the *Olive trees* in the collection of the National Galleries of Scotland (*fig. 364a*), a canvas that must have originated in June and that depicts the very same location.⁴ The spontaneous brush drawing in two shades of brown was probably an exploratory study of this spot.⁵ Both works are characterised by loose brush-strokes, straight or slightly curved. They are also comparable in format,⁶ and nearly identical in composition: the ground takes up most of the picture, while the tops of the olive trees are cut off by the picture plane and the sky plays only a small role.

Assuming that *Olive grove* was in fact a first study in rendering the motif, and given the similarities in style with *Olive trees with the Alpilles in the background* (cat. 363), the study is here dated to around mid-June 1889.⁷

- 1 See also Heenk 1995, p. 185.
- 2 It was first observed in Bremen 2002-03, no. 19, that Van Gogh drew the work with a brush. He was previously assumed to have used a reed pen.
- **3** F 585 JH 1758, F 715 JH 1759 and F 709 JH 1760. For the paintings mentioned, see New York 1986-87, nos. 11 and 12. See also Amsterdam 1990, no. 106.
- 4 The similarity was remarked upon earlier in De la Faille 1970, where both works (cat. 364 and fig. 364a) are placed in the period September-November 1889. However, the painting, which is generally dated to the autumn, differs in style from the olive groves of this period, which are characterised by stylised, controlled brushstrokes (cf. F 587 JH 1853 and F 707 JH 1857).

Circa mid-June 1889 Brush and brown ink, on wove paper 49.8 x 64.9 cm Watermark: GOG Unsigned

Inv. d 224 V/1962 F 1555 JH 1859

Moreover, the poppies in the painting indicate that it was made earlier, in June.

- 5 Bremen 2002-03, no. 19, also names cat. 364 as an example of a drawing made as a preparatory study for one or more paintings (F 585 JH 1758 and F 715 JH 1759).
- **6** The painting measures 51 x 65.2 cm.
- 7 Otterlo 1990, p. 284, dates cat. 364 to the first half of June 1889. This work was previously assigned to the period September-December 1889 (De la Faille 1970; Amsterdam 1987; Hulsker 1996).



364a *Olive trees* (F 714 JH 1858), 1889. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland.



Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 163, vol. 4, pl. clxxxvi; De la Faille 1970, pp. 534, 537, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 424, 428; New York 1986-87, p. 33; Amsterdam 1987, p. 464 no. 2.581; Otterlo 1990, pp. 284, 285, 304 no. 226; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 163, 406, vol. 2, pl. clxxxvi; Heenk 1995, p. 185; Hulsker 1996, p. 428; Martigny 2000, p. 90.

Exhibitions

1924 Basel, no. 93 [Dfl. 1,800]; 1924 Zürich, no. 93 (Sfr. 3,600); 1924 Stuttgart, no. 17 [Dfl. 1,800]; 1925 Paris, unnumbered [Dfl. 1,800]; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue; 1926 Amsterdam, no. 52; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 72; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 72; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 72; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 79; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 227; 1932 Manchester, no. 72; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 97; 1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 66; 1948 Amersfoort, no cat. known; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 84; 1952 Basel, no. 88; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 163; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 73; 1958 Mons, no. 74; 1990 Otterlo, no. 226; 2006-07 Amsterdam & New York, unnumbered.

May-June 1889 Pencil on wove paper 23.8 x 63.8 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 376

Inv. d 209 V/1969 F 1541v JH 1729 and F 1611v JH –

- 1 For this sketchbook, see the Introduction, p. 40.
- 2 See letter 781/594 of 9 June 1889. Hulsker 1996 and Amsterdam 1987 both date the drawing to June 1889. De la Faille 1970 places the work in the summer of that year. Heenk 1995, p. 193, assigns it only to the Saint-Rémy period in general. Van Gogh mentions the painting in letter 784/595 of c. 18 June 1889.
- 3 According to De la Faille 1970, cat. 365 shows the same tower as F 612 JH 1731 (fig. 365b) and the drawing that Van Gogh made after that painting (F 1540 JH 1732). Ronald Pickvance, in New York 1986-87, no. 14, says that the drawing was probably made much later, but gives no grounds to support this opinion. He suggests, moreover, that the tower is a composite of the towers occurring in Van Gogh's work from the Dutch period, but this is unlikely to have been the artist's intention.
- 4 Heenk 1995, p. 194, was the first to assign the sheet with the sketches of a perspective frame to Saint-Rémy. De la Faille 1970 places it in Auvers, as do Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.660 and Van der Wolk 1987,
- 5 Pine trees in the walled garden of the asylum (fig. 359a) bears traces of perspective guidelines. For information on this drawing tool, see the Introduction, pp. 36-38.

365 View of Saint-Rémy and sketches of a perspective frame

View of Saint-Rémy was drawn on a sketchbook page, the right edge of which is still joined to another sheet. Van Gogh used this sketchbook mainly during the first months of 1890. The composition shows the village as Van Gogh saw it from the higher-lying vicinity of the asylum. To draw this view in pencil, he took up a position to the south-west of Saint-Paul-de-Mausole, looking north. Recognisable landmarks include the tower and dome of St Martin's (fig. 365a). This church, the other buildings and the horizon were roughly sketched with a few lines of the pencil, some of which were stumped in the background.

The sketchy yet realistic representation presumably dates from the second week of June 1889, when Van Gogh was allowed to work outside the walled grounds of the asylum.² It is doubtful whether there is a direct connection between the drawing and the painting *Starry night*, which originated in mid-June (*fig. 365b*). The present sketch, which was made on the spot, does not display the great artistic liberties – in both style and composition – which Van Gogh took in the painting. In the stylised nocturnal view, painted with undulating lines, he left out the dome of the church and added two elements: cypresses in the foreground and in the background the Alpilles, the mountains that actually lie to the south of the city.³

The fold on the right-hand side of the composition displays binding holes where the paper was bound into the sketchbook. The other half of the sheet contains two sketches of a perspective frame, which are upside-down with respect to the town view. *View of Saint-Rémy* has rubbed off on the sheet with the perspective frames, confirming that the two depictions faced one another, which suggests they were the innermost pages of a quire. Moreover, the imprints of lines from a drawing of a leaf and a pod are visible on the other side of catalogue number 365 (see *cat. 376*).

It is not certain at which point during his stay in Saint-Rémy Van Gogh made the pencil sketches of the perspective frame, but they are assumed here to have originated in May-June 1889.⁴ It is known that Van Gogh made use of the perspective frame at the beginning of his stay in the asylum.⁵ He might have made the sketch while explaining to someone how he used this drawing tool. Later, in Auvers, Van Gogh would make another sketch of a perspective frame on laid paper (see *cat. 483*).





365a Postcard of Saint-Rémy, from Marcel Bonnet, Saint-Rémy-de-Provence. Le Temps Retrouvé, n.p., 1989.

365b Starry night (F 612 JH 1731), 1889. New York, The Museum of Modern Art.



PROVENANCE
1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam. LITERATURE [F 154IV JH 1729]

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 160, vol. 4, pl. clxxx;

De la Faille 1970, pp. 532, 667; Hulsker 1980,

pp. 396, 397; New York 1986-87, pp. 103, 107;

Amsterdam 1987, p. 460 no. 2.558; Van der Wolk
1987, p. 266; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 160,
403, vol. 2, pl. clxxx; Heenk 1995, pp. 193, 271;

Hulsker 1996, pp. 397, 399.

LITERATURE [F 1611v JH –]
Not in la Faille 1928; De la Faille 1970, pp. 549,

563, 669; Not in Hulsker 1980; New York 1986-87, pp. 87; Amsterdam 1987, p. 478 no. 2.660; Van der Wolk 1987, p.266; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 421, vol. 2, pl. ccxxx1x; Heenk 1995, pp. 193, 271; Not in Hulsker 1996.

Exhibitions [F 1541v JH 1729] None.

Exhibitions [F 1611v JH -] None.

366-369 Drawings made after paintings

Technical details 366-369 on pp. 242-244

A couple of days after Van Gogh had been given permission to work outside the grounds of Saint-Paul-de-Mausole, he received new painting materials from Paris.¹ From then on he concentrated primarily on painting the landscape in the vicinity of the asylum: cypresses, wheatfields, olive groves and mountain ridges. To give Theo some idea of these Provençal canvases, Vincent made drawings of a number of them that same month and sent them to Theo on 2 July.² Four of these sheets are in the collection in the Van Gogh Museum: Trees with ivy in the garden of the asylum (cat. 366), Wheatfield and cypresses (cat. 367), The enclosed wheatfield after a storm (cat. 368) and Wild vegetation (cat. 369). Van Gogh is not entirely clear about the number of drawings he sent: twice he mentioned to Theo around ten ('une dizaine'), ³ but to his sister Wil he spoke of 'a dozen' ('une douzaine').⁴

A remark Van Gogh made about the paper he used for the copies enables us to ascertain in the case of ten drawings that they belonged to this group. He wrote: 'The drawings seem to me to have little colour this time, and the paper, which is too smooth, is a little to blame. Anyway, the weeping tree and the courtyard of the hospital at Arles have more colour, but all the same it will give you some idea of what I'm doing' [786/597]. Ten drawings have survived that were drawn on full sheets of extremely smooth wove paper. Each sheet bears, along one of the short sides, the blind stamp lature et c1E blacors. 6 This type of paper does not otherwise occur in Van Gogh's oeuvre. Previously no painted variant was known of one of the ten drawings, Wild vegetation (cat. 369), which closely resembles the other nine sheets as regards style, paper and drawing materials. However, recent research carried out on the painting Ravine (fig. 366a) of October 1889 has shown that that composition conceals another that is very similar to the composition of Wild vegetation (fig. 366b). This discovery has made it possible to assign the sheet with certainty to the group of drawings made after paintings.8 A drawing that was long considered part of the series but is now excluded from it is Field of poppies (F 1494 JH 1742).

- 1 Regarding the receipt of the materials, see letter 781/594 of 9 June 1889 and a letter written the same day by Dr Peyron to Theo; inv. b 1060 V/1962, Van Gogh Museum.
- 2 See letter 786/597.
- 3 Letter 786/597 of 2 July 1889: 'In order that you have some idea of what I'm doing, I'm sending you about ten drawings today, all made after canvases I'm working on' ('Afin que tu aies une idée de ce que j'ai en train je t'envoie aujourd'hui une dizaine de dessins, tous d'après des toiles en train'). Letter 791/603 of 6 July 1889: 'Tell me, did you receive those drawings of mine? I sent you half a dozen once by parcel post and ten or
- so later on. If by chance you haven't received them yet, they must have been lying at the railway station for days and weeks' ('Dis moi, as tu recu des dessins de moi. Une fois je t'en ai envoyé, collis postal, une demi douzaine et puis plus tard une dizaine. Si tu ne les as pas reçu par hazard, cela doit se trouver à la gare depuis des jours et des semaines').
- 4 Letter 788/W13 of 2 July 1889: 'I just sent Theo a dozen drawings after paintings I'm working on' ('Je viens d'envoyer à Theo une douzaine de dessins d'après des toiles que j'ai en train').
- 5 Letter of 2 July 1889: 'Les dessins me paraissent avoir peu de couleur cette fois ci et pour un peu le

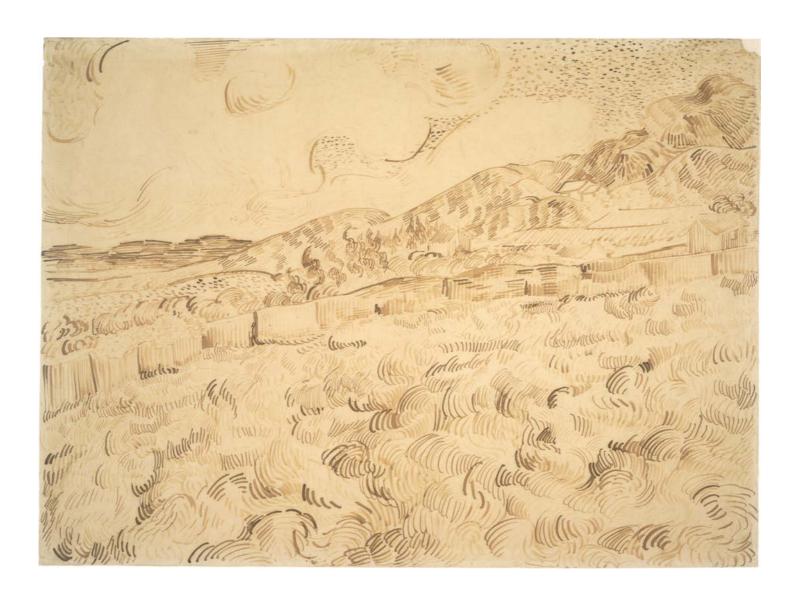
papier trop lisse en est bien cause. Enfin l'arbre pleureur et la cour de l'hospice d'Arles sont plus colorés mais cela te donnera pourtant une idée de ce que j'ai en train.'

- 6 In addition to the four drawings discussed here, these are F 1540 JH 1732 (after F 612 JH 1731), F 1524 JH 1749 (after the first state of F 620 JH 1748), F 1544 JH 1741 (after F 712 JH 1740), F 1525 JH 1747 (after F 613 JH 1746), F 1548 JH 1726 (after F 719 JH 1725) and F 1546 JH 1754 (after F 617 JH 1753). It is not known when the last two sheets disappeared from the family collection. The others were sold in 1907, 1911 and 1924 (F 1544 JH 1741 and F 1525 JH 1747), respectively.
 7 See Meta Chavannes and Louis van Tilborgh, A missing Van Gogh unveiled, in The Burlington Magazine, August 2007.
- 8 It was unclear whether the drawing was an independent work or whether it had been made after a painting that is now lost. See Pickvance in Otterlo 1990, p. 287. Bowness, in London 1968-69, pp. 105, 106, was the first to date this drawing to the same period as the (other) copies. He states that there is no known painting of this composition but that elements from the sheet do occur in Van Gogh's canvases of that period. De la Faille 1970, p. 532, dates the drawing to July 1889, whereas Hulsker 1980 and 1996, pp. 398, 400, chooses June 1889 on the basis of its stylistic similarities to F 1540 JH 1732 and F 1544 JH 1741. He includes this sheet among the drawings made from nature. Amsterdam 1987, p. 460, no. 2.556, gives a broader dating to the summer of 1889. Heenk 1995, p. 186, thinks that this sheet was made as a copy, but after a painting that is now lost.



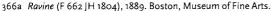
366 Trees with ivy in the garden of the asylum













366b X-radiograph of fig. 366a. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

This landscape, of which there is also a painting, was made on a sheet of wove paper without the above-mentioned blind stamp.⁹

Van Gogh's remark about the lack of colour in the drawings is unclear. In none of the sheets does the ink give the impression of having been coloured, though this could have been the case earlier. ¹⁰ A more figurative use of the concept of 'colour' to mean the different 'shades' in a given colour of ink resulting from thicker or thinner application is a more likely interpretation, considering that the smoothness of the paper would certainly have played a role. ¹¹

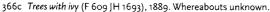
Trees with ivy in the garden of the asylum (cat. 366) is the only sheet that was made after a painting dating not from June but from May (fig. 366c). ¹² Van Gogh described the canvas in a letter he wrote around 23 May: 'Large tree trunks covered with ivy, the ground similarly covered with ivy and periwinkle, a stone bench and a faded rose bush in the cool shadow. In the foreground, some plants with white spathes. It is green, violet and pink' [778/592]. ¹³ He connected the composition, a sketch of which he included in the letter, with 'one of those colour prints from a shop, which represents the eternal nests of greenery for lovers' [778/592]. ¹⁴ That Van Gogh chose to draw a copy of this particular May painting is an indication that he was very satisfied with the result. In November of the same year he even proposed to put the canvas on display at the 1890 exhibition of Les XX in Brussels. ¹⁵

- 9 It was previously maintained that the drawing of Field of poppies preceded the painted version, a conclusion based on its differences from the painting (F 581 JH 1751) and the use of brush instead of reed pen, as is generally the case in the other drawings.

 See Bremen 2002-03, pp. 84, 85. The kind of paper was not given as one of the reasons for this assumption.

 10 On the subject of coloured ink, see the Introduc-
- 11 Regarding this question, see also cat. 350.
- 12 The drawing was long dated to May for this very reason. Hulsker 1980, pp. 390-92, was the first to include the work in the group of copies sent to Paris at the beginning of July.
- 13 'Des gros troncs d'arbres couverts de lierre, le sol egalement couvert de lierre & de pervenche, un banc
- de pierre et un buisson de roses palies à l'ombre froide. Sur l'avant plan quelques plantes à calice blanc. C'est vert, violet et rose.'
- 14 'un de ces chromos de bazar qui représentent les éternels nids de verdure pour les amoureux'.
- 15 See letter 822/614 of c. 18 November 1889.







366d Wheatfield with cypresses (F 717 JH 1756), 1889. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (bequest of the Annenberg Foundation, 1993).

The canvas after which *Wheatfield and cypresses* (cat. 367) was made (fig. 366d) is one of the two painted landscapes with wheatfields dating from June 1889. ¹⁶ Both works contain cypresses that do not constitute the principal subject. Around 25 June, however, Van Gogh decided to make these tapering, dark green trees, which he thought typical of the surrounding countryside, the main motif of a composition: 'The cypresses always fill my thoughts, I should like to make something of them like the canvases with sunflowers, because it astonishes me that they have not yet been done as I see them. It is beautiful in lines and in proportion, like an Egyptian obelisk. And the green has such a distinguished quality. It is the dark patch in a sunny landscape, but it is one of the most interesting dark notes, and the most difficult to get right that I can imagine. But then you must see them here against the blue, or rather *in* the blue' [785/596]. ¹⁷ The Provençal character of the landscape reproduced here is further heightened by the olive trees on the left and the Alpilles in the background.

The enclosed wheatfield after a storm (cat. 368) was drawn after Mountainous land-scape seen over the wall (fig. 366e), one of the first paintings Van Gogh made after the above-mentioned arrival of a fresh supply of painting materials. He described it as 'the countryside that I see from the window of my bedroom. In the foreground, a field of wheat devastated and flattened by a storm. An enclosing wall and beyond it, the grey verdure of some olive trees, some huts and hills. Finally, at the top of the

16 The other canvas is Wheatfield with cypresses (F 719 JH 1725). Van Gogh made two painted variants of Wheatfield and cypresses, which has led to differences of opinion as to the identification of the first version, after which this sheet was made. Bowness, in London 1968-69, p. 105, thought that Van Gogh first painted the

study F 717 JH 1756, after which he made this drawing, then the definitive painting (F 615 JH 1755) and finally a smaller replica for his mother and his sister Wil (F 743 JH 1790). The editors of De la Faille 1970 saw F 615 JH 1755 or F 743 JH 1790 as the example for the drawing. Hulsker assumed that it was the first of the two

that preceded the drawn copy. Pickvance followed Bowness (in New York 1986-87, p. 133 and in Otterlo 1990, pp. 286, 310) calling F 717 JH 1756 the model for the drawing, an opinion – not doubted since – which is shared by the writers of this catalogue.

17 'Les cyprès me preoccupent toujours, je voudrais en faire une chose comme les toiles des tournesols parceque cela m'étonne qu'on ne les aie pas encore fait comme je les vois. C'est beau comme lignes et comme proportions, comme une obelisque egyptienne. Et le vert est d'une qualité si distinguée. C'est la tâche *noire* dans un paysage ensoleillé mais elle est une des notes noires les plus interessantes, les plus difficiles à taper juste que je puisse imaginer. Or il faut les voir ici contre le bleu, *dans* le bleu pour mieux dire.'



366e Mountainous landscape seen over the wall (F 611 JH 1723), 1889. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

canvas, a huge white and grey cloud swimming in the azure. It is a landscape of extreme simplicity – also in its colour' [781/594]. The enclosed wheatfield became one of his favourite motifs: he depicted it – seen from his window and also from a vantage point in the field itself – in fourteen paintings and thirteen drawings. 19

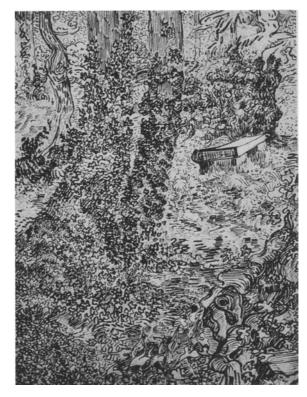
As mentioned above, *Wild vegetation (cat. 369)* was drawn after a painting that is hidden beneath *Ravine (figs. 366a, 366b)*. The luxuriant plant growth and the mountain ridge in the upper left-hand corner are clearly visible in the X-radiograph. Apparently Van Gogh was not completely happy with the painting of *Wild vegetation*, so when he ran out of canvas at the beginning of October, he decided to sacrifice it for the ravine motif.²⁰

A canvas with which Van Gogh was very pleased indeed was *Mountainous land-scape seen over the wall (fig. 366e*): he thought it might work as a pendant to *The bed-room* (F 482 JH 1608) from Arles. His satisfaction was due to the harmony he had achieved between the subject and his way of rendering it, a harmony that Van Gogh considered a prerequisite to quality.²¹ It was this style – his own personal style – that he was seeking in the June paintings. In the landscapes, as well as in the drawn variants, the emphasis lies on large forms indicated with dashing, undulating lines. In these pictures Van Gogh was endeavouring 'to mass things by means of a drawing style that seeks to express the entanglement of the masses' [818/613].²² This stylised manner, which is not developed to the same extent in all the paintings he

- 18 Letter of 9 June 1889: 'la campagne que j'aperçois de la fenêtre de ma chambre à coucher. Sur l'avant plan un champ de blé ravagé et flanqué par terre après un orage. Un mur de cloture et au dela, de la verdure grise de quelques oliviers, des cabanes et des collines. Enfin dans le haut de la toile un grand nuage blanc & gris noyé dans l'azur. C'est un paysage d'une simplicité extrême aussi de coloration.'
- 19 The first painting mentioned in his letters is F 611 JH 1723, but it is possible that he made F 720 JH 1728 earlier, at the end of May. See Otterlo 2003, pp. 287-92. For a list of the drawings, see cats. 447-452.
- 20 For the shortage of canvas, see letters 809/609 of
- 5 October and 810/610 of c. 8 October 1889. The painting *Ravine* is mentioned in letter 810/610.
- 21 Letter 781/594 of 9 June 1889.
- 22 Letter of c. 2 November 1889: 'masser les chôses par le moyen d'un dessin qui cherche à exprimer l'enchevêtrement des masses'.
- 23 Letter 818/613: 'I know quite well that the drawn studies in the last package, with great sinuous lines, were not what they ought to have been' ('Je sais bien que les études dessinées avec de grandes lignes sinueuses du dernier envoi n'etaient pas ce que cela doit devenir').







366g Reproduction of cat. 366. From De la Faille 1928.

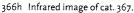
copied and which he thought was not entirely successful, ²³ was his reaction to the synthetism proposed by Gauguin and Bernard, a style which strove to create a synthesis of impressions and abstract forms. This was achieved by means of flowing lines, repetitive colours and forms, arabesques and the simplification of details. Van Gogh thought that the paintings *Starry night* (F 612 JH 1731) and *Landscape with the Alpilles in the background* (F 712 JH 1740) must reflect the sentiments expressed in the recent work of his two friends – work, by the way, which he never saw first hand. ²⁴

Van Gogh and Gauguin had often discussed stylisation, both in their correspondence and during their time together in Arles, and in that discussion Egyptian art played an important role.²⁵ This abstract idiom had influenced Gauguin's work, whereas at this time Van Gogh was more drawn to Japanese art.²⁶ In June 1889, however, he wrote that it had been the Egyptians who 'express all those intangible things – goodness, infinite patience, wisdom, serenity – by means of a few skilful curves and marvellous proportions' [781/594].²⁷ Wavy lines are indeed characteristic of the paintings and drawings he was working on that month.

Van Gogh made the drawings after paintings not only to give Theo some idea of the subjects he had painted but also to show him how stylisation had been used in those works. Theo, who was not very enthusiastic about the result, wrote on 16 July 1889: 'The last drawings look as if they were made in a fury and are a bit removed from nature. I shall understand them better when I have seen one of these subjects in a painting' [793/T12].²⁸ Theo was forced to wait until the end of September to see the paintings, since a renewed attack of Van Gogh's illness prevented him from sending them before then.²⁹ Even after seeing these works with his own eyes, Theo remained critical: 'I well understand what preoccupies you in the new canvases ... but I find that the search for style detracts from the true sentiment of things'

- 24 See letter 784/595 of 17 or 18 June 1889. Gauguin and Bernard were exhibiting at that time in Café Volpini in Paris, on the grounds of the 1889 World Fair.
- 25 See Chicago/Amsterdam 2001-02, p. 284.
- **26** See letters 697/GAC33 of c. 2 October 1888 and 698/544 of 3 October 1888.
- 27 Letter of c. 9 June 1889: '[les artistes Egyptiens] expriment toutes ces chôses insaisisables: la bonté, la patience infinie, la sagesse, la sérénité, par quelques courbes savantes et des proportions merveilleuses'. As emerges from a letter quoted above, he also compared the cypress as regards its lines and proportions to an Egyptian obelisk (see note 17).
- 28 'Les derniers dessins ont l'air d'être faits en furie et s'éloignent un peu plus de la nature. Quand j'aurai vu un de ces motifs en peinture je les comprendrai plus.'
- 29 Van Gogh sent the canvases on 19 September and on 28 September. See letters 806/607 and 807/608. At the time he was recovering from an attack he had suffered in mid-July.







366i Colour reproduction of cat. 367. From Faksimiles 1928.

[815/T19].³⁰ He also saw this happening in Gauguin's new work: 'In the last consignment from Gauguin there are the same preoccupations that you have, but with him there are many more reminiscences of the Japanese, the Egyptians, etc. As for me, I prefer to see a typical Breton woman rather than a Breton woman with the gestures of a Japanese, but in art there are no limitations, so one is allowed to do as one feels.³¹

In most cases Van Gogh first pencilled in the composition; only *The enclosed wheatfield after a storm* (*cat.* 368), *Wild vegetation* (*cat.* 369) and *Wheatfield with cypresses* (F 1548 JH 1726) were drawn directly in ink.³² He generally applied the ink with a fine pen and one or more reed pens, and sometimes with a brush as well (*cat.* 369 and F 1540 JH 1732). In three of the sheets, including *Trees with ivy in the garden of the asylum* (*cat.* 366), after working in ink Van Gogh took up the pencil again to accentuate certain passages.³³

The drawing after the painting from May (*cat.* 366), in which stylisation is not yet apparent, has a rather detailed underdrawing in pencil, over which Van Gogh worked in ink with various pens, giving each pictorial element its own characteristic pen stroke. The tree trunks, for example, are filled with long, thin, vertical lines, whereas the ivy growing on them displays leaves shaped like stars or hearts. The tree trunk in the lower right-hand corner is built up of slightly longer, curved horizontal strokes that emphasise the gnarled form of the trunk, and the bare ground consists of short horizontal strokes that contrast with the playful lines depicting the vegetation in the foreground. The wide variety of lines, which can be traced to the painting that served as the model, and the fact that the whole drawing is filled with them, gives the sheet a decorative feel. To reinforce certain forms – such as the ivy, the tree trunk and the plants in the foreground – Van Gogh again used his pencil. Both the underdrawing and the pencil lines added later are clearly visible in an

- **30** Letter of 22 October 1889: 'Je sens bien ce qui te préoccupe dans les nouvelles toiles [...] mais je trouve que le recherche du style enlève au sentiment vrai des choses.'
- 31 'Dans le dernier envoi de Gauguin il y a les mêmes préoccupations que chez toi, mais chez lui il y a beaucoup plus de souvenirs des Japonais, des Egyptiens etc. Quant à moi j'aime mieux voir une bretonne du pays qu'une bretonne avec les gestes d'une japonaise, mais en art il n'y a pas de limites, il est donc bien permis de faire comme on l'entend.'
- **32** According to Pickvance in Otterlo 1990, p. 286, Van Gogh also drew F 1546 JH 1754 directly in pen, but the reproduction in that publication clearly shows an underdrawing in pencil.
- **33** The other two are F 1524 JH 1749 and F 1525 JH 1747.



366j Reproduction of cat. 368. From Plasschaert 1898.



366k Olive trees with the Alpilles in the background (F 1544 JH 1741), 1889. New York, Jo Carole and Ronald S. Lauder Collection (intended bequest to the Museum of Modern Art, New York).

infrared image (*fig.* 366f). Although the drawing is still very impressive, comparison with old reproductions reveals that the fading of the ink has robbed it of much of its power and depth (*fig.* 366g).³⁴

Wheatfield and cypresses (cat. 367) also has a pencilled underdrawing (fig. 366h). As in the previously discussed work, Van Gogh then worked in ink, giving each element its own characteristic lines that are closely related to the type of brushstrokes used in the painting. Only in the sky, which in the painting is filled with clouds of various hues, was he compelled to translate the colours into a graphic vocabulary consisting of long, thin strokes, small specks and areas of blank paper. The robust yet graceful lines that delineate the cypress contrast with the mountain range in the background, which is built up of fine lines placed closely together. Van Gogh probably worked in at least two hues of ink, which are now light and dark brown. A 1928 facsimile shows them as dark brown and greenish brown (fig. 366i), revealing that the browning had already set in, but was not yet so advanced. The fading of the ink has undermined the drawing's delicate balance: the underdrawing in pencil, previously unnoticeable, has become visible, while certain passages, such as the sky, have almost completely disappeared. The yellowing of the paper has further obscured the clarity of the composition.

The enclosed wheatfield after a storm (cat. 368), which has no underdrawing, was executed directly in pen and ink. Here, too, Van Gogh introduced differentiation in the pen strokes, though it is less salient because the lines are fairly uniform in width. Comparison with the painting reveals that here, too, the diverse nature of the lines is directly linked to the brushstrokes used in the canvas. The dots in the sky do not occur in the painting, but these must be seen – as in many of the drawings from the Arles period – as a graphic translation of the colour blue. In this drawing as well, the ink is badly faded, so that the white clouds which are such an

34 For other reproductions, see Bremmer 1910, issue 11, no. 88 and Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 42.

impressive feature of the painting are practically invisible in the drawing (fig. 366j). The result is that the composition is no longer in balance.

Wild vegetation (cat. 369) was drawn directly in ink with a reed pen, a fine pen and a brush. The fading of the ink – especially where it was applied in thin lines, such as in the sky – has robbed the drawing of strength. The elements so typical of this series, such as stylisation and the filling of the whole sheet with a wide variety of pen strokes, have been taken to such lengths in this splendid drawing that the image is nearly abstract. The elaboration of the passage at the upper left – the sky with thin parallel lines and the mountains, which have been lent volume by heavier lines that follow their jagged shapes – is reminiscent of *Olive trees with the Alpilles in the background (fig. 366k)*, one of the other drawings made after paintings.

Pickvance thinks it possible that the above-mentioned variations in technique tell us something about the order in which the drawings were made, thus yielding clues as to their dating.³⁵ He discerns a progression in their rendering from heavy and tonal to light and rhythmical. Although it is tempting to seek such a development, there is no concrete proof of it. One must also bear in mind that the drawings were made after the painted examples. Moreover, the June correspondence contains only one mention of the drawings made after paintings. In a letter of 25 June Van Gogh describes two canvases of cypresses and then announces: 'I'll send you drawings of them, along with two other drawings that I've done. That will keep me busy these days. Finding something to occupy one's days is the big problem here... I hope to send you some new drawings next week' [785/596].³⁶ This tells us that two otherwise unspecified drawings were finished by 25 June and that he was planning to make the two drawings of cypresses (F 1524 JH 1749 and F 1525 JH 1747).³⁷

Given the systematic working method and thematic approach displayed by Van Gogh during his entire career as an artist, as well as his remark about finding something to occupy his days, it seems likely that the other sheets originated between 25 June and 2 July, the day he sent them.³⁸ Because we cannot be certain when he began work on the first drawings, the group is dated here to a somewhat wider timespan, running through the second half of June to 2 July 1889.

- 35 In Otterlo 1990, p. 287.
- 36 'Je t'en enverrai des dessins avec deux autres dessins que j'ai encore faits. Cela me prendra ces jours-ci. Trouver de l'occupation pour la journee c'est la grande question ici. [...] j'espère semaine prochaine t'envoyer des nouveaux dessins.'
- **37** Pickvance, in Otterlo 1990, p. 287, suggests that the unidentified drawings were cat. 366 and F 1494 IH 1742.
- **38** Pickvance also assumes this in Otterlo 1990, p. 287, and thinks that they fall into two groups: three with an underdrawing (cat. 367, F 1540 JH 1732, F 1544 JH 1741) and three without (cat. 368, F 1548 JH 1726, F 1546 JH 1754). However, he overlooked the fact that F 1546 JH 1754 does in fact have a pencilled underdrawing.

366

Trees with ivy in the garden of the asylum Mid-June-2 July 1889
Pencil, reed pen, pen and brown ink, on wove paper
62.3 x 47.1 cm
Blind stamp: LATUNE ET C^{IE} BLACONS
Unsigned

Inv. d 439 V/1962 F 1522 JH 1695

Letters 786/597, 788/W13, 791/603, 793/T12

PROVENANCE

July 1889-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Bremmer 1910, vol. 11, no. 88; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 155, vol. 4, pl. CLXXVII; Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 42; De Gruyter 1961, p. 108 no. 46; London 1968-69, p. 100 no. 146; Tralbaut 1969, p. 292; Wadley 1969, p. 38; De la Faille 1970, pp. 528, 666; Hulsker 1980, pp. 391, 392; New York

1986-87, p. 111; Amsterdam 1987, p. 456 no. 2.531; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 136; Otterlo 1990, pp. 286, 287, 306 no. 228; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 155, 397, vol. 2, pl. CLXXVII; Heenk 1995, p. 186; Hulsker 1996, pp. 391, 392; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 310, 311 no. 107.

EXHIBITIONS

1897 Groningen, no cat. known; 1900-01 Rotterdam, no. 61? [Dfl. 150] [possibly cat. 358]; 1901 Zwolle, no. 43?; 1902 Paris, no cat. known [Ffr. 375]; 1905 Amsterdam I, no. 403 [Dfl. 225]; 1906 Berlin, no. 80 (DM 750); 1908 Munich, no. 75 (Dfl. 400); 1908 Dresden, no. 79 [Dfl. 400]; 1908 Frankfurt am Main, no. 86 (for sale); 1908 The Hague & Amsterdam, resp. no cat. known, no. 91; 1910 Cologne & Frankfurt am Main, no catalogue [Dfl. 700]; 1910 Berlin, no. 69; 1911 Frankfurt am Main, no cat. known; 1912 The Hague & Amsterdam, no. 30? [Dfl. 1,000]; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 189; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923 Utrecht, no. 45; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1923-24 London, no. 3 [Dfl. 2,500]; 1924 Basel, no. 92 [Dfl. 3,000]; 1924 Zürich, no. 92 (Sfr. 7,200); 1924 Stuttgart, no. 14 [Dfl. 3,000]; 1925 Paris, unnumbered [Dfl. 3,000]; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 91; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 91; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 91; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 71; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 52; 1930 Laren, no. 30; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 51, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 224; 1932 Manchester, no. 76; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 90; 1947 Basel, no. 164; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 159; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 107, no. 108; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 270; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 147; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 78; 1952 Basel, no. 83; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 97; 1953 The Hague, no. 141; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 171; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 156; 1954-55 Bern, no. 149; 1955 Antwerp, no. 328; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 218; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 123; 1957 Breda, no. 81; 1957 Marseilles, no. 77; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 77, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 139; 1959-60 Utrecht, no. 89; 1960 Enschede, no. 55; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 130; 1961 Scarborough, no catalogue; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 129; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 129; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 104; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 104; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 70; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 60; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 62; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 60; 1968 Liège, no. 60; 1968-69 London, no. 146; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 105 & Columbus, no. 37; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 105; 1971-72 Paris, no. 189; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 70; 1975 Malmö, no. 80; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 80; 1977 Paris, unnumbered; 1990 Otterlo, no. 228; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 107 [only Amsterdam].

367
Wheatfield and cypresses
Mid-June-2 July 1889
Pencil, reed pen, pen and ink, now light brown
and dark brown, on wove paper
47.1 x 62.3 cm
Blind stamp: LATUNE ET C¹⁸ BLACONS
Unsigned

Inv. d 445 V/1962 F 1538 JH 1757

Letters 786/597, 788/W13, 791/603, 793/T12

PROVENANCE

July 1889-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Bremmer 1924, vol. 4, pp. 31, 32 no. 32; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 159, vol. 4, pl. clxxx; Marées-Gesellschaft 1928, pl. 1x; Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 48; Gaunt 1950, pp. 60, 61; De Gruyter 1961, p. 111 no. 55; London 1968-69, p. 105 no. 160; Wadley 1969, p. 39; De la Faille 1970, pp. 531, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 400, 406; New York 1986-87, p. 133; Amsterdam 1987, p. 460 no. 2.555; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 137; Otterlo 1990, pp. 286, 310 no. 232; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 159, 402, vol. 2, pl. clxxx; Baer 1994, p. 136 no. 1x; Heenk 1995, p. 186; Hulsker 1996, pp. 400, 406; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 52, 53, 316, 317 no. 110.

EXHIBITIONS

1897 Groningen, no cat. known; 1902 Paris, no cat. known [Ffr. 300]; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 428 [Dfl. 200]; 1908 Munich, no. 73 (Dfl. 400); 1908 Dresden, no. 77 [Dfl. 400]; 1908 Frankfurt am Main, no. 84 (for sale); 1908 The Hague & Amsterdam, resp. no cat. known, no. 89; 1909-10 Berlin, no. 210 (not for sale); 1910 Berlin, no. 57 [DM 1,000]; 1911 Frankfurt am Main, no cat. known; 1912 The Hague & Amsterdam, no. 31 (not for sale); 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 185; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923 Utrecht, no. 58; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 92; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 92; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 92; 1929

Amsterdam, no. 76; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 54; 1930 Laren, no. 22?; 1930 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 55, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 225; 1932 Manchester, no. 74; 1937 Paris, no. 179; 1937 Oslo, no. 37; 1938 Copenhagen, no. 37; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 133; 1947 Paris, no. 134; 1947 Geneva, no. 134; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 167; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 114, no. 115; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 279; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 139; 1951 Lyons & Grenoble, no. 95; 1951 Saint-Rémy, no. 95; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 81; 1952 Basel, no. 86; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 104; 1953 The Hague, no. 147; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 174; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 160; 1955 Antwerp, no. 333; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 222; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastleupon-Tyne, no. 130; 1957 Breda, no. 82; 1957 Marseilles, no. 78; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 85, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 144; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 59; 1959-60 Utrecht, no. 92; 1960 Enschede, no. 60; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 134; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 134; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 109; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 109; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 73; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 67; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 69; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 68; 1968 Liège, no. 68; 1968-69 London, no. 160; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 39; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 106 & Columbus, no. 38; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 106; 1971-72 Paris, no. 196; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 74; 1974 Florence, no. 18; 1977 Paris, unnumbered; 1990 Otterlo, no. 232; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 110.

368

The enclosed wheatfield after a storm Mid-June-2 July 1889
Reed pen, pen and brown ink, on wove paper 47.0 x 61.8 cm
Blind stamp: LATUNE ET C^{1E} BLACONS
Unsigned

Inv. d 336 V/1962 F 1547 JH 1724

Letters 786/597, 788/W13, 791/603, 793/T12

PROVENANCE

July 1889-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Plasschaert 1898, ill.; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 161, vol. 4, pl. clxxxII; Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 46; Novotny 1953, p. 36; De la Faille 1970, pp. 533, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 396, 397, 400; Schwind 1985, pp. 6, 12; New York 1986-87, pp. 111, 158; Amsterdam 1987, p. 458 no. 2.544; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 137; Otterlo 1990, pp. 286, 307 no. 229; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 161, 404, vol. 2, pl. clxxxII; Heenk 1995, p. 186; Hulsker 1996, pp. 396, 397, 400.

Exhibitions

1896-97 Paris, no cat. known [Ffr. 50]; 1898 The Hague, ex-catalogue; 1902 Paris, no cat. known [Ffr. 280]; 1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 425 [Dfl. 225]; 1908 Munich, no. 77 (Dfl. 400); 1908 Dresden, no. 81 [Dfl. 400]; 1908 Frankfurt am Main, no. 88 (for sale); 1908 The Hague & Amsterdam, resp. no cat. known, no. 93; 1909-10 Berlin, no. 212 (not for sale); 1910 Berlin, no. 55 [Dм 600]; 1911 Frankfurt am Main, no cat. known; 1912 The Hague & Amsterdam, no. 20 (not for sale); 1923 Utrecht, no. 57; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1923-24 London, no. 11? [Dfl. 2,500]; 1924 Basel, no. 91? [Dfl. 3,000]; 1924 Zürich, no. 91? (Sfr. 7,200); 1924 Stuttgart, no. 13? [Dfl. 3,000]; 1925 Paris, unnumbered? [Dfl. 3,000]; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue?; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 89; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 89; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 89; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 77; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 55;

1930 Laren, no. 37?; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 56, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 226; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 113; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 80; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 84; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 134; 1947 Paris, no. 135; 1947 Geneva, no. 135; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 168; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 115, no. 116; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 281; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 83; 1953 Zürich, no. 105; 1953 The Hague, no. 149; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 176; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 161; 1955 Antwerp, no. 335; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 223; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 66; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 84, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 145; 1960 Enschede, no. 61; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 132; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 95; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 115; 1990 Otterlo, no. 229.

369

Wild vegetation
Mid-June-2 July 1889
Reed pen, pen, brush and brown ink,
on wove paper
47.1 x 62.4 cm
Blind stamp: LATUNE ET C^{1E} BLACONS
Unsigned

Inv. d 177 V/1962 F 1542 JH 1742

PROVENANCE

July 1889-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 160, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXI; Van Dantzig 1952, pp. 29, 32; London 1968-69, pp. 105, 106 no. 161; De la Faille 1970, pp. 532, 533, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 398, 400; Amsterdam 1987, p. 460 no. 2.556; Otterlo 1990, pp. 284-86, 314 nr 236; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 160, 403, vol. 2, pl. clxxx1; Heenk 1995, p. 186; Hulsker 1996, pp. 398, 400; Amsterdam/ New York 2005, pp. 52, 53, 320, 321 no. 112.

EXHIBITIONS

1924 Stuttgart, no. 15 (for sale); 1927-28 Berlin, no. 87; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 87; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 87; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 221; 1932 Manchester, no. 71; 1937 Paris, no. 166; 1937 Oslo, no. 38; 1938 Copenhagen, no. 38; 1948 Amersfoort, no cat. known; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 280; 1951 Amsterdam, no. 82; 1952 Basel, no. 87; 1952 Groningen, no cat. known; 1953 The Hague, no. 148; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 175; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 162; 1954-55 Bern, no. 155; 1955 Antwerp, no. 334; 1956 Haarlem, no. 69; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 78, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 54; 1963 Amsterdam & Baden-Baden, no. 121; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 94; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 114; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 69; 1968 Liège, no. 69; 1968-69 London, no. 161; 1975 Malmö, no. 86; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 86; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 83; 1990 Otterlo, no. 236; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 112.

370, 371 Studies of horses and peasants

Technical details 370, 371 on p. 248

Van Gogh rarely depicted animals. All the same, earlier on in Etten he had resolved to study them, no doubt because he wished to record all aspects of life in the countryside. This explains the studies of a donkey and a horse made at that time. He sketched these animals in The Hague as well, and in June 1883 he drew a sorry-looking horse, though he ascribed to this depiction a deeper meaning.²

The drawn oeuvre from Saint-Rémy contains two sheets with various sketches of horses, representing an aspect of rural life. One of the sheets, catalogue number 370, shows at the top a horse rendered in black chalk with only a few lines, below which Van Gogh drew in brown chalk a swift, rather angular and schematic depiction of two horses ploughing with two peasants behind them, one of whom guides the plough. If the sheet is turned 90 degrees anticlockwise, the two sketches on the right can be seen in the correct way: two horses, one following the other, and below this a similar depiction, but with the horses heading in the opposite direction. The upper edge of the wove paper was once glued into a sketchpad.

The other studies of horses (*cat. 371*) were drawn on a sheet of wove paper whose left edge was once glued into the same sketchpad as the above-mentioned study.³ Drawn in brown chalk with a black tinge, they comprise a rapid sketch of two horses ploughing and a peasant, and below them – from left to right – the hind leg of a horse seen in profile, two horses in the same position as those depicted above them, and a horse's hindquarters. Compared with catalogue number 370, these drawings are more forcefully drawn.

The similarities between the two sheets suggest that they were made in the same period, not long apart. Moreover, because the drawings on the versos - the style and motifs of which have nothing to do with these plough-horses (see cats. 453 and 429) - must have originated in Saint-Rémy, it is plausible that these sketches were made there as well. There is also an interesting connection between these studies and a painting from the beginning of September 1889 (fig. 370a). Van Gogh, whose health was finally improving after a six-week period of illness, told Theo on about 2 September: 'Yesterday I began to work a little again – a thing I see from my window – a field of yellow stubble that they are ploughing, the contrast between the violet-tinted ploughed earth and the strips of yellow stubble, background of hills' [799/602]. By way of illustration, he added a sketch of the composition (fig. 370b). The horses in profile with a peasant in catalogue number 371 occupy the same position as the horse and the ploughman with the hat in the painting Enclosed field with ploughman (fig. 370a) and the letter sketch drawn after it (fig. 370b). 5 The sketches in the studies discussed here were probably made before Van Gogh took brush in hand, which suggests a dating to around I September 1889.6

- 1 See Drawings 1, p. 33 and cat. 20.
- 2 See Drawings 1, cat. 66. The representation of this weary horse illustrated Van Gogh's conviction that although life was difficult, there was nothing for it but 'to know how to suffer without complaining' ('savoir souffrir sans se plaindre'). See letter 210/181 of 11 March 1882.
- 3 See the Introduction, p. 41. Heenk 1995, p. 193, overlooked the similarity in paper, maintaining that cat. 371 was the only sheet to have survived from a sketchpad. She did, however, point out the connection in subject-matter with 370.
- 4 'J'ai hier recommencé à travailler un peu une chôse que je vois de ma fenêtre un champ de chaume jaune qu'on laboure, l'opposition de la terre labourée violacée avec les bandes de chaume jaune, fond de collines.'
- 5 De la Faille 1970 points out the connection between cat. 370 and F 625 IH 1768. Several weeks later Van Gogh painted F 706 JH 1794 in his studio; this work also depicts a horse ploughing and a peasant. The figure wears a hat similar to the one seen in cat. 371. 6 Both De la Faille 1970 and Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.646, place cat. 371 in Auvers. According to the former, its style is comparable with that of the sketches of cows in cat. 463 and one of the sketches of the horses with a peasant (this sketch, made in a sketchbook now preserved in the Van Gogh Museum, appears in Van der Wolk 1987, p. 245). The style of drawing of the last-mentioned sketch is however somewhat rounder than that of cats. 370 and 371. Moreover, there is nothing else to indicate that cat. 371 was made in Auvers. Heenk 1995, p. 193, was the first to date cat. 371 to the Saint-Rémy period. Cat. 370 has always been assigned to Saint-Rémy. De la Faille 1970 places the work in early September 1889; Amsterdam 1987 dates it to September 1889; Heenk, too, places the sheet in Saint-Rémy.



370 Study of horses and peasants





370a Enclosed field with ploughman (F 625 JH 1768), 1889. Private collection.



370b Letter sketch of *Enclosed field with ploughman* (F 625 JH 1768), in letter 799/602 of c. 2 September 1889.

370 Study of horses and peasants Circa I September I889 Black and brown chalk, on wove paper 33.0 x 24.7 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 453

Inv. d 192 V/1962 F 1512v JH –

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; De la Faille 1970, pp. 524, 552, 666; not in Hulsker 1980; Amsterdam 1987, p. 461 no. 2.559; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, p. 394, vol. 2, pl. ccxxxv1; Heenk 1995, pp. 193, 271; not in Hulsker 1996.

EXHIBITIONS None.

371 Study of horses and a peasant Circa I September 1889 Brown chalk on wove paper 24.7 x 32.8 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 429

Inv. d 245 V/1962 SD 1724v JH –

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; De la Faille 1970, pp. 585, 672; not in Hulsker 1980; Amsterdam 1987, p. 475 no. 2.646; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, p. 460, vol. 2, pl. CCIV; Heenk 1995, pp. 193, 271; not in Hulsker 1996.

Exhibitions None.

372, 373 Interior views of the asylum

Technical details 372, 373 on pp. 255-256

In addition to his bedroom in the asylum, Van Gogh had a studio, located in the north wing, with a view of the garden that is the subject of so many drawings and paintings. Van Gogh made only three works in which the interior of the hospital is the main subject. Two of these, *Window in the studio (cat. 372)* and *Vestibule in the asylum (cat. 373)*, are preserved in the Van Gogh Museum and will be discussed here. The third sheet, *Corridor in the asylum*, belongs to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (*fig. 372a*).²

The three depictions were made on large sheets of pink laid paper with the watermark AL (in a scroll) PL BAS. Two horizontal tears have been repaired in the sheet with *Window in the studio* – one next to the top of the window and the other in the red-brown area to the left of it – by adding a horizontal strip of the same kind of paper to the verso. ³ Van Gogh made this repair himself, as evidenced by the paint, which continues uninterrupted over the places where the sheet was torn.

Van Gogh followed the same working method for all three interior views: he made a rough sketch in black chalk and then painted in oils.⁴ His handling of the pen – using short, rhythmical strokes – recalls the technique of the reed-pen drawing.⁵ The fact that they are closely related in terms of subject, style and materials has in the past caused the three interior views to be regarded as a triptych.⁶ It is not certain, however, that Van Gogh viewed them as such; the works are not mentioned in the correspondence.

Window in the studio has also been interpreted, owing to the barred window, as a symbol of Van Gogh's self-imposed imprisonment. Farlier, Van Gogh had occasionally depicted a view from a window: in Paris he had drawn a similar scene from a window in the restaurant *Chez Bataille*, and in Arles he had painted a view of a butcher's shop. Window in the studio is actually the only instance in his oeuvre of a depiction showing part of his studio.

The window looking out on a tree or shrub is the main subject of this drawing. The studio was located on the first floor, as is apparent from a photograph taken in the 1950s, which shows a comparable window with a view of the garden (fig. 372b).

Standing on the windowsill are a few pots, bottles and a cylindrical container, and lying on a table or cupboard in the right foreground are three boxes, the one furthest away holding brushes. Two works of art hang on either side of the window.

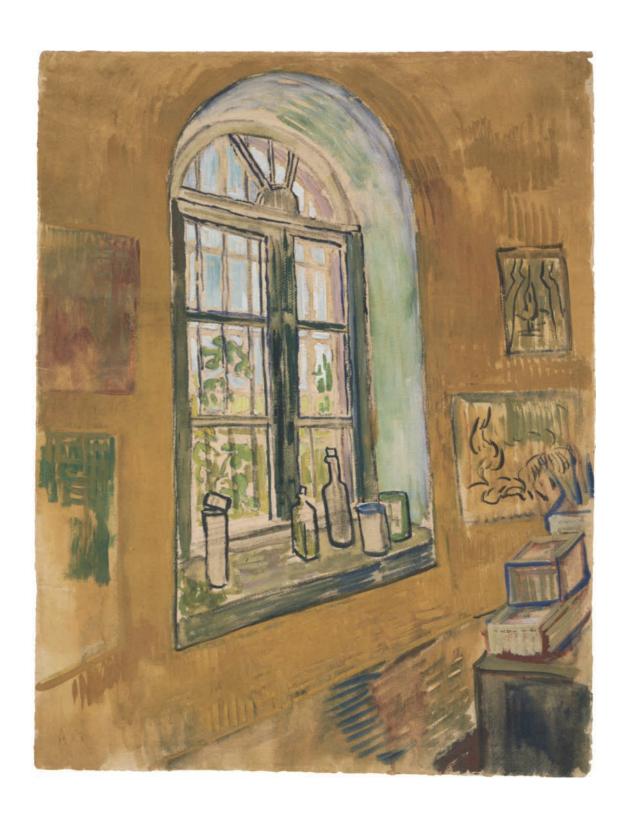
Two weeks after his arrival in Saint-Rémy, Van Gogh described his new surroundings in a letter to his brother. He also reported that he had been assigned a vacant room to use as a studio. See letter 778/592 of c. 23 May 1889 and the Introduction, pp. 19, 20.
 For information on these works, see also Amster-

dam/New York 2005, nos. 113-115.

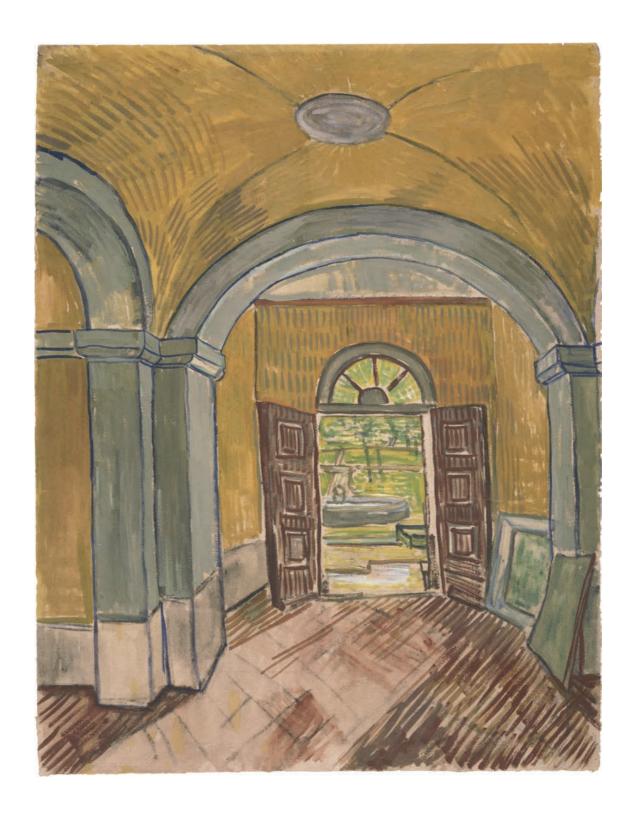
- 3 The strip is 5.5 x 21 cm.
- 4 The use of oil paint in cat. 372 was first observed in De la Faille 1928 and was not remarked upon again until its mention in Heenk 1995. The oil paint in F 1529 JH 1808 and cat. 373 was first mentioned in Heenk 1995, pp. 187, 188.
- 5 This was first observed with reference to cat. 373 in

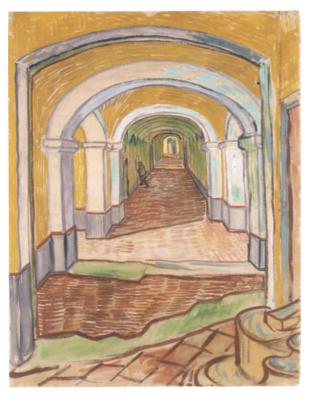
Cooper 1955 I, pp. 84, 85. The parallel brushstrokes have also been connected, however, with Japanese *crepons* – a type of print in which the paper was wrinkled by means of a special technique after the impression was pulled – which came into vogue in Japan during the second half of the nineteenth century. Van Gogh supposedly tried to imitate that effect with his brushstrokes. This comparison is rather far-fetched, however. For more information on this technique and its connection with Van Gogh's painting, see Amsterdam 1991 II, pp. 12, 52. A.S. Hartrick earlier examined the similarity between these Japanese prints and Van Gogh's paintings; see Hartrick 1939, p. 46. See also Tokyo 2000, p. 176.

- 6 See Pickvance in New York 1986-87, p. 93.
 7 Rosenblum saw similarities between Van Gogh's work and that of Caspar David Friedrich: their window views were in his opinion 'personal metaphors of an enclosed private world that is abruptly separated from something that lies beyond'. He considered such works to be symbolic self-portraits. See Rosenblum
- **8** For the Paris work, see Drawings 3, cat. 288. F 389 JH 1359 is the painting from Arles. See also Tokyo 2000. p. 177.
- 9 It seems as though the photographer, M.E. Tralbaut, was trying to imitate Van Gogh's drawing as regards the vantage point; his photograph also shows bottles on the windowsill. Tralbaut 1969, p. 281, was the first to locate the studio on the first floor. Usually, however, Hulsker's (incorrect) assertion, put forward in 1980, that the studio was on the ground floor is still accepted.



372 Window in the studio





372a Corridor in the asylum (F 1529 JH 1808), 1889. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.



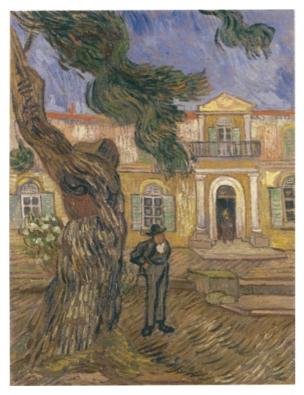
372b Photograph of a window on the first floor of the asylum, taken by M.E. Tralbaut in the 1950s. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

The framed depictions on the right, displaying black lines against light backgrounds, must be drawings. To the left of the window hang unframed canvases. The perspective of the studio view is not completely accurate: the wall appears slightly curved to the right of the window, whereas in reality the window was set in a straight wall. The wall of the window was set in a straight wall.

The window, the bottles, the bars behind the window and the windowsill were first sketched in black chalk. The table or cupboard at the lower right was also drawn in black chalk and then worked up in dark watercolour. The view was painted around the previously drawn bars of the windows. In the upper two panes of glass in the right casement, the pink of the paper remained visible. In the other window panes Van Gogh used highly diluted paint to draw the lines with which he depicted the view. Only in the lowest pane on the left did he first paint the view and then draw the bars over it. ¹² The ochre-coloured walls contrast with the green of the garden, the blue sky and the green-blue of the arch.

In *Vestibule in the asylum*, the ochre-coloured walls and the brown doors and floor stand out against the fresh colours outside. When Van Gogh painted this picture, he was standing in the hallway of the north wing of the asylum, looking towards the vestibule. The garden is visible through the open doors, with the fountain in front, painted in grey and blue, a combination that recurs in the pillars and arches of the hallway.¹³ The dark green of the garden is repeated in the painting and the portfolio standing against the wall.¹⁴ The right-hand doorpost, the foot of the pillar at the left and part of the floor were left untreated.¹⁵ In the autumn of 1889 Van Gogh was to produce several paintings of the same entrance, but seen from the garden (*fig.*

- 10 See New York/Amsterdam 2005, p. 324.
- 11 Amsterdam 1987, p. 266.
- 12 At the bottom of the rightmost bar in the lower-left window pane, one can see that Van Gogh brushed over the chalk line with a wet brush.
- 13 Earlier on Van Gogh had made a drawing of this fountain. See cat. 357.
- 14 The presence of the portfolio was first mentioned in Toronto/Amsterdam 1981, pp. 152, 153.
- 15 In F 1529 JH 1808 Van Gogh also used the pink of the paper by not applying any paint to several pilasters and the second arch.



372c Pine tree before the entrance to the asylum (F 653 JH 1840), 1889. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



372d Photograph of the corridor with screened-off area, taken by M.E. Tralbaut in the 1950s. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

372c). ¹⁶ A comparison with those works reveals that the rectangular form between the right side of the door opening and the fountain in *Vestibule in the asylum* represents the flight of steps leading up to the entrance.

A photograph taken in the 1950s shows a metal screen – probably not there in Van Gogh's day – separating the vestibule from the area beyond (fig. 372d).¹⁷

The interior views are not mentioned in the correspondence and are therefore difficult to date. Various authors have voiced differing opinions on the subject. It was initially assumed that the institution depicted was the hospital at Arles, but since 1926-28 the works have been assigned to Saint-Rémy. Within that period, the interior views are dated to either May-June or October 1889.

The authors who assumed that the drawings originated in May-June suggested that Van Gogh made these works as a way of exploring his new surroundings and sending his brother an impression of them. ¹⁹ The fresh green of the foliage in Window in the studio was used as an argument in support of this theory. ²⁰ The dating to October was made on the basis of Van Gogh's use of colour, or because it was thought that a painting hanging on the wall in the studio view represented one of the paintings Van Gogh had made that month of the trees in the garden of the asylum. ²¹ However, the works in Window in the studio are not paintings but drawings, and are, moreover, rendered too sketchily to enable such an identification. If indeed Van Gogh depicted existing drawings, it must be said that the cypress, which is visible in the work on the lower right, did not feature in his (extant) oeuvre until mid-June, so that a dating before that time is unlikely. ²²

We assume that these drawings originated in September or October 1889. Van

- **16** In addition to fig. 372c, the entrance is to be seen in F 643 JH 1799 and F 730 JH 1841.
- 17 Tralbaut 1969, p. 289, assumes that Van Gogh did not paint the screen on purpose, and that this was also the case in F 1529 JH 1808. It is more likely, however, that the screen was not there yet when Van Gogh was staying in the asylum.
- 18 Cat. 372 was first placed in Saint-Rémy in Amsterdam 1926, no. 56, F 1529 JH 1808 in London 1926-27 and cat. 373 in De la Faille 1928.
- 19 See Bowness in London 1968-69, p. 102; De la Faille 1970; Pickvance in New York 1986-87, nos. 5-7.
 20 Bogomilla Welsh-Ovcharov in Toronto/Amsterdam 1981, pp. 152, 153.
- 21 The composition of the work at the upper right is comparable to those of F 640 JH 1800 or F 731 JH 1801. See Heenk 1995, p. 187 and Hulsker 1980, p. 416. The latter refers to F 731 JH 1801 and dates the interiors to the period 5-22 October, when Van Gogh was short of painting supplies. Welsh-Ovcharov in Toronto/Amsterdam 1981, pp. 152, 153, sees possible similarities between the work at the upper right and F 640 JH 1800. Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.560, maintains a dating to October. Bremen 2002-03, pp. 54, 55, dates the works to the autumn, but not without reservations.
- 22 See New York 1986-87, p. 92 and Amsterdam/ New York 2005, p. 324.



372e Entrance to a quarry (F 744 JH 1802), 1889. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

Gogh began painting again in September, while recovering from an attack, but he did not feel well enough to paint out of doors. Possibly he conceived a plan to paint not only portraits and copies after reproductions of the work of other artists, but also views of his own surroundings. The somewhat subdued oil colours seen in these interior views are comparable to those used in the paintings made in the summer. Van Gogh had received the paint (lead white, veronese green, ultramarine, cobalt, ochre yellow, ochre red, sienna and bone black) at the beginning of July, shortly before the attack.²³ In addition to their palette, the canvases painted in the summer share an emphasis on large forms and masses. An example of such a painting is *Entrance to a quarry (fig. 372e*), which Van Gogh painted in mid-July, when he felt the attack coming on.²⁴

Finally, what is also striking is the similarity, in both style and subject, between the interior views discussed here and the painting *Ward of the hospital (fig. 350b)*. Van Gogh had started this work in April 1889, when he was still in Arles, but took up the painting again in October of that year, in the asylum at Saint-Rémy.²⁵ He made several changes and repainted the floor of the ward, this time with the short, tapering brushstrokes so typical of the Saint-Rémy period.²⁶ Similar to the *Window in the studio* and *Vestibule in the asylum, Ward of the hospital* is characterised by the contrast between the fresh green and the warm shades of brown and ochre yellow.²⁷

It is possible that Van Gogh had already finished the interior views discussed here in September, as suggested above, and resumed work on the painting of the hospital at Arles the following month. On the other hand, it could have been the *Ward of the hospital* that gave him the idea to produce the three interior views. In this case it must have been pragmatism that prompted him to paint them on paper: in fact, he had no more canvas, and did not receive a new supply until around 24 October.²⁸

- 23 The receipt of the paint is confirmed in letter 786/597 of 2 July 1889. In letter 781/594 of c. 9 June, Van Gogh had expressed the wish to begin again with simple hues, such as ochre colours. In this letter he also orders the colours named in the text.
- 24 See letters 798/601 and 806/607 of 22 August and c. 20 September 1889, respectively. See also New York 1986-87, no. 35, p. 149.
- 25 See letter 768/W11, written between 28 April and 2 May 1889, and letters 814/W15 of c. 21 October 1889 and 817/611 of c. 25 October 1889.
- **26** For more information on F 646 JH 1686 (fig. 350b), see Winterthur 2003, pp. 530-33.
- **27** The comparison was made on the basis of a reproduction.
- 28 See letter 817/611 of c. 25 October 1889, in which he informs his brother that he has 'had no canvas these last days' ('n'ayant pas de toile ces derniers jours') and also thanks him for sending the paint and canvas, which had arrived the previous evening.

Window in the studio September-circa 24 October 1889 Black chalk, brush, oil paint and watercolour, on pink laid paper 62.0 x 47.6 cm Watermark: AL (in a scroll) PL BAS Unsigned

Inv. d 337 V/1962 F 1528 JH 1807

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1927-30 on loan to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1927, ill. p. 53; De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, pp. 156, 157, vol. 4, pl. CLXXVIII; Rewald 1950, p. 68; Amsterdam 1958, nos. 344, 345 + ill.; London 1968-69, p. 102 no. 154; Tralbaut 1969, p. 294; De la Faille 1970, pp. 529, 666; Rosenblum 1975, p. 97; Hulsker 1980, p. 416; Toronto/Amsterdam 1981, pp. 152, 153 no. 36a; New York 1986-87, pp. 86, 88, 89, 92, 93 no. 7; Amsterdam 1987, pp. 266, 267, 461 no. 2.560; Otterlo 1990, pp. 284, 285, 301 no. 223; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 156, 157, 399, vol. 2, pl. CLXXVIII; Arnold 1995, pp. 325-27; Heenk 1995, p. 187; Hulsker 1996, p. 416; Silverman 2000, p. 403; Tokyo 2000, pp. 90, 91, 177 no. 27; Bremen 2002-03, pp. 54, 55 no. 1; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 53, 324, 325 no. 114.

EXHIBITIONS

1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 155; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1926 Amsterdam, no. 56; 1927 Paris, unnumbered; 1930 Amsterdam, no. 117; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 223; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 116; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 76; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 80; 1947 Groningen, no. 68; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 92; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 161; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 109, no. 110; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 272; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 145; 1953 Zürich, no. 98; 1953 The Hague, no. 142; 1953

Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 168; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 154; 1954-55 Bern, no. 150; 1955 Antwerp, no. 354; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 228; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 128; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 61; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 80, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 142; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 56; 1960 Enschede, no. 56; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 134; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 130; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 130; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 105; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 105; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 72; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 62; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 64; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 62; 1968 Liège, no. 62; 1968-69 London, no. 154; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 34; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 100 & Columbus, no. 32; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 100; 1971-72 Paris, no. 191; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 71; 1979 Amsterdam, Tokyo, Sapporo, Hiroshima & Nagoya, no. 64; 1981 Toronto & Amsterdam, no. 36a; 1986-87 New York, no. 7; 1990 Otterlo, no. 223; 2000 Tokyo, no. 27; 2002-03 Bremen, no. 1; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 114.

Vestibule in the asylum

Unsigned

September-circa 24 October 1889 Black chalk, brush and oil paint, on pink laid paper 61.6 x 47.1 cm Watermark: AL (in a scroll) PL BAS

Inv. d 176 V/1962 F 1530 JH 1806

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 157, vol. 4, pl. CLXXVIII; Novotny 1953, p. 36; Cooper 1955 1, pp. 84, 85 no. 28; London 1968-69, p. 102 no. 155; Tralbaut 1969, p. 293; Wadley 1969, p. 38; De la Faille 1970, pp. 529, 666; Hulsker 1980, p. 416; Toronto/Amsterdam 1981, pp. 152, 153 no. 36b; New York 1986-87, pp. 88-90, 92, 93 no. 5; Amsterdam 1987, p. 461 no. 2.561; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 136; Otterlo 1990, pp. 284, 285, 300 no. 222; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 157, 400, vol. 2, pl. CLXXVIII; Heenk 1995, p. 187; Hulsker 1996, p. 416; Silverman 2000, pp. 400, 401; Tokyo 2000, pp. 88, 89, 176, 177 no. 26; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 53, 326, 327 no. 115.

EXHIBITIONS

1897 Groningen, no cat. known; 1909-10 Berlin, no. 219 (not for sale); 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 154; 1923 Utrecht, no. 25; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 81; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 81; 1928 Paris, no. 81; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 72; 1930 Laren, no. 35; 1930 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 52, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 222; 1937 Paris, no. 77; 1937 Oslo, no. 34; 1938 Copenhagen, no. 34; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 118; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 77; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 81; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 128; 1947 Paris, no. 129; 1947 Geneva, no. 129; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 163; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 116, no. 117; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 273; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 99; 1953 The Hague, no. 143; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 169; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 153; 1954-55 Bern, no. 151; 1955 Antwerp, no. 353; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 227; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 127; 1957 Breda, no. 85; 1957 Marseilles, no. 81; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 81, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 143; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 57; 1960 Enschede, no. 57; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 131; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit &

Kansas City, no. 131; 1963 Amsterdam, no. 106; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 106; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 106; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 63; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 65; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 63; 1968 Liège, no. 63; 1968-69 London, no. 155; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 35; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 101 & Columbus, no. 33; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 101; 1971-72 Paris, no. 192; 1972 Bordeaux, no. 65; 1972-73 Munich, no. 310; 1975 Malmö, no. 83; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 83; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 81; 1981 Toronto & Amsterdam, no. 36b; 1986-87 New York, no. 5; 1990 Otterlo, no. 222; 2000 Tokyo, no. 26; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 115.

374-376 Nature studies and landscape with cypresses

Technical details 374-376 on pp. 261, 262

Among the pages from a sketchbook that Van Gogh used frequently in the first months of 1890 there appear a number of nature studies in black chalk: Pine cone (cat. 374), Studies of a dead sparrow (cat. 375) and Chestnut leaf with pod and landscape with cypresses (cat. 376). The sheets with the drawings Pine cone and Studies of a dead sparrow were torn separately from the sketchbook and have on the verso various studies of hands, likewise in black chalk, which date from the spring of 1890 (cats. 426, 427).2 The sheets containing the other two drawings were also separated from the sketchbook but are still attached to each other: on the left of Chestnut leaf with pod is a landscape with cypresses and olive trees seen against the backdrop of the Alpilles (these distinct drawings form a single catalogue number, cat. 376). This pencil drawing is upside-down with respect to the botanical study, and Van Gogh drew a framing line on its left-hand side. The binding holes of the sketchbook are visible in the fold between the two depictions. On the verso of the part with the chestnut leaf and pod are pencil sketches of a perspective frame which were probably done earlier, in May or June 1889 (see cat. 365). On the verso of the landscape Van Gogh drew in pencil a view of Saint-Rémy, which was probably made around mid-June 1889 (see cat. 365).

The two botanical studies and the sheet of birds display similarities not only in subject, drawing material and paper, but also in design and execution. Thus Van Gogh first made a rough sketch of the objects with very thin lines of black chalk. When working up the motifs he stumped the chalk and placed short, equidistant lines in the pod and the sparrow's head at the upper right. Similarly placed lines occur occasionally in drawings from the autumn of 1889 (for instance, *cat.* 393 and F 1552 JH 1863), but they are typical of his work from the spring of 1890. The chestnut leaf (*Aesculus hippocastanum*) is withered, so it cannot have been drawn in the spring or summer. This leads us to date these nature studies to a wide timespan: autumn 1889–spring 1890.³ The pine cone (*Pinus nigricans*) and the pod, which both remain in their original state long after falling from the tree, give just as little basis as the dead sparrow for a more exact dating.

Nor can it be said with certainty when Van Gogh drew the landscape. In the autumn of 1889 and the following winter he regularly wrote that he wanted to take up the motif of mountains and cypresses again, feeling that he had not yet succeeded in capturing their true character. This drawing might represent an exploration of the possibilities of the motif, made in preparation for a painting of the subject, and must therefore be dated to the autumn of 1889 or the following winter. In that case the drawing was probably made no later than February 1890, because Van Gogh suffered a serious crisis that month and was unable to work outside the asylum for several months afterwards.

The sheet could also have originated much earlier, however. 6 The drawing style,

- 1 We are indebted to Jelle Scharringa for identifying the bird, the *Passer domesticus*. For the sketchbooks, see the Introduction, p. 40.
- 2 The upper edge of the sheet on which *Pine cone* is drawn was bound into the sketchbook; the right side of *Studies of a dead sparrow* was bound in the sketchbook.
- 3 Pine cone was first published in Amsterdam 1987, p. 410, where it was assigned, probably on the basis of the studies of hands on the verso, to the Nuenen œuvre. However, according to Heenk 1995, p. 189, the sketches of hands and that of the pine cone originated in the spring of 1890. The study of the chestnut leaf and pod was initially dated to the Saint-Rémy period (De la Faille 1928), later to Auvers (De la Faille 1970, Hulsker 1980, Hulsker 1996 and Amsterdam 1987), and finally, in 1995, again to Saint-Rémy (spring 1890) by Heenk, on the basis of the paper, the style and the dating of the drawings on the attached sheet. Studies of a dead sparrow was initially placed in Antwerp, on the basis of the studies of hands on the verso. The editors of De la Faille 1970 were the first to assign the drawing to the Saint-Rémy oeuvre, a dating that was followed in Heenk 1995. Hulsker 1980, Hulsker 1996 and Amsterdam 1987 assume that it originated in Nuenen.
- 4 See letters 809/609 of 5 October 1889, 825/615 of c. 21 November 1889, 830/617 of c. 15 December 1889, 838/622 of 4 January 1890, 854/626a of 10 or 11 February 1890, 864/629 of 29 or 30 April 1890, 878/614a of 25 May 1890, 881/638 of 3 June 1890.
- 5 There is no known painting of this composition.
- 6 De la Faille 1970, Hulsker 1980, Amsterdam 1987 and Hulsker 1996 date all the drawings to June 1889.

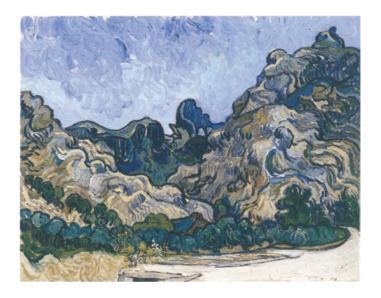


374 Pine cone





374a Mountains near Saint-Rémy (F 622 JH 1766), 1889. New York, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, Justin K. Tannhauser Bequest.



for example, displays similarities to the underdrawing in *Wheatfield with cypresses* (fig. 366i), one of the drawings that Van Gogh made after paintings in June and early July 1889. The composition with olive trees dwarfed by towering mountains in the background resembles that of the painting *Mountains near Saint-Rémy* (fig. 374a) of July 1889. Another argument for a dating to the summer of 1889 is the presence of the pencil drawings on the back of this and the attached sheet (*cat.* 365), which, as mentioned above, probably originated around mid-June and in May-June 1889.

7 That painting contains no cypresses, however.

374
Pine cone
Autumn 1889—spring 1890
Black chalk on wove paper
31.6 x 23.8 cm
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 426

Inv. d 211 V/1971 F – JH –

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; not in De la Faille 1970; not in Hulsker 1980; Amsterdam 1987, p. 410 no. 2.256; not in De la Faille 1992; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 194, 271; not in Hulsker 1996.

EXHIBITIONS None.

375
Studies of a dead sparrow
Autumn 1889—spring 1890
Black chalk on wove paper
23.8 x 31.8 cm
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 427

Inv. d 200 V/1962 F 1360v JH 621

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 117, vol. 4, pl. CXXXIII; Tralbaut 1948, pp. 260-62, 274, 285, ill. XXXV; De Gruyter 1961, p. 102 no. 32; De la Faille 1970, pp. 474, 550, 551, 660; Hulsker 1980, pp. 138, 139; Amsterdam 1987, p. 410 no. 2.260; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 117, 350, vol. 2, pl. CXXXIII; Van Tilborgh 1993, p. 110 note 3; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 194, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 138, 139.

EXHIBITIONS

1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 199?; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue?; 1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 12; 1955 Antwerp, no. 160; 1959-60 Dordrecht & Amsterdam, no. 24.

376

Chestnut leaf with pod and landscape with cypresses
June-July 1889 and/or autumn 1889–spring 1890
Black chalk and pencil on wove paper 23.8 x 63.8 cm
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 365

Inv. d 209 V/1969 F 16111 JH 2058 and F 15411 JH 1730

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE [F 1611r JH 2058]

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 172, vol. 4, pl. cc111; De la Faille 1970, pp. 549, 563, 669; Roskill 1970 11, p. 104; Hulsker 1980, pp. 470, 471; Amsterdam 1987, p. 478 no. 2.659; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 172, 420, 421, vol. 2, pl. cc111; Heenk 1995, pp. 193, 194, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 470, 471.

LITERATURE [F 15411 JH 1730]

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 160, vol. 4, pl. clxxx; De la Faille 1970, pp. 532, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 396, 398; Amsterdam 1987, p. 458 no. 2.546; Van der Wolk 1987, p. 266; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 160, 402, vol. 2, pl. clxxx; Heenk 1995, pp. 193, 271; Hulsker 1996, p. 398.

EXHIBITIONS [F 1611r JH 2058]

1953 Zürich, no. 125; 1955 Antwerp, no. 356; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 230; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 87, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 95.

Exhibitions [F 1541r JH 1730] None.

377-394 (Pine) trees in and near the garden of the asylum

Technical details 377-394 on pp. 284-287

During his stay in the asylum from 8 May 1889 to 16 May 1890, Van Gogh made various paintings and drawings of the garden. At the beginning of January 1890 he wrote to Theo that it had taken him 'all this time to observe the character of the pine trees, cypresses &c. in the pure air here, lines which do not change and which one finds again at every step' [838/622].¹ Earlier he had characterised the pine trees as desolate.²

In addition to fully fledged drawings, we know twenty-two drawn studies in small format of trees in the garden of the asylum or its immediate vicinity.³ The Van Gogh Museum has eighteen of these sheets,⁴ three of which have drawings on both sides (*cats.* 383, 384, 387, 388, 394, 411). None of the twenty-two drawings is directly connected with a painting, nor mentioned in Van Gogh's correspondence.

Within the group of eighteen works discussed here, the drawings made inside the garden walls – eleven altogether – are in the majority. They contain such elements as the wall surrounding the garden, a bench or a building in the background. Discernible in the right foreground of catalogue number 389 is the fountain in the garden. Van Gogh painted a similar composition in the autumn of 1889 (fig. 357a).

A few of the other studies discussed here were probably made outside the asylum grounds, near the road leading up to it (fig. 377a). In some of the studies it is difficult to determine if a drawing depicts a wall or a footpath, leaving doubts as to where it was made. Sketch of pine trees (cat. 394) is an unfinished sketch showing only a couple of pine trees on the left.

In these studies Van Gogh experimented with various vantage points and styles. Twice he drew a section of the garden seen from a distance (*cats. 378, 381*), but in most cases he placed several trees in the foreground with the wall behind them. Sometimes the dark trees stand out against the sky, where the paper has been left blank (*cats. 382, 387*). In rendering the vegetation he also made use of the paper by allowing the blank areas to contrast with the dark drawing material (*cat. 388*).

All of the works are rapid sketches, although some are rather more detailed (cats. 387, 391). As a rule the studies show a variety of lively lines (examples of this are cats. 377, 379, 393); sometimes the contours of the tree trunks have been accentuated (cats. 379, 389). In the more realistic studies the bulkiness of the tree trunks has been emphasised by means of curved, short horizontal lines (for instance, cat. 382), while the trunks in other drawings are indicated with short vertical lines. Most surprising, however, are the drawings in which Van Gogh took no pains to suggest depth and plasticity, a good example being Almond tree and wall in the garden of the asylum (cat. 391), in which the flat shape of the dark tree stands out against the stone wall. The drawing recalls his colourful painting after Hiroshige's Plum orchard near Kameido (fig. 377b). Only one study stands out because of its highly schematic nature: Trees in the garden of the asylum (cat. 384).

¹ Letter of 4 January 1890: 'Cela m'a pris tout le temps d'observer le caractère des pins, cyprès &c. dans l'air pur d'ici, les lignes qui ne changent pas et qu'on retrouve à chaque pas.'

² See letter 830/617 of c. 19 December 1889: 'désolés'.

³ See De la Faille numbers F 1563-F 1582 and Hulsker numbers JH 1811, JH 1809-JH 1818, JH 1820-JH 1831 and JH 1944.

⁴ De la Faille 1970 incorrectly states that F 1567 JH 1828 belonged to the collection in the Van Gogh Museum. Cat. 473, too, was always counted among this group, but it originated in Auvers.

⁵ Cats. 377-379, 381, 382, 386-389, 391 and 392.

⁶ See cats. 383, 385 and 393. The pine trees visible in fig. 377a were destroyed by severe frost in February 1956. See M. Bonnet, *St-Rémy-de-Provence: le temps retrouvé*, Saint-Rémy 1989, p. 45.

⁷ Cats. 380, 384 and 390.

⁸ See also Bremen 2002-03, p. 74, nos. 12-14.

Even though the style of drawing and the compositions vary, the studies display close similarities both in technique and in the type of paper. Most of the drawings were made with pencils of various thicknesses. Five were drawn in black chalk (*cats.* 379, 380, 385, 393, 394), and in two cases Van Gogh used both pencil and black chalk (*cats.* 381, 392). Sometimes the drawing material was partially stumped.⁹

All of the works were made on wove paper, of which two types are distinguishable in this series: ten sheets are between 17.5 and 21.5 centimetres wide and between 29.2 and 30.3 centimetres long. Their thickness varies from 0.11 to 0.15 millimetre (see *cats. 377, 378, 382-384, 387-393*). Van Gogh tore these sheets from larger pieces before he started to draw. The other studies were made on slightly larger sheets of wove paper of a thinner quality, with a thickness of 0.08 millimetre. The width varies from 24.7 to 25.4 centimetres and the length from 32.4 to 33.0 centimetres (*cats. 379-381, 385, 386, 394*). Van Gogh used the same fragile paper for his studies of the walled field (*cats. 447-452*). Several other depictions were also made on this thin paper (*cats. 411, 437, 440, 441, 455, 456*).

The variety in drawing style makes it difficult to divide the studies into groups or to trace their development. Pine trees do not change much in appearance in the

- **9** See, for example, cats. 379, 380, 384-386, 388 and 392-394. Once or twice he used a carpenter's pencil (see, for instance, cat. 390).
- 10 Introduction, p. 40.
- 11 Cats. 379 and 386 have backings, the original sheet having been reinforced with a sheet of paper of the same size.



377a Photograph of the Allée de St-Paul, before February 1956, from M. Bonnet, St-Rémy-de-Provence: le Temps Retrouvé, n.p., 1989, p. 45.

course of the year, so it is difficult to say in which season the works were drawn. ¹² The free manner of drawing does not offer any clues as to their time of origin, and because the studies are not mentioned in the correspondence, that source provides few facts on which to base their dating. The studies Van Gogh made in and around the garden of the asylum have traditionally been dated to October 1889. In the first half of October, when he had nearly run out of paint and had no more canvas, he probably turned to drawing. ¹³

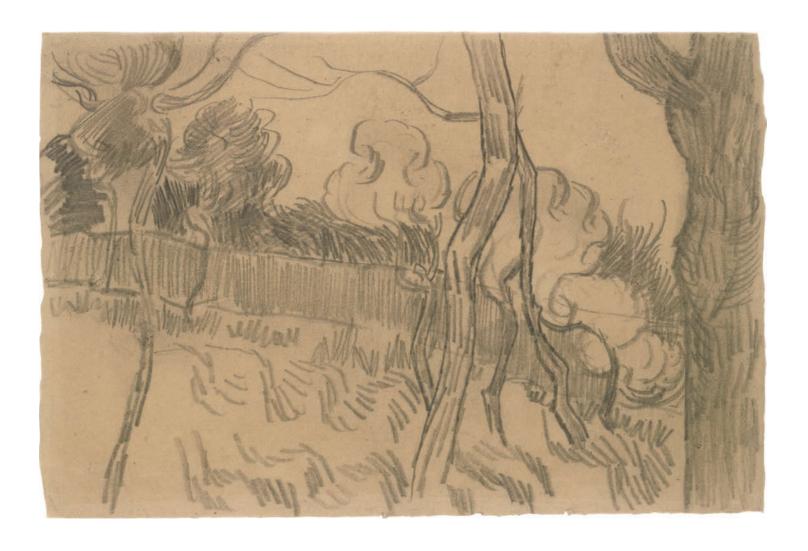
There is the possibility, however, that he made some of these drawings in the spring of 1890. Seriously ill at that time, he was unable to write and made only five paintings, but he seems nevertheless to have done a lot of drawing, as suggested by a few of the sketches. ¹⁴ Visible in the background of catalogue numbers 380 and 385, for example, is a farmhouse reminiscent of the cottages that Van Gogh often drew – and occasionally painted – from memory in the spring of 1890. ¹⁵ Furthermore, catalogue number 394, which shows only an incipient drawing of pine trees, contains on the verso a drawing undeniably connected with the figure studies from March-April 1890 (see *cat. 411*).

Because there is so little to go on when dating these works, it is here assumed that they were drawn in October 1889 or during his period of illness in March-April 1890.¹⁶

- 12 With thanks to Henry Brisse, botanist.
- 13 See letter 810/610 of c. 8 October 1889, in which Vincent tells Theo that he has run out of canvas and paint. De la Faille 1970 gives a more generous dating, between May and autumn 1889.
- 14 See the Introduction, pp. 26-28 and cats. 396-425.
- 15 See, for example, fig. 19 of the Introduction (F 673).
- **16** This possibility was previously proposed in Bremen 2002-03, p. 74, nos. 12-14.

377b The plum orchard near Kameido (after Hiroshige) (F 371 JH 1296). Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.





377 Pine trees and wall in the garden of the asylum





379 Pine trees and wall in the garden of the asylum





381 Pine trees and wall in the garden of the asylum



382 Trees and wall in the garden of the asylum



383 Trees and wall in the garden of the asylum







386 Tree and wall in the garden of the asylum



387 Tree in the garden of the asylum

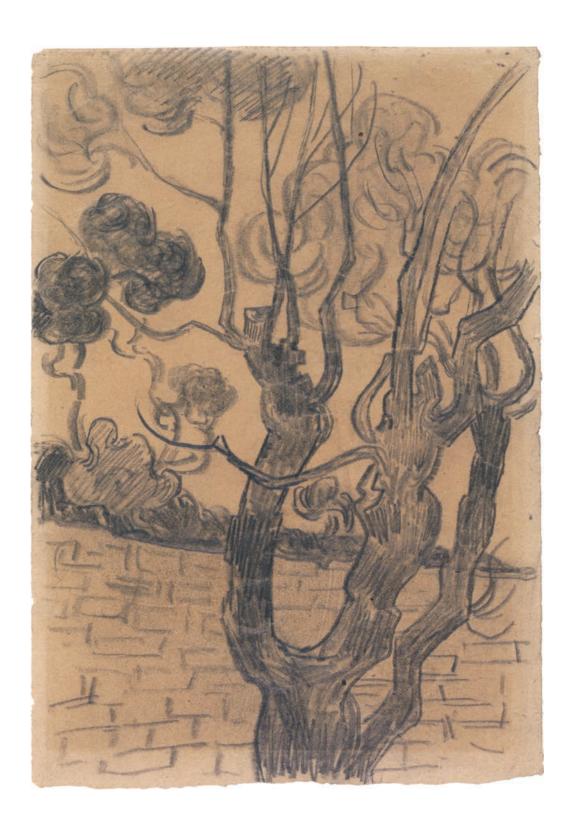


388 Trees and wall in the garden of the asylum





390 Trees in the garden of the asylum



391 Almond tree and wall in the garden of the asylum



392 Pine trees and wall in the garden of the asylum





377

Pine trees and wall in the garden of the asylum October 1889 or March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 20.1 x 29.6 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 255 V/1962 F 1563 JH 1824

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 164, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXVII; De la Faille 1970, pp. 538, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 421; Amsterdam 1987, p. 461 no. 2.563; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 164, 407, vol. 2, pl. CLXXXVII; Heenk 1995, p. 187; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 421.

Exhibitions

1975 Malmö, no. 87; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 87; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 85.

378

(Pine) trees and wall in the garden of the asylum October 1889 or March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 21.5 x 30.2 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 256 V/1962 F 1565 JH 1826

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 164, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXVII; De la Faille 1970, pp. 538, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 421; New York 1986-87, p. 88; Amsterdam 1987, p. 461 no. 2.564; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 164, 407, vol. 2, pl. CLXXXVII; Heenk 1995, p. 187; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 421.

EXHIBITIONS

1955 Antwerp, no. 338; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 224; 1956 Haarlem, no. 73; 1957 Breda, no. 83; 1957 Marseilles, no. 79; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 89, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known.

379

Pine trees and wall in the garden of the asylum October 1889 or March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 33.0 x 24.7 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 257 V/1971 F 1568 JH 1829

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

Literature

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 165, vol. 4, pl. clxxx1x; De la Faille 1970, pp. 539, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 422; New York 1986-87, p. 88; Amsterdam 1987, p. 462 no. 2.565; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 165, 408, vol. 2, pl. clxxx1x; Heenk 1995, p. 192; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 422.

EXHIBITIONS
None.

380

Road with trees October 1889 or March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 24.8 x 32.4 cm Unsigned Inv. d 258 V/1962 F 1569 JH 1827

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation (ratified in 1982); 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 165, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXVIII; London 1962, pp. 12, 75, 76 no. 58; De la Faille 1970, pp. 539, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 422; New York 1986-87, p. 88; Amsterdam 1987, p. 463 no. 2.575; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 165, 408, vol. 2, pl. CLXXXVIII; Heenk 1995, p. 192; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 422; Budapest 2006-07, pp. 146, 147 no. 64.

EXHIBITIONS

1962 London, no. 58; 2006-07 Budapest, no. 64.

381

Pine trees and wall in the garden of the asylum October 1889 or March-April 1890 Pencil and black chalk, on wove paper 25.4 x 32.4 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 259 V/1962 F 1570 JH 1821

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation (ratified in 1982); 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

Literature

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 165, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXVIII; London 1962, pp. 13, 75, 76 no. 59; London 1968-69, p. 101 no. 149; De la Faille 1970, pp. 539, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 421; New York 1986-87, p. 88; Amsterdam 1987, p. 462 no. 2.566; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 165, 408, vol. 2, pl. CLXXXVIII; Heenk 1995, p. 192; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 421; Bremen 2002-03, pp. 74, 75 no. 14.

Exhibitions

1962 London, no. 59; 1964 Zundert, no. 27; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 97; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 117; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 72; 1968 Liège, no. 72; 1968-69 London, no. 149; 1998-99 Basel, no. 47; 2002-03 Bremen, no. 14.

382

Trees and wall in the garden of the asylum October 1889 or March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 30.3 x 20.7 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 263 V/1962 F 1571 JH 1818

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 165, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXIX; De la Faille 1970, pp. 539, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 418; New York 1986-87, p. 88; Amsterdam 1987, p. 462 no. 2.567; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 165, 408, vol. 2, pl. CLXXXIX; Heenk 1995, p. 187; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 418; Bremen 2002-03, pp. 74, 75 no. 13.

EXHIBITIONS

1948-49 The Hague, no. 284; 1952-53 Paris, no. 160; 1954-55 Bern, no. 156; 1955 Antwerp, no. 339; 1956 Haarlem, no. 74; 1972 Munich, no. 960; 2002-03 Bremen, no. 13.

383

Trees and wall in the garden of the asylum October 1889 or March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 29.2 x 18.5 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 384

Inv. d 262 V/1962 F 1572r JH 1830

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 165, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXIX; De la Faille 1970, pp. 540, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 422; New York 1986-87, p. 88; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 165, 409, vol. 2, pl. CLXXXIX; Amsterdam 1987, p. 462 no. 2.568; Heenk 1995, p. 187; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 422.

EXHIBITIONS

1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1954-55 Bern, no. 157; 1955 Antwerp, no. 340; 1956 Haarlem, no. 75; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 74; 1958 Mons, no. 75; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 69; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 71.

384

Trees in the garden of the asylum October 1889 or March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 18.5 x 29.2 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 383

Inv. d 262 V/1962 F 1572v JH 1822

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 165, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXVIII; De la Faille 1970, pp. 540, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 421; New York 1986-87, p. 88; Amsterdam 1987, p. 462 no. 2.569; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 165, 409, vol. 2, pl. CLXXXVIII; Heenk 1995, p. 187; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 421.

EXHIBITIONS

None.

385

Landscape with pine trees October 1889 or March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 25.0 x 32.5 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 261 V/1969 F 1573 JH 1823

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 165, vol. 4, pl. cxc; De Gruyter 1961, p. 109 no. 49; De la Faille 1970, pp. 540, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 421; New York 1986-87, p. 88; Amsterdam 1987, p. 463 no. 2.576; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 165, 409, vol. 2, pl. cxc; Heenk 1995, p. 192; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 421.

Exhibition 1953 Zürich, no. 109.

386

Tree and wall in the garden of the asylum October 1889 or March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 33.0 x 25.2 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 260 V/1971 F 1575 JH 1815

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 166, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXIX; De la Faille 1970, pp. 540, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 418; New York 1986-87, p. 88; Amsterdam 1987, p. 464 no. 2.577; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 166, 409, vol. 2, pl. CLXXXIX; Heenk 1995, p. 191; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 418.

EXHIBITIONS

None.

387

Tree in the garden of the asylum October 1889 or March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 29.9 x 17.5 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 388

Inv. d 264 V/1962 F 1576r JH 1817

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 166, vol. 4, pl. cxc; De la Faille 1970, pp. 540, 541, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 418; New York 1986-87, p. 88; Amsterdam 1987, p. 462 no. 2.570; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 166, 409, vol. 2, pl. cxc; Heenk 1995, p. 187; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 418.

Exhibitions

1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 183?; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue?; 1953 Zürich, no. 110; 1955 Antwerp, no. 341; 1956 Haarlem, no. 76; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 75; 1958 Mons, no. 76; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 146; 1960 Enschede, no. 62; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 98; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 118; 1999 Enschede, ex-catalogue.

388

Trees and wall in the garden of the asylum October 1889 or March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 29.9 x 17.5 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 387

Inv. d 264 V/1962 F 1576v JH 1816

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 166, vol. 4, pl. cxc1; De la Faille 1970, pp. 540, 541, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 418; New York 1986-87, p. 88; Amsterdam 1987, p. 463 no. 2.571; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 166, 410, vol. 2, pl. cxc1; Heenk 1995, p. 187; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 418.

EXHIBITIONS None.

389

Trees, stone bench and fountain in the garden of the asylum October 1889 or March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 19.6 x 29.1 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 265 V/1962 F 1577 JH 1820

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 166, vol. 4, pl. cxxc11; London 1968-69, p. 101 no. 150; De la Faille 1970, pp. 540, 541, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 418; New York 1986-87, p. 88; Amsterdam 1987, p. 463 no. 2.572; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 166, 410, vol. 2, pl. cxxc11; Heenk 1995, p. 187; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 418.

EXHIBITIONS

1954-55 Bern, no. 158; 1955 Antwerp, no. 342; 1956 Haarlem, no. 77; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 76; 1958 Mons, no. 77; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 70; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 72; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 73; 1968 Liège, no. 73; 1968-69 London, no. 150; 1999 Enschede, ex-catalogue.

390

Trees in the garden of the asylum October 1889 or March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 29.7 x 20.5 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 342 V/1962 F 1579 JH 1809

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 166, vol. 4, pl. cxc1; De la Faille 1970, pp. 541, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 417; New York 1986-87, p. 88; Amsterdam 1987, p. 464 no. 2.578; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 166, 410, vol. 2, pl. cxc1; Heenk 1995, p. 187; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 417.

Exhibitions

1912 The Hague & Amsterdam, no. 5? [Dfl. 1,000]; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 146?; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue?; 1954-55 Bern, no. 160; 1955 Antwerp, no. 344; 1972 Munich, no. 962.

391

Almond tree and wall in the garden of the asylum October 1889 or March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 29.8 x 20.6 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 341 V/1962 F 1580 JH 1810

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 166, vol. 4, pl. cxc; Wadley 1969, p. 40; De la Faille 1970, pp. 541, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 417; New York 1986-87, p. 88; Amsterdam 1987, p. 464 no. 2.579; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 166, 410, vol. 2, pl. cxc; Heenk 1995, p. 187; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 417; Bremen 2002-03, pp. 74, 75 no. 12.

Exhibitions

1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 114; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 87; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 90; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 98; 1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 73; 1948 Amersfoort, no cat. known; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 285; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 71; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 73; 1975 Malmö, no. 88; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 88; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 86; 1998-99 Basel, no. 45; 2002-03 Bremen, no. 12.

392

Pine trees and wall in the garden of the asylum October 1889 or March-April 1890 Pencil and black chalk, on wove paper 30.2 x 20.2 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 232 V/1962 F 1581 JH 1811

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 166, vol. 4, pl. cxc1; De la Faille 1970, pp. 541, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 417; New York 1986-87, p. 88; Amsterdam 1987, p. 463 no. 2.574; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 166, 411, vol. 2, pl. cxc1; Heenk 1995, p. 187; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 417.

Exhibition 1953 Zürich, no. 111.

393

Pine trees along a path October 1889 or March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 20.5 x 29.8 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 230 V/1962 F 1582 JH 1814

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 166, vol. 4, pl. CXCII; De la Faille 1970, pp. 541, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 417; New York 1986-87, p. 88; Amsterdam 1987, p. 464 no. 2.580; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 166, 411, vol. 2, pl. CXCII; Heenk 1995, p. 187; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 417.

Exhibitions

1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 123; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 90; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 93; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 140; 1951 Lyons & Grenoble, no. 99; 1951 Saint-Rémy, no. 99; 1955 Antwerp, no. 345; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 99; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 119; 1990 Dublin, no catalogue; 1998-99 Basel, no. 46.

394

Sketch of pine trees October 1889 or March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 24.2 x 32.6 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 411

Inv. d 196 V/1962 F 1590r JH 1944

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 168 [as F 1590v], vol. 4, pl. CXCI [as F 1590v]; Wadley 1969, p. 41; De la Faille 1970, pp. 543, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 445; Amsterdam 1987, p. 470 no. 2.616; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 168 [as F 1590v], 413, vol. 2, pl. CXCI; Heenk 1995, pp. 191, 192; Hulsker 1996, p. 445.

Exhibitions
None.

First three weeks of February 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 31.2 x 23.8 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 454

Inv. d 250 V/1962 F 1549v JH 1721

- 1 For the characteristics of this sketchbook and for the identification of the sheets that belonged to it, see the Introduction, p. 40. The measurements, thickness and structure of the paper correspond to these sheets. However, the torn upper edge has such large lacunae near the binding holes that the exact location of these holes can no longer be ascertained.
- 2 De la Faille 1928 took this second wall to be a path.
 3 Written in the sky from left to right: 'spots of white and dark ochre/green/pale emerald/ultramarine/violet brown' ('taches blanches et ocre foncé/vert/emeraude pâle/bleu outremer/violet brun'). Written in the middle distance, again from left to right: 'pink and green/green-blue/blue or
- white/white/pink/pink/orange/red yellow/yellow violet' ('rose et vert/vert bleu/bleu [or 'blanc'] /blanc/rose/rose/orange/rouge jaune/jaune violet'). The wall bears the indication 'black' ('noir'), and written from top to bottom in the field is 'chrome green/violet ... straw/straw/orange and garish green' ('vert chrome/violet .../paille/paille/orange et vert cru').
- Bowness, in London 1968-69, pp. 104, 105, saw a connection with *Walled wheatfield with reaper* (F 618 JH 1773), to which it bears little resemblance, however. In De la Faille 1970, the drawing is first linked to F 723 JH 1722 (fig. 395a).
- 4 See also Pickvance in Otterlo 1990, pp. 22, 23. Van Gogh also used *Giant peacock moth* (cat. 351) later for a painting, which still does not make the drawing a preparatory study. It is also sometimes claimed that *Garden of the asylum* (F 1545 JH 1851) and *Walled wheatfield with rising sun* (F 1552 JH 1863) preceded the painted versions (in Hendriks/Van Tilborgh 2001, p. 155 and Bremen 2002-03, p. 96, respectively).
 5 In the places of the other holes in the sheet, the paint layer in the painting is too thick to ascertain the presence of drawing material.

395 Mountain landscape behind the walled wheatfield

Van Gogh drew this landscape from his bedroom on the east side of the asylum. Looking straight out the window he saw a walled wheatfield, behind which were hills with scattered houses, and olive and almond trees (fig. 447a). If he stood more to the left, he had a view to the right of the south side of the wheatfield, behind which lay another enclosed piece of land. From this vantage point he could see in the background the fanciful forms of the Alpilles, the mountain range to the south of Saint-Rémy. It was from this angle that Van Gogh drew Mountain landscape behind the walled wheatfield.

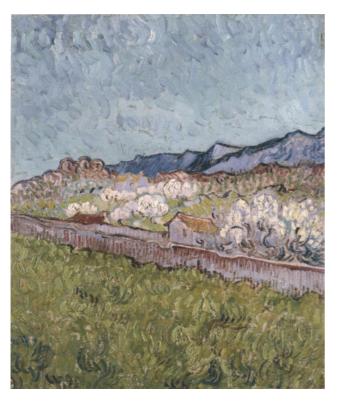
The vertical depiction was drawn in black chalk on a sheet that probably came from the same sketchbook as many of the drawings Van Gogh made in the first months of 1890. In the foreground, wavy lines depict the young wheat; the same freely drawn lines recur in the trees and the hill on the left in the middle distance. Contrasting with the fluency of this style of drawing is the solidity characterising the walls, the houses and the mountains in the background, drawn with robust contours, meticulous hatching and stumped black chalk. The foremost wall is the south wall of the wheatfield seen from Van Gogh's bedroom; the wall diagonally behind it is the wall on the east side of the adjacent field.² Built into this wall is a small stone building with a tiled roof. This shed turned out so large in the drawing that it seems to be a house built against the wall. A figure is visible between the foremost wall and the building. Behind the second wall we can just make out the roof of a house, and higher up on the hill are two adjacent structures of different heights. Behind the house stands a tall, narrow shed. To the right, a path runs uphill between the trees. Visible on the left and right and in the foreground are vertical and diagonal lines that have nothing to do with the present composition. They were probably there before Van Gogh used this sheet for the mountain landscape.

The drawing served as a preparatory study for a painting that is only slightly larger (*fig.* 395a, 35.2 x 30.1 cm); Van Gogh wrote detailed colour indications on the sheet and transferred the composition to a canvas.³ The drawing therefore occupies a special place in the drawn oeuvre from Saint-Rémy.⁴ It is not entirely clear how Van Gogh set about copying the composition. Tiny holes are to be found in a number of essential places, including the mountain tops, the cypress on the hill to the left, and various corners of the adjacent houses. This work, however, bears no trace of drawing material in or around the holes, which one would expect if they had been used to mark places on the underlying canvas. It is possible that Van Gogh used the holes to mark these places on yet another sheet, which he then used to transfer the drawing to the canvas. Remarkably, the painting does bear traces of black chalk or charcoal in the place where the above-mentioned house stands.⁵

Elements that correspond exactly in the two works are the two walls, the various houses, the man behind the first wall and the shape of the mountain ridge, the exact



395 Mountain landscape behind the walled wheatfield



395a View of the Alpilles (F 723 JH 1722), 1890. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



395b Almond blossoms (F 671 JH 1891), 1890. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

location of which is however different – higher, in fact – in the painting. Another modification with respect to the drawing is the angle at which the foremost wall stands, which is more oblique than in the drawing, reducing the size of the right foreground. The alterations in the placing of the wall and the mountains means that the area within the triangle between the foremost wall and the upper edge of the hills is larger in the painting than in the drawing. Other changes include the increase in the amount of sky, and the omission of the tall shed at the bottom of the hill and the cypress on the hill at the left.

Another way in which the canvas seems to differ from the drawing is in its use of colour. The covered edges of the painting show, however, that many of the hues have discoloured over time; in most cases they closely approximated those noted down by Van Gogh on the drawing. The 'black' that he wrote on the wall must not be taken too literally: Van Gogh used the term for darker colours in general, and as such it is perfectly applicable to the dark purple and brown colour the wall must originally have been. The drawing contains paint residue that corresponds to the colours in the painting, indicating that Van Gogh had this sheet to hand when making the painting.⁸

On the basis of the seemingly divergent colours in the painting, it has sometimes been claimed that the drawing was not a preparatory study for the small painting; instead, both works supposedly served as preliminary ideas for a larger, more fully fledged picture. This does not concur with Van Gogh's customary working method, however, in which the small canvases — certainly those occurring in his Saint-Rémy oeuvre — were usually made after large paintings of the same composition and not in preparation for them.

- 6 This discrepancy is probably due to the fact that, when transferring the composition, Van Gogh turned the sheet slightly to the right when laying it on the canvas.
- 7 The foreground seems smaller in the painting than in the drawing, but the canvas is on a stretcher that is too small, so that the painted depiction continues onto the edges folded around the stretcher. The foreground in the painting must originally have been the same size as in the drawing.
- 8 This paint residue is green, white and light blue.
- 9 Van Heugten in Amsterdam 1991 I, p. 42; Heenk 1995, p. 193; Dorothee Hansen in Bremen 2002-03, p. 98.

For a long time both the drawing and the painting were dated to June 1889, but this dating overlooked the blossoming almond trees on the hills. These early-blossoming trees, with their white or pink flowers, are the first to burst into blossom at the end of the Provençal winter, usually in February and March. Van Gogh looked forward eagerly to blossoming time, hoping to continue the series of paintings of blossoming trees that he had started in Arles. His plans were thwarted, however, by another attack of his illness on 22 February, which largely incapacitated him for the whole of the blossoming season. When he began to feel better, he wrote to Theo: 'I fell ill at the time I was doing the almond blossoms. If I had been able to continue working, you can judge from that that I would have done others of the trees in blossom. Already now it is almost over, the blossoming trees, I am truly out of luck' [864/629]. He painted the above-mentioned *Almond blossoms* (fig. 395b) for his new-born nephew; it is the only other work from Saint-Rémy to depict blossoms.

- 10 This dating was first put forward for both the drawing and the painting by Van Heugten in Amsterdam 1991 I, p. 42. The depiction on the other side of the sheet, a study of a chair and a hand (cat. 454), dates from around the same period.
- 11 'Je suis tombé malade à l'epoque où je faisais les fleurs d'amandier. Si j'avais pu continuer à travailler, tu peux de là juger que j'en aurais fait d'autres des arbres en fleur. A présent c'est déjà presque fini les arbres en fleur, vraiment j'ai pas de chance.'
- 12 See letters 856/627 and 857/W20 of 19 February, and 863/628 of 24 April 1890. Jo gave birth to a son on 31 January 1890 and named him Vincent Willem after his uncle

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 162 [as F 1549r], vol. 4, pl. CLXXXIII [as F 1549r]; London 1968-69, pp. 104, 105 no. 159; De la Faille 1970, pp. 534, 537, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 394, 396; Amsterdam 1987, p. 458 no. 2.545; Otterlo 1990, pp. 22, 23; Amsterdam 1991 I, p. 42; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 162, 405 [as F 1549r], vol. 2, pl. CLXXXIII; Heenk 1995, p. 193; Hulsker 1996, pp. 394, 396; Bremen 2002-03, pp. 98, 99 no. 26.

EXHIBITIONS

1927-28 Berlin, no. 84; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 84; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 84; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 78 [as F 15491]; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 56 [as F 1549r]; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 220 [as F 15491]; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered [as F-1549r]; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 81 [as F 1549r]; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 85 [as F 1549r]; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 95 [as F 1549r]; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 282; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 106 [as F 1549r]; 1955 Antwerp, no. 336 [as F 1549r]; 1956 Haarlem, no. 70; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 67 [as F 1549r]; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 68; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 70; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 70 [as F 1549r]; 1968 Liège, no. 70 [as F 1549r]; 1968-69 London, no. 159 [as F 1549r]; 2002-03 Bremen, no. 26.

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Vincent van Gogh Drawings Volume 4 – part 1 Arles, Saint-Rémy & Auvers-sur-Oise 1888-1890 Van Gogh Museum

Marije Vellekoop Roelie Zwikker

With the assistance of Monique Hageman

Translated by Diane Webb

VAN GOGH MUSEUM

Waanders Publishers

The fourth and final volume in the series of Vincent van Gogh drawings in the Van Gogh Museum features 176 drawings made by Van Gogh during his years in Arles, Saint-Rémy and Auvers-sur-Oise.

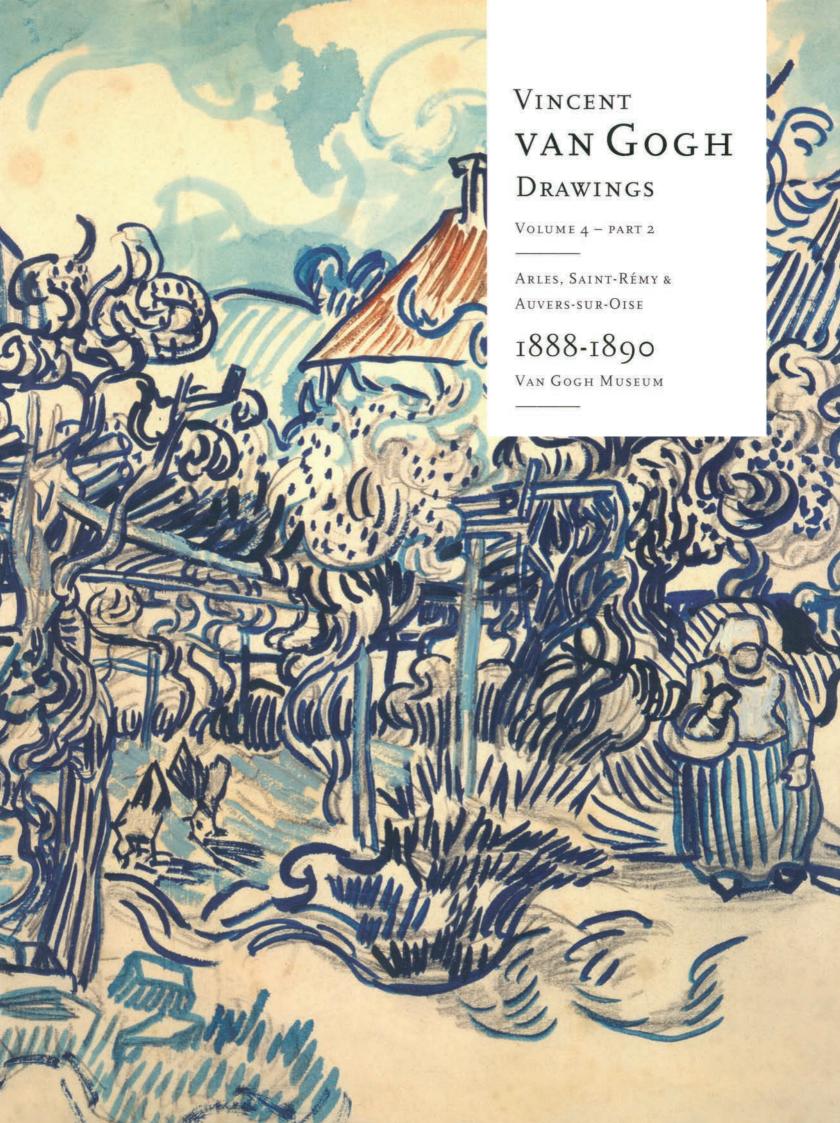
In these last years of his life the artist developed a style of his own and made some of his most impressive drawings. Japanese prints were an important source of inspiration to him. Van Gogh's drawn oeuvre – which ranges from fluent pen drawings to works drawn in colour – includes preparatory studies for paintings and copies of painted work, as well as drawings made as independent works of art.

This book, which is the product of many years' research, reads like an exciting narrative. It contains comprehensive descriptions of the drawings and technical details, as well as information on the provenance, relevant literature and exhibition history. The two introductory essays discuss Van Gogh's stylistic development, use of materials and experimentation with techniques. More than 250 illustrations, including historic photographs and paintings, combine to create a new, rich and colourful context to Van Gogh's work.

Marije Vellekoop is the curator of Prints and Drawings at the Van Gogh Museum.

Roelie Zwikker is a researcher at the Van Gogh Museum.





VINCENT VAN GOGH DRAWINGS

VINCENT VAN GOGH DRAWINGS

Arles, Saint-Rémy & Auvers-sur-Oise

1888-1890

Van Gogh Museum

4 PART 2

Marije Vellekoop Roelie Zwikker

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF MONIQUE HAGEMAN

TRANSLATED BY DIANE WEBB

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Vincent van Gogh, Drawings 1 The early years, 1880-1883 Sjraar van Heugten (1996)

Vincent van Gogh, Drawings 2 Nuenen, 1883-1885 Sjraar van Heugten (1997)

Vincent van Gogh, Drawings 3 Antwerp & Paris, 1885-1888 Marije Vellekoop and Sjraar van Heugten (2001)

Previously published in the series Vincent van Gogh, Paintings 1-3:

Vincent van Gogh, Paintings 1 Dutch period, 1881-1885 Louis van Tilborgh and Marije Vellekoop (1999)

COVER ILLUSTRATIONS

Part 1: Vincent van Gogh, The rock of Montmajour with pine trees,

1888. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

Part 2: Vincent van Gogh, Old vineyard with peasant woman,

1890. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

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396-398 Labourers working the land

Technical details 396-398 on p. 298

During his long period of illness, from 22 February until the end of April 1890, Van Gogh made five paintings and a large number of drawings, relying on his memory and imagination. To this end he reverted to subjects that had played an important part in his work around five years earlier in the Netherlands: peasants working the land, cottages with thatched roofs and peasants at mealtime. The drawings are not preparatory studies for the paintings, though they do correspond to them in subject and style. Van Gogh made around 60 drawings of these subjects, 43 of which are to be found in the Van Gogh Museum. The drawings were made in pencil or black chalk and are sketchy in style, the bulk of the rather lanky figures often being rendered by means of parallel hatching consisting of curved lines.

The drawings of figures working the land fit into this group. Of all the drawings from this period, *Two peasant women digging (cat. 396*) is one of the few studies directly connected with the painted *Reminiscences of the North*, namely *Winter landscape with peasant women digging (fig. 396a)*. In both works, the women display the same pose,³ their faces are not filled in, and the composition is largely the same. The right background of the drawing contains a farmhouse with two cypresses behind it and a bent-over figure at work in front of it; the right background of the painting features several labourers' cottages, and the figure is missing. Here, too, Van Gogh devoted a lot of attention to the sun and some colourful effects in the clouds – aspects that play no role in the drawn study. As regards the composition and the poses of the working women, both the drawing and the painting recall the canvas *Two peasant women digging in the peat bog (fig. 396b)*, which Van Gogh had painted in October 1883.

Two peasant women digging was drawn in black chalk with a brown tinge. The sheet has several spots of oil paint in the colours white, moss green and blue – presumably traces of the paint used in the painting *Winter landscape with peasant women digging (fig. 396a)*, which indicates that Van Gogh had the drawing to hand, as a preparatory study, when painting the canvas. The sky in *Two peasant women digging* shows drawing material that has rubbed off another work, probably a drawing stored on top of it, as well as the imprint of lines from the depiction on the recto (cat. 412).

The drawing was made on pink laid paper; visible at the lower left edge is part of the watermark AL (in a scroll) PL BAS. The sheet was originally part of a larger piece of paper presumably measuring 47.6 by 62.0 centimetres, which Van Gogh folded to make a sketchbook. The lower edge of the sheet containing *Two peasant women digging* fits the right edge of *Peasant digging* (cat. 397). Together these two works form half of the original sheet, which Van Gogh had cut in two before beginning to draw. The other half, which contains the AL (in a scroll) part of the watermark, is the support of catalogue numbers 438 and 439 (fig. 396c).

- 1 See the Introduction, pp. 24-26.
- 2 Van Gogh does not mention the drawings in his correspondence. The numbers mentioned here do not include the studies of chairs (see cats. 453-456), which are connected with the drawings of peasants at meal-time.
- 3 The connection was previously mentioned in De la Faille 1970. See also Heenk 1995, p. 191.
- **4** The comparison of colours was done with the naked eye on the basis of a reproduction.
- 5 For the use of this paper and the sketchbook, see the Introduction, p. 40.
- 6 Visible at the lower left in cat. 396 is the upper part of the watermark PL BAS; the lower part of these letters is seen at the upper right edge of cat. 397.





397 Peasant digging





396a Winter landscape with peasant women digging (F 695 JH 1923), 1890. Zürich, Sammlung E.G. Bührle.



396b Two peasant women digging in the peat bog (F 19 JH 409) 1883. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

Peasant digging (cat. 397) is a worked-up drawing, done in black chalk with a brown tinge, in which Van Gogh devoted a lot of attention to the face, something he did not usually do in his studies of peasants at work. The man, who has a cloth wrapped around his head to shield it from the sun, fills almost the entire sheet. The lower half is taken up by the land to be tilled, rendered by means of powerful lines that look particularly scratchy in the right foreground, where Van Gogh probably used harder chalk that did not adhere very well. A few lines in the sky suggest clouds. Standing on the horizon at the right are two houses and, behind them, two extremely tall trees.⁷

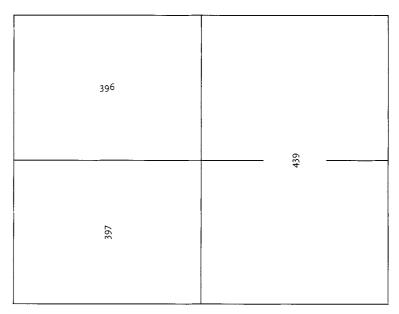
The man in catalogue number 398 is probably also digging. Like the background, the figure is rendered only very sketchily in black chalk. The sketch was made on the verso of the sketchbook page containing *Sower in the rain (cat. 399)*, several lines of which have bled through to the side with *Man working in a field.*⁸

- 7 The sheet displays several yellow-green paint spots (presumably oil paint). There is also an oil stain at the lower right edge that was caused by traces of white paint on the recto.
- 8 Some drawing material has rubbed off on these lines, probably from a work that lay on top of it. Like the other two drawings discussed here, cat. 398 contains several spots of paint in the colours dark blue and emerald green, as well as traces of red varnish.

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SIDE 2



396c Reconstruction of the full sheet.

396

Two peasant women digging
March-April 1890
Black chalk with a brown tinge on pink laid
paper

23.7 x 28.1 cm

Watermark: PL BAS, lower edge trimmed Unsigned

Verso of cat. 412

Inv. d 236 V/1962 F 1586v JH 1924

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 167, vol. 4, pl. CXCIII; De la Faille 1970, pp. 542, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 443; Amsterdam 1987, p. 467 no. 2.595; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 167, 412, vol. 2, pl. CXCIII; Heenk 1995, pp. 190, 191; Hulsker 1996, pp. 442, 443.

Exhibitions

1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 101; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 121.

397

Peasant digging March-April 1890 Black chalk with a brown tinge on pink laid paper 28.2 x 23.9 cm

Watermark: PL BAS, truncated at right edge Unsigned Verso of cat. 413

Inv. d 195 V/1962 F 1587v JH 1948

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 167, vol. 4, pl. cxcIv; De la Faille 1970, pp. 542, 543, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 446; Amsterdam 1987, p. 470 no. 2.614; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 167, 412, vol. 2, pl. cxcIv; Heenk 1995, pp. 190, 191; Hulsker 1996, p. 446.

Exhibitions

1963 Humlebæk, no. 111; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 111; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 75; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 74; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 76; 1971-72 Paris, no. 197; 1972 Bordeaux, no. 68; 1975 Malmö, no. 92; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 92.

398

Man working in a field March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 23.9 x 27.3 Unsigned Verso of cat. 399

Inv. d 338 V/1962 F 1551v JH 1947

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 162, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXIV; London 1968-69, p. 118; De la Faille 1970, pp. 534, 537, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 446; Amsterdam 1987, p. 470 no. 2.613; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 162, 405, vol. 2, pl. CLXXXIV; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 191, 194; Hulsker 1996, p. 446.

EXHIBITIONS
None

399, 400 Sowers

Technical details 399, 400 on p. 303

In January and February 1890 Van Gogh occupied himself, between periods of illness, mainly with painting copies after paintings, which he regarded as 'translations' in colour.¹ One of these was a painting after *The sower* by his great example Millet (1814-1875), a work that had been a source of inspiration since the very beginning of his artistic career (*fig. 344c*).² Compared with the expressive, colourful interpretation he made in Arles (*fig. 344a*), this last version is rather restrained (*fig. 399a*). Van Gogh was not happy with the result, and on 2 February he told Theo that he was stopping work on *The sower* and other 'translations': his illness had made him very sensitive, and he felt incapable of going on with them.³

From 22 February until the end of April, when he was too ill to work out of doors, he drew from memory,⁴ and the sower again became an important theme. In this period he drew *Sower in the rain (cat. 399)* and *Field with sower (cat. 400).*⁵

The figure in *Sower in the rain* walks with stooped shoulders. This somewhat misshapen type has nothing in common with the figures Van Gogh had drawn in Arles (see, for example, *cat. 324*). The figure in *Field with sower* looks rather stiff and therefore unlike a peasant who is actually sowing.⁶ Similar peasant types, thickset and malformed, also occur in other drawings made at this time.⁷

It is not only the awkward rendering of the figures but also the sombre weather that contrasts with earlier work. While Van Gogh placed his Arles sowers in a sun-drenched landscape (see, for instance, *fig.* 344d), the figure in catalogue number 399 walks through pouring rain. It is tempting to link such dreary weather, which lends the drawing an oppressive atmosphere, to the crisis Van Gogh was experiencing at the time. In *Field with sower* (*cat.* 400) – which, like catalogue number 399, has mountains in the background – the weather plays no role, and the paper remains blank in the area of the sky. There is, however, a related drawing of a sower in the rain (*fig.* 399b); in addition to these works, there are two other drawings – also dating from Vincent's spell of drawing reminiscences (see *cats.* 410, 415) – which display heavy rain. 9

- 1 See letter 851/625. Van Gogh wrote this to Theo on 1 February 1889; he placed the word *traductions* (translations) in quotation marks. See also the Introduction, pp. 22-24.
- 2 See cat. 344.
- 3 See letter 851/625.
- 4 See the Introduction, p. 24.
- 5 It has sometimes been suggested that Van Gogh based the farmhouse in the background of Sower in the
- rain on the Farmhouse with olive trees (F 664 JH 1865) of December 1889. See Amsterdam 1988-89, p. 189. The similarity between the two farmhouses is unconvincing, however. Moreover, Van Gogh had sent the painting to the postman Joseph Etienne Roulin (1841-1903) in January 1890 (see letter 838/662 of 4 January 1890).
- **6** Hulsker 1996, pp. 442, 444, compares the figure to a lay figure. He places both drawings, on stylistic

grounds, in the same period as the *Reminiscences of the North*, which were made in March and April, but does not include them in that group. De la Faille 1970 assigns both drawings to the period January-April 1890, without viewing them as drawn reminiscences. Amsterdam 1987, nos. 2.582 and 2.583, dates the drawings to the spring of 1890. Amsterdam 1988-89, p. 189, considers cat. 399 to be a drawn reminiscence; cat. 400 is not discussed in that catalogue.

- 7 See, for example, cats. 403, 405, 414, 416 and 444.
- 8 This blank area does however contain an unidentifiable impression of another depiction, as well as the imprint of lines from the other side of the sheet.
- 9 There is, moreover, 'an effect of rain' known from the Saint-Rémy period: F 650 JH 1839. See letter 818/613 of c. 3 November 1889: 'un effet de pluie'.





The way he rendered the rain in the above-mentioned works – by means of long, diagonal lines filling the entire picture plane – recalls a painting he made in Paris after Hiroshige's *Bridge in the rain (fig. 399c*). A similar effect is found in a few of his Paris drawings. In Auvers Van Gogh was to paint another rainy land-scape. Van Gogh executed both of the present works either with three pencils of various

Van Gogh executed both of the present works either with three pencils of various thicknesses or a simple carpenter's pencil which allowed him to vary the thickness of the lines. In addition to the hatching in the mountains in the foreground of *Sower in the rain*, the two drawings of sowers are characterised in particular by the short, slightly nervous lines used to render the fields. The clouds display stumped pencil lines, as do the trousers of the figure in catalogue number 400; in the background the pencil was probably rubbed out accidentally. In the foreground of *Sower in the rain* Van Gogh also used black chalk.

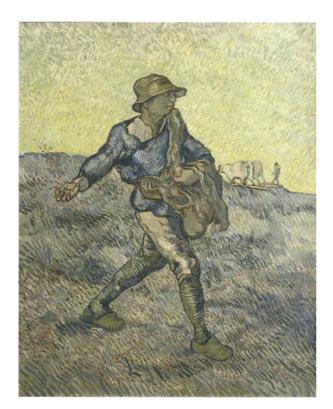
Rainy landscapes occur only sporadically in the rest of Van Gogh's oeuvre.

The wove paper on which these drawings were made came from a sketchbook Van Gogh used for many of the works he produced in these months.¹²

10 F 1399 JH 1032 and F 1399a JH 1031. These drawings were previously placed in Nuenen, but they may well have been made in Paris, probably in the spring of 1886. With thanks to Sjraar van Heugten (Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam) and Teio Meedendorp (Kröller-Müller Museum, Otterlo).

11 F 811 JH 2096.

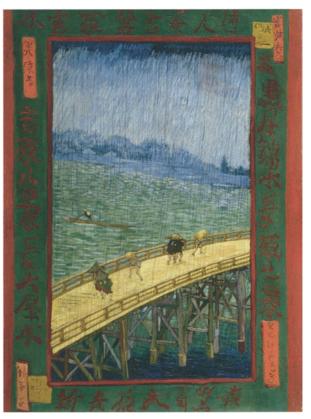
12 Cat. 399 has a very rough torn edge on the right. The torn edge of cat. 400 is also on the right-hand side. F 1550 JH 1897 (fig. 399b) was probably made on a sheet from the same sketchbook. See the Introduction, p. 40 and Heenk 1995, p. 194.



399a Sower (after Millet) (F 690 JH 1837), 1889. Private collection.



399b Walled field with sower in the rain (F 1550 JH 1897), 1890. Essen, Museum Folkwang.



399c Bridge in the rain (after Hiroshige) (F 372 JH 1297), 1887. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

Sower in the rain March-April 1890 Pencil, black chalk, on wove paper 23.9 x 27.3 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 398

Inv. d 338 V/1962 F 1551r JH 1898

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 162, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXIV; London 1968-69, pp. 117, 118 no. 179; Wadley 1969, p. 39; De la Faille 1970, pp. 534, 537, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 436, 442, 444; New York 1986-87, p. 139; Amsterdam 1987, p. 464 no. 2.582; Amsterdam 1988-89, pp. 189, 190 no. 79; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 162, 405, vol. 2, pl. CLXXXIV; Heenk 1995, p. 194; Hulsker 1996, pp. 436, 444; Paris 1998-99, pp. 104, 165 no. 48.

EXHIBITIONS

1931 Amsterdam, no. 228; 1932 Manchester, no. 68; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 96; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 283; 1953 Zürich, no. 107; 1956 Haarlem, no. 71; 1962 London, no. 59; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 96; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 116; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 71; 1968 Liège, no. 71; 1968-69 London, no. 179; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 40; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 107 & Columbus, no. 39; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 107; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 84; 1988-89 Amsterdam, no. 79; 1998-99 Paris, no. 48.

400

Field with sower
March-April 1890
Pencil on wove paper
23.8 x 31.9 cm
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 421

Inv. d 186 V/1962 F 1592v JH 1899

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 168 [no ill.]; De la Faille 1970, pp. 544, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 436, 442, 444; Amsterdam 1987, p. 465 no. 2.583; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 168, 414, vol. 2, pl. CCXXXVII; Heenk 1995, p. 194; Hulsker 1996, pp. 436, 444.

Exhibitions None.

Technical details 401-408 on pp. 315, 316

401-408 Studies of labourers working the land

Each of the sheets discussed here contains various studies of figures in action, the majority of whom are diggers. Like the sower (see *cats. 344, 399, 400*), diggers represent in Van Gogh's oeuvre a *leitmotiv* rooted in his admiration of Millet (1814-1875).

In 1880 Van Gogh first made two copies after Millet's *Diggers*, and in the following years he drew dozens of his own variations on the theme, mostly in Nuenen in 1885. Diggers do not occur in the extant work of 1887 and 1888, but in Saint-Rémy Van Gogh took up the motif again: in October 1889 he painted a colourful translation of the same *Diggers* by Millet (*fig. 401a*), and in the spring of 1890 he included diggers in two paintings (*figs. 401b*, 401c). The types and poses of the figures in the drawings discussed here closely resemble the peasants in the paintings, though in general they cannot be seen as immediate examples. These drawings and paintings were made in the same period and belong to the *Reminiscences of the North*. All the drawings but one come from the same sketchbook that Van Gogh used frequently in the first months of 1890.4

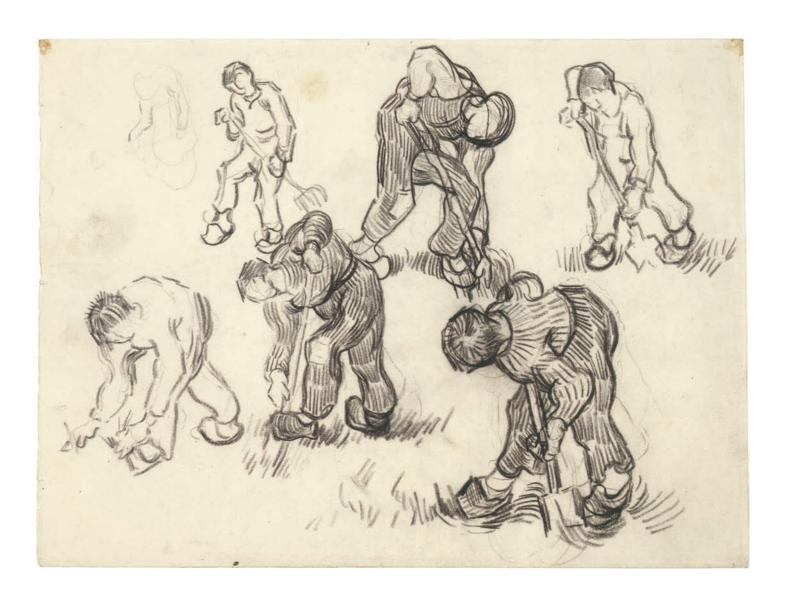
It is probably no coincidence that in this very period, from the end of February to the end of April, Van Gogh was taken up with the portrayal of diggers. To his mind they embodied the hard life of the peasant: turning over the fields was done only by those who could afford neither plough nor draught animal. The studies of diggers could well be symbolic of the difficult times Van Gogh was undergoing in Saint-Rémy. He associated the digger with the biblical proverb 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread'.

The two sheets with *Studies of diggers* (*cats. 401, 402*) are comparable in technique and execution. Van Gogh made the sketches in black chalk. Some of the figures are completely or partly worked up by means of hatching, whereas others are indicated by contours alone. In a few places he used short, rapidly sketched lines to render the ground. Most of the figures in these sketches are digging, but a few are doing something else: at the top of *Studies of diggers* (*cat. 402*), for example, to the left of the worked-out figure, there is a man holding a pitchfork, and at the lower left a figure is busy gathering or picking something. After using thin lines to sketch a woman at the lower right, Van Gogh decided to abandon work on her skirt and to draw a male figure instead. At the upper left of this study sheet he made a rough sketch of a woman with a shovel. The other study sheet (*cat. 401*) contains at the lower left the beginnings of a figure's upper body.

Several of the sketches in these two sheets are traceable to paintings. Two of the detailed figures in catalogue number 402 – the middle figure in the lower row and the central figure in the upper row – are recognisable in *Two diggers (fig. 401b)*. The figure on the right in the centre of the sheet in *Studies of diggers (cat. 401)* displays the same pose as the figure on the right in *Two diggers between the trees (fig. 401c)*. The figure on the right in *Two diggers between the trees (fig. 401c)*.

- 1 F 828 JH and F 829 JH and Hulsker 1996, p. 11, fig. d. See Drawings 1, cat. 16, note 3. The original work by Millet was a pastel of 1866. In 1880 Van Gogh made a drawing after a photograph of it; from July 1882 he was in the possession of a reproduction of an etching of Millet's diggers. See Amsterdam 1988-89, pp. 91, 92.
- 2 See Kodera 1990, p. 72 and Appendix I, Table 3, facing p. 136.
- 3 See the Introduction, pp. 24-26.
- 4 See the Introduction, p. 40. Only cat. 408 (with cat. 419 on the verso) comes from another sketchbook, to which cats. 418 and 434 also belonged.
- 5 Genesis 3:19. See letter 225/197 of 12 or 13 May 1882. Ködera 1990, pp. 67-78, argues that Van Gogh's portrayal of diggers is symbolic of his difficult life. It is doubtful, however, whether this is also true of the diggers in his early work. See Drawings 1, cat. 21. See also Amsterdam 1988-89, p. 94.
- **6** This painting was previously seen as a copy after a work by Millet, but there is no proof of this. See Kōdera 1990, note 262 on p. 126 and Martigny 2000, no. 83.
- 7 The detailed figure of a digger in F 1620v JH1934 probably served as an example for the other digger in the painting. See Kōdera 1990, p. 74. This work (fig. 401c) is dated in De la Faille 1939 to April 1890. The editors of De la Faille 1970 assign it to the autumn of 1889, however, because the trees supposedly resemble those in the paintings of autumn landscapes dating from this period. The fresh colours of F 701 JH 1847 differ, though, from the dark hues seen in the works from the autumn of 1889. The pose of the digger on the left is similar to that of the figure on the left in F695 JH 1923 (fig. 396a), dating from March-April 1890.









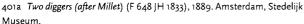














401b Two diggers (F 694 JH 1922), 1890. Private collection.

The various sketches in *Studies of working figures* (cat. 403) were made in pencil, which was stumped in the background and in some of the figures. Compared with the sketches discussed above, they display more varied activities. Discernible at the far left in the upper half of the sheet are the vague beginnings of an unidentifiable depiction, then – from left to right – a man walking towards the left, a woman walking towards the right, a seated figure and two peasants with sickles. At the lower left Van Gogh drew a farmstead with a sheaf of wheat in front of it, then two women gleaning, a peasant with a sickle and a woman binding sheaves. In the middle of the sheet, to the right of centre, is another illegible sketch. Van Gogh took some pains to work up the bodies, and also devoted some attention to indicating the vegetation around the figures.

Farmhouses and studies of diggers (cat. 404) appears on the verso of Studies of diggers (cat. 401). The studies of catalogue number 404, which were drawn in black chalk, consist of two parts separated by a thin vertical line. One-third of the sheet is taken up by three sketches of diggers placed one above the other. The sketch to the left, which fills the rest of the sheet, includes three farmhouses, a foreground figure that has largely been rubbed out, and a digger at work in front of the largest farmhouse in the middle distance. 8

The sheet containing *Studies of figures* (*cat.* 405) displays a combination of sketches made with pencils of various thicknesses. The most elaborate are the two framed drawings placed above one another, each displaying a figure with a wheelbarrow. Van Gogh accentuated the contours in both depictions. Because the arms and legs of the surrounding figures overlap the frames, it may be concluded that he drew those figures first and then decided to work up and frame the drawings of the wheelbarrow-pushing figures. The others, partly worked up with hatching and partly rendered only in contours, are engaged in various activities: besides diggers and a figure walking, Van Gogh sketched a couple of people eating, a theme he would treat in more detail in several other sheets and one that is linked to his

⁸ The rather browned paper displays not only some brown spots but also a large oil stain at the upper left.
9 It is also possible that Van Gogh used a carpenter's

pencil.



401c Two diggers between the trees (F 701 JH 1847), 1890. Detroit, Detroit Institute of Arts.

intention to make a new version of *The Potato Eaters* (see *cats. 431-437*). The pencil lines of the head and shoulders of the man at the lower left, next to the lower of the two framed drawings, have been rubbed out to the extent that they now resemble a smudge.

The verso of this sheet also contains several sketches in pencil (cat. 406). Discernible at the upper left are the contours of a man wearing a hat, and beside him, to the right, vague sketches of a reaper and two bent figures. In the middle are the remnants of an erased sketch, and to the left of this a figure eating, seated at a table. The upper part of a man's body is visible at the bottom of the sheet, and on the right Van Gogh drew the contours of two standing men. The lines of the studies on the recto have left an imprint on this side of the sheet.

Studies of figures working the land (cat. 407) and Landscape with cypresses and studies of figures (cat. 408), both drawn in black chalk, contain a combination of depictions. The lowermost drawing of the former sheet shows men and women working the land and a farmhouse in the right background. Drawn above this, on a slightly larger scale, are five figures, likewise working the land. Van Gogh divided the two sketches by means of various framing lines. The demarcation is not always clear: the arms of the woman bending over in the middle of the upper depiction, for example, overlap the lower sketch of the peasants and farmstead.

On the other sheet (*cat.* 408), Van Gogh worked out at the upper right a clearly framed landscape with farmhouses, cypresses and three figures. Here he combined his reminiscences of Brabant farm labour with the surroundings of Provence.¹⁰ On the left he made a sketch, framed with a thin line, of a digger in a landscape with cypresses in the background, and above it he sketched the contours of a figure unconnected with the rest. The lower part of the sheet displays a few unclear lines and three rudimentary figure sketches representing two men wearing tall hats and a woman in their midst.

10 See the Introduction, p. 24.

Studies of diggers March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 23.8 x 31.9 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 404

Inv. d 242 V/1962 F 1600r JH 1928

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 170, vol. 4, pl. cxc1x; De la Faille 1970, pp. 546, 547, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 443; Amsterdam 1987, p. 467 no. 2.598; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 170, 417, vol. 2, pl. cxc1x; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 190; Hulsker 1996, p. 443.

EXHIBITIONS

1956 Haarlem, no. 82; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 107; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 127.

402

Studies of diggers March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 23.8 x 31.9 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 452

Inv. d 434 V/1962 F 1602v JH 1927

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation (ratified in 1982); 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 170, vol. 4, pl. cxc1xc11; London 1962, pp. 13, 78, 79; London 1968-69, p. 119 no. 184; De la Faille 1970, pp. 547, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 443; Amsterdam 1987, p. 467 no. 2.597; Rome 1988, no. 84; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 170, 418, vol. 2, pl. cxc1xc11; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 194; Hulsker 1996, p. 443.

EXHIBITIONS

1962 London, no. 60 [as F 16027]; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 80; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 82; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 82; 1968 Liège, no. 82; 1968-69 London, no. 184; 1971-72 Paris, no. 203; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 91; 1977 Paris, unnumbered; 1988 Rome, no. 84.

403

Studies of working figures March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 23.8 x 31.8 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 409

Inv. d 188 V/1962 F 1598v JH 1932

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 170, vol. 4, pl. CXCVIII; London 1968-69, p. 119 no. 185; De la Faille 1970, pp. 546, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 444; Amsterdam 1987, p. 468 no. 2.602; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 170, 417, vol. 2, pl. CXCVIII; Heenk 1995, p. 189; Hulsker 1996, p. 444.

Exhibitions

1966 Paris & Albi, no. 78; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 80; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 80; 1968 Liège, no. 80; 1968-69 London, no. 185; 1971-72 Paris, no. 201; 1980-81 Amsterdam, no. 179.

404

Farmhouses and studies of diggers March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 23.8 x 31.9 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 401

Inv. d 242 V/1962 F 1600v JH 1905

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 170 [no ill.]; De la Faille 1970, pp. 546, 547, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 439, 442; Amsterdam 1987, p. 465 no. 2.585; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 170, 417, vol. 2, pl. CCXXXVIII; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 190; Hulsker 1996, p. 439.

EXHIBITIONS None.

Studies of figures March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 23.9 x 31.7 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 406

Inv. d 241 V/1962 F 1599r JH 1929

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 170, vol. 4, pl. cxcix; De la Faille 1970, pp. 546, 547, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442-44; Amsterdam 1987, p. 467 no. 2.599; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 170, 417, vol. 2, pl. cxcix; Heenk 1995, p. 189; Hulsker 1996, pp. 443, 446.

Exhibitions

1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 103; 1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 70; 1948 Amersfoort, no cat. known; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 106; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 126.

406

Studies of figures working and eating March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 23.9 x 31.7 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 405

Inv. d 241 V/1962 F 1599v JH 1933

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 170, vol. 4, pl. cxc1x; De la Faille 1970, pp. 546, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 444; Amsterdam 1987, p. 468 no. 2.603; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 170, 417, vol. 2, pl. cxc1x; Heenk 1995, p. 189; Hulsker 1996, p. 444.

EXHIBITIONS None.

407

Figures working the land March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 23.8 x 32.3 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 430

Inv. d 339 V/1969 F 1605r JH 1935

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 171, vol. 4, pl. cc; De la Faille 1970, pp. 548, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 444; Amsterdam 1987, p. 468 no. 2.604; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 171, 419, vol. 2, pl. cc; Heenk 1995, p. 189; Hulsker 1996, pp. 444, 446.

Exhibitions

1953 Zürich, no. 120; 1975 Malmö, no. 91; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 91.

408

Landscape with cypresses and studies of figures March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 23.8 x 31.5 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 419

Inv. d 197 V/1962 F 1593v JH 1890

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; De la Faille 1970, pp. 544, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 434, 436; Amsterdam 1987, p. 465 no. 2.584; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 414, 415, vol. 2, pl. ccxxxv11; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 191; Hulsker 1996, pp. 434, 440.

Exhibitions None.

409 Landscape with figures pushing wheelbarrows

The many figure studies of peasants working the land include a few featuring labourers pushing wheelbarrows: catalogue numbers 405, 417 and the sheet discussed here. The figures in *Landscape with figures pushing wheelbarrows* have lanky bodies whose arms and legs are too long. Like the houses, these types correspond to those in works Van Gogh made in March-April 1890.¹

The scene was observed from a high viewpoint. Compared with other *Reminiscences of the North*, the composition of the present drawing is more complex and fuller. The scene depicts a cold season: the trees are bare and smoke rises from the chimneys. The backdrop behind the figures consists of an expansive landscape with farmhouses. Three figures pushing wheelbarrows walk along the road, while at the roadside, on higher-lying ground at the right, a woman with a child walking next to her carries a bundle of sticks on her back. On the horizon, at the right and also at the far left, Van Gogh drew a higher-lying plain. Expressively rendered clouds fill the sky.

Landscape with figures pushing wheelbarrows displays striking similarities to Diggers and road with cottages (fig. 409a), in which Van Gogh drew a similar composition with walking figures, seen from a high vantage point, but this time with a road and nearby houses. In this drawing hills demarcate the horizon.²

Landscape with figures pushing wheelbarrows was drawn with two pencils of differing thicknesses on a sheet of wove paper from a sketchbook Van Gogh used a number of times. The pencil lines have been stumped in the roofs and in parts of the landscape. There is practically no contrast between light and dark. The sheet is nearly filled with lines of the same intensity. Because the total picture is so grey, the scene scarcely comes to life and the figures are almost absorbed into the landscape.

March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 23.8 x 31.9 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 403

Inv. d 188 V/1962 F 1598r JH 1925

- 1 See the Introduction, pp. 24-26.
- 2 Stylistically, cat. 418, too, has much in common
- owing to its emphasis on contours with *Diggers and road with cottages* (fig. 409a). De la Faille 1970 does in fact link cat. 418, F 1595r and the paintings F 673 JH 1919 (fig. 416a), F 674 JH1920 (fig. 416b) and F 675 JH 1921 (fig. 416c) . Cat. 409 is not compared with other drawings, however.
- 3 See the Introduction, p. XXX. The left edge of the sheet was bound into the sketchbook.



409a Diggers and road with cottages (F 1595r JH 1916), 1890. Whereabouts unknown.



Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 170, vol. 4, pl. CXCVIII; London 1968-69, p. 119; De la Faille 1970, pp. 546, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 443; Amsterdam 1987, p. 467 no. 2.596; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 170, 416, vol. 2, pl. CXCVIII; Heenk 1995, p. 189; Hulsker 1996, pp. 442, 443.

Exhibitions

1947 Rotterdam, no. 102; 1975 Malmö, no. 90; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 90; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 90.

Technical details 410-415 on pp. 329, 330

410-415 Figures on a road

The motif of figures on a road is associated with Van Gogh's early work and therefore also with the group of *Reminiscences of the North*. In the Borinage, Belgium's mining district, Van Gogh had already drawn mine workers on a road (*fig. 410a*), and the subject would continue to interest him. The connection of the drawings he made of this theme in Saint-Rémy to the *Reminiscences of the North* is betrayed by such elements as a Dutch windmill, figures binding sheaves (*cat. 414*) and men wearing clogs (*cat. 410*), as well as by the style of drawing, the paper used and the representations on the other side of the sheets.¹

In most of the sketches the figures are neatly dressed and carry no objects or tools that characterise them as farm labourers. Only one sheet differs in this respect: the drawing of three men shouldering spades and walking down a road (cat. 410). As in several other drawings in this group, they wear clogs and hats. The face of the hindmost figure is dark, whereas that of the man on the left has been left blank, though he has been given a distinct profile. Only the countenance of the man in front has been rendered in more detail. The figures walk in the rain and are reflected in the wet surface of the road. A strip of land lies between the road and a group of houses in the left background. Van Gogh stumped the pencil lines in the trees and in the dark clouds behind them. He drew the composition on a sheet of wove paper from a sketchbook he used frequently in the first months of 1890. The sheet's lower edge, which was torn from the sketchbook, displays binding holes.

In contrast to these farm labourers shouldering spades, who walk slightly hunched through the rain, the four men in catalogue number 411 stroll calmly down a road flanked by pine trees. The figure on the left was moved slightly more to the left with respect to the underdrawing, which is still visible. Close inspection reveals that Van Gogh initially included only three men in the composition; the figure on the right was added to the group only after the background had been drawn. He is rendered in less detail, and the lines of the landscape run through his body. Nevertheless, his head is the only one of the four to be filled with hatching, whereas the other three have been left blank. This pencil drawing was made on very thin wove paper that Van Gogh also used for his drawings of the walled wheatfield and the trees in the garden of the asylum. This last motif is also to be found on the verso of this sheet (*cat. 394*). The folds in the paper were there before Van Gogh drew on it.

The figures in *Two men on a road (cat. 412)* walk down a road flanked by several large pine trees. The man on the right wears a hat with its brim turned up in front – a head-covering seen more than once in Van Gogh's drawings – and carries a walking stick in his right hand.⁷ The figures' faces have not been filled in; the elongated head of the man on the left resembles that of the bearded man on the right in

- 1 Only one sheet, which has a drawing treating this motif on both sides, is to be found outside the collection of the Van Gogh Museum: Two men in a landscape with trees (F 1647r JH 1950) and Figures on a road with trees (F 1647v JH 1968).
- 2 Regarding rain in Van Gogh's work, see cats. 399 and 400.
- 3 Van Gogh used two pencils of varying thicknesses to make this drawing.
- 4 See the Introduction, p. 40.
- **5** See cats. 377-394 and 447-452, and the Introduction, p. 40.
- 6 De la Faille 1928 treats this sketch as the verso of Four men on a road (cat. 411). The inversion of 'recto' and 'verso' in De la Faille 1970 is based on an earlier dating of the trees (May-autumn 1889).
- **7** This type of hat also appears in cats. 421, 403, 413 and F 1645V JH 1903.

410a *Mine workers on a road* (F 831 JH –), 1880. Otterlo, Kröller-Müller Museum.

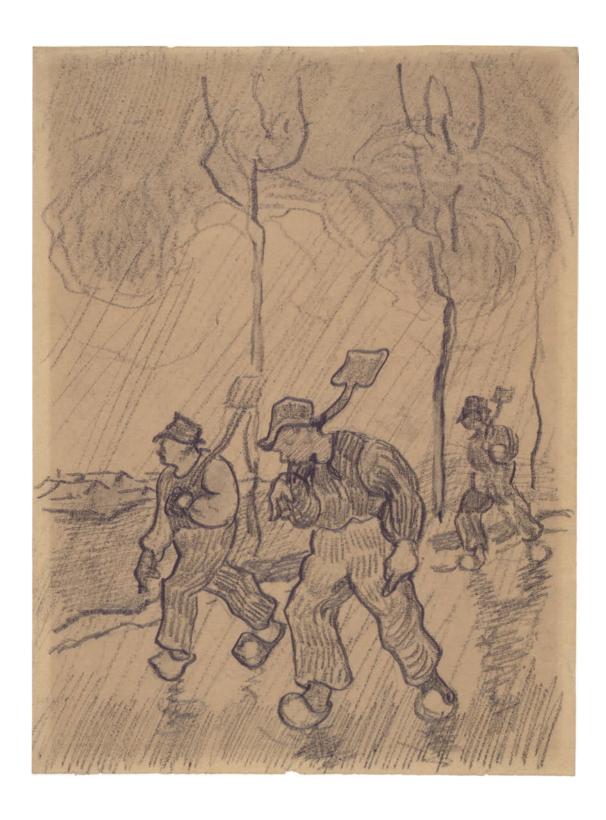


Carriage and figures on a road (cat. 413). Van Gogh drew the scene in black chalk with a brown tinge on pink laid paper bearing the watermark PL BAS. This paper was part of a large sheet which he himself folded into a thin sketchbook. Its lower edge was originally attached to the right edge of Carriage and figures on a road (cat. 413); together they formed half of a full sheet. 8 Both pieces contain part of the same watermark. The other half, with the watermark AL (in a scroll), was folded but not torn in half; it contains sketches of figures and a study of a plate, bowl and spoon (cats. 438, 439). One of the long sides of this large sheet was attached to the two smaller works (see fig. 396c).9 That Van Gogh folded the pink paper to make a sketchbook and did not cut the sheet into pieces is apparent not only from the larger sheet but also from the lines of another drawing that have rubbed onto the open spaces in Two men on a road (cat. 412), which is something that often happens with sketchbooks. The verso of this sheet contains a portrayal of two women digging (cat. 396), a work Van Gogh used as a preparatory study for a painting (fig. 396a). Apparently he had the drawing to hand during the painting process, since that side of the paper displays paint spatters. Some of that paint left oil stains in the lower left-hand corner of Two men on a road.

The other drawing on pink laid paper — *Carriage and figures on a road (cat. 413)*, likewise drawn in black chalk with a brown tinge — also depicts a road flanked by three pine trees. ¹⁰ The two figures in the left foreground resemble the men depicted in *Two men on a road (cat. 412)*: the one in front wears the same kind of hat and also carries a walking stick. The bearded man at the rear was rendered in more detail here than in the other drawing. A new element in this depiction is the horse-drawn carriage with two figures sitting in it. ¹¹ Visible on the horizon are the roofs of houses and a few cypresses. Van Gogh used this drawing, and probably several of the other sheets discussed here, in May 1890 as study material for the painting

- **8** Van Gogh folded the sheet in the middle before cutting it. This woman is still visible at the right edge of cat. 413.
- 9 The lower edge of cat. 397 (with cat 413 on the verso) fits the left half of the upper edge of cat. 439, which means that cat. 412 (with cat 396 on the verso) was most likely attached to the right half of that edge. The torn edge of that part has been trimmed, however.

 10 The other drawings made on this pink paper were also drawn with this type of chalk; see cats. 396, 397, 438 and 439.
- 11 The carriage also appears in the background of F 1647v JH 1968. The Auvers oeuvre also contains horse-drawn carriages; see cats. 465 and 487.



410 Three men shouldering spades on a road in the rain





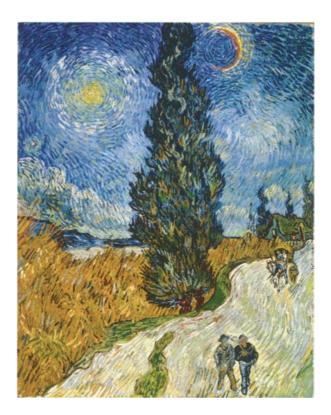


413 Carriage and figures on a road



414 Couple walking down a road





410b Country road in Provence by night (F 683 JH 1982), 1890. Otterlo, Kröller-Müller Museum.

Country road in Provence at night (fig. 410b). ¹² That painting features a carriage drawn by a white horse, as well as two men walking, one of whom carries a spade on his shoulder and a walking stick in his hand. The white and yellow spots of paint on this sheet indicate that Van Gogh had the drawing to hand when painting the canvas, after his illness and shortly before his departure for Auvers.

The last two drawings of this group are almost square in format and feature a couple strolling arm in arm. *Couple walking down a road (cat. 414)* is set in a summery landscape with tall wheat beyond the road. In the right background, a man and woman are busy bundling the reaped wheat into sheaves, an activity that Van Gogh had depicted many times in Nuenen. This motif, along with the Dutch type of windmill on the left, gives the scene a touch of Holland. The woman walking down the road wears a dark cloth over her head and shoulders, and the man wears a hat. His face, unlike that of his companion, has been worked out in some detail. The couple in the other drawing (*cat. 415*) have a child in tow and walk through the rain, rendered with long diagonal lines. The figures are reflected in the wet street. Dark clouds hang in the sky; a farmhouse is visible to the left of the bare trees in the background. There is a curve in the road, which seems to enclose the figures. This, together with the bad weather and the bare landscape, lends the drawing an oppressive atmosphere. Van Gogh first used the paper for another drawing, but its lines are too sketchy to determine what it represented.

Both sheets were drawn with pencils of various thicknesses. The graphite lines were stumped here and there or rubbed somewhat with an eraser.¹³ The drawings were made on paper from a sketchpad very like one that Van Gogh had used earlier, in Arles.¹⁴ The two sheets were glued together in one corner; when they were taken apart, the lower left-hand corner of *Couple walking down a road (cat. 414)* was torn off. This little piece of paper remained stuck to the upper right-hand corner of *Interior with three figures at a table (cat. 436)*, which is on the other side of *Couple with child, walking in the rain (cat. 415)*. That this damage was inflicted by Van Gogh him-

¹² New York 1986-87, p. 191 and Heenk 1995, p. 191.13 This happened in the trunk of the tree on the left in cat. 415.

¹⁴ For a description of this sketchpad and the identification of the sheets that belonged to it, see the Introduction, p. 39.

self and not by someone else is revealed by the fact that he drew over the stuck piece of paper. He tore narrow strips off the left edge of both sheets and made sketches on both sides of them (*cats. 442-445*). The torn edges of all four pieces of paper show that Van Gogh tore the strips off both sheets at the same time, making it impossible to determine which pieces originally belonged together.¹⁵ The versos of both drawings contain sketches of figures seated at a table (*cats. 433, 436*).¹⁶

The sheet with *Couple with child, walking in the rain (cat. 415)* and, on the verso, *Interior with three figures at a table (cat. 436)* had always been part of the collection administered by Theo's widow, Jo van Gogh-Bonger, and her son, V.W. van Gogh. In 1942 the latter gave the sheet to his psychoanalyst, H.G. van der Waals, who made it known on his deathbed that he wished to bequeath the drawing to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation. His wife saw to it that his wish was fulfilled.

15 The torn edge of cat. 442 is on the right-hand side, that of cat. 443 is on the right-hand side, that of cat. 444 on the left-hand side and that of cat. 445 on the right-hand side. If cat. 443 is turned 180 degrees and laid on cat. 444, the form of the torn edges matches exactly.

16 In De la Faille 1970 the reproductions of F 1596r and v are mistakenly interchanged.

410

Three men shouldering spades on a road in the rain March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 31.8 x 23.9 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 417

Inv. d 240 V/1962 F 1597r JH 1949

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 169, vol. 4, pl. cxcv1; De la Faille 1970, pp. 546, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 446; Amsterdam 1987, p. 471 no. 2.618; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 169, 416, vol. 2, pl. cxcv1; Heenk 1995, pp. 189-91; Hulsker 1996, p. 446.

Exhibitions

1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 122; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 89; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 92; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 136; 1947 Paris, no. 137; 1947 Geneva, no. 137; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 171; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 118, no. 119; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 291; 1954-55 Bern, no. 164; 1955 Antwerp, no. 349; 1956 Haarlem, no. 81; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 78; 1958 Mons, no. 79; 1960 Paris, no. 106; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 133; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 138; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 138; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 114; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 114; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 77.

411
Four men on a road
March-April 1890
Pencil on wove paper
24.2 x 32.6 cm
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 394

Inv. d 196 V/1962 F 1590v JH 1946

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 168 [as F 1590r], vol. 4, pl. cxcv [as F 1590r]; De la Faille 1970, pp. 543, 668; Chetham 1976, p. 219, ill. 139; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 446; Amsterdam 1987, p. 471 no. 2.617; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 168 [as F 1590r], 413, vol. 2, pl. cxcv; Heenk 1995, pp. 191, 192; Hulsker 1996, p. 446.

Exhibitions

1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 68; 1948 Amersfoort, no cat. known; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 288; 1953 Zürich, no. 114 [as F 1590r]; 1954-55 Bern, no. 162; 1955 Antwerp, no. 347 [as F 1590r]; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 225; 1956 Haarlem, no. 78; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 70 [as F 1590r]; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 77 [as F 1590r]; 1958 Mons, no. 78; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 148 [as F 1590r]; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 61 [as F 1590r]; 1959-60 Utrecht, no. 93 [as F 1590r]; 1960 Enschede, no. 64 [as F 1590r]; 1964 Zundert, no. 28 [as F 1590r]; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 75 [as F 1590r]; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 77 [as F 1590r]; 1971-72 Paris, no. 199.

Two men on a road
March-April 1890
Black chalk with a brown tinge, on pink laid
paper
23.7 x 28.1 cm
Watermark: PL BAS, truncated at the lower
edge
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 396

Inv. d 236 V/1962 F 1586r JH 1945

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 167, vol. 4, pl. cxc111; De la Faille 1970, pp. 542, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 446; Amsterdam 1987, p. 470 no. 2.615; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 167, 412, vol. 2, pl. cxc111; Heenk 1995, pp. 190, 191; Hulsker 1996, p. 446.

EXHIBITIONS None.

413

Carriage and figures on a road
March-April 1890
Black chalk with a brown tinge, on pink laid
paper
28.2 x 23.9 cm
Watermark: PL BAS, truncated at the right
edge
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 397

Inv. d 195 V/1962 F 1587r JH 1969

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 167, vol. 4, pl. cxcıv; De la Faille 1970, pp. 542, 543, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 449; New York 1986-87, p. 191; Amsterdam 1987, p. 471 no. 2.620; Van der Wolk 1987, pp. 308, 309; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 167, 412, vol. 2, pl. cxcıv; Heenk 1995, pp. 190, 191; Hulsker 1996, p. 449.

EXHIBITIONS

1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 119; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 91; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 94; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 286; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 141; 1951 Lyons & Grenoble, no. 98; 1951 Saint-Rémy, no. 98; 1953 Zürich, no. 112; 1953 The Hague, no. 151; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 178; 1954-55 Bern, no. 161; 1955 Antwerp, no. 358; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 68; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 91, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 62; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 87.

414

Couple walking down a road March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 24.4 x 25.3 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 433

Inv. d 238 V/1962 F 1596r JH 1943

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation (ratified in 1982); 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 169, vol. 4, pl. cxcv11; De la Faille 1970, pp. 545, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 445; Amsterdam 1987, p. 470 no. 2.612; Dorn 1990, p. 301 note 425; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 169, 415, vol. 2, pl. cxcv11; Heenk 1995, p. 189; Hulsker 1996, p. 445.

Exhibition 1953 Zürich, no. 118.

415

Couple with child, walking in the rain March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 24.4 x 25.3 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 436

Inv. d 231 V/1974 F 1589r JH 1951

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-42 V.W. van Gogh; 1942 gift to Dr. H.G. van der Waals; 1974 bequest of Dr. H.G. van der Waals and Mrs A.M.P. van der Waals-Kirberger to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1974 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 168, vol. 4, pl. cxciv; De la Faille 1970, pp. 543, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 446, 447; Amsterdam 1987, p. 471 no. 2.619; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 168, 413, vol. 2, pl. cxciv; Heenk 1995, p. 190; Hulsker 1996, pp. 446, 447.

Exhibitions None.

416-418 Landscapes with houses and men working

Technical details 416-418 on p. 336

Among the *Reminiscences of the North* are these three drawings of working figures in front of a landscape with houses, a combination also found in several of Van Gogh's winter landscapes (*cat. 419* and F 1620r JH 1911). The three drawings discussed here are closely related – owing to the prominence of the buildings – to the paintings from the same series (*figs. 416a, 416b*). The man shouldering the spade, who appears in two of the three sheets, also occurs in one of the paintings (*fig. 416b*).

The foreground of Landscape with houses and two men with spades (cat. 416) contains, in addition to a man shouldering a spade, another man holding a spade loosely in his right hand. He stands in a field, while the other man is on a lowlying road leading to the house in the centre background. Near the front door stands a sketchily rendered female figure. Van Gogh may well have made this drawing with a carpenter's pencil, which has a rectangular stylus, making it possible to draw both narrow and broad lines. Indeed, the sheet displays lines that vary greatly in thickness. The drawing was made on a sheet from the sketchbook used for many of the other Reminiscences of the North.² Judging from the torn edge, it was bound into the sketchbook at its left edge. Some of the depiction on the facing page has rubbed off on this sheet, but the impression it left is too vague to identify the drawing.

Landscape with a house and two men (cat. 417) shows two figures against a background consisting of a long farmhouse with no fewer than three chimneys. To the left of this building are two haystacks; the one on the right seems to be standing against the house. More houses appear in the right background. The men, who have come from a road running behind the row of trees, walk across a field. The man in back pushes a fully laden wheelbarrow; the one in front carries a spade on his shoulder. This drawing, too, belonged to the above-mentioned sketchbook; it was bound into the book at its right edge, judging from the binding holes. The composition on the other side of the sheet, representing three men shouldering spades and walking along a road, is vaguely discernible on this side of the sheet.

In *Landscape with houses and two diggers* (*cat. 418*), the distance between the field labourers in the foreground and the houses in the background is considerably greater than that in the above-mentioned drawings. Each farmyard is surrounded by a hedge, clearly referring to the farms of Brabant as Van Gogh remembered them. In fact, he wrote the following to his mother and his sister Wil on 30 April 1890: 'And even when my illness was it its worst, I went on painting anyway, among other things a reminiscence of Brabant, cottages with moss-covered roofs and beech hedges on an autumn evening with a stormy sky, the sun setting, red in orange clouds' [865/629a]. Here he describes *Reminiscence of Brabant* (*fig. 416c*).

¹ For this group of works, see the Introduction, pp. 24-26.

² The sketchbook is discussed in the Introduction, p. 40.



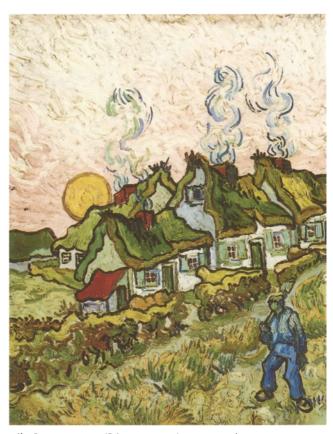
⁴¹⁶ Landscape with houses and two men with spades







416a Cottages at sunset (F 673 JH 1919), 1890. Private collection.



416b $\it Cottages\ at\ sunset\ (F\ 674\ JH\ 1920),\ 1890.$ Merion, The Barnes Foundation.



416c *Reminiscence of Brabant* (F 675 JH 1921), 1890. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

3 The right edge of the sheet was bound into the sketchbook.

In the present drawing the Dutch aspect is toned down somewhat by the mountains in the background. Van Gogh began by using black chalk to sketch in the three houses on the left behind the men, the hedge of the first house and the figure on the left. The man on the right was also sketched in black chalk but worked up in pencil, just like the rest of the drawing. This work was part of the same sketchbook that contained the other two drawings discussed here.³

416

Landscape with houses and two men with spades March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 23.9 x 31.9 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 420

Inv. d 237 V/1962 F 1591v JH 1908

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 168, vol. 4, pl. cxcv; De la Faille 1970, pp. 544, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 440, 442; New York 1986-87, p. 223; Amsterdam 1987, p. 465 no. 2.588; Otterlo 1990, p. 318; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 168, 414, vol. 2, pl. cxcv; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 190; Hulsker 1996, p. 440.

EXHIBITIONS None.

417

Landscape with a house and two men March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 23.9 x 31.8 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 410

Inv. d 240 V/1962 F 1597v JH 1912

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 169, vol. 4, pl. cxcv111; De la Faille 1970, pp. 546, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 440-42; Amsterdam 1987, p. 466 no. 2.591; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 169, 416, vol. 2, pl. cxcv111; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 190; Hulsker 1996, p. 441.

Exhibition 1960 Paris, no. 107.

418

Landscape with houses and two diggers March-April 1890 Pencil and black chalk, on wove paper 23.5 x 32.0 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 434

Inv. d 229 V/1962 F 1594r JH 1915

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 169, vol. 4, pl. cxcv11; Novotny 1953, p. 37; London 1962, pp. 14, 84, 85 no. 68; London 1968-69, p. 119; De la Faille 1970, pp. 544, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 441, 442; Schwind 1985, pp. 2, 9; Amsterdam 1987, p. 466 no. 2.592; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 169, 415, vol. 2, pl. cxcv11; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 190; Hulsker 1996, p. 441.

EXHIBITIONS

1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 125; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 93; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 97; 1962 London, no. 68.

419-422 Winter landscapes with houses and figures

Technical details 419-422 on pp. 343, 344

'I find the winter here very beautiful and *absolutely* the same as in the North, only somewhat clearer' [839/W17], wrote Van Gogh on 4 January 1890 to his sister Wil.¹ Among the group of drawings he made from memory in March and April of that year are six wintry landscapes, four of which are preserved in the Van Gogh Museum.² In these drawings he reverted to a subject he had often drawn in Nuenen; at that time he had made large drawings of winter gardens, as well as smaller sheets with wintry scenes.³ Whether Van Gogh actually experienced snow in Saint-Rémy or whether the wintriness of the depictions is the product of his imagination can no longer be determined. The winter of 1889-90 must have been cold, but nothing is known of blizzards.⁴ During his last period of illness, beginning on 22 February, Van Gogh painted another work from memory that is connected to the drawings discussed here: Winter landscape with women digging (fig. 396a), which shows farmhouses with snow-covered roofs that are comparable to those seen in catalogue numbers 419-422.

Winter landscape with working figures (cat. 419) is characterised by a meticulous style of drawing and a composition clearly divided into foreground, middle distance and background. The icicles hanging from the roof, the smoking chimney, the path with snowy footprints, the moon, the village with its church tower in the left background and the small house situated among the elegant cypresses all give the picture a fairy-tale-like atmosphere.⁵

Van Gogh made this drawing in black ink on wove paper. The browning of the paper has made the effect of snow less powerful than it undoubtedly was originally. Traces of binding holes indicate that the sheet once belonged to a sketchbook of which the Van Gogh Museum has only this sheet.⁶

The other three drawings testify to Van Gogh's choice of a different, looser and more open approach. Winter landscape with figures (cat. 420) and Winter landscape with walking figures (cat. 421) display not only a much more fluent manner of drawing but also a composition – in which the figures and the substantial farmhouse extend beyond the actual picture – that is more interesting than that of Winter landscape with working figures. The same or a similar couple as the pair in the foreground of catalogue number 420 also appear in Winter landscape with couple walking (cat. 422). Here, however, the man and woman are not cut off by the edge of the picture, and instead of other figures walking, the background features two stooping figures, very roughly rendered.

The men and women in catalogue numbers 420-422 are warmly dressed in winter clothing, inasmuch as that can be judged from their rather sketchy rendering. The men wear a kind of bowler; the women wear scarves over their heads or hold umbrellas. Particularly in *Winter landscape with walking figures (cat. 421)*, the group of people seem to be going somewhere together: it is possible that Van Gogh has portrayed people going to church.

- 1 'Je trouve l'hiver tres beau ici et *absolument* la même chôse que dans le Nord, seulement un peu plus clair.'
- 2 Winter landscapes in other collections are F 1620r JH 1911 and F 1648 JH 1913.
- 3 See Drawings 2, cats. 69-76 and cat. 89.
- **4** With thanks to Mr Xavier Popineau of Météo-France
- 5 A similar atmosphere is to be seen in the painting F 704 JH 1981.
- 6 The binding holes can be found, measuring from the upper left-hand corner, at 5.2, 12.7 and 17.7 cm. The oblique line in the sky on the left must have come about during the drawing process; it could have been caused by an object lying beneath the paper. In the trunk of the second tree from the right there is a blob of white paint. Van Gogh drew over this with black chalk. The wove paper shines somewhat because it has been rolled.



419 Winter landscape with working figures









419a *The drinkers (after Daumier)* (F 667 JH 1884), 1890. Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago.

The figures are reminiscent of those seen in the work of Honoré Daumier (1808-79) and Jean-François Raffaëlli (1850-1924). The men with hats and walking sticks recall the wine drinkers in the painting Van Gogh made in mid-January 1890 after a wood engraving made after a work by Daumier (fig. 419a). The pencil lines with which Van Gogh filled in the costumes in the drawings are similar to the nervous lines in the clothing of his painted version of *The drinkers*. The abrupt truncation in that painting at the lower edge of the picture plane recurs in the drawings. In addition to the rather caricatural 'gentlemen' in the two works, a child appears in both the drawing (cat. 420) and the painting (fig. 419a). This child, by the way, and the man whose hand it holds are the only figures in the drawing whose faces are rendered in any detail. All the other figures lack eyes, nose and mouth.

Catalogue numbers 420-422 were drawn completely in pencil that was stumped in several places. The snow was rendered by leaving the paper blank. In the roof of the farmhouse in *Winter landscape with couple walking (cat. 422)*, we can see that Van Gogh first made a rough sketch with a very thin pencil before working over it with a thicker pencil. In doing so, however, he did not follow his original design entirely: the final roof is slightly larger than he at first intended.

The wove paper of catalogue numbers 420 and 421 came from a sketchbook of which a number of other sheets have been preserved. The paper of *Winter landscape with couple walking (cat. 422)* corresponds to that of a sketchpad that Van Gogh had already used in Arles.⁸

⁷ For cat. 420 Van Gogh might have used a carpenter's pencil, which enables one to vary the thickness of a single line. The depiction on the verso has left an imprint on the recto.

⁸ See the Introduction, pp. 39, 40. A trace of dark red paint or varnish is visible along the edge at the upper right.

Winter landscape with working figures March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 31.5 x 23.8 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 408

Inv. d 197 V/1962 F 1593r JH 1906

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 169, vol. 4, pl. cxcvI; Marées-Gesellschaft 1928, pl. vI; Cooper 1955 II, p. 105; De la Faille 1970, pp. 544, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 440, 442; New York 1986-87, p. 19I; Amsterdam 1987, p. 465 no. 2.586; De la Faille 1992, vol. I, pp. 4I4, vol. 2, pl. cxcvI; Baer 1994, p. 135 no. vI; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 19I; Hulsker 1996, pp. 440, 444.

Exhibitions

1920 New York, no. 21 [\$2,500]; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue; 1926 Munich, no. 2109? (for sale); 1927-28 Berlin, no. 80; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 80; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 80; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 82; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 57; 1930 Laren, no. 57; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 57, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 233; 1935-36 New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, San Francisco, Kansas City, Minneapolis, Chicago & Detroit, no. 124; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 135; 1947 Paris, no. 136; 1947 Geneva, no. 136; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 170; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 117, no. 118; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 290; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 144; 1951 Lyons & Grenoble, no. 96; 1951 Saint-Rémy, no. 96; 1953 Zürich, no. 117; 1954-55 Bern, no. 163; 1955 Antwerp, no. 348; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 226; 1956 Haarlem, no. 80; 1957 Breda, no. 84; 1957 Marseilles, no. 80; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 93, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken &

Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 149; 1959-60 Utrecht, no. 94; 1960 Enschede, no. 65; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 137; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 137; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 113; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 113; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 104; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 124; 1975 Malmö, no. 89; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 89.

420

Winter landscape with figures March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 23.9 x 31.9 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 416

Inv. d 237 V/1962 F 1591r JH 1907

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

Literature

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 168, vol. 4, pl. cxcv; London 1968-69, p. 119 no. 183; De la Faille 1970, pp. 544, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 440, 442; Amsterdam 1987, p. 465 no. 2.587; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 168, 413, 414, vol. 2, pl. cxcv; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 190; Hulsker 1996, p. 440.

Exhibitions

1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 184?; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue?; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 83; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 83; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 83; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 80; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 234; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 100; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 289; 1953 Zürich, no. 115; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 71; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 94, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 136; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 136; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 112; 1964 Washington & New

York, no. 112; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 76; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 103; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 123; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 78; 1968 Liège, no. 78; 1968-69 London, no. 183; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 41; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 109 & Columbus, no. 41; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 109.

421

Winter landscape with walking figures March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 23.8 x 31.9 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 400

Inv. d 186 V/1962 F 1592r JH 1910

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 168, vol. 4, pl. cxcv; De la Faille 1970, pp. 544, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 440, 442; Amsterdam 1987, p. 466 no. 2.590; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 168, 414, vol. 2, pl. cxcv; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 194; Hulsker 1996, p. 440.

Exhibitions

1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 192; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923 Utrecht, no. 23; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 78; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 78; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 78; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 81; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 235; 1932 Manchester, no. 78; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 120; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 94; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 98; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 101; 1948 Luxemburg, no. 28; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 143; 1953 Zürich, no. 116; 1956 Haarlem, no. 79; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 72; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 76; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 78; 1971-72 Paris, no. 200; 1972 Bordeaux, no. 69; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 89.

Winter landscape with couple walking March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 24.4 x 32.0 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 435

Inv. d 235 V/1962 F 1585r JH 1909

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 167, vol. 4, pl. cxc111; De Gruyter 1961, p. 111 no. 56; London 1968-69, p. 118; De la Faille 1970, pp. 542, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 440, 442; Amsterdam 1987, p. 466 no. 2.589; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 167, 411, vol. 2, pl. cxc111; Heenk 1995, p. 189; Hulsker 1996, p. 440; Martigny 2000, p. 106.

Exhibitions

1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 147; 1960 Enschede, no. 63; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 110; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 110; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 74.

423-425 Study sheets with sketches of labourers working the land and studies of a hand

Technical details 423-425 on p. 350

Van Gogh filled various sheets with sketches of figures and studies of a hand. Catalogue number 423 contains two small, framed drawings of sowers, which he combined with six rather angular sketches of a clenched fist. As a backdrop to these rather ineptly rendered peasants, Van Gogh chose the walled field of the asylum with hills in the background. The smaller sower was drawn between the hands and then set apart with framing lines. In his drawings of hands, Van Gogh emphasised the contours, some of which consist of short lines that do not always join up. In the context of sowers, they can be seen as peasants' hands filled with grains of corn. By making studies of hands, Van Gogh was taking up a subject he had already studied extensively in Nuenen from December 1884 until May 1885.

In addition to the sowers and hands drawn in black chalk, there is a pencil sketch at the lower right that is difficult to identify. This has sometimes been interpreted as a fragment of *The raising of Lazarus* (fig. 423a). At the end of April 1890, Van Gogh made a painted version after a reproduction of this etching by Rembrandt. The capricious form in the drawing at the left of what is presumably a hand does in fact resemble the left hand of the figure in the middle of the painting.⁴

On the verso of this sheet Van Gogh used black chalk to draw open hands, faces and parts of people (*cat. 424*). Apart from a mother and child, who also appear in *Figures by the fireside* (*cat. 446*), a woman digging and a sower, there are several very rough sketches of figures. Discernible at the upper right is a face with which Van Gogh was evidently so dissatisfied that he covered it with countless small lines of chalk. He concealed a sketch of a hand at the upper left in similar fashion.

In the upper right-hand corner a man sits with his head in his hands. This small sketch recalls the lithograph *Sorrowful old man ('At Eternity's Gate')*, made in 1882 (see *fig. 453b*), of which Van Gogh painted a colourful 'translation' around May 1890 (see *fig. 453a*).⁵

The hands in the third study sheet (*cat. 425*) vary in pose and format. As in *Sketches of figures and studies of a hand (cat. 424*), Van Gogh – who was right-handed – here drew both right and left hands, probably making use of a mirror to draw his left hand again and again.⁶ Although the contours play an important role, just as they do in the previous studies, a few of these hands have been worked up in more detail. In some cases Van Gogh devoted more attention to their bulk. In the lower right-hand corner he sketched a man digging, whose left leg is exceptionally long. The studies of a hand, as well as the figure, were drawn in pencil.

The sheets discussed here, which contain several clearly visible folds, came from a sketchbook that Van Gogh used frequently in the spring of 1890.⁷ Both

¹ For sowers in Van Gogh's oeuvre and the role of Millet in this, see cats. 344, 399 and 400.

² See Amsterdam 1988-89, no. 80, p. 92. See also London 1968-69, no. 187, p. 20.

³ See also cats. 426-428.

⁴ Bowness noted this possible connection in London 1968-69, no. 187, p. 120. Amsterdam 1988-89, no. 80, p. 192, describes it as possibly a rough sketch of a pollard willow with trees in the background.

⁵ See Van Heugten/Pabst 1995, no. 5, pp. 52-56. See also Drawings 1, cat. 42 and Otterlo 2003, pp. 351-54.

⁶ See also cats. 426-428.

⁷ See the Introduction, p. 40.







423a The raising of Lazarus (after Rembrandt) (F 677 JH 1972), 1890. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



subject matter and style indicate that the sketches were made in March-April 1890. When De la Faille assumed in 1928 and 1970 that the present sheets were drawn in Saint-Rémy, he was on the right track. Other authors have let themselves be misled by the similarity to the studies of hands made in Nuenen, thus placing them in the Brabant period.⁸

8 Amsterdam 1987 dates cats. 423 and 424 to the Saint-Rémy period, while assuming that the hands of cat. 425 were drawn in Nuenen and that the digger on that sheet was added in Saint-Rémy. Amsterdam 1988-89, no. 80, p. 192, assumes that the drawings of the sowers were made in Saint-Rémy and that the rest of the sheet had already been drawn in Nuenen. Hulsker

1980, p. 444, also assumes this. Van Tilborgh 1993, p. 110, states that the sketches of cats. 423-425 must have been made entirely in Saint-Rémy. Hulsker 1996 dates cats. 423 and 424 to March-April 1890, while sticking to the idea that cat. 425 was made in January-February 1885 and that the digger was added in Saint-Rémy.

Studies of a sower and of a hand March-April 1890 Black chalk and pencil, on wove paper 23.9 x 31.9 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 424

Inv. d 187 V/1962 F 1603r JH 1936

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 171, vol. 4, pl. cc; London 1968-69, p. 120 no. 187; Wadley 1969, p. 40; De la Faille 1970, pp. 548, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 444, 445; Amsterdam 1987, p. 469 no. 2.605; Amsterdam 1988-89, pp. 191, 192 no. 80; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 171, 418, vol. 2, pl. cc; Van Tilborgh 1993, p. 110 note 3; Heenk 1994 1, p. 40; Heenk 1995, p. 189; Hulsker 1996, pp. 444, 446.

Exhibitions

1903 Rotterdam, no catalogue?; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 117; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 85; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 88; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 105; 1955 Antwerp, no. 158?; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 125; 1956 Haarlem, no. 83; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 73; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 90, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 150; 1960 Enschede, no. 66; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 139; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 139; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 81; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 83; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 83; 1968 Liège, no. 83; 1968-69 London, no. 187; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 42; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 110 & Columbus, no. 42; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 110; 1974 Florence, no. 19; 1975 Malmö, no. 94; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 94; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagova, no. 92; 1980-81 Amsterdam, no. 173; 1987 Bielefeld & Munich, no. 21; 1988-89 Amsterdam, no. 80.

424

Sketches of figures and studies of a hand March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 23.9 x 31.9 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 423

Inv. d 187 V/1962 F 1603v JH 1937

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 171, vol. 4, pl. cc; De la Faille 1970, pp. 548, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 445; Amsterdam 1987, p. 469 no. 2.606; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 171, 418, vol. 2, pl. cc; Van Tilborgh 1993, p. 110 note 3; Heenk 1994 1, p. 40; Heenk 1995, p. 189; Hulsker 1996, pp. 444-46.

EXHIBITION 1955 Antwerp, no. 159?.

425

Studies of a hand and a digger March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 23.8 x 31.6 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 446

Inv. d 189 V/1962 F 1608v JH 618

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; De la Faille 1970, pp. 549, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 138, 139, 144; Amsterdam 1987, p. 409 no. 2.254; Hulsker 1989, pp. 138, 139, 144; De la Faille 1992, vol. I, p. 420, vol. 2, pl. ccxxx1x; Van Tilborgh 1993, p. 110 note 3; Heenk 1994 I, p. 40; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 138, 139.

EXHIBITIONS None.

426-428 Studies of a hand

Technical details 426-428 on p. 356

With the exception of a small sketch of a flower or leaf in the *Studies of a hand (cat. 428*), Van Gogh devoted these three sheets entirely to studies of hands. He drew both left and right hands, but their close resemblance suggests that Van Gogh was actually drawing his own (left) hand again and again, at times making use of a mirror (see also *cats. 424, 425*). A remarkable feature is the rather angular shape of the nails.

All the hands were drawn in black chalk, which was sometimes stumped. In catalogue number 426 it is clear that Van Gogh made a thin sketch before accentuating the contours. These are strongly emphasised, as are the contours in other studies of hands dating from the spring of 1890 (see *cats.* 423-425). He sometimes used short lines to accentuate the various parts of the fingers (see *cat.* 426). Only once did he gave a hand more thorough treatment, as seen in the most centrally placed hand in catalogue number 427.

The wove paper of catalogue numbers 426 and 427 came from the same sketch-book. Studies of a hand (cat. 428) was made on the verso of a blue marbled end leaf that probably belonged to the same sketchbook (fig. 426a). Compared with the paper used for other studies, this last work has browned considerably.

Drawing hands was nothing new for Van Gogh. In Nuenen, from December 1884 to May 1885, he had drawn many hands, which differ in various respects from the studies discussed here. Within the Brabant group, which consists of precise sketches in pencil (fig. 426b) and more expressive depictions in black chalk (fig. 426c), he devoted much more attention to the rendering of volume and to his draughtsmanship. The Nuenen studies often display part of the lower arm, unlike the sheets drawn in Saint-Rémy. In these later drawings he did not experiment so much with different positions; the hands are open or closed, the latter interpretable as the hands of sowers holding seeds (see cats. 423-425). Moreover, the hands drawn in Saint-Rémy do not hold any objects, as the hands sketched in Nuenen occasionally do.³

It is possible that several of the present studies of hands can be linked to Van Gogh's ambition to make another large figure painting, namely a new version of *The potato eaters* (see *cats. 431-437*) – just as he had practised hard in Nuenen to render hands convincingly before embarking on the painting. There is, however, no demonstrable connection between the drawings discussed here and the hands seen in the preparatory studies of peasants eating a meal (see *cats. 431-437*).⁴

The studies of hands have known various datings over the years. In his 1928 edition De la Faille placed catalogue number 427 in Paris (March 1886 to February 1888); the other two sheets were not included in that edition. In 1937 Vanbeselaere assigned the works to the Antwerp period (end of November 1884 to March 1886). In the 1970 edition of De la Faille, these three sheets are placed in Saint-Rémy and

- 1 For this sketchbook, see the Introduction, p. 40.
- 2 The binding holes are not at the same height as in the other two sheets. This must have to do with the possibility that the sheet was on the outside of the quire.
- 3 For the Nuenen studies of hands, see Drawings 2, cats. 119-132. It is not known whether Van Gogh painted his own hands at that time.
- 4 Heenk 1995, p. 189, places the studies of hands from Saint-Rémy among the works made in preparation for a new version of *The potato eaters*.

5 See De la Faille 1928; Vanbeselaere 1937 II, p. 544; De la Faille 1970; Hulsker 1977; Van Heugten in Van Tilborgh 1993, pp. 108, 110; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 190, 194, 271; Hulsker 1996. dated to April-May 1890. In 1977 Hulsker was the first to consider them part of the Nuenen oeuvre, dating them to January 1885. This view was revised by Van Heugten in 1993, who again placed them in Saint-Rémy, an opinion seconded by Heenk in 1995, with a dating to the spring of 1890. Hulsker 1996 maintained a dating to the Nuenen period, in January-February 1885. Given the similarities – in both style of drawing and type of paper – to the other studies of a hand (*cats. 423-425*), the present studies are here assigned to the Saint-Rémy oeuvre and dated to March-April 1890.





426a Photograph of the verso of cat. 428.

426b *Two hands* (F 1154 JH 612), 1884-85. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



426c Two hands (F 1153r JH 741), 1884-85. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.







Studies of a hand March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 23.8 x 31.6 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 374

Inv. d 211 V/1971 SD 1726 JH 616

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; Tralbaut 1948, pp. 262-64, 274, 285, ill. xxxv1; De la Faille 1970, pp. 585, 672; Hulsker 1980, pp. 138, 139, 144; Amsterdam 1987, p. 410 no. 2.255; De la Faille 1992, vol. I, p. 460, vol. 2, pl. cclv; Van Tilborgh 1993, p. 110 note 3; Heenk 1994 I, p. 40; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 194, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 138, 139.

Exhibition 1955 Antwerp, no. 156.

427

Studies of a hand March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 23.8 x 31.8 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 375

Inv. d 200 V/1962 F 1360r JH 619

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 117, vol. 4, pl. CXXXIII; Vanbeselaere 1937 II, p. 544; De Gruyter 1961, p. 102 no. 32; De la Faille 1970, pp. 550, 551, 660; Hulsker 1980, pp. 138, 139, 144; Amsterdam 1987, p. 410 no. 2.258; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 117, 350, vol. 2, pl. CXXXIII; Van Tilborgh 1993, p. 110 note 3; Heenk 1994 I, p. 40; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 194, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 138, 139.

Exhibitions

1947 Groningen, no. 45; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 61; 1955 Antwerp, no. 155; 1956 Haarlem, no. 44.

428

Studies of a hand March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 23.6 x 32.1 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 246 V/1962 SD 1725 JH 617

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; Tralbaut 1948, pp. 263, 274, 285, ill. xxxv11; De la Faille 1970, pp. 585, 672; Hulsker 1980, pp. 138, 139, 144; Amsterdam 1987, p. 410 no. 2.257; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, p. 460, vol. 2, pl. cc1v; Van Tilborgh 1993, p. 110 note 3; Heenk 1994 I, pp. 40, 42; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 190, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 138, 139.

Exhibitions

1955 Antwerp, no. 157; 1964 Zundert, no. 15.

429 Studies of a foot

These two studies are probably based on Van Gogh's own left foot. He made the underdrawing in black chalk. The lower foot was not worked up in detail, whereas the upper foot received much more elaborate treatment: Van Gogh depicted not only the side of the foot but also some of the leg and even a bit of the trousers. He rendered the foot's volume and its outlines in slightly darker black chalk, which he stumped a little. The contour is particularly striking because it does not run smoothly. Here Van Gogh used short strokes that are in line but do not always touch – something that also occurs in some of the studies of hands (see *cats. 423, 426*). He emphasised the contours in some places, such as the toes, where he applied the chalk a bit more heavily, and the heel, by placing a number of lines above one another. The drawing was made on wove paper from the same sketch-pad as *Chair (cat. 453)* and the studies of *Ploughing horses (cats. 370, 371*).

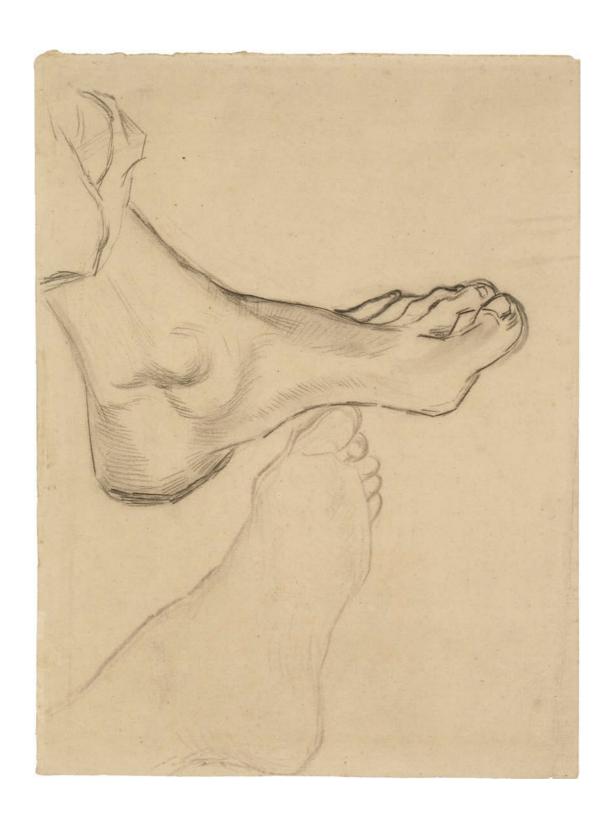
The foot motif is unusual but not unique in Van Gogh's oeuvre: several other drawings of feet are known, one of which is an academic study from the time Van Gogh spent in the studio of Fernand Cormon in Paris. We also know two small sheets from a sketchbook.¹

Like the studies of hands (*cats. 426-428*), *Studies of a foot* has been dated to various periods. De la Faille 1970 placed them in April-May 1890. Hulsker's 1977 edition assigned them to the Nuenen period and dated them to January 1885. In 1993 Van Heugten included them in the Saint-Rémy oeuvre. Heenk agreed with this in 1995, after which Hulsker, in 1996, dated them again to January-February 1885 in Nuenen.² On stylistic grounds the drawing is here dated to March-April 1890.

March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 32.8 x 24.7 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 371

Inv. d 245 V/1962 SD 1724r JH 620

- 1 The academy study is SD 1703r JH 1083; for these and other studies from a nude model at Cormon's, see Drawings 3, cats. 238-250. The sketchbook sheets are SD 1697r JH 1000 and SD 1697v JH 1001. They belong to a sketchbook preserved in the Van Gogh Museum (inv. d 42 V/1962), which Van Gogh used in Nuenen, Antwerp and Paris.
- 2 See De la Faille 1970; Hulsker 1980; Van Heugten in Van Tilborgh 1993, p. 110; Heenk 1995, pp. 193, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 138, 139.



429 Studies of a foot

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; De la Faille 1970, pp. 585, 672; Hulsker 1980, pp. 138, 139; Amsterdam 1987, p. 410, no. 2.259; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, p. 460, vol. 2, pl. cclv; Van Tilborgh 1993, p. 110 note 3; Heenk 1995, pp. 193, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 138, 139.

Exhibitions

None.

March-April 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 23.8 x 32.3 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 407

Inv. d 339 V/1969 F 1605v JH 1704

- 1 This is suggested in Bremen 2002-03, p. 76.
- 2 Regarding this paper, see the Introduction, p. 40.
- 3 Letter of 22 May 1889: 'à travers la fenêtre barrée de fer j'apercois un carré de blé dans un enclos, une perspective à la v. Goyen au-dessus de laquelle le matin je vois le soleil se lever dans sa gloire'. This dating was adopted in Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.536.
- 4 Hulsker 1996, p. 392.

430 Studies of a window and a foot

This study sheet contains two sketches of a barred window seen from the inside. The window on the left was drawn from close up, the one on the right from a slightly greater distance, so that we also see the wall with the niche into which the window is set. The inside shutters are open, the outside shutters partly closed. The right outside shutter is visible through the bars. The bottom of the window is covered up with a plank, possibly an expedient employed by Van Gogh to regulate the amount of light entering the room. In the lower right-hand corner are two sketches of a foot wearing a shoe.

It is partly because of the foot sketches that this sheet can be placed in the same period as the *Reminiscences of the North*, to which the depiction on the back of this work also belongs (*cat. 407*). Also the paper, which was originally part of a sketchbook, suggests that the drawing originated in March or April 1890.² Here Van Gogh probably depicted the window of his bedroom, where he spent most of his time in the months he was ill.

Hulsker, in his catalogue raisonné of 1977, dated the drawing to May 1889, probably on the basis of Van Gogh's description of the view from his bedroom: 'Through the iron-barred window I can make out a square of wheat in an enclosure, like a perspective by Van Goyen, above which in the morning I see the sun rise in its glory' [778/592].³ In the last edition of his catalogue raisonné, Hulsker put a question mark after this dating, but in the text he stuck to the idea that Van Gogh had made this drawing to familiarise himself with his new surroundings in Saint-Rémy.⁴

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 171 [no ill.]; De la Faille 1970, pp. 548, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 392, 393; Amsterdam 1987, p. 457 no. 2.536; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 171, 419, vol. 2, pl. CCXXXIX; Heenk 1995, p. 194; Hulsker 1996, pp. 392, 393; Bremen 2002-03, pp. 76, 77 no. 15.

Exhibition 2002-03 Bremen, no. 15.



Technical details 431-437 on pp. 373-375

43¹-437 Studies for a new version of *The potato eaters*

Having just recovered from his illness, Van Gogh asked his brother at the end of April 1890 to send him a couple of old figure drawings: 'I am thinking of re-doing the picture of peasants having a meal, effect of lamplight. That canvas must be all black by now, perhaps I could do it over entirely from memory. Be sure to send me the women gleaning and diggers if they are still there. Then, if you like, I shall re-do the old tower of Nunen and the cottage. I think that if you still have them, I could make something better of them now from memory' [864/629]. His mother and his sister Wil received similar requests. It does not seem likely that old work was actually sent to him from the Netherlands, since only two weeks after requesting it, Van Gogh left Saint-Rémy.

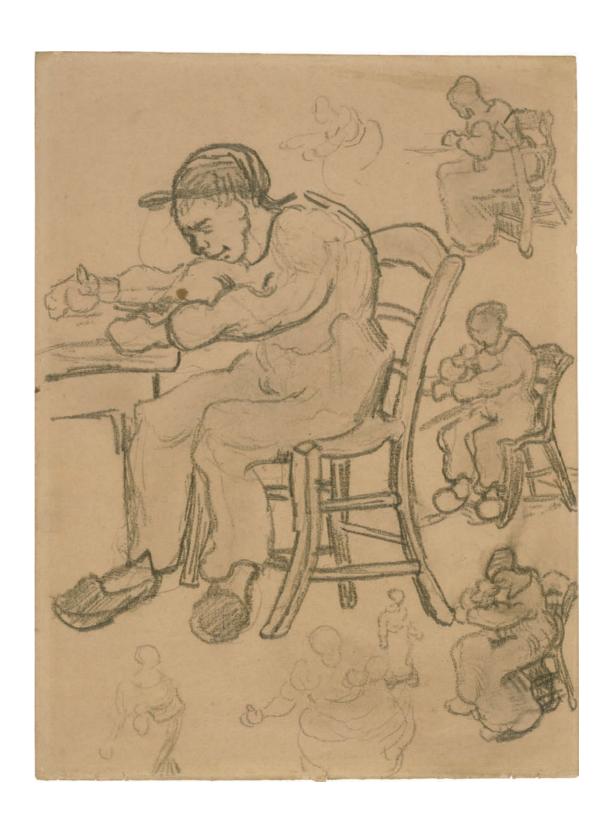
Theo, who probably had his brother's art more to hand, could have sent study sheets or the lithograph after the painting *The potato eaters* (*fig. 431a*).³ It was, in fact, this canvas that Van Gogh had referred to when he said 'peasants having a meal', his first large figure piece, which he made in 1885 in the hope of proving himself as an artist to the outside world. The daily meal of land labourers was a favourite motif among artists all over Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. Van Gogh knew various examples, including a painting of this subject by Jozef Israëls and *Le bénédicité* (*Saying grace*) by Charles de Groux.⁴

Van Gogh conceived the idea of painting a new version of *The potato eaters* during the period of his illness in which he made the *Reminiscences of the North*. Depicting figures working the land and Brabant labourers' cottages must have brought his Dutch masterpiece clearly to mind. Among the *Reminiscences* are nine sheets closely related to that theme, ranging from sketches of men and women sitting on a chair to detailed interiors with figures seated around a table, having a meal. Seven of these drawings, now in the collection in the Van Gogh Museum, will be discussed below.⁵

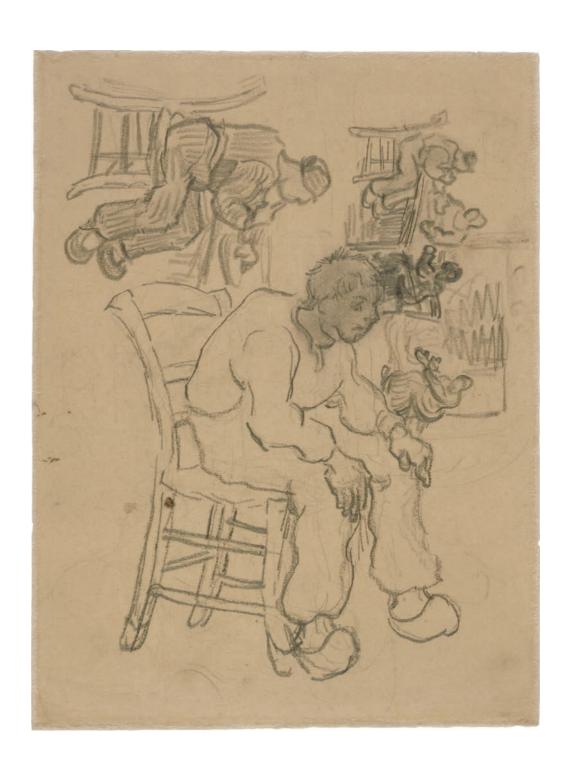
There are several striking similarities between these studies from Saint-Rémy and the preparatory studies made in Nuenen. In both cases Van Gogh made studies not only of the figures but also of the composition as a whole (fig. 431b); he also experimented with both daytime and nocturnal scenes. It is remarkable that, after drawing the first series of studies in Nuenen, five years later in Saint-Rémy he was still having trouble rendering figures at table convincingly. They generally sit with their legs next to the table, instead of under it, which makes them look slightly uncomfortable. The later studies, however, differ considerably in execution from those made in Nuenen. In the early work there was a strong emphasis on the figures' volume, whereas the people in the Saint-Rémy sketches consist largely of contours. To give them more substance, Van Gogh applied rather coarse hatching inside the figures' outlines.

One of the sheets is filled on both sides with pencil sketches of seated figures,

- 1 Letter of 29 April 1890: 'j'y songe de refaire le tableaux des paysans dinant, effet de lumière de lampe. Cette toile doit etre toute noire à présent, peutêtre pourrais je de tête la refaire entierement. Tu m'enverras surtout les glaneuses et des bêcheurs s'il y en a encore. Puis si tu veux je referai la vieille tour de Nunen et la chaumière. Je crois que si tu les as encore j'en ferais à présent de souvenir quelque chose de mieux.' Although Van Gogh was exaggerating greatly when he said that by now the painting was probably completely black, it is true that the use of copaiba balsam and the discoloration of the layers of varnish had made the painting darker than he originally intended. See Paintings 1, cat. 26.
- 2 See letter 865/629a of 30 April 1890.
- **3** On this subject, see cats. 453-456.
- 4 For this motif, see Paintings 2, no. 26 and Van Tilborgh 1993, p. 37.
- 5 The other two are F 1651r JH 1955 (in a private collection) and F 1595v JH 1957 (whereabouts unknown). Figures seated at a table also occur in the sheets filled with numerous small sketches: cats. 405, 406 and 442, and F 1651r JH 1955.
- **6** In Nuenen Van Gogh also made studies of hands and sketches of objects in preparation for his masterpiece, which is why the study sheets with hands made in Saint-Rémy were probably connected with his intention to make a new version of *The potato eaters* (Heenk 1995, p. 189), though this is not confirmed by the positions of any of the hands. See cats. 426-428. The drawings of a plate, bowl and spoon (cat. 438) are indeed related to this project.



431 Sketches of figures seated at a table



432 Sketches of sitting figures









436 Interior with three figures at a table





431a The potato eaters (F 82 JH 764), 1885. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

431b Four persons eating a meal (F 1227r JH 672), 1885. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



most of them eating (cats. 431, 432). The central figure on the recto (cat. 431) is a man wearing a cap; to his right are three sketches showing two women and a man in similar attitudes. In the lowest sketch Van Gogh left out the table, which gives the woman's pose an odd appearance. In addition to the four sitting figures, this sheet also contains four scribbled sketches of women standing, drawn with a fine pencil. The underdrawing of the man with the cap consists of similar thin lines, which are still clearly visible in his upper body, legs and feet. Before depicting the figure, Van Gogh first drew the chair with the same thin pencil. This is apparent from the lines of the chair's back, which are easily discernible in the man's torso. After drawing the figure with a thicker pencil, Van Gogh also accentuated the rest of the chair with that same pencil.

A similar working method can be seen in the main figure on the verso (*cat. 432*). This man is not seated at the table, having a meal, but rather sitting with his hands on his knees – a pose that recalls the man in Jozef Israëls's painting *Alone* (*fig. 431c*).

431c Jozef Israëls, *Alone*, c. 1880. The Hague, Museum Mesdag.



Van Gogh gave the head some tone by stumping the graphite. To view the other two sketches on this sheet, it must be turned 90 degrees anticlockwise: the sketch in what is now the lower left-hand corner shows a man seated at a table, eating; above him, a man, a woman and a child are seated at a table in front of a large fireplace, to the right of which another woman is seated. The lower edge of catalogue number 431 contains oil stains and spatters of moss-green paint.

Three figures eating (cat. 433) shows two men and a woman who – like the figures in the Nuenen painting – stick their forks into the steaming dish of food in the middle of the table. This composition also has a fine-lined underdrawing: the table leg on the left runs through the legs of the man seated there. Van Gogh worked up the underdrawing with thicker pencil lines which he stumped in many places. On the other side of the paper he drew a couple walking down a road (cat. 414); several of the lines in that depiction have left imprints in the drawing of the figures eating a meal.

Interior with five figures around a table (cat. 434) corresponds most closely to The potato eaters. Here, too, a woman wearing a light-coloured cap sits between two men with dark caps, and we see a child from the back. In the painting the woman sitting on the right pours coffee, whereas the woman in the drawing does this standing, which makes the drawn composition slightly less static. As in the painting, the figures on the left stick what are probably forks into the dish standing in the middle of the table, but the forks are not visible in their huge hands. An improvement over the painting was the decision to portray the figures from a greater distance, so that the composition does not look overly full. The interior in which the company is situated has, in the background, an open door on the left and a window on the right. Part of the fireplace is visible next to the woman standing. The scene is here depicted in daylight, in contrast to the nocturnal scene in the painting. As in the previously discussed drawings, Van Gogh first made an underdrawing with a fine pencil and worked it up with a thicker one.

⁷ Van Heugten, *The Potato Eaters revisited*, in Van Tilborgh 1993, p. 108.

Van Gogh experimented with the number of people seated around the table, reducing their number to two or three (*cats. 435, 436*) and increasing them to no fewer than eight (*cat. 437*). The sheet depicting only a man and woman at table (*cat. 435*) is the sole sketch in which it is dark outside. This has little effect on the atmosphere indoors, however, which is just as bright as in the other studies, despite the absence of a lamp. The fine lines of the underdrawing are still visible, particularly in the man and the door.

The composition with three figures seated at a table (*cat. 436*) has the most detailed interior of all the sketches. A child, seen from the back, sits at a table while the woman standing to the right of the table pours it something to drink. At the right, the man has turned his chair towards the fireplace, so that we see him at an angle from the back.⁸ Most of the drawing is covered with hatching in fine pencil; only the window, the doorpost and part of the beamed ceiling is not filled in. For the provenance of this sheet, see catalogue number 415.

Another study done in rather a lot of detail is *Interior with ten figures* (*cat. 437*), in which particular pains were taken to depict the figures seated at the table. Van Gogh actually depicted their faces, and the clothing of the middle five figures has been rendered in some detail. Four men and two women sit at the table, while a woman and a child stand to the right of it. In the left background two men cross paths near the open door. The man walking towards the door – who was added later, as evidenced by the lines of the doorpost running through his body – serves to enliven the composition. Visible in the lower left-hand corner is a fine-lined, rudimentary sketch of what is possibly a cot. Lines discernible around the windows show that they were originally larger and placed higher in the wall. The perspective of the table is clearly wrong, since it seems to curve to the right behind the man in the foreground. This was probably what caused Hulsker to speak of two groups of figures at a table. The ten people in the small interior make this sheet one of the most complicated figure studies in Van Gogh's oeuvre. To

This is the only one of the drawings discussed here in which Van Gogh used not just pencil but also black chalk. He began with the chalk and changed to pencil after completing the first figures – the man in front of the table and the woman on the right behind the table – the beamed ceiling, part of the table, the sketch at the lower left and the underdrawing of the fireplace. The pencil lines were stumped in the window frame, in a number of the ceiling beams and in the five figures around the middle of the table. Here, too, spatters of oil paint indicate the sheet's presence in Van Gogh's studio. I

The studies were made on three kinds of paper. The sheet that contains drawings of people eating on both sides (*cats. 431, 432*) and catalogue number 434 came from the sewn sketchbook that Van Gogh used frequently in the months before his departure from Saint-Rémy. Slightly larger and heavier sheets belonged to a sketchpad that he had possibly already used in Arles and took up again during the last part of his stay in Saint-Rémy (*cats. 433, 435, 436*). In one case Van Gogh used the very thin paper with which he probably made a sketchbook in which he drew frequently in these months (*cat. 437*). Remarkably, this sheet is twice as big as the other drawings made on the same paper, a sheet of which generally measures 25 by 32.5 centimetres. The vertical fold running

- 8 In his 1980 catalogue raisonné and again in 1996, Hulsker maintains that the figure by the fireplace is a woman.
- 9 Ibid.
- 10 Op. cit. note 7, p. 109.
- 11 Red in the ceiling, cobalt blue and moss green along the upper edge.
- 12 The drawings were bound into the sketchbook at the lower edge, upper edge and left edge, respectively. See the Introduction, pp. 40, 41, also for the sketchbooks mentioned below.
- 13 For this paper, see Introduction, p. 40.

through the middle of this sheet shows that it once belonged to the homemade sketchbook.

Two of the sheets from the sketchpad (*cats. 433*, *436*) are lacking a strip, making them almost square in shape.¹⁴ The torn edge caused by ripping off the narrow strips of paper has the same shape in both sheets, which indicates that they were torn off together.¹⁵ The two square sheets were stuck together in one corner, and when Van Gogh separated them, he accidentally tore off the upper left-hand corner of *Three figures eating (cat. 433)*. This little piece of paper remained stuck to the upper right-hand corner of *Interior with three figures at a table (cat. 436*). That this damage was inflicted by Van Gogh himself, and not later by someone else, is apparent from the fact that he drew over this extra bit of paper.

Of the seven studies discussed here, there are two more drawings that were damaged during the drawing stage: *Interior with two figures eating (cat. 435)* has a vertical tear (now restored) next to the kettle, resulting from the great force Van Gogh used to draw a tree trunk on the other side; in *Interior with ten figures (cat. 437)*, where the foremost figure is placed, the thin paper has wrinkled and torn owing to dampness. It can no longer be ascertained whether this was done on purpose or happened accidentally.

14 Regarding these two strips of paper and the sketches Van Gogh made on them, see cats. 442-445.
15 The torn edge is on the left in cat. 433 and at the top in cat. 436. See also cats. 410-415.

431

Sketches of figures seated at a table March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 31.9 x 23.9 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 432

Inv. d 198 V/1962 F 1601r JH 1953

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

Literature

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 170, vol. 4, pl. cc1; De la Faille 1970, pp. 546, 547, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 447; Amsterdam 1987, p. 472 no. 2.627; Dorn 1990, p. 301 note 425; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 170, 417, vol. 2, pl. cc1; Van Tilborgh 1993, pp. 109, 111 no. 37; Heenk 1995, p. 189; Hulsker 1996, p. 447.

Exhibitions

1947 Rotterdam, no. 104; 1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 71?; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 292; 1953 Zürich, no. 119.

432

Sketches of sitting figures March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 31.9 x 23.9 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 431

Inv. d 198 V/1962 F 1601v JH 1952

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 170, vol. 4, pl. cc1; De la Faille 1970, pp. 547, 669; Chetham 1976, p. 220, ill. 147; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 447; Amsterdam 1987, p. 472 no. 2.626; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 170, 417, 418, vol. 2, pl. cc1; Van Tilborgh 1993, pp. 109, 111 no. 37; Heenk 1995, p. 189; Hulsker 1996, p. 447.

Exhibitions

1966 Paris & Albi, no. 79; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 81; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 81; 1968 Liège, no. 81; 1971-72 Paris, no. 202.

433

Three figures eating March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 24.4 x 25.3 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 414

Inv. d 238 V/1962 F 1596v JH 1959

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation (ratified in 1982); 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 169, vol. 4, pl. cxcv11; London 1962, pp. 14, 83 no. 67; De la Faille 1970, pp. 545, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 448; Amsterdam 1987, p. 473 no. 2.630; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 169, 416, vol. 2, pl. cxcv11; Van Tilborgh 1993, pp. 109, 111 no. 33; Heenk 1995, p. 189; Hulsker 1996, p. 448.

EXHIBITIONS

1962 London, no. 67; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 105; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 125.

434

Interior with five figures around a table March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 23.2 x 32.0 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 418

Inv. d 229 V/1962 F 1594v JH 1958

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 169, vol. 4, pl. cxcvi; London 1968-69, p. 118 no. 182; Wadley 1969, p. 40; De la Faille 1970, pp. 544, 545, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 448; Amsterdam 1987, p. 473 no. 2.629; Den Bosch 1987-88, p. 177; Dorn 1990, p. 301 note 425; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 169, 415, vol. 2, pl. cxcvi; Van Tilborgh 1993, pp. 108, 111 no. 35; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 190; Hulsker 1996, p. 448.

Exhibitions

1965 Nuenen, unnumbered; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 77; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 79; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 79; 1968 Liège, no. 79; 1968-69 London, no. 182; 1980-81 Amsterdam, no. 177.

435

Interior with two figures eating March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 24.4 x 32.0 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 422

Inv. d 235 V/1962 F 1585v JH 1961

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 167, vol. 4, pl. CXCIII; London 1968-69, p. 118 no. 180; De la Faille 1970, pp. 542, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 448; Amsterdam 1987, p. 473 no. 2.632; Dorn 1990, p. 301 note 425; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 167, 412, vol. 2, pl. CXCIII; Van Tilborgh 1993, p. 111 no. 32; Heenk 1995, p. 189; Hulsker 1996, pp. 448, 449.

EXHIBITIONS

1966 Paris & Albi, no. 73; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 75; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 76; 1968 Liège, no. 76; 1968-69 London, no. 180.

436

Interior with three figures at a table March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 25.3 x 24.4 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 415

Inv. d 231 V/1974 F 1589v JH 1960

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-42 V.W. van Gogh; 1942 gift to Dr. H.G. van der Waals; 1974 bequest of Dr. H.G. van der Waals and Mrs A.M.P. van der Waals-Kirberger to the Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1974 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 168, vol. 4, pl. cxcıv; De la Faille 1970, pp. 543, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 448; Amsterdam 1987, p. 473 no. 2.631; Dorn 1990, p. 301 note 425; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 168, 413, vol. 2, pl. cxcıv; Van Tilborgh 1993, pp. 109, 111 no. 34; Heenk 1995, p. 189; Hulsker 1996, p. 448.

EXHIBITIONS None.

437

Interior with ten figures
March-April 1890
Pencil and black chalk, on wove paper
33.3 x 49.8 cm
Unsigned

Inv. d 433 V/1962 F 1588 JH 1954

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 167, vol. 4, pl. cxcv1; London 1968-69, p. 118 no. 181; De la Faille 1970, pp. 543, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 447; Amsterdam 1987, p. 472 no. 2.628; Dorn 1990, p. 301 note 425; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 167, 412, 413, vol. 2, pl. cxcv1; Van Tilborgh 1993, pp. 109, 111 no. 36; Heenk 1995, p. 189; Hulsker 1996, p. 447.

EXHIBITIONS

1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 190; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 86; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 86; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 86; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 231; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 115; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 95; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 99; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 99; 1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 69; 1948 Amersfoort, no cat. known; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 287; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 142; 1953 Zürich, no. 113; 1953 Zundert, no. 56; 1953 Hoensbroek, no. 106; 1955 Antwerp, no. 355; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 229; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 69; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 92, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1959 Aix-en-Provence, no. 60; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 135; 1962 Recklinghausen, no. 22e; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 135; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 102; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 122; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 77; 1968 Liège, no. 77; 1968-69 London, no. 181; 1971-72 Paris, no. 198; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 75; 1975 Malmö, no. 93; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 93; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 88; 1977 Paris, unnumbered; 1980-81 Amsterdam, no. 176.

438, 439 Figures and eating implements

Technical details 438, 439 on p. 377

Van Gogh made three studies on this sheet. On one side he drew a plate, bowl and spoon, as well as a very rudimentary sketch of a group of people on a beach with some hills and clouds in the background (*cat. 438*). The other side was filled with a rather messy sketch of a group of people at the seaside (*cat. 439*).

The sketches were made on pink laid paper containing part of the watermark AL (in a scroll) PL BAS. This sheet once formed a whole with two other sheets, those containing Two men on a road (cat. 412), Carriage and figures on a road (cat. 413), Two peasant women digging (cat. 396) and Peasant digging (cat. 397), which he folded to make a sketchbook (see fig. 396c). The torn edge of catalogue number 438 is to be found – seen with respect to the drawing of the plate, bowl and spoon – on the left side. Presumably Van Gogh made the very sketchy and disjointed drawing of figures on the beach on the verso (cat. 439) before drawing the two studies on the other side (cat. 438). The sheet was previously folded in such a way that these drawings were on the outside. The two depictions, which are upside-down with respect to one another, are separated by a fold in the middle of the sheet.

The eating implements were drawn with two pencils of different thicknesses. It is a balanced study, possibly connected with the drawings of peasants eating a



438a Percy Macquoid, Mackerel fishing
– sketches in a village in Devonshire, from
The Graphic 9, May 1874. Amsterdam,
Van Gogh Museum.

1 See the Introduction, p. 40.

meal, which in turn were linked to Van Gogh's intention to make a new version of *The potato eaters* (see *cats*. 431-437).

The sketch of the group of figures (cat. 438) was drawn in pencil and black chalk with a brown tinge, which was stumped in places. Like the depiction on the verso (cat. 439), the scene resembles a family gathering, though it is not clear what the people are doing. Although they were placed close to one another, there is no connection between these very different, sketchily rendered figures. Even though Van Gogh had always had the ambition to make multi-figured compositions, it is clear that he was still struggling with depictions of groups of people.

Figures on the beach (cat. 439) is also a rather strange composition that is difficult to interpret. The sea and the figures in the surf were drawn in pencil. For the group of people on the left Van Gogh chose black chalk with a brown tinge, which has been rubbed out to some extent. It is uncertain whether he had a family scene in mind. Like the figures on the other side of the sheet, these people on the beach do not form a cohesive whole either. The scene consists of individual studies of people put together in random arrangements. Over the entire depiction Van Gogh drew a crisscross of pencil lines whose function is unclear.

Owing to the resemblance of the figures to studies dating from the spring of 1890, these sketches can be assigned to the same period. Two figures stand in the surf, and boats are visible to the right of the cliff. It is not known which beach Van Gogh had in mind, but the vantage point and the background recall an illustration from an English magazine of scenes of mackerel fishing (see the uppermost sketch of *fig.* 438a), of which Van Gogh had a copy.

2 De la Faille 1970 dates the studies discussed here to January-April 1890. Amsterdam 1987, nos. 2.600 and 2.601, dates the studies to the spring of 1890. Hulsker 1996 maintains a dating to March-April 1890; cat. 439 was not included in that publication. Heenk 1995, pp. 201, 271, suggests that the sheet was drawn in Auvers, because it supposedly corresponds, stylistically and thematically, to F 1650r JH -, which was also drawn in pencil and black chalk on pink laid paper.

438

Figures on the beach and a plate, bowl and spoon
March-April 1890
Pencil, black chalk with a brown tinge, on pink laid paper
47.8 x 28.8 cm
Watermark: AL (in a scroll)
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 439

Inv. d 199 V/1971 F 1604r JH 1930 en JH 1931

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 171, vol. 4, pl. cc; De la Faille 1970, pp. 548, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 444; Amsterdam 1987, p. 468 no. 2.600; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 171, 418, vol. 2, pl. cc; Heenk 1995, pp. 201, 271; Hulsker 1996, p. 444.

Exhibitions None.

439

Figures on the beach
March-April 1890
Pencil, black chalk with a brown tinge,
on pink laid paper
28.8 x 47.8 cm
Watermark: AL (in a scroll)
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 438

Inv. d 199 V/1971 F 1604v JH –

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 171 [no ill.]; De la Faille 1970, pp. 548, 669; not in Hulsker 1980; Amsterdam 1987, p. 468 no. 2.601; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 171, 418, vol. 2, pl. CCXXXIX; Heenk 1995, pp. 201, 271; not in Hulsker 1996.

Exhibitions None.



438 Figures on the beach, and a plate, bowl and spoon



Technical details 440, 441 on p. 383

440, 441 Studies of clouds

Among the sketches from March-April 1890 are two studies of clouds. Van Gogh supplied them both with colour instructions. On one of the sheets (*cat. 440*) he drew the contours of a tree trunk against a backdrop of clouds filled with colour indications. Starting with the note at the far left, we read in clockwise order the following words: 'orange', 'jaune d'or', 'orange', 'rose & vert', 'neutre', 'orange', 'violet roux', 'cendre', 'roux', 'violet sombre', 'bleu vert emeraude', 'bleu emeraude', 'gris rose'. The other sheet (*cat. 441*) contains only clouds, likewise with colour indications. Starting with the annotation at the lower left and moving clockwise, we read: 'jaune d'or', 'bleu emeraude', 'orange', 'bleu verdissant', 'blanchatre', 'bande bleue', 'violet', 'roux', 'violet gris', 'violet', 'bleu cendre'.²

The sketches were presumably made as preparatory studies for a painting. There is, however, no known work in which the clouds can be directly linked to these studies, although there is a connection with the painted *Reminiscences of the North*, which Van Gogh described on 29 or 30 April 1890 in a letter to his mother and his sister Wil: 'a reminiscence of Brabant, cottages with moss-covered roofs and beech hedges on an autumn evening with a stormy sky, the sun setting, red in orange clouds. Also a field of turnips with women plucking at the greens in the snow' [865/629a]. The annotations in the cloud studies correspond to the colours in the sky of *Winter landscape with women digging* (see *fig. 396a*): pink and green, emerald green, blue-green, violet and orange. Given this similarity, we feel justified in dating the drawings to March-April 1890, probably not long before Van Gogh made the painting.⁴

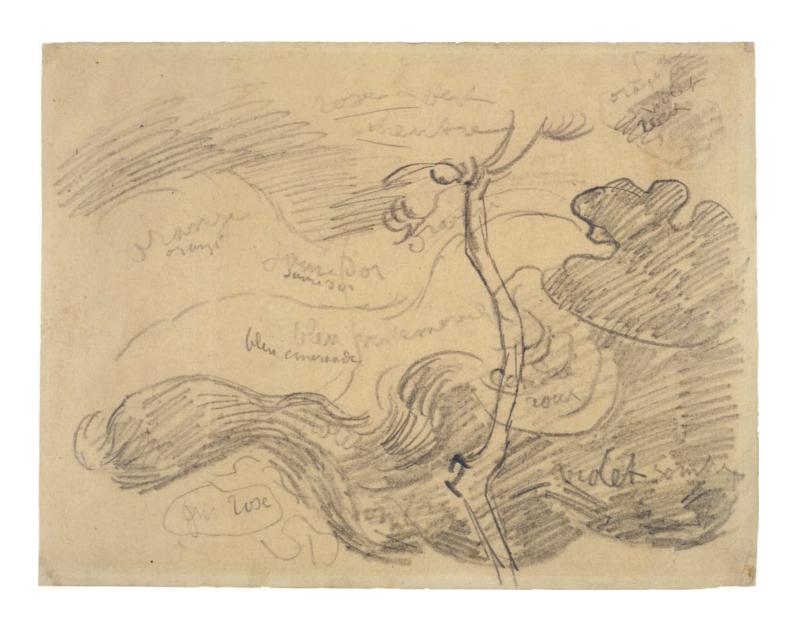
For these sketches he used two pencils of different thicknesses. Both studies were made on the same thin wove paper on which he drew the walled wheatfield, tree studies and figures on a road. Two other drawn studies supplied with colour indications stem from the Saint-Rémy period. 6

- 1 'Orange, gold-yellow, orange, pink & green, neutral, orange, reddish violet, ash-coloured, reddish, dark violet, blue emerald green, emerald blue, grey pink.'
- 2 'Gold-yellow, emerald blue, orange, greenish blue, whitish, blue strip, violet, reddish, grey violet, violet, ash blue.' Some of the annotations can be read only with difficulty or not at all; it is possible that some of the remarks in cat. 441 relate to the composition. In the middle of the sheet, for example, 'centre' seems to be written on a piece left blank between the clouds, and it is possible that 'plus haut' (higher) is written in the upper right-hand corner.
- 3 See the Introduction, pp. 24-26.
- 4 The comparison was made on the basis of a reproduction of the painting. See also Hulsker 1996, p. 446, who links the sketches to the coloured skies in the

painted reminiscences (F 673 JH 1919, F 674 JH 1920, F 675 JH 1921, F 694 JH 1922 and F 695 JH 1923). In the case of these other paintings, reproductions have also been used for this research, and comparison with them suggests that only F 695 JH 1923 is eligible for consideration, owing to the presence of purple hues. De la Faille 1970 dates the cloud studies to the autumn of 1889. Bowness in London 1968-69, no. 162, dates cat. 440 even earlier, namely to late June-early July 1889. He gives no reasons for this opinion, but does

note that no known paintings from that time can be connected with the drawings.

- 5 F 1574 JH 1812 was also made on this thin paper. See Heenk 1995, p. 192 and the Introduction, p. 40.
- 6 Slightly before this Van Gogh had drawn cat. 395, also with colour indications. F 1574 JH 1812, showing trees in the garden of the asylum, contains indications such as 'ocre' (ochre), 'rose' (pink) and 'vert' (green). De la Faille 1970 dates this work to the autumn of 1889 on the basis of its hues.





440

Study of a tree trunk and clouds March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 24.7 x 32.7 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 233 V/1962 F 1583 JH 1917

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation (ratified in 1982); 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 167, vol. 4, pl. cxc11; London 1962, pp. 12, 75, 76 no. 56; London 1968-69, p. 106 no. 162; Wadley 1969, p. 41; De la Faille 1970, pp. 542, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 441, 442, 444; Amsterdam 1987, p. 466 no. 2.593; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 167, 411, vol. 2, pl. cxc11; Heenk 1995, p. 192; Hulsker 1996, pp. 441, 446.

Exhibitions

1955 Antwerp, no. 346; 1962 London, no. 56; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 72; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 74; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 74; 1968 Liège, no. 74; 1968-69 London, no. 162.

44^I

Cloud study
March-April 1890
Pencil on wove paper
25.3 x 32.6 cm
Unsigned

Inv. d 234 V/1962 F 1584 JH 1918

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation (ratified in 1982); 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 167, vol. 4, pl. cxc11; London 1962, pp. 12, 75, 76 no. 57; De la Faille 1970, pp. 542, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 441, 442, 444; Amsterdam 1987, p. 466 no. 2.594; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 167, 411, vol. 2, pl. cxc11; Heenk 1995, p. 192; Hulsker 1996, pp. 441, 446.

Exhibitions

1962 London, no. 57; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 100; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 120; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 75; 1968 Liège, no. 75.

Technical details 442-445 on p. 387

442-445 Narrow figure sketches

The collection of the Van Gogh Museum contains two narrow strips of paper covered on both sides with sketches of human figures and a horse. The two narrow strips of paper originally formed a whole with the sheets containing *Couple walking down a road (cat. 414)* and *Couple with child, walking in the rain (cat. 415)*, from the spring of 1890. Because the figures are rendered in a way similar to that seen in the drawings from Van Gogh's period of illness in March-April, and because the strips were originally attached to works from that time, these studies are dated to that period.

One of the sketches shows a peasant woman seated at a table, eating from a dish, with a window in the background (*cat. 442*). This sketch echoes a number of drawings made in Nuenen of women at the window,² and is also connected with the group of studies of peasant figures eating a meal which Van Gogh made in Saint-Rémy because he was thinking of doing a new version of *The potato eaters*.³ Below the seated woman is a sketch of a woman standing. For both figures Van Gogh used a hard and a soft pencil. The graphite lines have been stumped in the face of the woman in the lower sketch.

On the verso he drew a peasant working the land (*cat. 443*). The tool he uses is cut off by the edge of the paper, making it unclear what he is doing. To view the sketch above, the paper must be turned 180 degrees: here Van Gogh drew a horse and below it the contours of a man. These sketches were also made in pencil, and the pencil lines in the working man and the horse were stumped.

Catalogue number 444 contains two small depictions in pencil: at the top Van Gogh drew, against a landscape background, a woman with no facial features. Below her, a man wearing a jacket and bowler hat walks down a road; a cypress and several other trees are visible in the background. The verso of this strip of paper contains a study in pencil of women doing the washing (*cat.* 445). This subject appears in several works made in Nuenen and Arles, but does not occur again in the Saint-Rémy oeuvre.⁴

- 1 See also the verso of cats. 433 and 436.
- 2 See Drawings 2, cats. 151-154.
- 3 See the Introduction, pp. 25, 26 and cats. 431-437.
- 4 The Nuenen drawings include a peasant woman at a wash-tub (F 1282 JH 906). Dating from the Arles period are two drawings of women doing the washing in a canal (F 1473 JH 1405 and F 1444 JH 1507).





442 Sketch of a woman seated at a table and a woman standing

443 Sketches of a man working and a horse





444 Sketches of a man and of a woman on a road

445 Sketch of women doing the washing

442

Sketch of a woman seated at a table and a woman standing March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 23.0 x 7.1 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 443

Inv. d 243 V/1969 F 1606r JH 1940

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 171, vol. 4, pl. cc1; De la Faille 1970, pp. 548, 549, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 445; Amsterdam 1987, p. 469 no. 2.609; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 171, 419, vol. 2, pl. cc1; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 190; Hulsker 1996, p. 445.

Exhibition 1953 Zürich, no. 121.

443

Sketches of a man working and a horse March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 23.0 x 7.1 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 442

Inv. d 243 V/1969 F 1606v JH 1941

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 171, vol. 4, pl. cc1; De la Faille 1970, pp. 548, 549, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 445; Amsterdam 1987, p. 469 no. 2.610; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 171, 419, vol. 2, pl. cc1; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 190; Hulsker 1996, p. 445.

EXHIBITIONS
None.

444

Sketches of a man and of a woman on a road March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 24.2 x 7.0 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 445

Inv. d 244 V/1969 F 1607r JH 1938

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 171, vol. 4, pl. cc1; De la Faille 1970, pp. 548, 549, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 445; Amsterdam 1987, p. 469 no. 2.607; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 171, 419, vol. 2, pl. cc1; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 190; Hulsker 1996, p. 445.

Exhibition 1953 Zürich, no. 122.

445

Sketch of women doing the washing March-April 1890 Pencil on wove paper 24.2 x 7.0 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 444

Inv. d 244 V/1969 F 1607v JH 1939

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; De la Faille 1970, pp. 549, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 445; Amsterdam 1987, p. 469 no. 2.608; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, p. 419, vol. 2, pl. ccxxxv11; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 190; Hulsker 1996, p. 445.

EXHIBITIONS
None.

March-mid-May 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 23.8 x 31.6 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 425

Inv. d 189 V/1962 F 1608r JH 1962

- 1 See the drawings F 1217 JH 700, F 1218 JH 701, F 1212 JH 790, F 1211 JH 791, F 1288 JH 797, F 1215 JH 798, F 1222 JH 895, F 1223 JH 894, F 1293 JH 896, F 1153V JH 793, F 1287 JH 788, F 1291 JH 796 and the paintings F 158 JH 792 and F 176 JH 799.
- 2 Chetham 1976, p. 220, maintains that Theo had sent one of these works, F 1291 JH 796, and that Van Gogh used it when drawing *Figures by the fireplace*. In the Nuenen sketch a woman sits by the fireplace in an attitude similar to that of the woman in the present drawing next to a cauldron hanging above the fire.

446 Figures by the fireplace

In this intimate, domestic scene a group of people sit by the fireplace. On the left sit two men, smoking pipes; one of them pokes a stick forward. It is unclear whether he holds it in the fire in order to light his pipe, or whether he tries to get the attention of the cat sitting in front of the fireplace with its back to the viewer. Two women sit to the right of the fireplace: one holds a baby in her lap, while the one closest to the fireplace throws sticks on the fire under the cauldron. Above her, hanging from the inside of the fireplace, is the hatchet used to chop up sticks. Six decorative plates and a candle in a holder stand on the mantelpiece.

In Nuenen, too, Van Gogh drew and painted figures by the fireplace, although most of those works depict only one person, a woman doing household chores (fig. 446a). The fireplaces in those Dutch works have the kind of mantelpiece, seen here as well, that is trimmed with a strip of fabric and has decorative plates standing on it. It is not impossible that Van Gogh had one or more of his Dutch drawings to hand when making these sketches, although it is doubtful whether his family actually sent him his early figure studies, as he had requested (see cats. 431-437). Moreover, it is not very likely that he really needed those studies to draw the present sheet.

It cannot be ascertained whether Van Gogh made *Figures by the fireplace* during the attack of his illness in March-April 1890, in which case they would be connected with the *Reminiscences of the North*, or whether this work was done later, after his



446a Woman preparing a meal (F 1215 JH 798), 1885. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



recovery. The detailed character of this sheet and its evidence of a firm drawing hand make it tempting to see this drawing – as has often happened in the past – as the work of a healthy artist, but the similarity of details in this depiction to works indisputably belonging to the *Reminiscences of the North* reveal that Van Gogh had already begun to explore this motif during the critical phase of his illness.³ The study sheet *Sketches of figures and studies of a hand (cat. 424)*, for example, contains a little, half-length figure representing the woman with the child. The fireplace occurs in a number of sheets which Van Gogh made in preparation for a new version of *The potato eaters* (see *cats. 431-437*). The only sketch in which we look straight at the fireplace is part of the study sheet *Sketches of sitting figures (cat. 432)*. There the hearth, with a woman to the right of it, forms the backdrop to three figures sitting at a table.

The paper on which *Figures by the fireplace* is drawn belonged, as did the two study sheets mentioned above, to the sketchbook that Van Gogh frequently used in the first months of 1890.⁴ The sheet was bound into the book at its left edge. Later on this sheet became creased in several places, which has led to some loss of pigment.

The atmosphere of *Figures by the fireplace* is highly reminiscent of two paintings that Van Gogh made in the autumn of 1889 after reproductions of works by other artists: *Her husband is at sea* after Virginie Demont-Breton (*fig. 446b*) and *Evening* after Millet (*fig. 446c*). Both canvases show figures sitting by the light and warmth of the fireplace: in the first painting, the woman holds a child in her lap; the second

- 3 Bowness, in London 1968-69, p. 120, no. 186 and De la Faille 1970 both assume that the work originated after the attack of Van Gogh's illness. Hulsker, in his catalogues of 1980 and 1996, maintains that it was made around the time of the attack.
- 4 Regarding this sketchbook, see the Introduction, p. 40.



446b Her husband is at sea (after V. Demont-Breton) (F 644 JH 1805), 1889. Private collection.

446c Evening (after J.-F. Millet) (F 647 JH 1834), 1889. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



work shows a man and woman engaged in handiwork while their child sleeps. The homey atmosphere of Millet's painting in particular no doubt appealed to Van Gogh, who yearned so much for family life, certainly around the time of the birth of Theo and Jo's child. In the canvas after Millet, as well as in the drawing, a cat basks in the warmth of the fire. Another similarity between the two works is the way in which Van Gogh visualised light and warmth, by making a kind of wreath of short lines placed next to one another. In the painting this halo was concentrated around the lamp, whereas in the drawing it embraces the entire picture. *Figures by the fireplace* is Van Gogh's first attempt to treat this motif independently.

5 The child, Vincent Willem van Gogh, was born on 31 January 1890. The painting by Demont-Breton has less comforting connotations: the woman's husband is at sea, and she sits, lonely and worried, by the fireside with her sleeping child in her lap.

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, pp. 171, 172, vol. 4, pl. cc11; London 1968-69, p. 120 no. 186; De la Faille 1970, pp. 549, 669; Chetham 1976, p. 220, ill. 149; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 448, 449; Amsterdam 1987, p. 471 no. 2.621; Dorn 1990, p. 301 note 426; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 171, 172, 419, vol. 2, pl. cc11; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 190; Hulsker 1996, pp. 448, 449.

Exhibitions

1897 Groningen, no cat. known; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 45; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923 Utrecht, no. 26; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 79; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 79; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 79; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 230; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 91a; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 95; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 106; 1948 Hilversum, no cat. known; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 293; 1955 Antwerp, no. 352; 1956 Haarlem, no. 84; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 82; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 84; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 84; 1968 Liège, no. 84; 1968-69 London, no. 186; 1971-72 Paris, no. 204; 1975 Malmö, no. 95; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 95; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 93; 1980-81 Amsterdam, no. 178.

Technical details 447-452 on pp. 402, 403

447-452 Sketches of the walled wheatfield

The six sketches discussed here were all made in the walled wheatfield on the east side of the asylum. Van Gogh had a view of this piece of land from his bedroom (fig. 447a): 'Through the iron-barred window I can make out a square of wheat in an enclosure, like a perspective by Van Goyen, above which in the morning I see the sun rise in its glory' [778/592]. 'The south side of this field bordered, at the place where the church belonging to the former monastery stands, on another walled field which contained trees in Van Gogh's day (fig. 447b).²

The walled wheatfield became one of Van Gogh's favourite motifs soon after his arrival in Saint-Rémy, and would remain so for the duration of his year-long stay there. His work and his descriptions in letters give us a good picture of the various stages of the crop and the accompanying activities in the field. The crop was sown in mid-October, and the wheat continued to grow throughout the winter and spring. The burning sun ensured that in June the long, green wheat ripened and turned yellow.³ The harvest began at the end of June, and in late August the land was ploughed to ready it for sowing.

The yearly cycle of the wheat – sowing, growth, reaping – reminded Van Gogh of the never-ending cycle of life: 'Their history [i.e. that of plants] is ours, for we who live on bread, are we not ourselves wheat to a considerable extent, at least ought we not to submit to growing, powerless to move, like a plant, relative to what our imagination sometimes desires, and to be reaped when we are ripe, as it is' [788/W13].⁴ This idea made the wheatfield a comforting motif for Van Gogh: 'What else can one do, thinking about all those things one doesn't understand the reason for, but look at the wheatfields?' [788/W13].⁵ He was more explicit in a letter to Theo in which he voiced his hope that Theo's family was to him what nature was to Vincent: 'the clods of earth, the grass, the yellow wheat, the peasant. That is to say, that you find in your love for people the wherewithal *not only to work*, but the wherewithal to console you and restore you when there is need for it' [801/604].⁶

Van Gogh depicted the field in fourteen paintings and thirteen drawings, both from the vantage point of his bedroom window and from a position in the field.⁷ In the painted work both viewpoints occur with equal frequency, whereas most of the drawings were made in the field itself.⁸ This is also the case with the sheets discussed here and with two others that belong to the same group but are preserved elsewhere (fig. 447c, 447d).⁹

wheatfield are F 718 JH 1727, F 617 JH 1753, F 735 JH 1761, F 625 JH 1768, F 618 JH 1773, F 619 JH 1792, F 641 JH 1795, F 650 JH 1839, F 737 JH 1862, F 722 JH 1872], F 803 JH 2124 and F 723 JH 1722; the drawings of this subject are, in addition to the sheets discussed here, cats. 395 and 368, F 1728 JH 1706, F 1559 JH 1717,

F 1560 JH 1718, F 1546 JH 1754 and F 1552 JH 1863.

8 Only three sheets were drawn from his room: F 1728 JH 1706, F 1552 JH 1863 and cat. 368. The last-mentioned is a drawing after a painting.

9 In Bremen 2002-03, p. 100, cat. 451 is not included in this group.

- 1 Letter of 22 May 1889: 'à travers la fenêtre barrée de fer j'apercois un carré de blé dans un enclos, une perspective à la v. Goyen au-dessus de laquelle le matin je vois le soleil se lever dans sa gloire'.
- 2 The trees are depicted in F 724 JH 1745 and F 803 IH 2124.
- 3 See letter 787/598 of 2 July 1889.
- 4 Letter of 2 July 1889: 'Leur histoire est la nôtre car nous qui vivons de pain, ne sommes nous pas nousmême du blé en considerable partie, au moins devons nous pas nous soumettre à croitre impuissant de nous mouvoir, comme une plante, relativement à ce que parfois notre imagination désire, et à etre fauché lorsque nous serons mûrs comme lui.'
- 5 'Que peut on faire autre chose, en songeant à toute chose dont on ne comprend pas la raison, que de regarder les champs de blé.' See also letter 786/597 written the same day.
- 6 Letter of 6 September 1889: 'les mottes de terre, l'herbe, le blé jaune, le paysan. C. à. d. que tu trouves dans ton amour pour les gens de quoi non seulement travailler mais de quoi te consoler et te refaire alors qu'on en a besoin.'
- 7 The first painting he names is F 611 JH 1723 (letter 781/594 of 9 June 1889), but it is possible that he made F 720 JH 1728 as early as the end of May 1889. See Otterlo 2003, pp. 287-92. The other paintings of the



447a Photograph of the view from Van Gogh's bedroom in the asylum, 1950s. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



447b Aerial photograph of the asylum of Saint-Paul-de-Mausole in Saint-Rémy, with the walled fields in the foreground, n.d. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

The drawings all depict a view of the walled field, each from a slightly different vantage point. Mostly it was the north-eastern corner that Van Gogh depicted, only once choosing the south-eastern corner (cat. 450); in one case (cat. 451) his immersion in the field makes it impossible to determine his viewpoint. To Four of the six sheets display the same build-up in their composition, namely a deep foreground of wheat that takes up a substantial part of the sheet. The field is enclosed by a high wall, above which a narrow strip gives an impression of the hilly landscape – dotted with trees and the occasional building – that lies beyond the wall. In every drawing the sky has been left blank. The other two sketches, The wall enclosing the wheatfield near the asylum (cat. 452) and The walled wheatfield with pruned tree (cat. 451), display a different composition. In the first, the wall forms the main motif and the field has been reduced to a narrow strip in the foreground; in the second work, Van Gogh focused his gaze on the ground, with the result that the field with its pruned tree fills practically the entire sheet. Only along the upper edge is there still a glimpse of the wall. The pruned tree does not occur in the other depictions of the wheatfield.12

The five sheets in which the wheatfield plays an important role are drawn in pencil. In the foreground Van Gogh drew straight lines that come together in bundles; it is unclear whether they represent grain or the flowering weeds growing in the midst of it.¹³ Further back in the picture Van Gogh shifted to looser, horizontal lines to render the undulating movements of the wheat. He applied vertical hatching inside the solid contours of the wall, while the shadow cast by the wall on the field was indicated with horizontal or diagonal lines. The sixth work (*cat. 452*) is the only one drawn in black chalk, as well as in more detail, owing in part to the viewpoint Van Gogh chose, close to the wall: stones are visible in the upper half of the wall, some vegetation hangs over it, and the landscape in the middle distance is more elaborate.¹⁴

- 10 Intrinsic to the view to the south-east is the presence of mountains, the Alpilles, in the background. They are also visible in F 617 JH 1753, but there Van Gogh painted another high mountain ridge behind them
- 11 The placing of the houses on the hill behind the wall is different in every work.
- 12 Walled field with peasant carrying straw (F 641 JH 1795) does in fact contain a flowering plant, but its stalk is much thinner than the one seen here.
- 13 Flowers grow in the foreground of several of the painted wheatfields. There the lines are comparable to those seen in these drawings; see fig. 447g. Grassy field with flowers and butterflies (F 672 JH 1975), which, like cat. 451, focuses on the ground, also displays short brushstrokes coming together in bundles in the foreground, which represent tussocks of grass with
- 14 The vegetation hanging over the wall is also visible in F 720 JH 1728 and F 611 JH 1723.





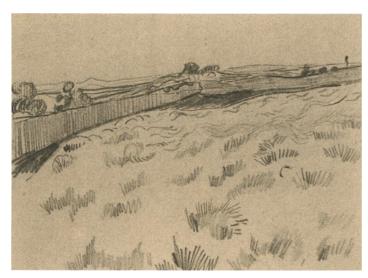






⁴⁵¹ The walled wheatfield with pruned tree





447c The walled wheatfield (F 1559 JH 1717), 1890. New York, Dickinson Roundell.



447d The walled wheatfield (F 1560 JH 1718), 1890. Whereabouts unknown.

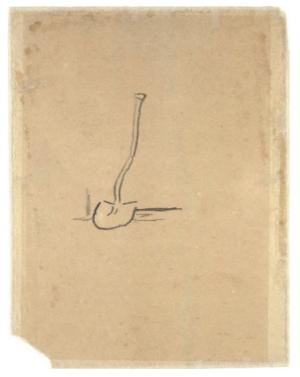
Two sheets containing studies of the wheatfield have a little sketch on the verso; these drawings are so cursory that they are not discussed individually. The back of *The walled wheatfield (cat. 450)* shows a spade propped up against a wall (*fig. 447e*); this could be connected with the drawings of figures digging or carrying spades dating from March-April 1890. The verso of catalogue number 447 displays two rapidly sketched rabbits (*fig. 447f*), probably drawn in the last months of 1889, when Van Gogh was working on the painting *Landscape with rabbits* (*F* 739 JH 1876).¹⁵ That canvas features a rabbit in the same crouching position as the foremost rabbit in the drawing. Another indication that the sketch is connected with the painting is a trace of orange paint on one of the drawn rabbits, a colour that also occurs in the painting.

Five of the six sketches were made on thin wove paper measuring approximately 25 by 32.5 centimetres. The quality of the paper is poor; it is not proper drawing paper. It is possible that Van Gogh used whatever material was available, such as packing paper. The uniform format of the sheets, the fact that parts of other depictions have rubbed off on the drawings, and the impressions left by lines pressed through the paper proves that Van Gogh himself made a sketchbook from this paper. ¹⁶ The thinness of the paper – in some places it is so thin that holes threaten to develop - made it unsuitable for drawing on both sides. Where Van Gogh did this anyway, the depictions are clearly visible on the other side of the sheet (cats. 447, 450). In some of the drawings, the thin paper seems to have the structure of fabric (cats. 447-450). This was caused by something lying beneath the paper, which rubbed off in the places that were drawn upon. The only one of the drawings discussed here that was made not on this thin paper but on a sheet from the sketchbook that Van Gogh frequently used during his last months in Saint-Rémy is The wall enclosing the wheatfield near the asylum (cat. 452). This sheet and three of the five thin sheets (cats. 447-449) bear traces of blue or orange chalk.¹⁷ Not only

¹⁵ The relationship between the sketched rabbits and those in the painting was also pointed out in Heenk 1995, p. 193, note 1.

¹⁶ See the Introduction, p. 40.

¹⁷ Cat. 452 also contains green and yellow paint residue that has nothing to do with the depiction.





447e Verso of cat. 450.

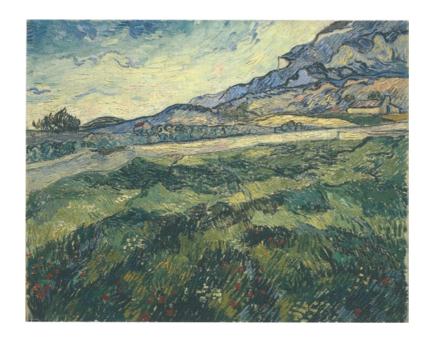
447f Verso of cat. 447.

do they have nothing to do with the compositions, but Van Gogh did not even use those colours of chalk in Saint-Rémy. Perhaps the drawings picked up this chalk residue in Auvers, where Van Gogh did in fact make drawings in blue chalk (see, for example, *cats.* 476-481).

From the length of the wheat, even though it is roughly depicted, it may be deduced that the drawings were made in April, May or June. It was long assumed that they originated at that time of year in 1889, but more recently, various publications have offered plausible arguments for their origin in 1890. An important basis for this dating is the kind of paper on which the sketches were made. Van Gogh actually used the thin paper and the sketchbook particularly for drawings related in style or subject matter to the *Reminiscences of the North*, which he made in March and April 1890. Because the sketches discussed here were all drawn in the walled wheatfield, and because Van Gogh was ill for most of April of that year, these sheets were likely done at the end of April or in the first half of May 1890, in the weeks immediately preceding his departure for Auvers-sur-Oise. 18

None of the drawings is directly related to the paintings of the wheatfield. It is quite possible that Van Gogh made the sketches as a way of exploring a motif he intended to depict again before his impending departure but that he had not drawn or painted for the last six months. ¹⁹ Indeed, he made another painting of the wheatfield in his last days in Saint-Rémy, as emerges from a letter sent from Auvers in June 1890. In this letter he reports that he has received the canvases he was forced to leave behind in Saint-Rémy because they were not completely dry, one of which was a wheatfield. ²⁰ The wheatfield in question is most likely *Green wheatfield (fig. 447g)*, in which the field is built up of short diagonal brushstrokes and flowers appear in the foreground. Further back, the oblique strokes turn into flowing, horizontal lines, as seen in the drawings. Another similarity to the drawn work is the vantage point from which the canvas was painted, namely from some place in the field. ²¹

- 17 Heenk 1995, pp. 191, 192 and Bremen 2002-03, p. 100. On the basis of the pruned tree, cat. 451 was always counted among the studies of trees in the garden of the asylum and consequently dated to the autumn of 1889. De la Faille 1970 places cat. 452 in that period as well.
- $18\,$ Only at the end of April did Van Gogh again feel well enough to write letters; see letters 863/628, 864/629, and 865/629a. At this time he also began to paint again in the garden of the asylum (F 676 JH 1970 and F 672 JH 1975).
- 19 In November 1889 Van Gogh painted Wheatfield in the rain (F 650 JH 1839) and Wheatfield with rising sun (F 737 JH 1862), and he drew Wheatfield with rising sun (F 1552 JH 1863).
- 20 Letter 896/644 of 24 June 1890.
- 21 In Bremen 2002-03, pp. 100-02, the drawings discussed here were described based on the course the wall takes, the rendering of the shadow and the shortness of the lines as preparatory studies for F 720 JH 1728, there dated to May 1890. In Otterlo 2003, pp. 287-91, however, that work is convincingly dated to the end of May 1889. This painting differs from the drawings in its high viewpoint and the wall sloping upwards to the right, with the result that the canvas has an unusual, folded-up perspective.



447g *Green wheatfield* (F 718 JH 1727), 1890. Private collection.

447 The walled wheatfield End of April-first half of May 1890 Pencil on wove paper 25.4 x 32.7 cm

Inv. d 251 V/1969 F 1556 JH 1714

Unsigned

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 163, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXV; De la Faille 1970, pp. 537, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 394, 395; Amsterdam 1987, p. 457 no. 2.537; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 163, 406, vol. 2, pl. CLXXXV; Heenk 1995, pp. 192, 193; Hulsker 1996, pp. 394, 395; Bremen 2002-03, pp. 100, 101 no. 27.

EXHIBITION 2002-03 Bremen, no. 27.

448

The walled wheatfield End of April-first half of May 1890 Pencil on wove paper 24.9 x 32.9 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 252 V/1969 F 1557 JH 1715

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 163, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXV; De la Faille 1970, pp. 537, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 394, 395; Amsterdam 1987, p. 458 no. 2.542; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 163, 406, vol. 2, pl. CLXXXV; Heenk 1995, p. 192; Hulsker 1996, pp. 394, 395; Bremen 2002-03, pp. 100, 101 no. 28.

Exhibitions

1953 Zürich, no. 108; 2002-03 Bremen, no. 28.

449

The walled wheatfield End of April-first half of May 1890 Pencil on wove paper 24.9 x 32.3 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 194 V/1969 F 1558 JH 1716

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 163, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXV; De la Faille 1970, pp. 537, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 394, 395; Amsterdam 1987, p. 458 no. 2.543; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 163, 406, vol. 2, pl. CLXXXV; Heenk 1995, p. 192; Hulsker 1996, pp. 394, 395.

EXHIBITIONS

1975 Malmö, no. 85; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 85.

450

The walled wheatfield End of April-first half of May 1890 Pencil on wove paper 25.2 x 32.8 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 253 V/1971 F 1561 JH 1719

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 164, vol. 4, pl. clxxxv1; De la Faille 1970, pp. 538, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 394, 395; Amsterdam 1987, p. 457 no. 2.539; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 164, 407, vol. 2, pl. clxxxv1; Heenk 1995, p. 192; Hulsker 1996, pp. 394, 395.

EXHIBITIONS None.

451

The walled wheatfield with pruned tree End of April–first half of May 1890 Pencil on wove paper 23.3 x 32.4 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 254 V/1962 F 1562 JH 1813

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 164, vol. 4, pl. CLXXXVI; De la Faille 1970, pp. 538, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 417; Amsterdam 1987, p. 461 no. 2.562; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 164, 407, vol. 2, pl. CLXXXVI; Heenk 1995, pp. 192, 193; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 417.

Exhibitions

1955 Antwerp, no. 337; 1956 Haarlem, no. 72; 1962 London, no. 62.

452

The wall enclosing the wheatfield near the asylum
End of April-first half of May 1890
Black chalk on wove paper
23.8 x 31.9 cm
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 402

Inv. d 434 V/1962 F 1602r JH 1720

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation (ratified in 1982); 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 170, vol. 4, pl. cc11; London 1968-69, p. 119; De la Faille 1970, pp. 547, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 394, 396; Amsterdam 1987, p. 458 no. 2.541; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 170, 418, vol. 2, pl. cc11; Heenk 1995, p. 194; Hulsker 1996, pp. 394, 396.

Exhibitions None.

453-456 Chairs

Technical details 453-456 on pp. 411, 412

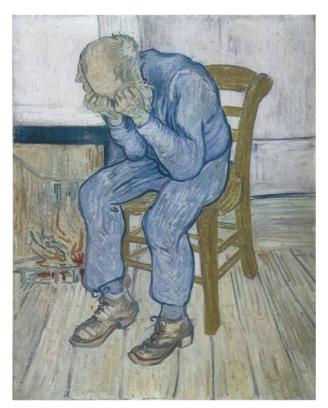
Van Gogh drew four studies of chairs in Saint-Rémy. Two of them show a chair by a fireplace (cats. 455, 456), whereas the other two depict a chair out of context (cats. 453, 454). The chair-and-fireplace combination also occurs in the painting Sorrowing old man ('At Eternity's Gate') (fig. 453a), which Van Gogh painted in May 1890 and for which these sheets were possibly preparatory studies.¹ The painting features an old, balding man sitting on the same kind of chair by a fireplace. The canvas is based on Van Gogh's Hague lithograph At Eternity's Gate (fig. 453b).² A figure in the same attitude as the old man in the painting also occurs in one of the study sheets from March-April 1890 on which Van Gogh made numerous sketches (cat. 424).

At the end of April 1890, Vincent had asked Theo to send him reproductions of works of art by old and modern artists,3 hoping in this way to continue his copies in colour, to which he had devoted himself particularly in the autumn of 1889 and January 1890. In the postscript to the same letter he asked for other study material, namely his own old drawings: 'Send me what you can find of figures among my old drawings ... Above all you must send me the women gleaning and diggers if they are still there. Then, if you like, I will redo the old tower at Nuenen and the cottage. I think that if you still have them I could now do something better with them from memory' [864/629].4 He requested the figure studies in connection with his resolution to make a new version of The potato eaters (see cats. 431-437), but from the rest of the letter it emerges that he might have been willing to repeat other motifs as well. It is not known whether Theo complied with his request. The previous month, on the occasion of Vincent's thirty-seventh birthday, he had sent a number of reproductions after etchings by Rembrandt, but Van Gogh had not yet received them at the end of April.5 The striking similarities between the painting (fig. 453a) and the Hague lithograph (fig. 453b) suggest that Theo must at least have sent him the lithograph.6

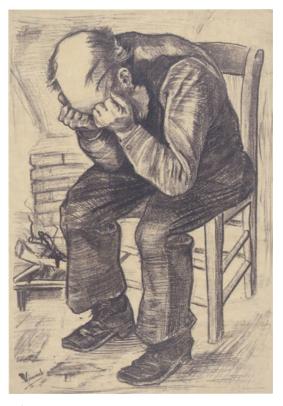
There are also differences to the early work: the fireplace, in particular, is dissimilar. In the lithograph, this is an open fire, and the man sits beside it. In the painting, he sits at an angle in front of a fireplace that projects from the wall, with a simple mantelpiece resembling those in catalogue numbers 455 and 456. Van Gogh based this setting on one of the rooms in the asylum, as emerges from a photograph taken in the 1950s (*fig.* 453c).

The chair studies could also be related to the motif of 'the empty chair', recalling an absent person. Van Gogh had become acquainted with this motif in 1882 through an illustration in the magazine *The Graphic* of the empty chair of the English novelist Charles Dickens (1812-1870), who had died shortly before the print was published in 1870. In November 1888 Van Gogh painted two empty chairs, in imitation of that illustration: his own chair (*fig. 453d*) and that of Paul Gauguin (F 499 JH 1636). The two canvases provide insight into the differences between these two

- 1 Heenk 1995, p. 192. For the painting, see Otterlo 2003, pp. 351-54.
- 2 Van Gogh made the lithograph after the drawing Worn out (F 997 JH 267); both were made in November 1882. The theme had already occupied him in Etten; see Drawings 1, cat. 42.
- 3 See letter 864/629 of 29 April 1890.
- 4 Letter of 29 April 1890: 'Veuillez m'envoyer ce que tu trouves de figures dans mes vieux dessins [...] Tu m'enverras surtout les glaneuses et des bêcheurs s'il y en a encore. Puis si tu veux je referai la vieille tour de Nunen et la chaumière. Je crois que si tu les as encore j'en ferais à présent de souvenir quelque chose de mieux.'
- 5 Dr Peyron, the director of the asylum, had kept these works and the letters that had arrived during Van Gogh's illness; see letter 864/629 of 29 April 1890. Several days later Van Gogh reported that he had received them; see letters 866/630 of c. 1 May and 867/632 of c. 2 May.
- 6 That Theo had this lithograph in Paris can be inferred from letter 594/473 of c. 3 April 1888.
- 7 The print is by Luke Fildes (1844-1927) and was published in *The Graphic*, Christmas Number, 1870, after p. 24.



453a Sorrowing old man ('At Eternity's Gate') (F 702 JH 1967), 1890. Otterlo, Kröller-Müller Museum.



453b At Eternity's Gate (F 1662 JH 268), 1882. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

artists through the types of chairs portrayed, the use of colour and the objects placed on the seats.⁸

These two paintings from Arles explain why a number of the chair drawings discussed here were formerly dated to that period. In his 1928 catalogue raisonné, De la Faille placed only one of the studies in Saint-Rémy (*cat. 454*), on the basis of the landscape on the verso (*cat. 395*). In the 1970 edition, the similarities to the other three chair studies were recognised, hence this sheet was also dated to the Arles period, on the assumption that the sketch of the hand that also occurs on the sheet was added later in Saint-Rémy. As in the two paintings, in catalogue numbers 453 and 454 the chair is the main subject of the depiction. It does not resemble either of the painted models, however. Basing our opinion on the photograph of the fireplace in the asylum, the relationship to the painting *Sorrowing old man* ('At Eternity's Gate') and the depictions on the other side of two of the sheets, we find a dating to the Saint-Rémy period much more plausible.¹⁰

Also with regard to their technique, the sheets fit in with the oeuvre dating from Van Gogh's last months in Saint-Rémy. They were drawn in black chalk, a material that Van Gogh used frequently in that period; in the drawings with the fireplace, this black chalk is combined with pencil. All four sheets have approximately the same measurements, but only the works in which the chair stands by the fireplace were actually made on the same kind of paper, namely the thin paper he used for,

- **8** For an interpretation of the paintings, see Amsterdam 1990, pp. 184, 185 and Chicago/Amsterdam 2001-02, pp. 209, 210.
- **9** The editors subsequently described this drawing as 'recto', whereas in the 1928 catalogue it had been treated as F 1549 'verso'.
- 10 Remarkably, Roland Dorn (in Dorn 1990, p. 426) is the only author who after the appearance of De la Faille 1970 still dated two of the sheets to the Arles period, even more remarkably, the two drawings of the chair by the fireplace, the works that bear the least resemblance to the paintings of chairs.



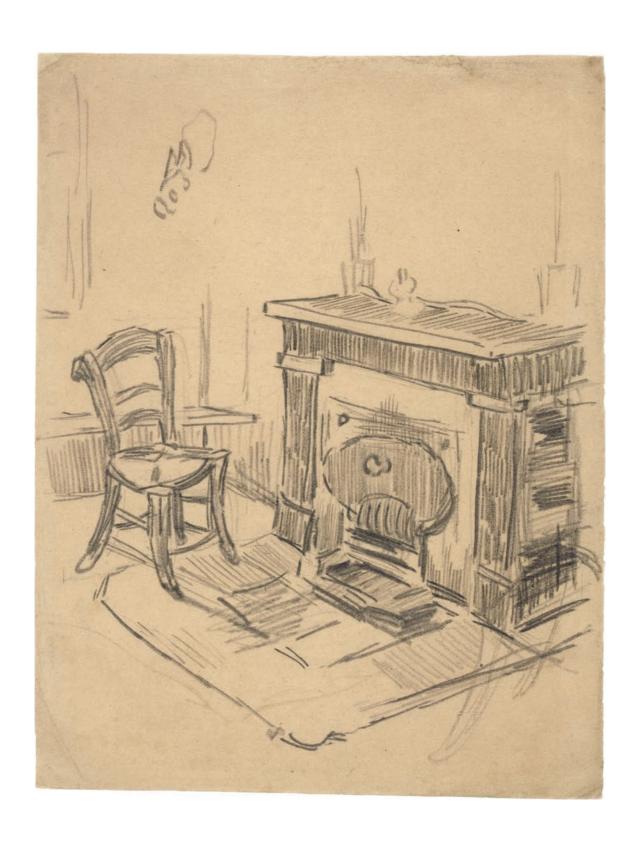
453 Chair



454 Chair and study of a hand



455 Chair by a fireplace



456 Chair by a fireplace



453c Photograph of the fireplace in Saint-Paul-de-Mausole, Saint-Rémy, 1950s. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



453d Van Gogh's chair (F 498 JH 1635), 1888. London, Tate Britain.

among other things, the studies of trees, the studies of the walled wheatfield and the figures walking down a road (see *cats. 377-394, 410-415, 447-452* and the Introduction, p.40). The other two sheets came from two different sketchbooks: *Chair and study of a hand (cat. 454)* originally belonged to the sketchbook that Van Gogh used mainly in the first months of 1890, whereas *Chair (cat. 453)* was drawn on the same kind of paper as *Study of horses and a peasant (cat. 371)* and *Studies of a foot (cat. 429)*.

The drawing depicting the chair from the front (*cat.* 453) displays traces of brown chalk – around the feet, the back and in the seat – from a preliminary sketch in which the chair was turned slightly more to the side. The type of chair differs from those in the other studies, since the back of this one has wavy cross-bars. The tiled floor does not occur in the other sheets either. Visible in the background are lines from an earlier depiction, probably a landscape with a figure. Before drawing the chair Van Gogh turned the sheet 90 degrees clockwise. The black chalk in the chair was partly stumped.

In *Chair and study of a hand (cat. 454)*, the chair was drawn at an angle from the side and at a greater remove. Traces of preliminaries are visible above the back of the chair. To the right Van Gogh used thin lines to draw a basket otherwise not worked out, and above this appears a study of a left hand that is related to the study sheets of hands made in the spring of 1890 (*cats. 423-428*). One of those sheets

(cat. 425) shows the same hand in a similar position. The foreground bears traces of blue chalk that presumably rubbed off from another sheet.

The distance between the front and back legs of the chair in catalogue number 455 was less at first, as is apparent from the lines of the first sketch. The fireplace, cut off by the edge of the paper at the left, is protected by a hearth screen which is rounded at the top. Standing on the mantelpiece is an oil lamp that is rendered more sketchily in the other drawing with a fireplace. Van Gogh first drew in pencil and then filled in areas with black chalk.

He used the same working method to make the other drawing of a chair by a fireplace (*cat.* 456). Part of a window with a wide window seat is depicted in the background. Van Gogh originally included a second chair on the right in this composition, but he did not work it up in any detail. The entire mantelpiece, complete with oil lamp, is depicted in this drawing.

453

End of April-first half of May 1890 Brown and black chalk, on wove paper 33.0 x 24.7 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 370

Inv. d 192 V/1962 F 1512r JH 1966

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 153, vol. 4, pl. clxx1; De la Faille 1970, pp. 524, 666; Hulsker 1974, p. 32; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 449; Amsterdam 1987, p. 472 no. 2.625; Dorn 1990, p. 300 note 425; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 153, 394, vol. 2, pl. clxx1; Heenk 1995, pp. 190, 192, 193, 271; Hulsker 1996, p. 449.

EXHIBITIONS

1947 Rotterdam, no. 88; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 157; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 106, no. 107; 1953 The Hague, no. 117; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 133; 1953 Assen, no. 46; 1953-54 Bergen op Zoom, no. 54; 1955 Antwerp, no. 294; 1956 Haarlem, no. 68; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 102; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 102; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 68; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 58; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 60; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 58; 1968 Liège, no. 58; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 32; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 108 & Columbus, no. 40; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 108; 1971-72 Paris, no. 187; 1975 Malmö, no. 78; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 78.

454

Chair and study of a hand End of April-first half of May 1890 Black chalk on wove paper 31.1 x 23.8 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 395

Inv. d 250 V/1962 F 1549r JH 1965

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 162 [as F 1549v], vol. 4, pl. CLXXXIII [as F 1549v]; Wadley 1969, p. 40; De la Faille 1970, pp. 526, 527, 534, 667; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 449; Amsterdam 1987, p. 472 no. 2.624; Dorn 1990, p. 300 note 425; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 162, 404 [as F 1549v], vol. 2, pl. CLXXXIII; Heenk 1994 1, p. 40; Heenk 1995, pp. 189, 190, 192; Hulsker 1996, p. 449.

EXHIBITION

2005 Amsterdam & New York, ex-catalogue [only Amsterdam].

455

Chair by a fireplace End of April-first half of May 1890 Pencil and black chalk, on wove paper 32.5 x 25.1 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 146 V/1962 F 1510 JH 1964

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation (ratified in 1982); 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 153, vol. 4, pl. CLXXII; London 1962, pp. 13, 81 no. 64; London 1968-69, p. 101 no. 151; De la Faille 1970, pp. 524, 666; Hulsker 1974, p. 32; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 449; Amsterdam 1987, p. 472 no. 2.623; Steen 1988, p. 33; Dorn 1990, pp. 148, 149, 300, 301 note 425, 426; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 153, 394, vol. 2, pl. CLXXII; Heenk 1995, pp. 190, 192; Hulsker 1996, p. 449.

Exhibitions

1953 Zürich, no. 94; 1962 London, no. 64; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 92; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 112; 1968-69 London, no. 151.

456

Chair by a fireplace End of April-first half of May 1890 Pencil and black chalk, on wove paper 32.5 x 24.9 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 191 V/1969 F 1511 JH 1963

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 153, vol. 4, pl. CLXXII; De la Faille 1970, pp. 524, 666; Hulsker 1974, p. 32; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 449; Amsterdam 1987, p. 471 no. 2.622; Steen 1988, p. 33; Dorn 1990, pp. 148, 149, 300, 301 note 425, 426; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 153, 394, vol. 2, pl. CLXXII; Heenk 1995, pp. 190, 192; Hulsker 1996, p. 449.

${\tt Exhibitions}$

1948-49 The Hague, no. 269; 1953 Zürich, no. 95; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 187; 1955 Antwerp, no. 293; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 73.

457 Study of a head and figures around a table

In Saint-Rémy Van Gogh used at least two sketchbooks containing blue marbled endpapers measuring approximately 23.7 by 32.0 centimetres. The first fact is known because he used the wove paper pasted to the backs of three of the four endpapers for sketches which he saved. The head of a woman and figures around a table are two of those studies; they are still attached by a piece of linen (fig. 457a). The other drawing made on the back of a blue marbled endpaper is *Studies of a hand (cat. 428)*; the position of its binding holes shows that it belonged to another sketchbook. The fourth endpaper has not survived.

The sketches discussed here are drawn in black chalk that is partly stumped. The woman on the left wears her hair in plaits twisted in circles and fastened above her ears. To the left of her head is a vague sketch in black chalk of a figure sitting on a chair, seen from the back. This sketch bears a strong resemblance to the woman on the left in the other depiction, and was probably a first attempt at this composition. The woman turned out too large, however, and was placed too high on the sheet, so that her head did not fit on the paper. Van Gogh began the composition again on the right-hand sheet and adjusted the format and the placing of the woman to suit the paper. He then used the first sheet to work up one of the figures in more detail: the woman portrayed from the front.

The two sketches long remained in hiding; it was only in 1987 that they were published in the collection catalogue of the Van Gogh Museum. The editors of that book dated the works to June-July 1890, thus in Auvers.² The long, flowing lines seen especially in the head of the woman are actually more in keeping with Van Gogh's drawings from Auvers (see *cats. 468, 469 and fig. 457b*) than with those done in his last months in Saint-Rémy. The slightly more detailed treatment of the faces is also something that occurs more frequently in the Auvers oeuvre.

March-July 1890 Black chalk, pencil, on wove paper, pasted to a marbled endpaper 24.3 x 64.5 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 385 V/1970 F – JH –

- 1 For these sketchbooks, see the Introduction,
- 2 See Amsterdam 1987, p. 475, no. 2.642.



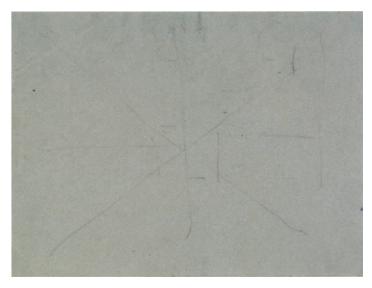
457a Marbled endpaper, verso of cats. 457 and 458.



457 Study of a head and figures around a table



457b Sketch in letter to Wil van Gogh of c. 5 June 1890 (883/W22). Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



457c Loose sheet with the lines of a perspective frame.

Even so, the possibility that these drawings were made in Saint-Rémy cannot be ruled out entirely. The composition on the right treats the same subjects as the studies Van Gogh made in preparation for a new version of *The potato eaters* (see *cats.* 431-437).³ Moreover, as far as we know he used this sketchbook only in Saint-Rémy. It is possible, of course, that he took the filled sketchbook to Auvers, where he could have scratched a few studies on the backs of the endpapers. The traces of blue chalk – which Van Gogh used in Auvers but not in Saint-Rémy – not only on both sketches but also on several drawings certainly made in Saint-Rémy on sheets from the same sketchbook – also point in this direction. Another indication of the sketchbook's presence in Auvers is the sheet of blue laid paper that was preserved with the studies.⁴ Van Gogh used this kind of paper, which bears the watermark MBM, only in Auvers (see *cats.* 481, 494). This loose sheet contains the briskly sketched lines of a perspective frame (fig. 457c). Because the period in which these drawings were made cannot be determined more precisely, they are dated here to March-July 1890.

3 A sheet from Saint-Rémy containing numerous little sketches (F 1651r JH 1955) also displays a head that bears a certain resemblance to *Head of a woman*. Heenk 1995, p. 190, pointed out this similarity.

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-70 V.W. van Gogh; 1970 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1970-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; not in De la Faille 1970; not in Hulsker 1980; Amsterdam 1987, p. 475 no. 2.642 and 2.643; not in De la Faille 1992; Heenk 1995, p. 190; not in Hulsker 1996.

EXHIBITIONS None.

⁴ The endpapers with sketches were always folded double, with the marbled paper on the outside and the sketches on the inside. The blue sheet was kept between them

20-23 May 1890
Black chalk and pencil,
on laid paper
44.0 x 54.4 cm
Watermark: DAMBRICOURT
FRERES Hallines, and emblem
with crown and letters HP
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 460

Inv. d 332 V/1962 F 1640v JH 1990

- 1 Van Gogh made this decision after consulting both his brother and Dr Peyron. Regarding this, as well as the plans to move, see the Introduction, pp. 26, 27.
- 2 'De ces jours ci je vais très bien, je travaille dur et ai quatre études peintes et deux dessins.'
- 3 'une étude de maronniers rose et une de maronniers blancs'. These are F 751 JH 1992 and F 752 JH 1991 (fig. 458a), respectively. In letter 876/636 of 21 May the subject of another painting is mentioned: 'old thatched roofs with a field of flowering peas in the foreground and some wheat, hills in the background' ('vieux toits de chaume avec sur l'avant plan un champ de pois en fleur et du blé, fond de colline'). This is F 750 JH 1984 (fig. 460a); the subject of the fourth painted study is not known. One of the drawings was Old vineyard with peasant woman (cat. 459); the other was probably Landscape with houses (cat. 460).
- 4 The drawing was first published in De la Faille 1970, p. 559, whose editors wrongly link the sheet to the other painting of chestnut trees (F 751 JH 1992).
 5 In the tree: 'vert' (green); the foreground: 'rose' (pink); the low wall between the tree and the house: 'orange' (orange); the shrub on the right: 'vert' (green) and 'violet' (purple, violet); the roof: 'carmin' (carmine); the house: 'vert' (green). Other drawings from Auvers that were supplied with colour indications are cats. 461 and 496.
- 6 For this identification, see Donald W. Olson et al., 'Identifying the "Star" in a Long-Lost van Gogh', in Sky & Telescope, April 2001, pp. 37, 38. Regarding the colour of the chestnut tree, see Otterlo 2003, p. 373.
- 7 See Mothe 1987, pp. 37, 83 and Otterlo 2003, p. 373.
- 8 See also Otterlo 2003, pp. 371, 372.

458 Blossoming chestnut trees by a house

Because Van Gogh had the feeling that his stay among psychiatric patients in Saint-Rémy had been one of the causes of the last, protracted attack of his illness, it was decided in early May 1890 that he would leave the asylum as soon as possible, to take up residence in an inn at Auvers-sur-Oise, a village near Paris. A doctor who lived there, Paul-Ferdinand Gachet – whom Theo had been urged to contact by Camille Pissarro – was to keep an eye on Vincent. On 16 May he left Saint-Rémy, and after staying in Paris for a couple of days with Theo and his family, travelled on 20 May to Auvers.

There he immediately set to work, writing three days later to Theo and his wife, Jo: 'I'm very well these days, I'm working hard and have four painted studies and two drawings' [877/648].² On 25 May he revealed the subjects of two of those canvases: 'a study of pink chestnut trees and one of white chestnut trees' [879/637].³ The latter work (*fig. 458a*) was preceded by a study (not mentioned by Van Gogh), namely this drawing of *Blossoming chestnut trees by a house*.⁴ The sketch can therefore be dated to the first three days of Van Gogh's stay in Auvers.

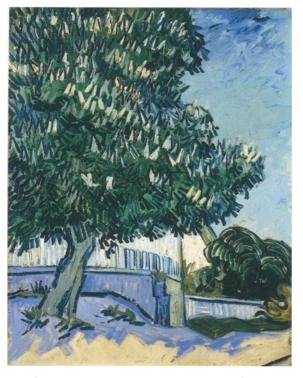
As was often the case with Van Gogh, this preparatory study was more an exploration of the motif than a precise elaboration of it. To make the painting, he returned to the same spot and chose a viewpoint slightly more to the left, causing most of the house to disappear behind the branches and the tree to emerge as the main subject. He also changed the format from horizontal to vertical. The sketch is supplied with colour indications, to which Van Gogh did not pay much attention when executing the painting. He did in fact make use of the drawing when executing the painting, as evidenced by the colour of the paint spatters on the sheet: blue and yellow, the same hues that occur in the painting.

The same house, but seen from the other side, is depicted in the canvas *White house at night (fig. 458b)*. The exact location of the building is unknown: the house now situated at rue du Général de Gaulle 25-27 resembles it closely, but the chestnut trees in front of it were pink, not white. Another possibility is the house in the same street at number 44, opposite the Auberge Ravoux where Van Gogh was staying. Both houses have undergone major renovations since the end of the nineteenth century.

It is not entirely clear whether there are one or two chestnut trees in front of the house. In both the drawing and the painting, the lowest part of the trunk seems to consist of two parallel parts that come together higher up. The crown creates the impression that there is only one tree. Because Van Gogh clearly uses the plural – chestnuts ('maronniers') – we assume that two trees are depicted here.⁸

Van Gogh began by depicting the house, afterwards placing the trees in front of it. He mainly used black chalk with a brown tinge, later adding some details in pencil, such as the windows on the ground floor. After the study had served its purpose,





458a Blossoming chestnut trees (F 752 JH 1991), 1890. Otterlo, Kröller-Müller Museum.



458b White house at night (F 766 JH 2031), 1890. St Petersburg, Hermitage.

Van Gogh used the other side of the paper for the detailed composition of *Landscape with houses* (*cat. 460*). The oil paint with which this drawing was made ran through one of the holes previously made by drawing pins (see *fig. 460b*).

The drawing was made on a sheet of laid paper containing the watermark Dambricourt Freres Hallines and an emblem with a crown and the letters H and P. Van Gogh probably brought a number of such sheets with him from Paris, since it does not occur in his drawn oeuvre from Saint-Rémy and he used it before the arrival of Theo's first shipment of canvas and paper.⁹

9 In letter 876/636 of 21 May, Van Gogh asked his brother to send canvas and paper. It is not known exactly when this order arrived, but it was after 25 May, as emerges from letter 879/637. For other drawings made on this paper, see the Introduction, p. 41. The paper differs from paper bearing the same watermark (displaying the date 1877 instead of the emblem) that Van Gogh used in The Hague, which was heavy water-colour paper.

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; De la Faille 1970, pp. 559, 670; Hulsker 1980, pp. 457, 458; New York 1986-87, pp. 223, 226; Amsterdam 1987, p. 473 no. 2.634; Mothe 1987, pp. 37, 188; Otterlo 1990, pp. 22, 23, 318; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 428, 429, vol. 2, pl. CCXLIV; Heenk 1994 II, p. 35; Heenk 1995, pp. 199, 203; Hulsker 1996, p. 457; Otterlo 2003, pp. 371, 372.

Exhibitions None.

459 Old vineyard with peasant woman

One of the two drawings Van Gogh mentioned having made in a letter of 23 May 1890 (see *cat.* 458) is *Old vineyard with peasant woman*: 'You will see a drawing of an old vineyard with the figure of a peasant woman. I intend to make a large canvas of it' [877/648]. This drawing, which is the subject of this entry, was mentioned again two days later, likewise with the remark that he was planning to make a painting of the same subject. We know of no such canvas, however.

Chickens scratch around beneath a pergola; the woman on the right wears a scarf on her head and carries a basket on her arm. The scene depicted is the farmyard of one Gualbert Romaru in rue Carnot; his farmhouse is visible in the right background. The building on the left with three roofs sloping in different directions still stands in rue Roger. There exists a small painting (fig. 459a) showing the house with the vineyard from another angle.

A salient feature of the drawing is its execution mainly in shades of blue – the sky in light green-blue, the middle passage in dark blue and the ground in light blue. A 1928 reproduction (fig. 459b) shows that the light blue of the lowest part was originally purple, which means that the suggestion of shade beneath the pergola used to be more convincing and the variety of colours somewhat greater. The reproduction also reveals the former presence of a complementary colour contrast: the red-brown of the roofs was once orange, a hue that complemented the blues in the drawing.

It is possible that this mainly blue and purple work, as well as the sheet discussed in the next entry (*cat.* 460), was an attempt by Van Gogh to express his new way of looking at the North, after having lived for a time in the South: 'It is as I supposed, I see violets more where they are. Auvers is really very beautiful' [876/636].⁶ As an experiment in colour, this sheet and the subsequently discussed *Landscape with houses* hark back to the drawings, made in Paris in early 1887, in which Van Gogh experimented with colour (*fig.* 459c).⁷ In Saint-Rémy, too, he had resumed similar experiments in paintings made shortly before his departure for Auvers: bouquets of irises against backgrounds either in colours similar to the flowers or in contrasting, complementary colours, as well as garden views painted primarily in shades of green and yellow.⁸

Van Gogh began *Old vineyard with peasant woman* with a detailed underdrawing in pencil that would continue to play a role in the final depiction. He filled in the sky with watercolour, leaving areas of the sheet blank to represent the white clouds. The rest of the drawing is built up of robust, flowing lines that lend the sheet the character of a pen-and-ink drawing in spite of the fact that Van Gogh made this drawing with brush and oils, as emerges from the pastose application and the evidence of oil on the verso. The cream-coloured hue of the paper plays a role in the depiction.

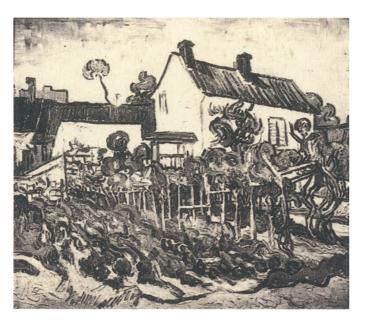
The drawing was made on a sheet of laid paper bearing the watermark Dambricourt Freres Hallines and an emblem. Van Gogh had probably brought the

20-23 May 1890
Pencil, brush and oil paint and watercolour, on laid paper
44.3 x 54.0 cm
Watermark: Dambricourt
Freres Hallines, and emblem with crown and letters HP
Unsigned

Inv. d 446 V/1962 F 1624 JH 1985

Letters 877/648, 879/637

- 1 'Tu verras un dessin d'une vieille vigne avec une figure de paysanne. Je compte en faire une grande toile.' The second drawing was probably cat. 460.
- 2 Letter 879/637 of 25 May 1890: 'I have a drawing of an old vineyard, of which I thought I'd make a canvas of 30 and then a study of pink chestnut trees and one of white chestnut trees' ('J'ai un dessin d'une vieille vigne dont je me propose de faire une toile de 30 puis une étude de maronniers rose et une de maronniers blancs'). According to Heenk 1995, p. 199, Van Gogh refers here to Landscape with houses (cat. 460).
- **3** Mothe 1994, p. 61 and Wilson/Young 1995, pp. 64, 65.
- 4 See the photograph in Wilson/Young 1995, p. 65.
- 5 See Pickvance in New York 1986-87, p. 224.
- **6** Letter of 21 May 1890: 'C'est comme je le supposais, je vois des violets davantage où ils sont. Auvers est décidemment fort beau.'
- **7** Another example is *Boulevard de Clichy* (F 1393 JH 1217). For both works, see Drawings 3, pp. 212-15, 221-23.
- 8 The flower still lifes are Vase with purple irises against a pink background (F 680 JH 1978) and Vase with purple irises against a yellow background (F 678 JH 1977). The garden views are Grassy field with butterflies (F 672 JH 1975) and Tree trunks in the grass (F 676 JH 1970).
- 9 In his description of the technique, De la Faille 1928 mentions the combination of watercolour and oils. Bowness, in London 1968-69, pp. 123, 124, replaced De la Faille's mention of oil paint with gouache and has been followed in this ever since.







459b Colour reproduction of cat. 459, 1928. From Faksimiles 1928, pl. XII.

10 For this paper, see cat. 458 and the Introduction,

11 See letter 641/505 of 8 or 9 July 1888. The paintings are The green vineyard (F 475 JH 1595) and The red vineyard (F 495 JH 1626).

12 Van Uitert in Amsterdam 1987, p. 288. Christ also called himself the true vine (John 15: 1-8).

13 Letter 876/636 of 21 May 1890: 'de jolis maisons de campagne bourgeoises'.

paper with him from Paris. ¹⁰ The brown spots which were already present in 1928 (see *fig.* 459b) were toned down during a 1990 restoration.

In Arles Van Gogh had depicted vineyards in a drawing (*cat. 324*) and two paintings; he considered the paintings as sequels to the canvases of fruit trees and the harvest." The intimate character of the grapevine in this drawing is far removed from the expansiveness of the earlier works. It has sometimes been suggested that these vineyards – like the olive groves painted at Saint-Rémy – had religious connotations for Van Gogh, although he did not comment on this himself. It is more likely that, while exploring his new place of residence, he discovered this private vineyard and found it suitable for drawing. After all, his first letters from Auvers frequently mention how picturesque the village is, especially the cottages with thatched roofs and the 'pretty middle-class country houses'.¹³





459c The window at the Bataille Restaurant (F 1392 JH 1218), 1887. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

Literature

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, pp. 174, 175, vol. 4, pl. CCVIII; Marées-Gesellschaft 1928, pl. XII; Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 52; Gaunt 1950, p. 62; Cooper 1955 1, pp. 90, 91 no. 31; London 1968-69, pp. 123, 124 no. 191; Wadley 1969, p. 42; De la Faille 1970, pp. 556, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 454, 457, 458; New York 1986-87, pp. 200, 201, 224, 225 no. 57, 226, 236, 252; Amsterdam 1987, pp. 288, 289, 474 no. 2.635; Mothe 1987, pp. 38, 188; Otterlo Otterlo 1990, pp. 37, 317, 323 no. 242; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 174, 175, 424, vol. 2, pl. ccv111; Baer 1994, pp. 136, 137; Heenk 1994 11, p. 35; Mothe 1994, pp. 48, 61, 319; Heenk 1995, pp. 199, 200; Wilson/Young 1995, pp. 64, 65; Hulsker 1996, pp. 454, 457; Martigny 2000, pp. 110, 111; Tokyo 2000, pp. 94, 95, 177, 178 no. 29; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 53, 54, 332, 333 no. 117.

Exhibitions

1896-97 Paris, no cat. known [not for sale]; 1926 Amsterdam, no. 50; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 94; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 94; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 94; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 85; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 58; 1930 Laren, no. 28; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 60, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 236; 1937 Paris, no. 82; 1937 Oslo, no. 39; 1938 Copenhagen, no. 39; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 127; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 99; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 103; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 137; 1947 Paris, no. 138; 1947 Geneva, no. 138; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 174; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 121, no. 122; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 298; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 158; 1953 The Hague, no. 181; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 192; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 176; 1954-55 Paris, no. 60; 1955 Antwerp, no. 369; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 241; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 135; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 76; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 95, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken &

Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 154; 1960 Enschede, no. 70; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 140; 1961-62 Liège & Breda, no. 59; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 117; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 117; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 79; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 87; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 88; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 87; 1968 Liège, no. 87; 1968-69 London, no. 191; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 44; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 112 & Columbus, no. 44; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 112; 1971-72 Paris, no. 209; 1972 Bordeaux, no. 71; 1972-73 Munich, no. 309; 1975 Malmö, no. 96; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 96; 1977 Paris, unnumbered; 1980-81 Amsterdam, no. 180; 1986-87 New York, no. 57; 1990 Otterlo, no. 242; 2000 Tokyo, no. 29; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 117.

460 Landscape with houses

By 23 May Van Gogh had finished two drawings, *Old vineyard with peasant woman* (*cat.* 459) and most likely – given the similarities in drawing materials, paper, style and use of colour – *Landscape with houses*.¹

Van Gogh was very enthusiastic about the landscape around Auvers, with its old farmhouses with thatched roofs, which in his view lent the countryside a picturesque note. Simple houses had always held a special attraction for him, and after drawing cottages as he remembered them from Holland in the months just before his departure from Saint-Rémy (the *Reminiscences of the North*), he was pleasantly surprised to find houses with thatched roofs around Auvers.

The houses depicted here – which Van Gogh rendered with undulating roofs, as seen in the houses from his *Reminiscences of the North* – were located in Gré, a hamlet between Four and Chaponval to the west of Auvers, but within walking distance.² This group of houses was the subject of the first painting he made in Auvers (*fig. 460a*).³ That work has hills in the background where trees are to be seen in the drawing. The detail in the foreground is also different: in the canvas, two fields – diagonal to the picture plane – lead the viewer's eye into the picture; in the drawing, by contrast, a surfeit of lines makes the foreground difficult to decipher. It probably displays a path with some low trees running alongside it. The two works came into being independently of one another.

As in the drawing of the vineyard, Van Gogh began *Landscape with houses* by making a preliminary sketch in pencil. Here, too, he did not follow this underdrawing precisely when painting, so that the graphite is still clearly visible in places. The sky is completely filled with light blue watercolour, whereas the rest of the depiction was swiftly painted with graceful brushstrokes in various shades of blue oil paint, the deep blue being applied last. The slightly lighter blue in the foreground and in the trees behind the houses resembles the colour used in the lowest section of *Old vineyard with peasant woman*, which is known to have been purple originally. Presumably that was the case with this sheet as well, which must originally have displayed a slightly broader range of colours. The paper plays a role in the depiction, particularly in the middle distance.⁴

The sheet Van Gogh used for *Landscape with houses* already had a study on the other side of a house and chestnut trees (*cat.* 458). While sketching that scene, or while working on the related painting, the sheet was fastened to a board or some other surface with drawing pins. While Van Gogh was painting *Landscape with houses*, oil paint ran through one of the holes made by the drawing pins (*fig.* 460b).

Circa 23 May 1890
Pencil, brush and oil paint and watercolour, on laid paper
44.0 x 54.4 cm
Watermark: Dambricourt
Freres Hallines, and emblem with crown and letters HP
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 458

Inv. d 332 V/1962 F 1640r JH 1986

- 1 See letter 877/648 and cats. 458 and 459. The suggestion that the second drawing was *Landscape with houses* was first made by Pickvance in New York 1986-87, p. 222. De la Faille 1970, p. 559, assumes that the sheet originated in July 1890, but gives no reasons for this opinion.
- 2 See Mothe 1994, p. 47.
- 3 For this painting, see cat. 458, note 3. Cooper 1955 1, p. 92, was the first to point out the similarities.
- 4 For the paper, see cat. 458 and the Introduction,
- p. 41. The brown spots on this paper were toned down



460 Landscape with houses



460a A group of cottages (F 750 JH 1984), 1890. St Petersburg, Hermitage.



460b Detail of cat. 458.

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 177, vol. 4, pl. ccv111; Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 50; Cooper 1955 1, pp. 92, 93 no. 32; De Gruyter 1961, p. 91 no. v111; London 1968-69, p. 124 no. 192; De la Faille 1970, pp. 559, 670; Hulsker 1980, pp. 454, 457, 458; New York 1986-87, pp. 200, 222, 223 no. 56, 226, 249, 252; Amsterdam 1987, p. 473 no. 2.633; Mothe 1987, pp. 28, 188; Feilchenfeldt 1988, p. 138; Otterlo 1990, pp. 23, 37, 317, 322 no. 241; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 177, 428, vol. 2, pl. ccv111; Heenk 1994 11, p. 35; Mothe 1994, pp. 47, 48, 317; Heenk 1995, p. 199; Hulsker 1996, pp. 454, 457; Martigny 2000, p. 110; Tokyo 2000, pp. 92, 93, 177 no. 28; Amsterdam/New York 2005, pp. 53, 334, 335 no. 118.

Exhibitions

1905 Amsterdam 1, no. 431 [Dfl. 200]; 1906 Berlin, no. 64 (DM 700); 1909-10 Munich, unnumbered, Frankfurt am Main, Dresden &

Chemnitz, no cat. known [Dfl. 1,400]; 1910 Cologne & Frankfurt am Main, no catalogue [Dfl. 750]; 1911 Amsterdam, no. 59 [Dfl. 1,400]; 1911-12 Hamburg, no cat. known [DM? 1,500]; 1911-12 Bremen, no catalogue; 1912 Dresden & Breslau, no. 16; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 196; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923 Utrecht, no. 42; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1924 Basel, no. 98 (not for sale); 1924 Zürich, no. 98 (not for sale); 1924 Stuttgart, no. 19 (not for sale); 1925 Paris, unnumbered [not for sale]; 1925 The Hague, no catalogue; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 95; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 95; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 95; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 87; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 60; 1930 Laren, no. 33; 1930 Hilversum, no cat. known?; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 61, no cat. known; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 237; 1932 Manchester, no. 75; 1935-36 New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, San Francisco, Kansas City, Minneapolis, Chicago & Detroit, no. 125; 1937 Paris, no. 79; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 126; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 100; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 104; 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 138; 1947 Paris, no. 139; 1947 Geneva, no. 139; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 177; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp.

no. 124, no. 125; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 302; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 156; 1951 Lyons & Grenoble, no. 101; 1951 Saint-Rémy, no. 101; 1953 Zürich, no. 132; 1953 The Hague, no. 184; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 195; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 179; 1954-55 Paris, no. 63; 1955 Antwerp, no. 373; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 243; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 136; 1957 Breda, no. 90; 1957-58 Leiden & Schiedam, no. 80; 1958 Mons, no. 81; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 142; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 142; 1963 Amsterdam, no. 109; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 120; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 120; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 81; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 108; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 129; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 90; 1968 Liège, no. 90; 1968-69 London, no. 192; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 46; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 114 & Columbus, no. 46; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 114; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 80; 1974 Recklinghausen, no. 23; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 100; 1986-87 New York, no. 56; 1990 Otterlo, no. 241; 2000 Tokyo, no. 28; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, no. 118.

Last week of May-beginning of June 1890 Pencil, pen and brown and purple ink, on laid paper 45.0 x 55.6 cm Watermark: DAMBRICOURT FRERES Hallines, and emblem with crown and letters HP Unsigned

Inv. d 220 V/1962 F 1638r JH 1996

Letter of c. 21 May 1890: 'je trouve presqu'aussi joli les villas modernes et les maisons de campagne bourgeoises que les vieux chaumes qui tombent en ruines.' Mothe 1994, p. 62, identifies this tree as an Indian

chestnut ('Maronnier d'Inde'), which has pink

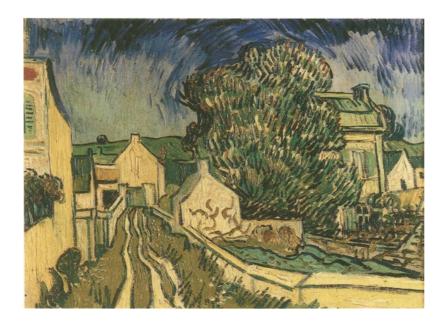
blossoms.

461 Dead-end street with houses

Shortly after his arrival in Auvers, Van Gogh told his brother how impressed he was by the beauty of the village: 'I find the modern villas and the middle-class country houses almost as pretty as the old thatched cottages which are falling into ruin' [876/636].¹ In *Dead-end street with houses* he drew a narrow road with a closed gate and a house at the end. On either side of the path are buildings with walled gardens, and the right background is dominated by a large, blossoming chestnut tree.² The house partly hidden by this tree is situated at rue François Villon 18 and was in those days the property of one Père Pilon.³ The drawing, which is not mentioned in the correspondence, was no doubt made in May or early June 1890, considering the flowering time of the chestnut.⁴ In a letter written on 24 May, Van Gogh mentioned that he had already finished two drawings (neither of which was this one), which means that the present sheet was drawn in the last week of May at the earliest.⁵ Moreover, *Dead-end street with houses* was made on cream-coloured laid paper with the watermark DAMBRICOURT FRERES Hallines, as were the two drawings

- 3 See De la Faille 1928; De la Faille 1970; New York 1986-87, no. 59, p. 226; Mothe 1987, p. 153. Pilon is not mentioned in Van Gogh's correspondence, and it is not known whether they were in touch.
- 4 In De la Faille 1928 the drawing is correctly recorded as F 1638; in the 1970 edition the work is referred to as

F 1638r. The sheet has no drawing on the verso, however, a fact already noted in New York 1986-87, no. 58, p. 226.
5 See letter 877/648. De la Faille 1970 places the sheet in May-June 1890; Hulsker 1996 dates it to late May 1890; Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.636, also assigns it to May-June.



461a Street in Auvers (F 791 JH 1995), 1890. Private collection.



mentioned in the letter: *Blossoming chestnut trees by a house (cat. 458*), made around 20-23 May, and the studies after Bargue, drawn in the second week of June (see *cats. 483-485*). Van Gogh had probably brought this paper with him from Paris, where he had spent three days with Theo and his sister-in-law, Jo, before setting out for Auvers on 20 May.⁶

Van Gogh began *Dead-end street with houses* by making an underdrawing in pencil, which he then worked up in pen and ink. This ink is now predominantly brown, but some of the lines – particularly on the left part of the sheet – are rather purple, whereas the lines on the right are more red-brown in colour. Not only does the ink in the left half of the drawing look purple, but the paper here looks considerably lighter than it does in the right half. An attempt was probably made in the past to remove the brown stains by bleaching. This was successful up to a point, but caused the ink to fade and discolour.⁷

The pen strokes are varied: hatching alternates with flowing, graceful lines. Van Gogh used oval forms to render the foliage of the chestnut tree, as well as the plants growing in the garden and along the right side of the road. The drawing contains two colour indications: 'bleu' (blue) is written in the gate and 'jaune' (yellow) on the façade behind it on the left. In the painted version of *Dead-end street with houses*, presumably made later, the gate is green instead of blue and the façade appears to be more ochre-coloured (*fig. 461a*). The composition of the painting is also different. When painting, Van Gogh stood closer to the wall enclosing the garden on the right, with the result that more can be seen of the house behind the chestnut tree. ⁸ This revised viewpoint diminished the importance of the path and the vegetation in the foreground; in contrast to the drawing, however, Van Gogh devoted more attention to the sky. The painted study also has a larger format than the drawing.

6 See cat. 458 and the Introduction, pp.27 and 41.
7 De la Faille 1928 reports the use of violet ink.
Regarding the aniline ink that Van Gogh probably
used, see the Introduction, p. 32. The lower part of the
sheet bears traces of blue chalk in both corners.
8 See also Heenk 1995, p. 199 and Otterlo 1990,
p. 319. The drawing was compared with a reproduction
of the painting. It is possible that the varnish of the
painting has yellowed, and that the gate was originally
more blue in colour.

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 177, vol. 4, pl. ccix; Meier-Graefe 1928, ill. 49; Wadley 1969, p. 41; De la Faille 1970, pp. 559, 670 [as F 1638r]; Hulsker 1980, pp. 457, 459 [as F 1638r]; New York 1986-87, pp. 225, 226 no. 58; Amsterdam 1987, p. 474 no. 2.636; Mothe 1987, pp. 153, 188; Van der Wolk 1987, p. 268; Otterlo 1990, pp. 22, 23, 318, 325 no. 244; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 177, 428, vol. 2, pl. ccix [as F 1638r]; Heenk 1994 II, p. 35; Heenk 1995, pp. 199, 203; Hulsker 1996, pp. 457-59 [as JH 1998 reverse].

Exhibitions

1923 Utrecht, no. 44?; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known?; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 96; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 96; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 96; 1929 Amsterdam, no. 86; 1929-30 Rotterdam, no. 59; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 180; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 119; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 119; 1974 Florence, no. 21; 1986-87 New York, no. 58; 1990 Otterlo, no. 244.

462 Landscape with houses and woman with a spade

Delighted with the rural surroundings of Auvers, Van Gogh wrote on 25 May to Theo: 'Here one is far enough from Paris for it to be the real country, but nevertheless how changed it is since Daubigny! But not changed in an unpleasant way, there are many villas & various modern middle-class dwellings, very radiant and sunny and covered with flowers. And that, in an almost luxuriant region, just at this time, when a new society is developing within the old, is not at all disagreeable; there is a lot of well-being in the air' [879/637].¹

In these rustic surroundings Van Gogh made various drawings and paintings of houses, one of which was *Landscape with houses and woman with a spade.*² The high viewpoint from which the depiction was drawn and the bend in the road in the foreground lend the drawing an odd aspect: the landscape and the houses are being shouldered, as it were, by the figure in the foreground.³ At the far right a tall factory chimney towers above the row of roofs. The arabesque character of the drawing is somewhat reminiscent of a painting that Van Gogh made at the end of 1888 in Arles, *Reminiscence of the garden in Etten (fig. 462a)*.

The drawing was made with two pencils of varying thicknesses. The graphite was stumped slightly in the façades and the chimney. Like the *Dead-end street with houses (cat. 461)*, *Landscape with houses and woman with a spade* displays a great deal of variation: areas with playful, curving lines alternate with cross hatching, as well as round and oval shapes. The vegetation in the foreground is indicated with thin, scratchy lines drawn with a sharp pencil point. In her 1995 publication, Heenk assumed that the drawing was unfinished, because it was not done in ink like the other large drawings.⁴ The depiction does give a finished impression, however.

Landscape with houses and woman with a spade was drawn on cream-coloured laid paper bearing the watermark Hallines and an emblem. This is one-half of a sheet originally measuring about 44.5 by 55.0 centimetres and bearing the complete watermark Dambricourt Freres Hallines.⁵

The drawing was probably made in the period starting the last week of May and running through June 1890. The big-handed peasant woman in the foreground recalls the figure types Van Gogh had drawn shortly before this in Saint-Rémy (see, for instance, *cats.* 410 and 415).⁶

Last week of May-June 1890 Pencil on laid paper 44.5 x 27.5 cm Watermark: Hallines, and emblem with crown and letters HP Unsigned

Inv. d 219 V/1962 F 1636 JH 2079

- 1 Letter of 25 May 1890: 'Ici on est loin assez de Paris pour que ce soit la vraie campagne mais combien néamoins changé depuis Daubigny. Mais non pas changé d'une façon déplaisante, il y a beaucoup de villas & habitations diverses modernes et bourgeoises, tres souriantes, ensoleillées et fleuries. Cela dans une campagne presque grasse, juste à ce moment ci du développement d'une société nouvelle dans la vieille, n'a rien de desagreable; il y a beaucoup de bienêtre dans l'air '
- 2 It has sometimes been claimed that the house in the background is that of Dr Gachet, but there is no evidence to support this assumption. See De la Faille 1928; De Gruyter 1961, p. 109; Wadley 1969, no. 126, p. 41.
- 3 See also De Gruyter 1961, no. 51, p. 109.
- 4 See Heenk 1995, p. 201.
- 5 Van Gogh used the same paper, which he had probably brought with him from Paris, for various other drawings made in May and June in Auvers. See also cat. 461 and the Introduction, p. 41.
- 6 There is nothing on which to base a more specific dating. De la Faille 1928 dates the sheet to the Auvers period in general; Bowness, in London 1968-69, no. 198, opts for June 1890; De la Faille 1970 and Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.653, both date the work to June-July 1890; Otterlo 1990, no. 240, p. 321, maintains May-June 1890; Husker 1996 dates the drawing to June-July 1890.



462 Landscape with houses and woman with a spade



462a Reminiscence of the garden in Etten (F 496 JH 1630), 1888. St Petersburg, Hermitage.

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, pp. 176, 177, vol. 4, pl. ccv111; De Gruyter 1961, pp. 109, 110 no. 51; London 1962, pp. 14, 85 no. 70; Wadley 1969, p. 41; De la Faille 1970, pp. 558, 670; Hulsker 1980, pp. 473, 474; Amsterdam 1987, p. 477 no. 2.653; Van der Wolk 1987, p. 268; Otterlo 1990, pp. 317, 321 no. 240; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 176, 177, 427, vol. 2, pl. ccv111; Heenk 1995, pp. 200, 201; Hulsker 1996, p. 473.

Exhibitions

1931 Amsterdam, no. 232; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 112; 1947 Basel, no. 167; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 175; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 123, no. 124; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 301; 1953 The Hague, no. 183; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 194; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 178; 1954-55 Paris, no. 64; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 78; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 97, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1961 Scarborough, no catalogue; 1962 London, no. 70; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 89; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 90; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 89; 1968 Liège, no. 89; 1968-69 London, no. 198; 1971-72 Paris, no. 212; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 79; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 99; 1990 Otterlo, no. 240.

End of May-July 1890 Pencil on pink laid paper 20.8 x 47.3 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 465

Inv. d 217 V/1971 F 1632 JH 2064 and F 1631r JH 2063

- 1 For the sketchbook, see the Introduction, p. 42. The watermark does not appear on the sheet discussed here. The part PL BAS appears on cats. 464 and 466; the part AL is lacking, because a third part of the sheet is missing at the upper edge, seen with respect to the drawing of the donkey.
- 2 The fold separating the two sketches is of the same shape as the fold between the sketch of the baby in a pram and a sketch of a horse pulling a covered wagon (cat. 464): at this place Van Gogh folded the paper both ways. Other drawn animal studies from the Auvers period are cat. 465, SD 1730 JH 2062 and F 1654v JH 2070. See also note 5.
- 3 De la Faille 1970, no. F 1631r, previously observed that the sheets had once fit together. For a reconstruction of the drawings on the other sides, see fig. 464a.

463 Sketches of animals and children

Van Gogh made various animal studies in Auvers. The pink laid paper on which the present sketches were made was part of a larger sheet with the watermark AL PL BAS, which Van Gogh folded to make a sketchbook. Two of its leaves have been preserved. One of them contains, on the same side, pencil sketches of cows and children and a sketch of a donkey (cat. 463). The depictions are divided by a fold. This sheet once formed a whole with the sheet containing the *Sketch of women working* (cat. 466; see fig. 463a).

The three cows and two very sketchily drawn children are on the left-hand side of the sheet, which must be turned 90 degrees clockwise with respect to the drawing of the donkey. Van Gogh added several colour indications to these sketches: 'blanc', 'ocre jaune', 'orangé', 'bleu' and a nearly illegible note that looks like 'bleubleurose'. These notes are probably connected with a painting, even though no direct link to a known painting has been established. It is striking that the cow at the lower right is depicted in more or less the same pose as the animal at the lower right in the painting *Cows (after Jordaens) (fig. 463b)*. 5

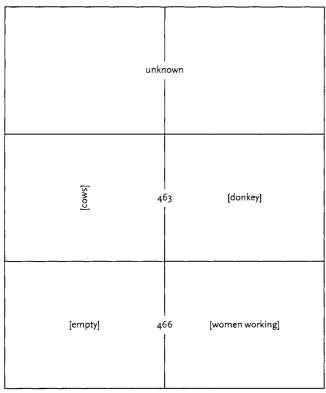
The drawing of the donkey with blinkers and a saddle is more elaborate than the sketches described above. Here Van Gogh used only a few lines to give a rough idea of the landscape in the background. This sketch contains no colour indications, nor is there any known connection to other drawings or paintings made in Auvers. This has led to a broad dating of the two works to a period running from the end of May through July 1890.6

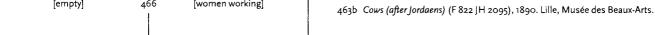
- 4 White, ochre-yellow, orangey, blue and blue-blue-pink.
- 5 Van Gogh made this depiction after an etching that Dr Gachet had made after a painting by Jacob Jordaens (1593-1678). According to Gachet's son, Van Gogh saw the etching on 25 May 1890 and completed the painting on 27 May. See Mothe 1994, p. 57. It is possible that this work prompted Van Gogh to draw cows, which also occur in Landscape with bridge over the River Oise (F 1639 JH 2023). The painting Cows (after Jor-

daens) is not mentioned in the correspondence. Heenk 1995, p. 201, points out that the sketches in cat. 463 might have been of use in making that painting. In the sketchbooks Van Gogh used in Auvers, which are now preserved in the Van Gogh Museum, he also drew cows in a landscape. Van der Wolk 1987, SB 7/69.

6 See also De la Faille 1970; Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.649. De la Faille 1928 dates cat. 463 to the Auvers period in general. Hulsker 1996 maintains a dating to June-July 1890.







${\tt 463a} \ \ {\sf Reconstruction} \ {\sf of} \ {\sf the} \ {\sf full} \ {\sf sheet}.$

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE [F 1632 JH 2064]
De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 176, vol. 4, pl. cciv; De la Faille 1970, pp. 558, 669; Hulsker 1980, p. 472;
Amsterdam 1987, p. 476 no. 2.649; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 176, 426, vol. 2, pl. cciv; Heenk 1995, pp. 196, 201; Hulsker 1996, p. 472.

Literature [F 1631r]H 2063]

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 176, vol. 4, pl. ccv11;

De la Faille 1970, pp. 557, 669; Hulsker 1980, p. 471; Amsterdam 1987, p. 476 no. 2.647; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 176, 426, vol. 2, pl. ccv11; Heenk 1995, pp. 196, 201; Hulsker 1996, p. 471.

Exhibitions [F 1632 JH 2064] None.

Exhibitions [F 1631r JH 2063] 1975 Malmö, no. 99; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 99.

464 Sketches of a horse with covered wagon and of a baby in a pram

Van Gogh drew *Sketches of a horse with covered wagon and of a baby in a pram* in pencil, giving particular emphasis to the contours. The sheet is one-sixth of a piece of pink laid paper with the watermark AL PL (in a scroll) BAS, which Van Gogh folded to make a sketchbook. Catalogue numbers 463 and 465 were drawn on another part of the original sheet (see *figs. 463a, 464a*). The two sketches discussed here are upside down with respect to each other and are separated by a fold (see fig. 464a).

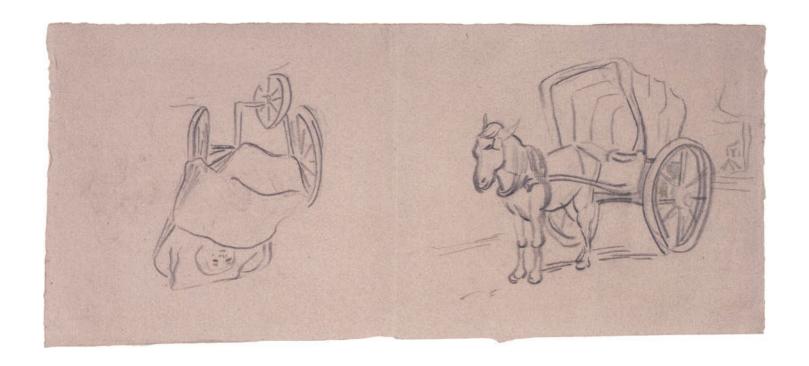
The motif of a horse pulling a carriage, which appears on the right-hand side, occurs in the painting *Landscape with carriage and a train in the background* (fig. 486a) and in catalogue number 486. It is unclear what Van Gogh sketched in the right background, behind the covered wagon. It could be a preliminary sketch of a house. Given the similarity between this drawing and the above-mentioned painting, which is mentioned in two letters written in mid-June, the sketch of the horse and covered wagon is dated to this period.³

The 1970 edition of De la Faille suggested that the baby on the left-hand side of the sheet is the child Van Gogh refers to in a letter of 2 July 1890,4 in which he speaks of the innkeepers' youngest child, Germaine Ravoux, who was two at the time and therefore no longer a baby.5 The sketch is not directly connected with other works. A dating to the period beginning at the end of May and running through July 1890 is maintained here.6

End of May-July 1890 Pencil on pink laid paper 21.3 x 47.3 cm Watermark: PL BAS Unsigned Verso of cat. 466

Inv. d 248 V/1969 F 1610r JH 2090 and F 1633 JH 2092

- 1 For the sketchbook, see the Introduction, p. 42.
- 2 This has the same form as the fold separating the sketches discussed in cat. 463 (see fig. 463a).
- 3 See letters 889/W23 of 13 June and 891/641 of 14 June 1890. De la Faille 1970 dates the drawing to June 1890; Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.650 and Hulsker 1996 date it to June or July 1890. Heenk 1995, p. 201, opts for a general dating to the Auvers period. De la Faille 1928 places the sketch in Saint-Rémy.
- 4 See De la Faille 1970, which refers to letter 900/646.
- 5 See Mothe 1987, p. 220.
- **6** See De la Faille 1970 and Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.652.



Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

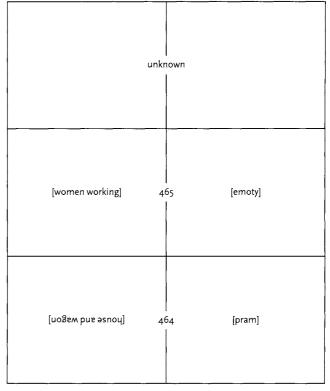
Literature [F 1610r JH 2090]

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 172, vol. 4, pl. cc11; De la Faille 1970, pp. 549, 562, 563, 669; Hulsker 1980, p. 475; Amsterdam 1987, p. 476 no. 2.650; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 172, 420, vol. 2, pl. cc11; Heenk 1995, pp. 196, 201; Hulsker 1996, pp. 474, 475.

LITERATURE [F 1633 JH 2092]
De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 176, vol. 4, pl. ccv11;
De la Faille 1970, pp. 558, 670; Hulsker 1980,
p. 475; Amsterdam 1987, p. 476 no. 2.652; De la
Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 176, 426, vol. 2, pl. ccv11;
Heenk 1995, pp. 196, 201; Hulsker 1996,
pp. 474, 475.

EXHIBITIONS [F 1610r JH 2090] 1931 Amsterdam, no. 238; 1953 Zürich, no. 124.

Exhibitions [F 1633 JH 2092] None.



464a Reconstruction of the full sheet.

465, 466 Sketches of women working

Technical details 465, 466 on p.441

Like other working figures, women doing the washing is a recurrent theme in the work of Van Gogh. At the upper right of *Sketches of women doing the washing (cat. 465)* he drew two of them, seen from the back, with a basket to their left. Below them he sketched on a slightly smaller scale three kneeling women and two baskets. He rendered the river bank with several diagonal lines. The sketches are on the right-hand side of the sheet, which was folded in the middle; the left-hand side remained blank.

The sketches were made with two pencils of varying thicknesses. Both the figure type and the style of drawing, which is characterised by an emphasis on the contours, are related to the style Van Gogh developed in Saint-Rémy (see for example *cat.* 445).

Van Gogh drew the *Sketch of women working (cat. 466*) in a similar style and technique. The drawing is too sketchy to be able to tell what exactly the women are doing. The woman on the left could be digging, and the other picking something up from the ground. The depiction is on the recto of a sheet that was folded in the middle; when it was folded, the sketch was on the inside. The left half remained blank. Both drawings were made on sheets of pink laid paper that once formed a whole (see *figs. 463a, 464a*). The studies were made in the period beginning at the end of May and running through July 1890.²

- 1 See, for example, F 1282 JH 906, F 1473 JH 1405, F 1444 JH 1507 and F 427 JH 1490.
- 2 See De la Faille 1970; Amsterdam 1987, nos. 2. 651 and 2.648; Heenk 1995, pp. 196, 201. Only cat. 466 was dated in De la Faille 1928 to the Saint-Rémy period.





466 Sketch of women working

465

Sketches of women doing the washing End May-July 1890 Pencil on pink laid paper 20.8 x 47.3 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 463

Inv. d 217 V/1971 F 1631v JH –

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 176, vol. 4, pl. ccv11; De la Faille 1970, pp. 557, 669; not in Hulsker 1980; Amsterdam 1987, p. 476 no. 2.648; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 176, 426, vol. 2, pl. ccv11; Heenk 1995, pp. 196, 201; not in Hulsker 1996.

EXHIBITIONS None.

466

Sketch of women working End May-July 1890 Pencil on pink laid paper 21.3 x 47.3 cm Watermark: PL BAS Unsigned Verso of cat. 464

Inv. d 248 V/1969 F 1610v JH 2091

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 172, vol. 4, pl. CC11; De la Faille 1970, pp. 549, 563, 669; Hulsker 1980, p. 475; Amsterdam 1987, p. 476 no. 2.651; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 172, 420, vol. 2, pl. CC11; Heenk 1995, pp. 196, 201; Hulsker 1996, pp. 474, 475.

Exhibition

1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 62, no cat. known.

End May-July 1890 Black chalk on pink laid paper 31.0 x 23.7 cm Watermark: PL BAS, truncated at the left edge Unsigned

Inv. d 221 V/1962 F 1638v JH 1998

- 1 Also known are a letter sketch (in letter 908/651) and a painting (F 780 JH 2115, fig. 488a). For Van Gogh's fondness for houses, see cat. 461.
- 2 The verso of cat. 467 contains a few traces of blue chalk. Despite the assumption made in De la Faille 1970, cat. 467 was not drawn on the verso of cat. 461. See also cat. 461.
- 3 Cat. 467 shows in reverse the upper part of the

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

467 Village street

In addition to detailed depictions of streets and houses (see *cats. 461, 462*), Van Gogh made less elaborate studies, such as this *Village street*. Here he chose a vantage point close to the house-fronts, thus emphasising their height. The eaves of the nearest house are undulating in shape. The top of a tree rises above the house in the background. The Auvers oeuvre includes several other works showing close-up views of houses, such as *Sketch of a thatched roof (cat. 488)*.¹

Van Gogh made the drawing entirely in black chalk, accentuating the contours of the roof in the middle and the vegetation in front of the houses.² The façades and the sky are otherwise untreated.

The depiction was made on pink laid paper. It was originally part of a large sheet bearing the watermark AL (in a scroll) PL BAS, which Van Gogh folded in four to make a sketchbook (see fig. 467a).³

Because there is nothing that points to a specific time, the work is dated here to the period starting at the end of May and running through July 1890.⁴

letters of the watermark PL BAS. The left edge of cat. 469, which contains the lower half of the letters PL BAS in reverse, matches the left edge of the present sheet. The lower edge of cat. 467 matches the right side of cat. 492, which contains part of a scroll at its upper

edge. For the other drawings that belonged to the sketchbook, see the Introduction, p. 42 and fig. 467a.

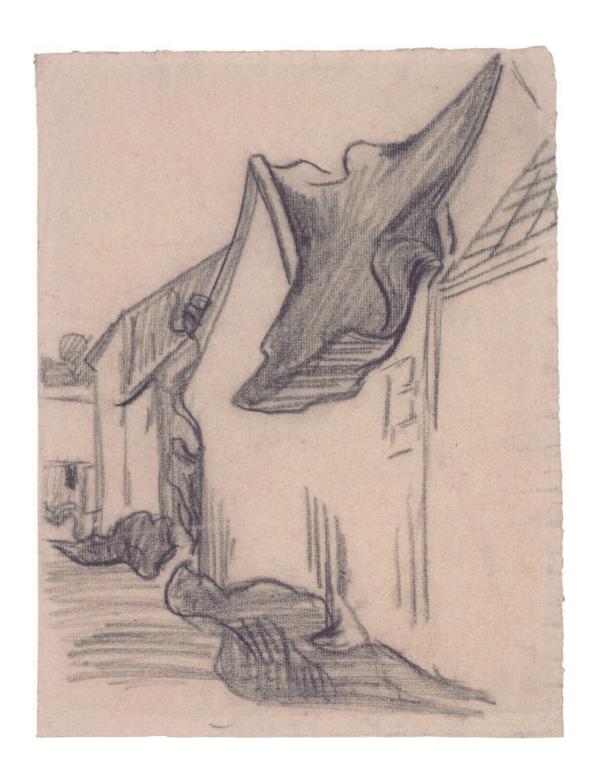
4 De la Faille 1970 places the sheet in June-July 1890, as does Amsterdam 1987, no. 2. 654. Hulsker 1996 dates the drawing to late May 1890.

Literature

Not in De la Faille 1928; De la Faille 1970, pp. 559, 670 [as F 1638v]; Hulsker 1980, pp. 457, 459 [as JH 1996 verso]; Amsterdam 1987, p. 477 no. 2.654; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, p. 428, vol. 2, pl. CCX11 [as F 1638v]; Heenk 1995, p. 201; Hulsker 1996, pp. 457-59 [as JH 1996 verso].

Exhibitions

1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 195?; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue?; 1964 Zundert, no. 30.



467 Village street

SIDE 1

[unknown]	469
492	467

SIDE 2

491	[empty]
[unknown]	487

467a Reconstruction of the full sheet.

468 Head of a man

The identity of the person who posed for this simple portrait remains a mystery.¹ The man wears a rather melancholy expression. His heavy eyelids and dejected look recall to some extent the 'face hardened by grief' [874/635] of Dr Gachet (fig. 468a, 468b).² In a letter written on 13 June 1890, Van Gogh told his sister Wil that he had painted Gachet's portrait (see fig. 483h), and went on to say the following about it: 'And yet it is necessary to paint it like this, for otherwise one could not get an idea of the extent to which, in comparison with the calm old portraits, there is expression in our modern heads, and passion – like expectation and like a scream. Sad and yet gentle, but clear and intelligent – this is how one ought to paint many portraits. At times this might make a certain impression on people' [889/W23].³

Like Gachet, the man in the drawing has a goatee and the corners of his mouth turn down, which are features also seen in the painted portrait. However, comparison of this drawing with the paintings and a photograph shows that the man's appearance differs in other respects: the face and particularly the nose are rounder in the drawing than in the painted portraits Van Gogh made of the doctor; the prominent cheekbones appear only in the drawing; and both the length of the moustache and the shape of the cap are different (figs. 483h, 4868a, 468b).⁴

Van Gogh made this sketch of a man with two kinds of black chalk: one thin and solid and the other thick and soft. The paper, which bears no watermark, is of the MBM MBM type and once formed a whole with that of catalogue numbers 481, 482, 495, 496 (*fig.* 468c). Van Gogh used this and another sheet to make his own sketchbook, which explains the presence on the portrait sketch of drawing material that has rubbed off from other works: the entire surface of the drawing bears traces of blue chalk, and the verso contains traces of both black and blue chalk.

There is no evidence on which to base an exact dating, but since Van Gogh probably received this paper at the end of May, the work is placed in the period starting at the end of May and running through July 1890.⁷

- The work is not included in the catalogues raisonnés of De la Faille and Hulsker. In Amsterdam 1987, no.
 2.657, it appears with the title Sketch of a man's head.
 Letter of 20 May 1890: 'sa figure raidie par le chagrin'. This is the way Van Gogh described the doctor in a letter to Theo, shortly after he had met Gachet for the first time. In this letter of May 1890 Van Gogh also said
- he hoped that he and the doctor would become friends and that he would paint his portrait.
- 3 'Et pourtant c'est ça qu'il faudrait peindre parce qu'alors on peut se rendre compte combien, en comparaison des portraits calmes anciens, il y a de l'expression dans nos têtes actuelles et de la passion et comme de l'attente et comme un cri. Triste mais doux

End May-July 1890 Black chalk on laid paper 31.0 x 24.2 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 296 V/1972 F – JH –

mais clair et intelligent, ainsi faudrait il en faire beaucoup de portraits, cela ferait encore un certain effet à des moments sur les gens.' Van Gogh later made a second version (fig. 468b). See Paris/New York/ Amsterdam 1999, pp. 74-78.

- 4 Van Gogh painted another version of Gachet's portrait, F753 JH 2007. For portraits of Gachet by other artists, see Paris/New York/Amsterdam 1999, pp. 27-33.
- 5 See the Introduction, p. 42.
- 6 A drawing in blue chalk must have been lying under the portrait while Van Gogh was working on it, since blue chalk has rubbed off on the back of the sheet, where the lines of the face were drawn. The specks of grey ink on the front are probably the result of Van Gogh's working on a drawing that was lying on top of cat. 468, at which time some ink must have seeped
- 7 Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.657, dates the drawing to June-July 1890. For more information on the paper, see the Introduction, p. 42.



468 Head of a man

468a Alexandre Quinet, Dr Paul Gachet, c. 1874, calling card. Paris, Wildenstein Institute Archives.

468b Portrait of Dr Gachet (F 754 JH 2014), June 1890. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.



Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-72 V.W. van Gogh; 1972 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1972-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

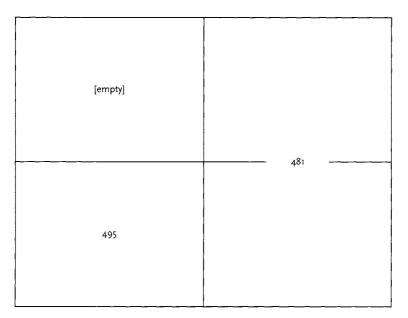
Not in De la Faille 1928; not in De la Faille 1970; not in Hulsker 1980; Amsterdam 1987, p. 477 no. 2.657; not in De la Faille 1992; Heenk 1995, p. 203; not in Hulsker 1996.



SIDE 1

482	468
402	496

SIDE 2



468c Reconstruction of the full sheet.

469 Study of a tree

In this drawing Van Gogh drew in both the left and the right background peasant women working, inserted into the landscape so sketchily that they are barely noticeable.

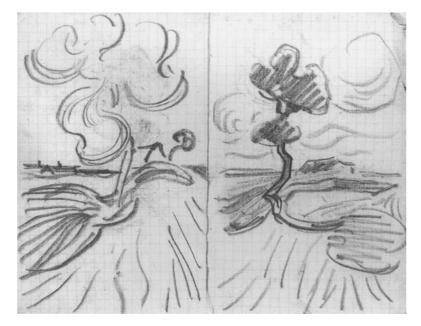
Study of a tree was drawn in black chalk of two thicknesses. The dark passages in the fore- and background stand out nicely against the areas left blank, and the luxuriant foliage of the tree contrasts with the clear sky. In terms of style – featuring the use of short lines and oval forms – the depiction has points in common with several pencil drawings made in the vicinity of the River Oise, which, together with Study of a tree, belonged to a homemade sketchbook (see figs. 467a, 470a). The drawing of the tree recalls two studies made around this time in a sketchbook, in which Van Gogh was clearly seeking to discover the correct placing of a tree within a landscape composition (fig. 469a).

The type of paper is the same as that used for the studies made at the River Oise: pink laid paper with the watermark AL (in a scroll) PL BAS. The present drawing, like the above-mentioned landscapes on pink paper, was made in the period starting at the end of May and running through July 1890.

End of May-July 1890 Black chalk on pink laid paper 30.5 x 23.8 cm Watermark: Pl. Bas, truncated at the left edge Unsigned Verso of cat. 487

Inv. d 427 V/1962 F 1623v JH 2094

- 1 Van Gogh folded the sheet in four before beginning to draw. Catalogue number 469 was drawn on the part containing the watermark PL BAS. Its left edge matches the left side of cat. 467, the lower side of which matches cat. 492 (see fig. 467a).
- 2 See also Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.664. De la Faille 1970 dates the work to June, Hulsker 1996 to June-July 1890.



469a Sketchbook sheets displaying landscapes with trees, 1890. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

Literature

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 174, vol. 4, pl. cciv; De la Faille 1970, pp. 556, 669; Hulsker 1980, p. 475; Amsterdam 1987, p. 478 no. 2.664; Van der Wolk 1987, p. 302; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 174, 424, vol. 2, pl. cciv; Heenk 1995, p. 201; Hulsker 1996, p. 475.



469 Study of a tree

470-473 Landscapes on pink paper

Technical details 470-473 on p. 457

The River Oise, which flows past Auvers, was depicted by Van Gogh six times: in a painting, a fully fledged drawing and four drawn studies. It is the studies that will be discussed here: four drawings in pencil or black chalk on pink laid paper, all of which contain part of the watermark AL (in a scroll) PL BAS. Together they originally formed a single sheet which Van Gogh folded in four, along with another sheet (see *fig. 467a*), to make a sketchbook (*fig. 470a*).²

The fact that the sketchbook contained another sheet is apparent from the traces of black chalk visible on the versos of three of the four landscapes (*cats.* 470-472). The drawings on the other sheet, all of which were made in black chalk, comprised catalogue numbers 487, 469, 491, 492 and 467 (see *fig.* 467a). The only rubbed-off representation that is recognisable is to be found on the back of *Landscape with the River Oise* (*cat.* 470), where an imprint (*fig.* 470b) of *Marguerite Gachet at the piano* (*cat.* 487) is visible.³

Two of the landscapes contain the same stretch of woody shore on the opposite side of the river (*cats. 470, 471*). The first drawing zooms in on the river bank and its vegetation; in the second, Van Gogh took slightly more distance from his subject, so that the foreground is fully taken up by the river, which gave him the opportunity to include the reflection of the trees. On the lower left he drew a low-flying bird. His sketchbook from Auvers contains a small sketch of the same motif (*fig. 470c*).

The third sheet (*cat. 472*) shows a narrower river that cuts through a landscape. The water was long thought to be a path through the fields, owing to the sketchy nature of the drawing,⁴ but its relationship to the other river landscapes and the dark hatching strongly suggest that this expanse also represents a river.

Until now *Trees along the River Oise* (cat. 473) has always been assigned to the Saint-Rémy period. The water flowing behind the tree trunks was taken to be the wall surrounding the garden of the asylum. However, both the river and the type of paper used indicate that it was made during Van Gogh's stay in Auvers. He also used pink AL PL BAS for some works made in Saint-Rémy, but the fact that this sheet fits the sheets on which the other river views were made proves that it belongs to the Auvers oeuvre.⁵

- 1 The painting is F 798 JH 2021 and the drawing F 1639 JH 2023. This river might also be depicted in cat. 495.
- 2 It may be deduced from the shape of the cut edges that Van Gogh first folded the sheet in the middle vertically and then horizontally. Van Gogh folded a third sheet of the same kind of paper to make a smaller sketchbook with six pages, to which cats. 463-466 belonged.
- 3 This imprint is not in reverse, which means that the verso of cat. 470 did not lie directly against cat. 487. It was cat. 469, which Van Gogh had evidently drawn before starting on *Marguerite Gachet at the piano* (cat. 487), which functioned as carbon paper. Heenk 1995, p. 201, note 1, was the first to identify the imprint on the verso of cat. 470.
- 4 In his 1980 catalogue raisonné, Hulsker was the first to call the work a river view.
- 5 Regarding the pink paper used in Saint-Rémy, see cat. 359 and the Introduction, p. 39, 40.



470 Landscape with the river Oise





472 Landscape with river

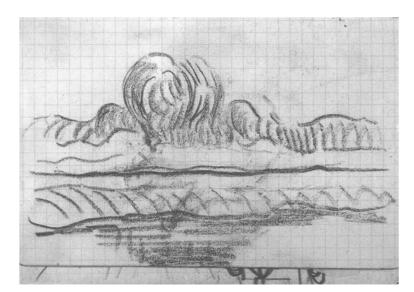


470	471
z ∠ ⊅	£ 7 4

470a Reconstruction of the full sheet.



470b Verso of cat. 470.



 $\,$ 470c $\,$ Sketchbook sheet with river landscape, 1890. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

470

Landscape with the River Oise
End of May-July 1890
Pencil on pink laid paper
23.6 x 30.7 cm
Watermark: remains of PL BAS, truncated at
the lower edge
Unsigned

Inv. d 333 V/1962 F 1627 JH 2024

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 175, vol. 4, pl. ccv; Wadley 1969, p. 42; De la Faille 1970, pp. 556, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 464, 465; New York 1986-87, pp. 245, 252; Amsterdam 1987, p. 479 no. 2.667; Van der Wolk 1987, p. 301; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 175, 425, vol. 2, pl. ccv; Heenk 1995, p. 201; Hulsker 1996, pp. 464, 465.

Exhibitions

1923 Utrecht, no. 29? [possibly cat. 472]; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known [possibly cat. 472]; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered [possibly cat. 472]; 1955 Antwerp, no. 371.

47^I

Landscape with the River Oise
End of May-July 1890
Pencil on pink laid paper
23.7 x 30.9 cm
Watermark: remains of AL (in a scroll),
truncated at the lower edge
Unsigned

Inv. d 216 V/1971 F 1629 JH 2025

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 175, vol. 4, pl. ccv; De la Faille 1970, pp. 557, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 464, 465; New York 1986-87, pp. 245, 252; Amsterdam 1987, p. 479 no. 2.669; Van der Wolk 1987, p. 301; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 175, 425, vol. 2, pl. ccv; Heenk 1995, p. 201; Hulsker 1996, pp. 464, 465.

EXHIBITIONS

1923 Utrecht, no. 29? [possibly cat. 470]; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known [possibly cat. 470]; 1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered [possibly cat. 470]; 1971-72 Paris, no. 210; 1975 Malmö, no. 98; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 98; 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 97.

472

Landscape with river
End of May-July 1890
Pencil on pink laid paper
23.8 x 30.7 cm
Watermark: remains of PL BAS, truncated at the lower edge
Unsigned

Inv. d 215 V/1969 F 1628 JH 2026

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 175, vol. 4, pl. ccv1; De la Faille 1970, pp. 557, 669; Hulsker 1980, pp. 464, 465; Amsterdam 1987, p. 479 no. 2.668; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 175, 425, vol. 2, pl. ccv1; Heenk 1995, p. 201; Hulsker 1996, pp. 464, 465.

Exhibition 1953 Zürich, no. 130.

473

Trees along the River Oise
End of May-July 1890
Black chalk on pink laid paper
23.9 x 31.2 cm
Watermark: remains of AL (in a scroll),
truncated at the lower edge
Unsigned

Inv. d 266 V/1962 F 1578 JH 1819

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 166, vol. 4, pl. cxc; De la Faille 1970, pp. 540, 541, 668; Hulsker 1980, pp. 416, 418; Amsterdam 1987, p. 463 no. 2.573; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 166, 410, vol. 2, pl. cxc; Heenk 1995, p. 190; Hulsker 1996, pp. 416, 418.

EXHIBITIONS

1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 72; 1948 Amersfoort, no cat. known; 1954-55 Bern, no. 159; 1955 Antwerp, no. 343; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, excatalogue [only Amsterdam].

June-July 1890 Pencil on laid paper 27.3 x 44.3 cm Watermark: Hallines, and emblem with crown and letters hp Unsigned Verso of cat. 485

Inv. d 190 V/1962 F 1508v JH 1611

- 1 J. Steen ('De collectiecatalogus van het Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh', Jong Holland, 1988, no. 6, p. 34) even thinks that this sheet depicts one of the other rooms in the Yellow House, basing his opinion on the corner depicted, the divisions of the mullioned windows, and the way the art works are hung. Dorn 1990, pp. 141, 142, 401, views the sketch as a preparatory drawing for The bedroom (fig. 474b). London 1962 (no. 65) sees the interior as a room in the asylum at Saint-Rémy; the windows in that building have semicircular fan-lights, however, as seen in cat. 372. Heenk 1994 I, pp. 40, 42, was the first to place the drawing in Auvers.
- 2 See cat. 458 and the Introduction, p. 41.
- 3 We are indebted to Dominique Janssens van de Auberge Ravoux for the information on the dining room. According to Pickvance in New York 1986-87, p. 197, Café-Auberge Saint-Aubin was the inn that Dr Gachet had found for Van Gogh, where they went together on the day of Van Gogh's arrival (see letter 874/635 of 20 May 1890). Van Gogh thought the inn too expensive and went in search of cheaper accom-
- 4 This picture measures 7.8 x 14.3 cm.

474 Interior with tables and chairs, and a sketch of *The bedroom*

This pencil drawing of an interior was long dated to Van Gogh's period in Arles because of the little sketch of Van Gogh's bedroom in the Yellow House, which appears on the lower part of the sheet. There are, however, two reasons for placing the work in Auvers. The first is the laid paper with the watermark Dambricourt Frere Hallines, of which Van Gogh used one-half sheet for the present drawing; only in Auvers did he have such paper at his disposal. The second reason is the copy of a figure from Charles Bargue's *Exercices au fusain* on the other side of the sheet (cat. 485). Vincent was, after all, in Auvers when he asked Theo to send him a copy of this drawing course, and he began to make copies as soon as he received it (see cats. 483-485). The surviving specimens of the Bargue copies were all drawn on the same kind of paper as this study of an interior.

The drawing was attached at its lower edge to the other half of the sheet. Because that edge has been trimmed, it can no longer be determined whether the other half contained anything at all, and if it did, which work it was. The collection in the Van Gogh Museum contains two possible candidates, on the basis of the watermark: a Bargue copy and a drawing of houses (*cats.* 484, 462). In view of the subject, it is most likely that the drawing after Bargue was attached to this work.

The interior contains two tables, each with a long bench behind it and two chairs in front. The rendering of the bench behind the table on the left is not perspectivally correct. Van Gogh later lengthened some of the chair legs, an adjustment that did not improve the proportions. Another chair stands in the corner between the tables, and two framed works of art hang on the wall to the right. Through the windows in the other wall one sees trees, a small house, a figure and a wagon wheel; the interior – probably a restaurant and apparently on the ground floor – remains unidentified. It recalls the dining room of the Auberge Ravoux, where Van Gogh had lodgings (fig. 474a), but that room had about five more metres of wall to the right of the windows. There is, however, the possibility that this drawing depicts the interior of Café-Auberge Saint-Aubin in rue Rémy.³ Between the windows appears a partial sketch of a figure wearing a hat that covers a large part of the picture without having anything to do with it.

At the lower edge in the centre is a little sketch, set within framing lines, of Van Gogh's painting *The bedroom* (*fig. 474b*).⁴ Despite its sketchiness, it is possible to identify several striking differences to the painted variants of this subject. The foot of the bed is quite a bit lower here, causing the whole of the made-up bed to be visible instead of only the pillows and part of the blanket with the sheet turned back. Furthermore, the chair at the head of the bed and the little table next to it stand flush against the wall and not at an angle. Other differences – such as the number of art works hanging on the wall above the bed, the divisions of the mul-





474a Photograph of the dining room of Auberge Ravoux, 1954. From: Mothe 1987, p. 146.



474b The bedroom (F 482 JH 1608), 1888. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

- 5 In letters 767/588 of 30 April 1889 ('c'est une des meilleures' = 'it is one of the best') and 801/604 of 5 or 6 September 1889 ('est certes une des meilleures' = 'it is certainly one of the best').
- 6 During Van Gogh's stay at the hospital in Arles, *The bedroom*, stored in the Yellow House, had been damaged by dampness, and he was considering having the canvas re-lined or else retouching it himself. Theo advised him not to do the latter, and suggested that Vincent first paint a copy of the work before having it re-lined. Van Gogh did this at the beginning of September 1889, and a couple of weeks later he made another copy in a small format. These are F 484 JH 1771 and F 483 JH 1793, respectively.
- **7** Letter of c. 20-22 October 1889: 'les cafés ou les auberges mauvaises'.
- 8 By 'this one' Van Gogh was referring to *Cypress and starry night*, F 683 JH 1982. For this plan, see the Introduction, pp. 28, 29.
- 9 Letter of c. 17 June 1890: 'Probablement je graverai à l'eau forte celle là et d'autres paysages et motifs, souvenirs de Provence, alors je me ferai une fête de vous en donner un tout, un résumé un peu voulu et étudié.'
- 10 Letter of 17 June 1890: 'mettons 6'.
- 11 Arlésienne is mentioned in letter 893/643.
- 12 See also Van der Wolk 19867, pp. 302-09.
- 13 F 1664 JH 2028. For Van Gogh's graphic work, see Van Heugten/Pabst 1995.

lioned windows and the lack of objects on and around the table – may well be attributable to the lack of detail intrinsic to sketches.

In mid-October 1888 Van Gogh made the first version of *The bedroom* (fig. 474b). He was very satisfied with this painting and even called it 'one of the best' studies.⁵ Nearly a year later he made two copies of it.⁶ He probably saw one or more paintings of his bedroom when staying with Theo and Jo on his way to Auvers. He could have made the present sketch when he realised that in Auvers he would have to settle for a room in an inn, and began to think back wistfully to his Yellow House in Arles. Having a house of his own (with a bedroom to boot) had been a huge improvement over many of his earlier places of residence, which had included 'cafés and bad inns' [814/W15].⁷

The sketch could also be connected with a plan Van Gogh had conceived since becoming acquainted with Gachet, who had an etching press at home. He first put his idea into words in a letter to Gauguin, a missive that remained unfinished and unsent: 'I shall make etchings of this one and also other landscapes and subjects, reminiscences of Provence,⁸ then I shall look forward to giving you an ensemble, a summary more or less deliberate and studied' [893/643].⁹ In a letter to Theo he estimated the size of the project: 'let's say 6' [894/642].¹⁰ Except for the paintings *Arlésienne* and *Cypress and starry night* (F 683 JH 1982), he did not mention any specific works he planned to etch.¹¹ The only surviving sketchbook from Auvers contains several drawings of Provençal themes such as vases of sunflowers and irises, women picking olives, figures in a ravine and Les Alyscamps in Arles, which are probably connected with the planned etchings.¹² Bearing in mind the importance Van Gogh attached to *The bedroom*, he may very well have wanted to make an etching of it. The etchings after works from Provence never came to fruition; the only etching Van Gogh made in Auvers was the portrait of Dr Gachet.¹³

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 152, vol. 4, pl. CLXXII [as F 1508r]; London 1962, pp. 13, 83 no. 65; De la Faille 1970, pp. 524, 665; Hulsker 1980, p. 370; Amsterdam 1987, p. 455 no. 2.524; Steen 1988, pp. 33, 34; Dorn 1990, pp. 141, 142, 300 note 425, 401; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 152 [as F 1508r], 393, vol. 2, pl. CLXXII; Heenk 1994 I, pp. 40, 42; Heenk 1995, pp. 200, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 370, 371.

EXHIBITIONS

1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 178; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 87; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 268; 1953 Zürich, no. 93 [as F 1508r]; 1953 The Hague, no. 116 [as F 1508r]; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 131 [as F 1508r]; 1954-55 Bern, no. 147 [as F 1508r]; 1955 Antwerp, no. 292 [as F 1508r]; 1956 Haarlem, no. 67; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 60 [as F 1508r]; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 74 [as F 1508r], Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1962 London, no. 65 [as F 1508r]; 1965-66 Stockholm & Gothenburg, no. 90 [as F 1508r]; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 111 [as F 1508r].

Technical details 475-480 on pp. 471, 472

475-480 Studies of an Egyptian head

These studies of an Egyptian head were initially dated to the Arles period, but were later re-assigned to Van Gogh's Saint-Rémy oeuvre on the basis of a comment in a letter: 'Now what makes Egyptian art, for instance, extraordinary – isn't it that these serene, calm kings, wise and gentle, patient, good, look as though they could never be other than what they are, eternally farmers who worship the sun?' [781/594].² In 1988 John Flynn discovered that the example for the drawings was a coping-stone of a garden gate in rue Rajon in Auvers (fig. 475a).³ The dating to this period is confirmed by the blue-grey laid paper with the watermark MBM at both left and right on the sheet, a kind of paper Van Gogh used only in Auvers. The sheets were originally one piece of paper, which Van Gogh folded in four to make a sketchbook (fig. 475b).4

- soleil.' See De la Faille 1970 and Hulsker 1980. Hulsker does in fact say that the dating is uncertain because the works are not related stylistically to drawings from Saint-Rémy.
- 3 The discovery was published in 'Herdatering', Van Gogh Bulletin, no. 2 (1989).
- 4 The complete sheet also included cats. 493 and 494, which were drawn on the backs of cats. 480 and 479, respectively. Tearing the sheet left two of the four pieces with the watermark. The blue chalk at the upper edge of cat. 480 belonged to the lower edge of cat. 494, to which it was originally attached.

assigns cat. 480, on the basis of the depiction on the verso (a man with a scythe), to the Auvers oeuvre. Cat. 479 is not included in that edition.

1 De la Faille 1928 places cats. 475-478 in Arles, but

2 Letter of 9 June 1889: 'Maintenant l'art Egyptien par exemple, ce qui en fait l'extraordinaire, n'est ce pas que ces sereins rois calmes, sages et doux, patients, bons, semblent ne pas pouvoir être autrement qu'ils ne sont; éternellement des agriculteurs adorateurs du



475a Photograph of the copingstone in rue Rajon in Auvers. Reindert Groot, 1989.



475 Egyptian head and figure study



476 Egyptian head



477 Egyptian head



478 Egyptian head



479 Egyptian head and figure study



480 Egyptian head

Even though the remark about Egyptian art was written a year before these drawings were made, it can still help us to come to grips with the thematic interpretation of the works. As an admirer of Egyptian art, Van Gogh must have been pleasantly surprised to discover the coping-stone in Auvers. His enthusiasm and emotion reverberate in the drawings, the subject of which is unusual in Van Gogh's œuvre.

The heads are drawn in either black or blue chalk; only in catalogue number 480 did Van Gogh combine both colours by placing a few black lines around the nose and mouth. The most elaborate is *Egyptian head and figure study (cat. 475)*. This was the only one that Van Gogh first laid in with fine lines of black chalk, subsequently modelling the head by means of fairly elaborate hatching. Such detail could indicate that this was the first study he made from the coping-stone. In the other drawings, which generally show the head more from the side, he replaced the hatching with stumped passages, making the forms of the face look softer and more human.

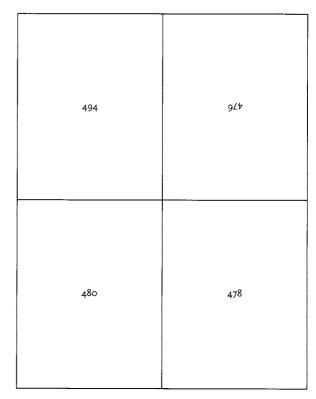
On two of the sheets Van Gogh drew a small figure study in black chalk in the lower right-hand corner (*cats. 475, 479*). The woman in catalogue number 479 resembles – as regards her pose, hair style and clothing – a figure on a sheet with sketches made in Auvers (*fig. 475c*). A similar figure, but wearing a hat, also occurs in the painting *Two women walking in a landscape* (*fig. 475d*). The child in catalogue number 475, with spiky hair and drooping eyebrows, displays similarities to the *Boy*

- 5 Both colours are also to be found in cat. 479, but there they were not combined in the head, which is in blue, whereas the figure study next to it is in black chalk
- 6 See Hulsker 1980, p. 398.

SIDE 1 SIDE 2

SLÞ	479
477	493

475b Reconstruction of the full sheet.





475c Sheet of sketches (F 1652v JH 2074), 1890. Whereabouts unknown.

with carnation between his lips (fig. 475e); the smiling face of the boy in that painting strongly resembles, in turn, the Egyptian head next to the sketch of the child (cat. 475). This resemblance could help to explain the purpose served by these drawings of Egyptian heads: they represented an opportunity for Van Gogh to practice rendering the human countenance, which tied in with his resolution to paint portraits.⁷

Most of the studies of the Egyptian head display traces of black or blue chalk that rubbed off of other drawings – evidence that Van Gogh's little homemade sketchbook contained at least one more sheet. No other drawings in this format on the same blue-grey paper are known. The sketchbook probably consisted of sheets of various colours. One possibility, judging from the measurements and the drawing materials used, is the cream-coloured sheet on which catalogue numbers 468, 481, 482, 495, and 496 are drawn (see *fig. 468c*), since this paper was also of the MBM MBM brand.

7 On this subject, see also cats. 483-485.



475d Two women walking in a landscape (F 819 JH 2112), 1890. San Antonio, The Marion Koogler McNay Art Museum.



475e Boy with carnation between his lips (F 787 JH 2050), 1890. Private collection.

475 Egyptian head and figure study June-July 1890 Black chalk on blue-grey laid paper 31.4 x 23.9 cm Watermark: мвм

Unsigned Verso of cat. 476

Inv. d 201 V/1971 F 1520r JH 1733

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 154, vol. 4, pl. clxxv; De la Faille 1970, pp. 526, 552, 666; Hulsker 1980, pp. 396, 398, 399; Amsterdam 1987, p. 459 no. 2.547; Van Gogh Bulletin 1989; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 154, 396, vol. 2, pl. clxxv; Heenk 1995, pp. 202, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 398, 472, 474, 475.

EXHIBITIONS None.

476

Egyptian head
June-July 1890
Black chalk on blue-grey laid paper
31.4 x 23.9 cm
Watermark: MBM
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 475

Inv. d 201 V/1971 F 1520v JH 1734

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 154 [no ill.]; De la Faille 1970, pp. 526, 552, 666; Hulsker 1980, pp. 396, 398, 399; Amsterdam 1987, p. 459 no. 2.548; Van Gogh Bulletin 1989; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 154, 397, vol. 2, pl. CCXXXVII; Heenk 1995, pp. 202, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 398, 472, 474, 475.

Exhibitions None.

477 Egyptian head June-July 1890 Black chalk on blue-grey laid paper 31.4 x 23.8 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 478

Inv. d 249 V/1969 F 1521r JH 1735

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 154, vol. 4, pl. CLXXV; De la Faille 1970, pp. 526, 552, 666; Hulsker 1980, pp. 396, 398, 399; Amsterdam 1987, p. 459 no. 2.549; Van Gogh Bulletin 1989; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 154, 397, vol. 2, pl. CLXXV; Heenk 1995, pp. 202, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 398, 472, 474, 475-

478

Egyptian head June-July 1890 Blue chalk on blue-grey laid paper 31.4 x 23.8 cm Unsigned Verso of cat. 477

Inv. d 249 V/1969 F 1521v JH 1736

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-69 V.W. van Gogh; 1969 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1969-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 154 [no ill.]; De la Faille 1970, pp. 526, 552, 666; Hulsker 1980, pp. 396, 398, 399; Amsterdam 1987, p. 459 no. 2.550; Van Gogh Bulletin 1989; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 154, 397, vol. 2, pl. ccxxxv11; Heenk 1995, pp. 202, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 398, 472, 474, 475.

Exhibitions None.

479

Egyptian head and figure study
June-July 1890
Blue and black chalk on blue-grey laid paper
31.4 x 23.9 cm
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 494

Inv. d 239 V/1971 F 1596ar JH 1738

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; De la Faille 1970, pp. 545, 668 [ill. of F 1596av]; Hulsker 1980, pp. 396, 398, 399; Amsterdam 1987, p. 459 no. 2.551; Van Gogh Bulletin 1989; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, p. 416, vol. 2, pl. ccxxxvIII [ill. of F 1596av]; Heenk 1995, pp. 202, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 398, 472, 474, 475.

EXHIBITIONS None.

480

Egyptian head
June-July 1890
Blue and black chalk on blue-grey laid paper
31.4 x 23.8 cm
Watermark: MBM
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 493

Inv. d 218 V/1971 F 1635r JH 1737

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 176 [as F 1635v, no ill.]; De la Faille 1970, pp. 552, 558, 670; Hulsker 1980, pp. 396, 398, 399; Amsterdam 1987, p. 459 no. 2.552; Van Gogh Bulletin 1989; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 176 [as F 1635v], 427, vol. 2, pl. CCXL1; Heenk 1995, pp. 202, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 398, 472, 474, 475.

481 Landscapes with houses

These two drawings of landscapes with houses, drawn on the same side of a sheet of cream-coloured MBM paper, are separated by a horizontal fold. The sheet was originally twice as big: the other half, which contains two harvest scenes (*cats.* 495, 496) and *Head of a man* (*cat.* 468), was attached to the left side (see *fig.* 468c). Van Gogh folded the paper, together with another sheet, in four, and then tore or cut open one of the folds, thus creating a small sketchbook containing eight quartersheets. He used all except one on both sides.

The upper drawing is a quick sketch in blue chalk of a house with a figure in front of it. The lower sketch – a depiction of a garden with a fruit tree against a background of houses – is considerably more detailed and was done with a variety of drawing materials: the representation was laid in thinly with black chalk, after which Van Gogh used a pen to apply ink in the foreground. He then worked up the drawing in black and blue chalk, using the latter for the sky and the contours of the roofs. The ink now has a purple-brown tinge, but is described in the first edition (1928) of De la Faille's catalogue raisonné as purple. More research is needed to determine what kind of ink was actually used here.

The sites of the scenes depicted can no longer be ascertained. In the 1970 edition of De la Faille's catalogue raisonné, the lower half of the sheet is said (without explanation) to represent the hamlet of Montcel, but De la Faille goes on to link the kind of houses and trees depicted, to the painting *Houses with thatched roofs* (F 792 JH 1978), which has been connected with this location since the publication in 1928 of the first edition of this standard reference work. The 1970 edition, however, acting on information provided by Paul Gachet, changed the location – with regard to the painted work – to Cordeville, leaving unchanged the site of the drawing. However, the similarity of the houses is not strong enough to warrant the assumption that the two works depict the same place.

Of the fifteen works that possibly belonged to this sketchbook, this is the only drawing in which ink was used. The other sheets were all drawn in blue or black chalk or a combination of the two. A number of them are similar in style, such as catalogue numbers 482 and 468, and 495 and 496. However, in most cases it is not possible to give a more precise dating than June-July 1890.

Heenk suggests that all seven of these sketches on cream-coloured paper were explorations of motifs for paintings. This is certainly a possibility, but in only two cases can it be substantiated to any extent: *Landscape with women harvesting (cat. 496)*, which has colour indications, and the town hall of Auvers (*cat. 482*), of which there is also a painting.

June-July 1890
Blue and black chalk, pen and ink (now purple-brown), on laid paper 48.4 x 31.2 cm
Watermark: мвм
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 482

Inv. d 331 V/1962 F 1630v JH 2081 and F 1637r JH 2083

- 1 For the drawings on the other side of the sheet, see cat 482
- 2 These are the only drawings that were done on the same kind of paper as the works discussed here. Cats. 495 and 496 bear the countermark MBM.
- 3 This was most likely the sheet of blue-grey MBM MBM paper to which cats. 475-478, 480, 493, 479 and 494 belonged. On this subject, see cats. 475-480.
- **4** Cat. 468 is the only one with no drawing on the back.
- 5 The colour of the chalk is slightly lighter at the edges than in the rest of the depiction, owing to abrasion caused by the mount rubbing against the drawing.
 6 Regarding coloured ink, see the Introduction,
- pp. 32, 33. Van Gogh used what seems to have been coloured ink in a number of the drawings made in Auvers; see cats. 461, 489 and 490, as well as F 1653 JH 1993, F 1642 JH 1994, F 1643 JH 2119 and F 1553
- 7 See De la Faille 1970, p. 303.



481 Landscapes with houses

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE [F 1630V JH 2081]

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 176, vol. 4, pl. ccv1; De la Faille 1970, pp. 557, 669; Hulsker 1980, p. 474; Amsterdam 1987, p. 480 no. 2.671; Mothe 1987, pp. 144, 188; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 176, 426, vol. 2, pl. ccv1; Heenk 1995, p. 203; Hulsker 1996, p. 474.

LITERATURE [F 1637r JH 2083]

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 177, vol. 4, pl. ccix; De la Faille 1970, pp. 558, 559, 670; Wadley 1969, p. 42; Hulsker 1980, p. 474; New York 1986-87, p. 87; Amsterdam 1987, p. 480 no. 2.675; Wadley 1991, pp. 278, 279 no. 98; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 177, 427, vol. 2, pl. ccix; Heenk 1995, pp. 199, 203; Hulsker 1996, p. 474; Amsterdam/Boston 2000, pp. 35, 36 no. 8.

EXHIBITION [F 1630v JH 2081] 2005 Amsterdam & New York, ex-catalogue [only Amsterdam].

EXHIBITIONS [F 16371] H 2083]
2000 Amsterdam & Boston, no. 8 [only Boston];
2005 Amsterdam & New York, ex-catalogue [only Amsterdam]; 2006-07 Amsterdam & New York [only Amsterdam], unnumbered.

482 Auvers town hall and head of a man

June-July 1890 Blue and black chalk, on laid paper 48.4 x 31.2 cm Watermark: MBM Unsigned Verso of cat. 481

Inv. d 331 V/1962 F 1630r JH 2080 and F 1637v JH 2082

- ${f 1}$ See cat. 481 and fig. 468c for the reconstruction of this sketchbook.
- 2 The year it was built is mentioned in Mothe 1987, p. 123.
- 3 When making the painting, Van Gogh stood closer to the motif and more to the left.
- 4 For the other sketch, see Van der Wolk 1987, SB 7/22.
- 5 According to Van der Wolk 1987, pp. 299, 300, Van Gogh first made the sketches in the sketchbook and later worked them up into a drawing. Then, prompted by the celebrations commemorating 14 July, he supposedly made the painting. Heenk 1995, p. 203, also thinks the drawing was done preparatory to the painting.

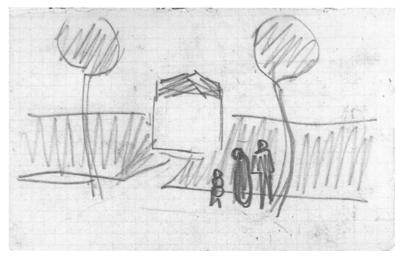
The sketches of the town hall of Auvers and the head of a man were drawn on the back of the drawings discussed in the preceding entry (*cat.* 481). The sheet belonged to a sketchbook Van Gogh made by folding two sheets of paper together; here, too, the depictions are separated by a fold (*fig.* 468c).¹

The upper sketch, in black chalk, shows the Auvers town hall, built in 1862, which was opposite the inn where Van Gogh was staying. Trees shade the pavement in front of the town hall, and there is a man walking on the left. The grounds around the building are enclosed on the pavement side by wooden posts with chains running between them; a path leads from the pavement to the entrance. The same motif, seen from a slightly different angle, occurs in a painting (fig. 482a), in which the town hall and its surroundings are decorated with flags and Chinese lanterns in commemoration of France's national holiday on 14 July. In Van Gogh's Auvers sketchbook, this building also crops up in two scribbled sketches, one of which closely resembles this drawing in terms of composition (fig. 482b). It is not known whether Van Gogh already had a painting in mind when he made those sketches and the present drawing. They can, however, be seen as explorations of the motif.

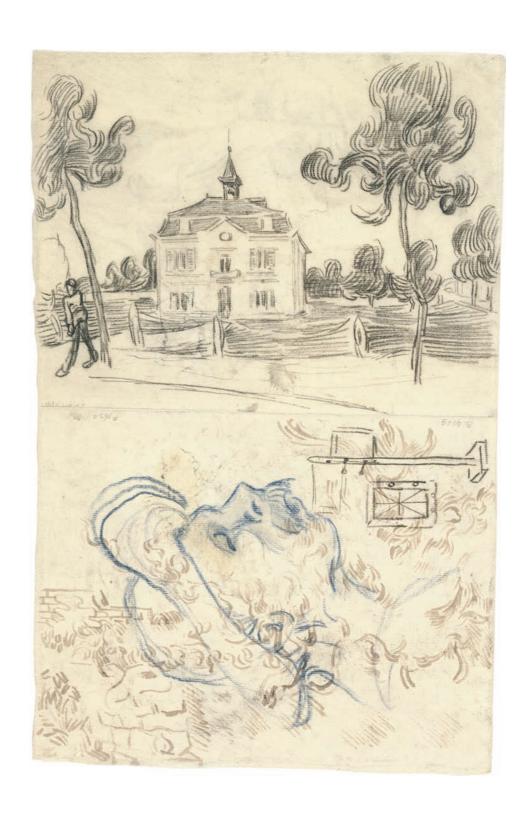
For the drawing of the man's head and the sketches next to it of the perspective frame, Van Gogh turned the sketchbook 90 degrees clockwise. The head was drawn in blue chalk which was partly stumped; the sketches of the perspective frame were done in black chalk. Before drawing the hat, Van Gogh tried various



482a Auvers town hall (F 790 JH 2108), 1890. Private collection.



482b Sketchbook sheet with the Auvers town hall, 1890. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



482 Auvers town hall and head of a man

versions, both inside and outside the final contours of the hat. The man – with his prominent cheekbones, moustache and snub nose – closely resembles the figure in *Head of a man (cat. 468*).

At the lower right Van Gogh included two sketches of a perspective frame: one depicts the frame alone, with its horizontal, vertical and diagonal threads, and the two holes – in a long and a short side – by which it could be secured; the other sketch depicts the stand to which the frame is fastened, horizontally and vertically. A similar sketch is known from the Saint-Rémy period (*cat. 365*). That Van Gogh had a perspective frame in Auvers is confirmed by the presence of perspective guidelines on a sheet of blue-grey MBM paper preserved with *Study of a head and figures around a table* (*cat. 457*). The image is disturbed by the pen-and-ink lines, discernible on this side, of the drawing on the reverse: *Two houses behind a tree* (*cat. 481*).

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

Literature [F 1630r JH 2080]

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 176, vol. 4, pl. ccv1;

Rewald 1950, p. 70; Amsterdam 1958, nos. 382,

383 + ill.; De Gruyter 1961, p. 110 no. 52; London

1968-69, p. 127 no. 200; De la Faille 1970,

pp. 557, 669; Hulsker 1980, p. 474; Amsterdam

1987, p. 479 no. 2.670; Mothe 1987, pp. 124, 188;

Van der Wolk 1987, pp. 298, 299; De la Faille

1992, vol. 1, pp. 176, 425, 426, vol. 2, pl. ccv1;

Heenk 1995, p. 203; Hulsker 1996, p. 474.

LITERATURE [F 1637V JH 2082]
De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 177 [no ill.]; De la Faille 1970, pp. 558, 559, 670; Hulsker 1980, p. 474;
Amsterdam 1987, p. 480 no. 2.676; Van der Wolk 1987, pp. 266, 298; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 177, 427, 428, vol. 2, pl. CCXLI; Heenk 1995, p. 203; Hulsker 1996, p. 474.

EXHIBITIONS [F 1630r JH 2080] 1946-47 Liège, Brussels & Mons, no. 139; 1947 Paris, no. 140; 1947 Geneva, no. 140; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 173; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 122, no. 123; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 299; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 157; 1953 Zürich, no. 131; 1953 The Hague, no. 182; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 193; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 177; 1954-55 Paris, no. 62; 1955 Antwerp, no. 372; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 242; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 134; 1957 Breda, no. 88; 1957 Marseilles, no. 88; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 96, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 155; 1959-60 Utrecht, no. 95; 1960 Enschede, no. 71; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 138; 1961-62 Baltimore, Cleveland, Buffalo & Boston, no. 141; 1962-63 Pittsburgh, Detroit & Kansas City, no. 141; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 118; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 118; 1965 Charleroi & Ghent, no. 80; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 88; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 89; 1967-68 Dallas, Philadelphia, Toledo & Ottawa, no. 88; 1968 Liège, no. 88; 1968-69 London, no. 200; 1969 Humlebæk, no. 45; 1969-70 Los Angeles, Saint Louis, no. 113 & Columbus, no. 45; 1970-71 Baltimore, San Francisco & Brooklyn, no. 113; 1971-72 Paris, no. 211; 1972 Bordeaux, no. 72; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 78; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, ex-catalogue [only Amsterdam].

EXHIBITION [F 1637v JH 2082] 2005 Amsterdam & New York, ex-catalogue [only Amsterdam].

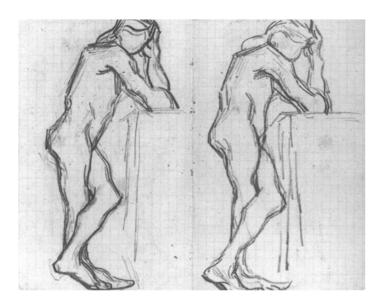
483-485 Figure studies after Bargue

Technical details 483-485 on p. 487

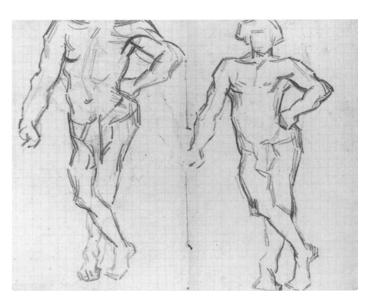
Shortly after his arrival in Auvers, Vincent wrote to his brother Theo: 'When you can do so, you might send me Bargue's *Exercices au fusain* for a while. I absolutely need it, I will copy them so as to keep the copies for good' [876/636].¹ Van Gogh was well acquainted with Charles Bargue's loose-leaf method for sketching the human figure in charcoal. The firm of Goupil had published it in 1871, when Van Gogh was still working for this Paris art dealer.² In 1880, when he decided to become an artist, he wrote from the Borinage to ask H.G. Tersteeg, his former boss at Goupil's Hague branch, to lend him the *Exercices au fusain*.³ He took the exercises seriously, for within five months he had copied all sixty sheets of this method three times.⁴ In the summer of 1881 he fell back on them again after noticing that he was packing so much detail into his drawings that he had lost sight of the overall picture. He hoped that studying Bargue, 'who works with broad lines & forms and simple, delicate outlines', would put him back on the right track [169/148].⁵ As far as we know, none of the early copies after Bargue's nude figures has been preserved.6

Ten days after his first request, Van Gogh again urged his brother to send the method: 'Then, as soon as you can send them, I absolutely want to copy all the *Etudes au fusain* by Bargue once again, you know, the nude figures. I can draw them relatively quickly, the 60 sheets, say, within a month, so you might send a copy on

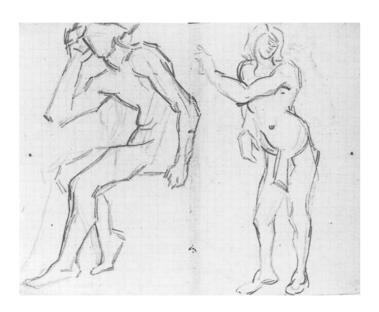
- 1 Letter of 21 May 1890: 'Lorsque tu pourras le faire tu m'enverrais pour un temps les exercices au fusain de Bargue, j'en ai absolument besoin, je les copierai pour garder pour de bon les copies.'
- 2 The full title of this drawing method, which appeared in 1871, is Exercices au fusain pour préparer à l'étude de l'académie d'après nature.
- 3 Letter 155/134 of 20 August and 156/135 of 20 August 1880. He ended up keeping the *Exercices* for nearly three years; see letter 358/295 of 22 June 1883.
- 4 Letter 161/140 of January 1881.
- 5 Letter of 5 August 1881.
- 6 Of another course by Bargue, the Cours de dessin, one copy from that period has been preserved, The daughter of Jacob Meyer (after Bargue after Holbein) (Appendix 3.1).

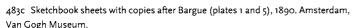


483a Sketchbook sheets with copies after Bargue (plate 2), 1890. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



483b Sketchbook sheets with copies after Bargue (plate 4), 1890. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.







483d Plate 1 from Charles Bargue, Exercices au fusain, Paris 1871.

loan, I'll be sure not to stain it or make it dirty. If I neglect to study proportion and the nude again, I'll find myself badly muddled later on. Don't think this absurd or futile' [881/638].7 On 6 June Theo sent Vincent the model drawings.⁸

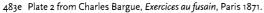
Considering the urgent tone of Van Gogh's request, we can assume that he began to copy the sheets soon after receiving them. In addition to the three drawings with four figures discussed here, there are six more studies known from the sketchbook that Van Gogh used in Auvers (figs. 483a-c). The ten copies were made from only four plates from Bargue: after plate I (fig. 483d) he made Sitting male nude (cat. 484), the hindmost figure, now clothed, in Standing male nude and sitting figure (cat. 485), the figure on the left in Standing and sitting male nude (cat. 483) and one of the sheets from the sketchbook (fig. 483c); after plate 2 (fig. 483e) he drew the foremost figure in catalogue number 485 and two sketches in the sketchbook (fig. 483a); after plate 4 (fig. 483f) he drew two sheets from the sketchbook (fig. 483b); after plate 5 (fig. 483g) he drew the figure on the right in catalogue number 483 and a sketch (fig. 483c). The drawings in the sketchbook are less accurate than the copies on the loose sheets, which are larger. Furthermore, in the drawings Van Gogh made rather faithful copies of the boys' bodies from Bargue, whereas in his sketchbook he blew them up into muscular men. 13

He probably began with the first *Exercice* and progressed no further than plate 5. There are no known copies of plate 3. It is not very likely that there were more studies, because Vincent wrote to Theo that this time he intended to save all the copies. Moreover, their academic nature made them unsuitable as presents, and after Vincent's death Theo took most of the Auvers oeuvre back to Paris.

The thematic method of working to which Van Gogh generally adhered makes it likely that the copies were made in a fairly short, continuous period. Before

- 7 Letter of 3 June 1890: 'Puis aussitôt que tu pourrais me les envoyer je tiendrais absolument à copier encore une fois toutes les Etudes au fusain de Bargue, tu sais les figures nues. Je peux les dessiner relativement vite, mettons dans un mois les 60 feuilles qu'il y a, donc tu enverrais un exemplaire en commission, je ferais en sorte de ne pas les tâcher ou salir. Si je négligeais d'étudier encore les proportions et le nu je me trouverais mal pris plus tard. Que cela ne te paraisse pas absurde ou inutile.'
- 8 See letter 884/T36 of 5 June 1890.
- **9** For the sheet from the sketchbook, see Van der Wolk 1987, SB 7/18.
- 10 Ibidem, SB 7/14-15.
- 11 Ibidem, SB 7/16-17.
- 12 Ibidem, SB 7/19.
- 13 Van Gogh might have made the copies in the sketchbook from memory, as suggested in Heenk 1995, p. 198.







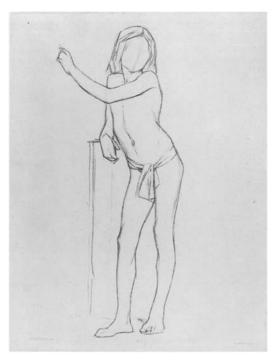
483f Plate 4 from Charles Bargue, Exercices au fusain, Paris 1871.

receiving them, he had intended to copy all 60 plates of the album within a month, which would have meant an average of two drawings a day. According to that schedule, the four large copies and six sketches could have been made in the space of four or five days.

Van Gogh's desire to practise the proportions of the human figure was prompted by his resolution to paint portraits. It had been eight months since he had drawn or painted from a model; besides, he now had considerably more ambition than he had when staying at the asylum. He wanted to make modern portraits: I seek it in colour, and surely I am not the only one to seek it in this direction. I should like — mind you, far be it from me to say that I shall be able to do all of that, but at last I'm attempting it — I should like to paint portraits which would appear after a century to the people living then as apparitions. By which I mean that I do not endeavour to achieve this by means of a photographic resemblance but through our impassioned expressions, that is to say, using our knowledge of and modern taste for colour as a means of arriving at the expression and the intensification of the character' [883/W22]. To do such work, he first had to practise, and this he did by copying the plates in Bargue's method and by portraying people in his circle. With these portraits to hand, he hoped to secure commissions for new portraits, thus enabling him to earn some money. To

Dr Gachet loomed large in these plans. He was the first one in Auvers to pose for Van Gogh (*fig. 483h*) and through him the artist could come by other models.¹⁷ Moreover, the doctor was very enthusiastic about two portraits Van Gogh had brought with him from Saint-Rémy: a self-portrait (F 627 JH 1772) and one of the paintings of the Arlésienne.¹⁸ Vincent, who had asked Theo to send Bargue's *Exercices* before starting his first portrait of Gachet, must have felt, when painting

- 14 In Saint-Rémy Van Gogh made a portrait of the chief guard, Trabuc (F 629 JH 1774), his wife (F 631 JH 1777), a peasant (F 531 JH 1779) and a fellow patient (F 703 JH 1832).
- 15 Letter of c. 5 June 1890: 'Je le cherche par la couleur et ne suis certes pas seul à le chercher dans cette voie. Je voudrais, tu vois je suis loin de dire que je puisse faire tout cela mais enfin j'y tends, je voudrais faire des portraits qui un siecle plus tard aux gens d'alors aparussent comme des apparitions. Donc je ne nous cherche pas à faire par la ressemblance photographique mais par nos expressions passionnées, employant comme moyen d'expression et d'exaltation du caractère notre science et goût moderne de la couleur.'
- 16 See letter 881/638 of 3 June 1890.
- 17 Ibidem and letter 883/W22 of c. 5 June. In June Van Gogh made a second portrait of Gachet (fig. 468b).
- 18 See letters 881/638 of 3 June and 883/W22 of 5 June 1890. It is not certain which version of the Arlésienne Van Gogh took with him to Auvers. New York 1986-87, p. 232 and Paris/New York/Amsterdam 1999, p. 261, suggest that it was F 540 JH 1892, but it could also have been F 541 JH 1893.



483g Plate 5 from Charles Bargue, Exercices au fusain, Paris 1871.

the doctor's likeness, an even greater need than before to study the human body more closely, for it was in the letter in which he told Theo that he was working on that painting that he asked for the Bargue a second time.¹⁹

It is likely that Gachet's attitude – leaning his head on his right hand with his elbow resting on the table, in a pose resembling that of the Arlésienne – reminded him of the pose of the nude figure in Bargue's plate I. It is indeed striking that the Bargue figure he copied the most (four times) sits in the same position as Gachet. Van Gogh received the *Exercices* only after completing Gachet's first portrait, and possibly made the copies after Bargue in the period between the first and second portrait. Since this second painting is not mentioned in the letters, it is usually dated to a somewhat broader period: June 1890. Differences from the first portrait that could be attributed to Van Gogh's study of Bargue are not evident.

Van Gogh drew the four figure studies discussed here in pencil on three sheets of Dambricourt Freres Hallines paper. Sitting male nude (cat. 484) and Standing male nude and sitting figure (cat. 485) were drawn on half-sheets that possibly belonged to the same full sheet. Each bears half of the complete watermark, but the torn edges were later trimmed, making it impossible to ascertain whether they once matched.²⁰ The third sheet (cat. 483), which is still as good as complete, was used for two figure studies.²¹ A vertical fold running through the middle indicates that Van Gogh had folded this and the above-mentioned sheets into a kind of sketchbook.

Bargue's plates strongly emphasise contour. Volumes are only occasionally indicated with a simple line, and the faces are generally not filled in. In making his copies, Van Gogh also concentrated mainly on the outlines, but worked up the faces and feet in particular in some detail. He drew sketchy ovals to mark the places

¹⁹ Letter 881/638.

²⁰ See cat. 474. The watermarks reveal that cat. 485 was attached at its right edge, and cat. 484 at its left edge, to the other half of a full sheet.

²¹ Only the right edge has been partly trimmed in a rough way.

occupied by the feet of the figure on the right in *Standing and sitting male nude* (*cat. 483*). Bargue's figures are supplied with geometrically shaped objects on which they sit or lean. In his copy of plate 5 (*cat. 483*), Van Gogh omitted the rectangle on which the figure's right arm leans, which created difficulties in its rendering: it was initially rather foreshortened but later made to look somewhat more natural. The objects on which the man in plate I sits and leans have been replaced in *Standing male nude and sitting figure* (*cat. 485*) by a table and chair. This and the young man's clothing make this copy the one furthest removed from the original. In *Sitting male nude* (*cat. 484*) Van Gogh played a joke by depicting the figure with an erection.²² The man's chest has a rather strange shape, owing not so much to the contours as to the elaboration: in Bargue only the left nipple is depicted, whereas Van Gogh drew both nipples and added lines suggestive of breasts. The navel, which disappears into a fold of skin in Bargue's example, is placed higher up in Van Gogh's drawing.

Unlike the copies that Van Gogh made at the beginning of his artistic career, these do not correspond to Bargue's original measurements ($61.5 \times 47.5 \text{ cm}$); instead, he chose a format two-thirds of the original size. ²³ The choice of this smaller format and the paper used, as well as the manner of rendering the figures' contours in short parallel lines – thereby displaying a resemblance to his sketchbook sheets – point to their origin in Auvers and not in the Borinage or Etten, as was previously maintained. ²⁴

22 A similar studio joke is to be found in a Paris study from a nude male model (F 1364-2 JH 1008), to which Van Gogh, or a fellow student in Cormon's studio, added an erection. See Drawings 3, cat. 243.
23 See Drawings 1, pp. 14, 15, 90 and letters 155/134 of 20 August and 156/135 of 7 September 1880.
24 See, as regards the early dating of cats. 483 and 484, Van Crimpen 1974 and Amsterdam 1987, p. 386. Van Crimpen does not mention cat. 485 and Amsterdam 1987, p. 496, does not consider it to be by Van

Gogh's hand (though without giving reasons). De la

Faille 1928 and 1970 assigns the sheet to Van Gogh's

Paris oeuvre. Cat. 483 was not included in the two edi-

tions of this catalogue raisonné; it was first published

in Van Crimpen 1974.

483h Portrait of Dr Gachet (F 753 JH 2007), 1890. Whereabouts unknown.





484 Sitting male nude (after Bargue)



485 Standing male nude and sitting figure (after Bargue)

483

Standing and sitting male nude (after Bargue)
Second week of June 1890
Pencil on laid paper
44.6 x 54.6 cm
Watermark: Dambricourt Freres
Hallines, and emblem with crown and letters
HP
Unsigned

Inv. d 62 V/1962 F – JH add. 4

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; not in De la Faille 1970; Van Crimpen 1974, p. 3; Chetham 1976, p. 46, ill 48; not in Hulsker 1980; Amsterdam 1987, p. 386 no. 2.121; not in De la Faille 1992; Heenk 1995, p. 198; Hulsker 1996, p. 484.

EXHIBITIONS None.

484

Sitting male nude (after Bargue)
Second week of June 1890
Pencil on laid paper
43.7 x 26.9 cm
Watermark: Dambricourt Freres
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 486

Inv. d 212 V/1962 F 1609v JH –

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; De la Faille 1970, pp. 549, 562, 669; Van Crimpen 1974, p. 5; Chetham 1976, p. 46, ill. 49; not in Hulsker 1980; Amsterdam 1987, p. 386 no. 2.122; Van der Wolk 1987, pp. 267, 268; Otterlo 1990, p. 317; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, p. 420, vol. 2, pl. CCXXXIX; Heenk 1994 I, p. 42; Heenk 1995, p. 198; not in Hulsker 1996.

Exhibitions None.

485

Standing male nude and sitting figure (after Bargue)
Second week of June 1890
Pencil on laid paper
44.3 x 27.3 cm
Watermark: Hallines, and emblem with crown and letters HP
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 474

Inv. d 190 V/1962 F 1508r JH –

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 152, vol. 4, pl. CLXXI [as F 1508v]; De la Faille 1970, pp. 494, 495, 523, 665; Chetham 1976, p. 46, ill. 50; not in Hulsker 1980; Amsterdam 1987, p. 496 no. 2.685; Van der Wolk 1987, pp. 267, 268; Otterlo 1990, p. 317; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 152 [as F 1508v], 393, vol. 2, pl. CLXXI; Heenk 1994 1, pp. 40, 42; Heenk 1995, pp. 198, 200, 271; not in Hulsker 1996.

EXHIBITIONS None.

Mid-June 1890 Pencil on laid paper 26.9 x 43.7 cm Watermark: DAMBRICOURT FRERES Unsigned Verso of cat. 484

Inv. d 212 V/1962 F 1609r JH 2089

- 1 With thanks to A. de Jager, head of the collection of the Nationaal Rijtuigenmuseum at Leek.
- 2 See letters 889/W23 of 13 June and 891/641 of 14 June 1890. De la Faille 1970 also points out the similarities to fig. 486a, cat. 464 and cat. 413, a drawing made in Saint-Rémy. De la Faille 1928 still dates cat. 486 to the Saint-Rémy period; De la Faille 1970 assumes it originated in June 1890, although the editors remark that the drawing could have been made in either Saint-Rémy or Auvers. Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.661, assumes that the drawing was made in June-July 1890, as does Hulsker 1996.
- 3 See the Introduction, p. 41, for more information on drawings made on this paper.

486 Horse and carriage

This drawing shows a horse and carriage seen from the side. The vehicle is a phaeton, which could carry a load at the back. Van Gogh made a quick sketch, in which the coachman with his bowler hat is portrayed only as a dark silhouette. His whip probably rests in a holder attached to the front of the carriage.

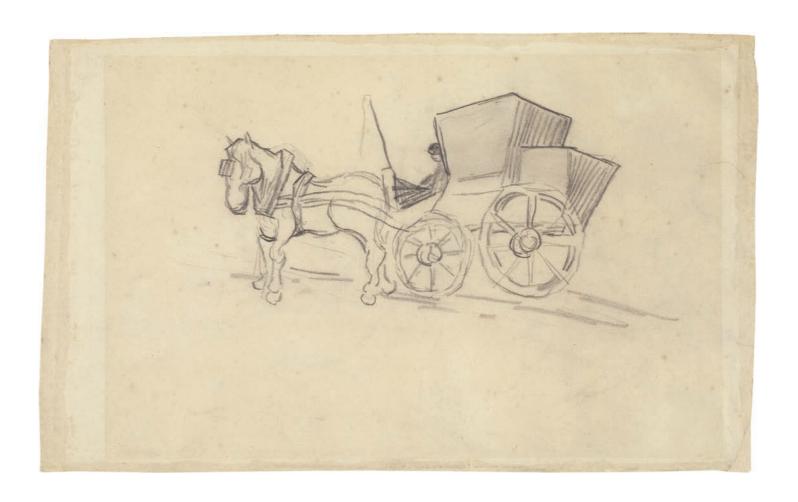
The *Horse and carriage* was executed in pencil. Van Gogh used a thin pencil for the underdrawing, subsequently taking up a thicker pencil to draw the final representation. The graphite lines of the carriage were stumped to some extent. The road was rendered with a few thick lines.

The depiction was perhaps a first attempt at depicting a carriage, before Van Gogh painted *Landscape with carriage and train in the background (fig. 486a*), in which, however, the horse and carriage (a slightly different model) are seen from a much greater distance. In addition to *Horse and carriage*, Van Gogh drew another study of a horse and carriage in Auvers (*cat. 464*). Because of its similarity to the above-mentioned painting, which is spoken of in two letters dating from mid-June, the drawing discussed here is also dated to approximately the same time.²

The drawing was made on a sheet of cream-coloured laid paper containing part of the watermark Dambricourt Freres Hallines.³



486a Landscape with carriage and train in the background (F 760 JH 2019), 1890. Moscow, Poesjkin Museum.



Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 172, vol. 4, pl. cc11; De la Faille 1970, pp. 549, 562, 669; Hulsker 1980, p. 475; Amsterdam 1987, p. 478 no. 2.661; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 172, 420, vol. 2, pl. cc11; Heenk 1995, p. 200; Hulsker 1996, pp. 474, 475.

Exhibitions

1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 177; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1930-31 Arnhem, Groningen, Leeuwarden & Enschede, resp. no cat. known, no. 58, no cat. known; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 107; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 294; 1953 Assen, no. 48; 1953 Zürich, no. 123; 1953-54 Bergen op Zoom, no. 56; 1955 Antwerp, no. 350.

487 Marguerite Gachet at the piano

'Yesterday and the day before I painted Miss Gachet's portrait, which I hope you will see soon; the dress is pink, the wall in the background green with orangey spots, the carpet red with green spots, the piano dark violet, it is I metre high and 50 centimetres wide. It is a figure that I painted with pleasure, but it is difficult. He has promised to make her pose for me another time at the small organ' [898/645] (figs. 487a, 487b). In this letter to Theo of 28 June 1890, Van Gogh added, by way of clarification, a large sketch of his painting of Miss Gachet at the piano. Below it, he drew a small version of the portrait, and next to it, a landscape in horizontal format: these works formed, in his view, a good combination because the colours matched. The drawing in the Van Gogh Museum was probably a preparatory study for the

1 'Hier et avanthier j'ai peint le portrait de Mlle Gachet que tu verras j'espère bientôt la robe est rose. le mur dans le fond vert avec un point orangé, le tapis rouge avec un point vert, le piano violet foncé. Cela a 1 metre de haut sur 50 de large. C'est une figure que j'ai peinte avec plaisir – mais c'est difficile. Il m'a promis de me la faire poser une autre fois avec un petit orgue.' In previous letters Van Gogh had expressed his intention to 25 or 26 June 1890 Black chalk on pink laid paper 30.5 x 23.8 cm Watermark: PL BAS, truncated at the left edge Unsigned Verso of cat. 469

Inv. d 427 V/1962 F 1623r JH 2047

make a portrait of Marguerite Gachet. See letters 881/638 of 3 June, 883/W22 of 5 June and 896/644 of 24 June 1890. There is no known portrait of Marguerite at the organ.

- 2 F-JH 2049.
- 3 This landscape was the painting F 775 JH 2038. See letter 898/645 of c. 28 June 1890.





487a Marguerite Gachet at the piano (F 772), 1890. Basel, Kunstmuseum.

487b Sketch in a letter to Theo of 28 June 1890 (898/645). Whereabouts unknown.



487c A. Barrès, Photograph/calling card Marguerite Gachet, 1894. Paris, Wildenstein Institute Archives.

portrait in vertical format of 21-year-old Marguerite Gachet (fig. 487a), the daughter of Dr Gachet (fig. 487c). It is a fairly rough sketch, for which Van Gogh used black chalk in two thicknesses. In the painting, which is much more refined, the composition and stylistic characteristics are the same as in the sketch. Marguerite, concentrating on her playing, sits in the same position on the piano stool. In the drawing, the rendering of the hands and the left arm was not entirely successful: they are very long and look rather stiff. In the painting this aspect came out better, even though there, too, the hands appear too long. As in the painted realisation, the book of music has been left blank, and to the right a candle stands in a candlestick attached to the piano.

The long lines of chalk Van Gogh used in the drawing to portray the lower part of the instrument were replaced in the painting by similar brushstrokes. The lines with which the floor was filled in are more numerous in the painting, however, and rendered with short brushstrokes. Finally, the stippled background in the drawing recurs in the painted portrait, but in a more refined rendition: the dots are smaller and more plentiful.

Considering that the drawing preceded the painting on which Van Gogh was working on 26 and 27 June, the preparatory study can be dated to 25 or 26 June 1890. The skirt displays a speck of green paint of the colour used in the background of the painting, making it likely that Van Gogh had the drawing to hand when making the painting.

The portrait of Marguerite Gachet recalls that of Miss Dihau at the piano, portrayed by Van Gogh's friend Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec. That work was exhibited at the Salon des Indépendants from 19 March to 27 April 1890 (*fig. 487d*).7 It has sometimes been suggested that Van Gogh had that painting in mind when portraying Marguerite Gachet, ⁸ but he did not see that work until his last visit to Paris on 6 July.9 Earlier, however, Theo had expressed his appreciation for Lautrec's painting in a letter written to his brother on 19 March. ¹⁰ Later Van Gogh wrote that Lautrec's 'Portrait de musicienne' was 'amazing' and that he 'saw it with emotion' [903/649]. ¹¹

- 4 Marguerite Gachet was born on 21 June 1869. See Gachet 1953, n.p. In letter 883/W22 of c. 5 June, Van Gogh wrote that the girl was 19 years old, but she was in fact a year older. Otterlo 1990, p. 22, suggests that the drawing was a preliminary study for the painting. Heenk 1995, p. 196, considers it a preparatory study.
- 5 De la Faille 1970 and Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.641, date the drawing generally to June 1890. Hulsker 1996 dates it 28 June 1890.
- **6** This remark is based on a comparison with a colour reproduction of the painting.
- 7 See Société des Artistes Indépendants. Catalogue des œuvres exposées. 6e exposition, Paris 1890.
- 8 See Liverpool/Manchester/Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1955-56, no. 133, p. 31; London 1968-69, no. 199, p. 126; Chetham 1976, p. 47; London/Paris 1991-92, pp. 150,
- **9** In 1914 Jo van Gogh-Bonger wrote about the meeting between Van Gogh and Lautrec. See Van Gogh-Bonger 1914, p. LII.
- 10 See letter 858/T29: 'de Lautrec a un excellent portrait de femme au piano & un grand tableau qui se tient très bien'.
- 11 Letter of c. 10 July 1890: 'bien etonnant, je l'ai vu avec émotion'.



487 Marguerite Gachet at the piano

- 12 See Gachet 1953, n.p.
- 13 Van Gogh made various portraits of 16-year-old Adeline Ravoux, the innkeeper's daughter; see F 768 JH 2035, F 786 JH 2036 and F 796 JH 2037. He also made a few works from unknown models. Evidently he still took his study of the figure very seriously and was prepared to practise hard, for he asked Theo to send him Bargue's drawing method shortly after arriving in Auvers (see cats. 483-485).
- 14 For the other drawings that belonged to this sketchbook, see cats. 470-473 and fig. 467a.
- 15 See Heenk 1995, p. 201 and cats. 470-473.

A work with which Van Gogh must already have been familiar is the etching Dr Paul Gachet had made in 1873 of his wife at the piano (*fig. 487e*). ¹² He hoped, at any rate, that Dr Gachet would be able to find interesting models for him. In the end, Van Gogh did not work very much with models in Auvers. ¹³

For this drawing Van Gogh used pink laid paper with the watermark PL BAS. It was originally part of a larger sheet he folded in four to make a homemade sketch-book. ¹⁴ The depiction of Marguerite Gachet rubbed off on the back of catalogue number 470, which belonged to that small sketchbook. ¹⁵ Because Van Gogh intended to make a portrait in vertical format, he did not use the full sheet; instead, he drew a vertical line and left blank the strip of paper to the right. In the depiction the pink paper has yellowed considerably, in contrast to the unused part next to it, which was long covered by a mount.



487d Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, *Mademoiselle Dihau at the piano*, 1890. Albi, Musée Toulouse-Lautrec.



487e P. Van Rijssel (Paul Gachet), *Madame Gachet at the piano*, 1873. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 174, vol. 4, pl. ccIv; De Gruyter 1961, p. 109 no. 50; London 1962, pp. 14, 85 no. 69; London 1968-69, p. 126 no. 199; De la Faille 1970, pp. 556, 669; Chetham 1976, pp. 47, 202, ill. 135; Hulsker 1980, pp. 468, 469; New York 1986-87, pp. 267, 268; Amsterdam 1987, p. 475 no. 2.641; Mothe 1987, pp. 97, 188; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 174, 424, vol. 2, pl. ccIv; Heenk 1995, pp. 196, 201; Hulsker 1996, pp. 468, 469.

Exhibitions

1945 Amsterdam, unnumbered; 1946 Maastricht & Heerlen, no. 128; 1946 Stockholm, Gothenburg & Malmö, no. 101; 1946 Copenhagen, no. 105; 1947 Basel, no. 166; 1947 Rotterdam, no. 111; 1947-48 London, Birmingham & Glasgow, no. 172; 1948 Bergen & Oslo, resp. no. 120, no. 121; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 297; 1949 Hengelo, no cat. known; 1949 Gouda, no cat. known; 1953 Zürich, no. 129; 1953 The Hague, no. 180; 1953 Otterlo & Amsterdam, no. 191; 1953-54 Saint Louis, Philadelphia & Toledo, no. 175; 1954-55 Paris, no. 61; 1955 Antwerp, no. 368; 1955 Amsterdam, no. 240; 1955-56 Liverpool, Manchester & Newcastle-upon-Tyne, no. 133; 1957 Breda, no. 89; 1957-58 Stockholm, no. 98, Luleå, Kiruna, Umeå, Östersund, Sandviken & Gothenburg, no cat. known; 1958-59 San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland & Seattle, no. 153; 1960 Enschede, no. 69; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 137; 1962 London, no. 69; 1963 Humlebæk, no. 116; 1964 Washington & New York, no. 116; 1968-69 London, no. 199; 1971-72 Paris, no. 208; 1972 Bordeaux, no. 70; 1972-73 Strasbourg & Bern, no. 77; 1975 Malmö, no. 100; 1976 Stockholm & Oslo, no. 100; 1977 Paris, unnumbered.

July 1890 Blue chalk on blue laid paper 23.7 x 30.2 cm Watermark: remains of ED &Cie in a scroll, truncated at the upper edge Unsigned Verso of cat. 489

Inv. d 418 V/1971 F 1634v JH –

- 1 See cat. 460.
- 2 Letter of c. 8 October 1889: 'la chaumière au toit de chaume moussu avec son foyer noirci'.
- 3 First published in De la Faille 1928. See also New York 1986-87, no. 72 and Amsterdam 1990, no. 120.

488 Sketch of a thatched roof

Upon his arrival at Auvers Van Gogh was pleasantly surprised to find that the village still had houses with thatched roofs. Seven months earlier he had confided to Emile Bernard that what he still admired most, in terms of architecture, was 'the little cottage with a moss-covered thatched roof with its blackened chimney' [811/B 20]. In Auvers he captured these picturesque houses on paper and canvas.

This sketch of a thatched roof that almost touches the ground is closely related, as regards motif and composition, to the painting Cottages with thatched roofs and figures (fig. 488a). In his very last letter to Theo, written on 24 July 1890, Vincent included a sketch of this canvas (fig. 488b). Both the painting and the letter sketch show thatching lying on the ground and a man on a ladder, repairing a thatched roof. In the right background the picture is closed off by a house with a pointed gable. Even though the present drawing is very schematic and the viewpoint, extremely close to the roof, rather hampers its legibility, various elements in the painting can be discerned in this sheet. For example, the main motif of both works is a thatched roof running in an undulating line around doors and windows. The thick edge of the roof is accentuated in the drawing by means of heavy hatching. A few very sketchy figures appear at the lower left, where the scene is closed off, as in the painting (where this occurs on the right), by a tall gable built of large stones. It is possible that this is the same house, and that here Van Gogh drew the roof of a cottage situated opposite the cottages which he depicted in the painting. These houses are known to have been located in Chaponval.³ On the basis of similarities to the painting, this sketch is also dated to July 1890.



488a Cottages with thatched roofs and figures (F 780 JH 2115), 1890. Zürich, Kunsthaus Zürich.



488 Sketch of a thatched roof



488b Sketch in a letter to Theo, written on 24 July 1890 [908/651]. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

4 In Auvers Van Gogh also used a pink and a cream-coloured sheet with this watermark (F 1639 JH 2023 and F 1643 JH 2119, respectively). See also Heenk 1995, p. 203. Van Gogh used sheets with this watermark in Etten, The Hague, Nuenen, Antwerp and Paris.
5 The other two edges are the original deckle edges.

Van Gogh sketched the motif in blue chalk on a blue sheet of laid paper. Part of the watermark is still visible at the upper edge of the sheet: a scroll belonging to the watermark ED & C^{1E}. This is the only example of the use of paper of this colour in Auvers.⁴ In view of the measurements of the sheet and the torn edges at the upper and right sides, this piece is one-quarter of a full sheet; there must originally have been three more sheets of this type.⁵ Van Gogh folded and tore the sheet himself: the edges do not cut through either of the depictions on recto and verso. The ink Van Gogh used to draw the figures on the other side (*cat.* 489) has bled through the sheet and is visible in the present sketch.

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 176 [no ill.]; De la Faille 1970, pp. 558, 670; not in Hulsker 1980; Amsterdam 1987, p. 480 no. 2.673; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 176, 427, vol. 2, pl. CCXLI; Heenk 1995, pp. 202, 203; not in Hulsker 1996.

EXHIBITIONS None.

489 Sketch of two women

This sheet contains two separate sketches of women: one bends over to work; the other stands upright. The two drawings are divided by thin chalk lines. Van Gogh made an underdrawing in ink and then used black chalk to work up the depiction in more detail. The faces in both sketches are filled in. The position of the face of the stooping woman differs in the chalk drawing from the preliminary sketch in pencil, in which the head is somewhat larger and placed slightly lower.

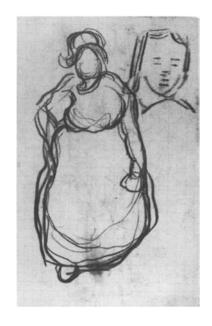
Van Gogh took more pains to depict the standing woman on the right, whose dress is completely filled in with lines of various lengths. In his sketchbook Van Gogh drew several women in Auvers with dresses of a similar cut, which he sometimes filled in with such lines (see *figs. 489a, 489b*). The woman on the left, who is hoeing, was depicted mostly in contours. Van Gogh needed only a few curved lines to render the field around her. Her skirt bears the colour indication 'bleu' (blue). Written above the framed sketch of this woman are two words: on the left one can make out 'emeraude' (emerald); the word on the right is illegible. Perhaps these notes had something to do with a sketch that is no longer part of this rather dark, blue laid paper. The present drawing once formed part of a larger sheet, as is apparent from the torn edges at the top and on the left. Part of the scroll of the watermark ED & Cie is visible at the upper edge. ^I

The sketches were probably made in July, when Van Gogh drew working figures on various occasions.²

July 1890
Black chalk, pen, brush and ink (now brown), on blue laid paper 23.7 x 30.2 cm
Watermark: remains of
ED & C^{1E}, truncated at the upper edge
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 488

Inv. d 418 V/1971 F 1634r JH 2067

- 1 This type of paper occurs only in the Auvers oeuvre, a fact observed in Heenk 1995, p. 203.
- 2 De la Faille 1970 dates the sheet to July 1890, as do the editors of Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.672. In Hulsker 1996 the work is dated to June-July 1890.





489a Sketchbook sheet with standing woman, 1890. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

489b Sketchbook sheet with walking woman, 1890. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



489 Sketch of two women

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 176, vol. 4, pl. ccv11; De la Faille 1970, pp. 558, 670; Hulsker 1980, p. 472; Amsterdam 1987, p. 480 no. 2.672; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 176, 426, 427, vol. 2, pl. ccv11; Heenk 1995, pp. 202, 203; Hulsker 1996, p. 472.

EXHIBITION

1977 Paris, unnumbered.

Second half of July 1890 Black chalk, brush and grey ink, on blue-grey laid paper 47.5 x 62.8 cm Watermark: мвм мвм Unsigned

Inv. d 227 V/1962 F 1641 JH 1484

490 Field with sheaves of wheat

Like the sower, the sheaf of wheat was for Van Gogh one of the symbols of life and death, of the cycle of perennial renewal. The sower symbolises new life; the sheaf of wheat stands for its final stage and thus for the end of earthly existence. In July 1885 Van Gogh had said that 'certainly nearly the most beautiful thing' was to be 'in the field, reaping wheat' [525/419].

Catalogue number 490 shows an outstretched field with six sheaves of wheat. Van Gogh chose a low vantage point; in the right foreground he drew some grass and several ears of wheat. This tranquil drawing contains nothing – no peasants or implements – representative of the harvest. In this respect it resembles several of the drawings made in Nuenen (fig. 490a) and Arles (fig. 490b).

The powerful composition was drawn in black chalk, brush and grey ink that gleams slightly at the edges of the lines. After using a very thin piece of chalk to make an underdrawing, Van Gogh painted in ink and then resumed drawing in black chalk, working up the drawing in more detail.⁴ Only in the ear of wheat at the left is a preliminary sketch visible, but this thin underdrawing seems unconnected with the present drawing.⁵

Over the years *Field with sheaves of wheat* has been dated alternately to Arles and Auvers. Here we assume that it was made in Auvers, where the harvest took place after mid-July. This dating is confirmed by the paper, a sheet of blue-grey laid paper with the watermark MBM MBM of the kind Van Gogh used only in Auvers. For this work he used a full sheet. In the sky, approximately two centimetres from the upper edge, the paper is marred by a brown edge caused by dampness. The style is rather more subdued than that of most of the other drawings from this period, but the composition displays similarities to a painting done about the same time (fig. 490c). 9

- 1 See letter 630/B7 of c. Tuesday, 19 June 1888.
- **2** See also cat. 344 and Drawings 2, cats. 197-202, p. 256.
- 3 Letter of 29 July 1885.
- 4 Where the ink was applied thickly it has bled through to the other side. Several traces of blue paint are visible below the sheaf of wheat. To the left of the sheaf there is an oil stain along the left edge caused by blue paint.
- 5 It is quite possible that this represents the top of a sheaf, in which case Van Gogh decided to place it higher in the final drawing.
- 6 De la Faille 1928 assumes it was made in Auvers; New York/Chicago 1949-50, no. 155, p. 89, dates the

drawing to May-July 1890; De la Faille 1970 thinks it was made in Arles in the summer of 1888, because the shape of the sheaves are supposedly more like those in F 560 JH 1482 than the ones in F 771 JH 2125 (fig. 490c). The editors of Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.511, agree with that dating. Heenk 1995, pp. 198, 199, 202, 271, places the sheet in Auvers, on the basis of the paper used. Pickvance, in Otterlo 1990, p. 319, recognises in

the drawing the spacious landscape of Auvers. Dorn 1990, p. 300, note 425, also places the sheet in Auvers. Hulsker 1996, however, assumes it was made in June

- 7 See New York 1986-87, no. 86, p. 276.
- **8** See also Heenk 1995, p. 199 and the Introduction, p. 42.
- 9 See also Otterlo 1990, p. 319.





490a Sheaves of wheat and a windmill (F 1319v JH 911), 1885. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



490b Wheatfield with sheaves (F 561 JH 1480), 1888. Honolulu, Honolulu Academy of Arts.



490c Field with sheaves of wheat (F 771 JH 2125), 1890. Dallas, Dallas Museum of Art.

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; De la Faille 1970, pp. 526, 527, 560, 670; Chetham 1976, p. 221, ill. 163; Hulsker 1980, pp. 338, 339; Amsterdam 1987, p. 453 no. 2.511; Dorn 1990, p. 300 note 425; Otterlo 1990, pp. 319, 329 no. 248; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 178, 429, vol. 2, pl. ccv11; Heenk 1994 11, pp. 34, 35; Heenk 1995, pp. 198, 199, 202, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 326, 338, 339.

Exhibitions

1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 1942; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue?; 1948-49 The Hague, no. 303; 1949-50 New York & Chicago, no. 155; 1953 Zürich, no. 133; 1954-55 Bern, no. 168; 1955 Antwerp, no. 374; 1960-61 Montreal, Ottawa, Winnipeg & Toronto, no. 139; 1966 Paris & Albi, no. 90; 1967 Lille & Zürich, no. 91; 1980-81 Amsterdam, no. 175; 1990 Otterlo, no. 248.

491-494 Peasants working the land

Technical details 491-494 on p. 510

In addition to more detailed compositions (cats. 495, 496), Van Gogh made several drawings of harvesting figures of an intentionally coarser design and sketchier in character.

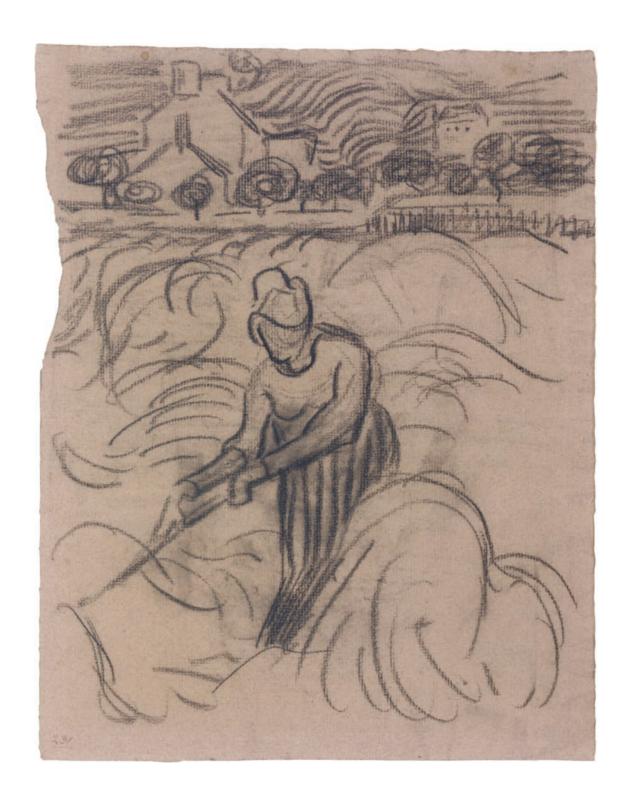
The woman in *Peasant woman working the land (cat. 491)* stands in the middle of a field described by wavy lines. In the background Van Gogh drew a road with trees and a few houses. The undulating movement of the landscape in the foreground is reflected in the dark sky, where the flowing lines have been placed close together. Van Gogh made the drawing in black chalk, which was partly rubbed away – deliberately or otherwise – in the figure. The woman and the implement she wields are so sketchily rendered that it cannot be said for certain what she is doing. The depiction was drawn on pink (now-yellowed) laid paper. The sheet – which once formed a whole with those of catalogue numbers 467, 469 and 487 – was part of a sketchbook Van Gogh made himself.¹

Two peasant women in a field (cat. 492) was swiftly sketched in black chalk on the verso of the drawing discussed above (cat. 491). The women most likely hold pitchforks. The crop in the foreground was rendered with powerful, vertical strokes. Similar lines occur in the background, but drawn more forcefully and closer to one another. To the right of the figures are haystacks: the one on the right is indicated only with contours, while the blank area inside stands out against the dark chalk lines. The drawing style lays particular emphasis on the flatness of the composition. Depth is suggested only by the overlapping of the foreground, middle distance and background. As in *Peasant woman working the land*, the faces of the women in this sketch are not rendered in detail.

The focal point of catalogue number 493 is a scythe-wielding peasant, gripping the implement firmly in his big, awkwardly drawn hands. Van Gogh made the drawing in black chalk, which sometimes has a scratchy appearance. In this case he rendered the figure's face in detail. The wheat, indicated by lines and loops, comes up to the peasant's knees. The weather seems windy: the tree on the horizon is bent slightly to the left, and the cloudy sky is depicted by means of short strokes that together form curved shapes. *Peasant with a scythe* was drawn on a sheet of bluegrey laid paper bearing the watermark MBM, which was part of a homemade sketchbook. *Stooping man (cat. 494)*, a quickly scrawled sketch of a figure in a field, was drawn on the same kind of paper, on a sheet that also belonged to Van Gogh's homemade sketchbook. In this case he drew in blue chalk, which was rubbed away slightly in the figure.

Since all these sketches represent harvest scenes, the drawings discussed here are dated to the second half of July 1890.4

- 1 See cat. 467, note 3 and fig. 467a. For more information on this sketchbook, see the Introduction, p. 42. There is a tiny trace of flesh-coloured oil paint at the top of the sheet to the left above the chimney.
- 2 See also Toledo 2003, no. 21.
- 3 For this sketchbook, see the Introduction, p. 42 and fig. 475b.
- 4 De la Faille 1928 assigns cat. 491 to the Auvers period in general. De la Faille 1970 dates it to June-July, as does Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.665, and both publications give the same dating to cat. 492. De la Faille 1928 places cat. 493 in Auvers; De la Faille 1970 and Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.674, date the sheet to July 1890. Cat. 494 was assigned to the Saint-Rémy oeuvre and dated to the spring of 1890, first by De la Faille 1970 and later by the editors of Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.611, after which Heenk 1995, pp. 202 and 271, placed the sheet in the Auvers period.



491 Peasant woman working the land





493 Peasant with a scythe



494 Stooping man

491

Peasant woman working the land
Second half of July 1890
Black chalk on pink laid paper
30.5 x 23.9 cm
Watermark: part of the scroll of AL (in a scroll)
PL BAS, truncated at the left edge
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 492

Inv. d 214 V/1962 F 1626r JH 2087

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 175, vol. 4, pl. CCIV; De la Faille 1970, pp. 556, 557, 669; Hulsker 1980, p. 475; Amsterdam 1987, p. 479 no. 2.665; Van der Wolk 1987, p. 287; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 175, 425, vol. 2, pl. CCIV; Heenk 1995, p. 201; Hulsker 1996, pp. 474, 475.

Exhibitions

1948 Luxemburg, no. 30; 1953 Zundert, no. 59; 1953 Hoensbroek, no. 109; 1953 Assen, no. 50; 1953-54 Bergen op Zoom, no. 58; 1954-55 Bern, no. 167; 1955 Antwerp, no. 370; 1956 Haarlem, no. 86; 1957 Nijmegen, no. 77; 1960 Paris, no. 108; 1964 Zundert, no. 29.

492

Two peasant women in a field
Second half of July 1890
Black chalk on pink laid paper
23.9 x 30.5 cm
Watermark: part of the scroll of AI (in a scroll)
PI BAS, truncated at the upper edge
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 491

Inv. d 214 V/1962 F 1626v JH 2088

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 175, vol. 4, pl. ccv1; De la Faille 1970, pp. 556, 557, 669; Hulsker 1980, p. 475; Amsterdam 1987, p. 479 no. 2.666; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 175, 425, vol. 2, pl. ccv1; Heenk 1995, p. 201; Hulsker 1996, pp. 474, 475; Toledo 2003, pp. 78, 79 no. 21;

Exhibition 2003 Toledo, no. 21.

493

Peasant with a scythe
Second half of July 1890
Black chalk on blue-grey laid paper
31.4 x 23.8 cm
Watermark: MBM
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 480

Inv. d 218 V/1971 F 1635v JH 2086

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

Literature

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 176 [as F 1635r, no ill.]; De la Faille 1970, pp. 558, 670; Hulsker 1980, p. 475; Amsterdam 1987, p. 480 no. 2.674; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 176 [as F 1635r], 427, vol. 2, pl. CCVIII; Heenk 1995, pp. 202, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 474, 475.

Exhibition 1976-77 Tokyo, Kyoto & Nagoya, no. 98.

494

Stooping man
Second half of July 1890
Blue chalk on blue-grey laid paper
31.4 x 23.9 cm
Unsigned
Verso of cat. 479

Inv. d 239 V/1971 F 1596av JH 1942

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-71 V.W. van Gogh; 1971 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1971-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; De la Faille 1970, pp. 545, 668 [ill. of F 1596ar]; Hulsker 1980, pp. 442, 445; Amsterdam 1987, p. 470 no. 2.611; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, p. 416, vol. 2, pl. ccxxxv111 [ill. of F 1596ar]; Heenk 1995, pp. 202, 271; Hulsker 1996, pp. 445, 472, 474.

EXHIBITIONS
None

495, 496 Harvest scenes

Technical details 495, 496 on p. 519

Landscape with peasants reaping (cat. 495) and Landscape with women harvesting (cat. 496), drawn on either side of the same sheet of paper, are detailed compositions in which sundry elements of the landscape are depicted in a variety of ways. In contrast to the landscape paintings Van Gogh made in Auvers, many of the drawings feature figures actively engaged in working the land.

Catalogue number 495 includes two men, one of whom wields a scythe. The body of water beyond the road, where the horse and cart full of wheat are to be seen, is possibly the River Oise, on the opposite bank of which appear houses, trees and hills in the background. The other drawing shows seven peasant women working, and on the right a haystack. In the middle distance several farmhouses dot the land-scape. As in the depiction on the other side of this sheet, hills are visible in the background. Van Gogh wrote 'rouge' (red) on the roof of the farmhouse on the right, an indication that he intended to make painted versions of these landscape studies. No related paintings are known, however.²

Van Gogh drew these landscapes in black and blue chalk. In *Landscape with* women harvesting he limited his use of blue chalk to the details of the clothing of the three figures in the middle, whereas this colour appears throughout the composition of *Landscape with peasants reaping*. In both cases Van Gogh used nearly the full sheet, leaving only a narrow strip for the sky. Particularly in *Landscape with women harvesting*, in which the chalk in the background is sometimes rather scratchy, the various elements of the landscape merge harmoniously. Several of the figures, such as the woman on the far right in *Landscape with women harvesting* and the reaper in *Landscape with peasants reaping*, have long, slightly bent arms that remind one of the simply rendered figures that Van Gogh drew in Saint-Rémy in the spring of 1890.³ Both drawings, made on cream-coloured laid paper with the watermark MBM, were part of a homemade sketchbook (fig. 468c).⁴

Since these two drawings appear on the same sheet and are closely related in style, both were no doubt made during the harvest, which took place in Auvers after mid-July. The works are therefore dated to the second half of July 1890.

- 1 See also Toledo 2003, no. 20.
- 2 See also Heenk 1995, p. 203.
- 3 This is probably why De la Faille 1928 assigns the drawings to the Saint-Rémy period.
- $\boldsymbol{4}$ See cat. 482 and fig. 468c.
- **5** See Heenk 1995, p. 203; New York 1986-87, no. 86, p. 276.
- 6 De la Faille 1970, Amsterdam 1987, no. 2. 662 and Hulsker 1996 assume the drawing was made in June-July 1890.





495

Landscape with peasants reaping Second half of July 1890 Black and blue chalk on laid paper 23.8 x 31.2 cm Watermark: MBM Unsigned Verso of cat. 496

Inv. d 210 V/1962 F 1615r JH 2084

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 173 [no ill.]; De la Faille 1970, pp. 549, 564, 669; Hulsker 1980, p. 474; Amsterdam 1987, p. 478 no. 2.662; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 173, 422, vol. 2, pl. ccx1; Heenk 1995, p. 203; Hulsker 1996, p. 474; Toledo 2003, pp. 78, 79 no. 20.

Exhibitions

1947 Rotterdam, no. 110; 1953 Zundert, no. 57; 1953 Hoensbroek, no. 107; 1953 Assen, no. 49; 1953-54 Bergen op Zoom, no. 57; 1955 Antwerp, no. 351; 1956 Haarlem, no. 85; 2003 Toledo, no. 20.

496

Landscape with women harvesting Second half of July 1890 Black and blue chalk on laid paper 23.8 x 31.2 cm Watermark: MBM Unsigned Verso of cat. 495

Inv. d 210 V/1962 F 1615v JH 2085

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 173 [no ill.]; Wadley 1969, p. 42; De la Faille 1970, pp. 549, 564, 669; Hulsker 1980, p. 474; Amsterdam 1987, p. 478 no. 2.663; Van der Wolk 1987, p. 287; Otterlo 1990, pp. 317, 319, 320 no. 239; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 173, 422, vol. 2, pl. CCXL; Heenk 1995, p. 203; Hulsker 1996, p. 474.

Exhibitions

1931 Amsterdam, no. 229?; 1967 Wolfsburg, no. 128; 1990 Otterlo, no. 239.

Appendices

I.I Sketch of figures

This *Sketch of figures* was made on the back of an envelope of the King's Mill brand; as emerges from the text on the front, the envelope originally contained four sheets of paper and four envelopes (see *fig. 2.1a*). The depiction is on the side that opens: the upper flap was folded inside before the sketch was made.

The figures, seated around a table, are rendered very sketchily in pen and brown ink. On the right are several rapidly sketched lines, but it is unclear what they were intended to represent.

The sketch was earlier dated to the Auvers period, but Heenk linked the subject to the studies Van Gogh made in Saint-Rémy in preparation for a new version of *The potato eaters* (see *cats. 431-437*). Although the theme is similar, the angular style of drawing seen in the heads, as well as the combination of sketchiness and the use of ink alone, differs somewhat from the way in which Van Gogh made other drawings of figures grouped around a table. The Nuenen drawings made preparatory to the painting of *The potato eaters* are not in ink and are characterised by an emphasis on the rendering of volume; when Van Gogh again took up this subject in Saint-Rémy, he chose to draw in pencil (sometimes in combination with black chalk) and mostly drew flowing, somewhat curving lines (see *cats. 431-437*).

On the basis of a connection between the printed text on the envelope and the watermark in several letters written by Van Gogh, the sketch is dated here to May 1890. The paper on which the first three letters from Auvers were written does in fact bear the watermark King's Mill.³ Those sheets probably came from the envelope on which he drew.⁴ It is possible that Van Gogh had already bought the envelope containing letter paper and other envelopes in Saint-Rémy, where in

May 1890 Pen and brown ink, on an envelope 12.0 x 18.3 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 312 V/1972 F – JH –

- 1 See Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.644.
- 2 See Heenk 1995, p. 189.
- 3 These are letters 874/635 of 20 May and 875/W21 and 876/636, both of c. 21 May 1890. The collection of the Van Gogh Museum also contains two pages of a letter from Milliet to Van Gogh on this paper. That letter is dated 11 December 1888. The watermark consists of a coat of arms with the monogram KM, with the words 'King's Mill' written below.
- 4 The letters measure 17.4 x 22 cm and have a fold in the middle. When folded, the sheets measure 17.4 x 11 cm and therefore fit in the envelope.



1.1a Recto of envelope.



March-April he had completed his studies for a new version of *The potato eaters*. Van Gogh could have made this little drawing while still living there. It is also conceivable, however, that he drew it in Paris – where he arrived on 16 May to spend a few days with Theo – or shortly after moving to Auvers on 20 May 1890.

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-72 V.W. van Gogh; 1972 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1972-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; not in De la Faille 1970; not in Hulsker 1980; Amsterdam 1987, p. 475 no. 2.644; not in De la Faille 1992; Heenk 1995, p. 189; not in Hulsker 1996.

EXHIBITIONS None.

End May-July 1890 Pencil on cardboard 47.2 x 40.0 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 758 V/1962 F – IH –

Sketch of a seated woman

T.2

This sketch of a young woman with folded arms was drawn in pencil on cardboard. A small piece of blue paper is glued to the middle of the right edge. The back is almost completely covered with the same kind of paper, and there is a loop with two eyelets on the left side, at the height of the piece of blue paper on the front (*fig. 1.1a*). On the verso, a strip of brown paper has been glued around the blue paper.

The function of the support is unclear. Perhaps it was intended as a mount for a reproduction, in which case Van Gogh made his sketch on the cardboard after the original image had been removed. However, given the presence of the eyelets to which a ribbon could be attached, it could also be part of a portfolio. If so, it can no longer be determined how it was closed: the cardboard has its original edges, there is no spine, and there are no traces of another fastening. The extremely sketchy drawing is here dated – but with reservations – to Auvers, since there is nothing on which to base a more specific identification.

 $\ensuremath{\mathbf{1}}$ The dampness on the left might have been caused by a sheet coming unstuck.



1.2a Verso of cat. Appendix 1.1.

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; not in De la Faille 1970; not in Hulsker 1980; Amsterdam 1987, p. 477 no. 2.658; not in De la Faille 1992; Heenk 1995, p. 204; not in Hulsker 1996.

EXHIBITIONS None.



1.2 Sketch of a seated woman

1.3 Landscape with peasant and two horses

June-July 1890
Pencil and white chalk on cardboard
59 x 50 cm (cardboard), 28.8 x 34.4 cm
(image)
Unsigned

Inv. d 408 V/1968 F - JH -

- There are also holes made by drawing pins in the corners above and below the fold.
- 2 Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.645, dates the sketch with reservations to June/July 1890; Heenk 1995, p. 204, places it in Auvers, without giving a precise dating. De la Faille 1970 and Hulsker 1996 do not include Appendix 1.3.

Van Gogh drew this *Landscape with peasant and two horses* on a piece of brown-grey cardboard that had possibly served as a drawing board. There is a horizontal fold in the middle, below which the depiction was drawn. In its folded state, the drawing was on the outside. The corners display numerous holes made by drawing pins, suggesting that Van Gogh used this piece of cardboard as a drawing board. In the drawing, and especially at the top of the cardboard, appear traces of blue paint, the shade of which closely resembles the paint in catalogue numbers 459 and 460.

Van Gogh used pencils of three thicknesses to make this sketch. The horse in front and the landscape bear very thin traces of white chalk, which was applied wet. The peasant and the horses walk along a road in bad weather: a flash of lightning appears in the upper centre, and the diagonal lines at the upper right may be interpreted as rain. To the right of the tree, a preliminary drawing of a farmhouse can be discerned in the background.

Here it is assumed that the drawing was made in Auvers, but the sketchiness of the work makes it difficult to give a precise dating within this period.²

Provenance

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-68 V.W. van Gogh; 1968 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1968-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; not in De la Faille 1970; not in Hulsker 1980; Amsterdam 1987, p. 475 no. 2.645; not in De la Faille 1992; Heenk 1995, p. 204; not in Hulsker 1996.

EXHIBITIONS
None.



1.3 Landscape with peasant and two horses

April-end December 1881 Pencil and black chalk, on laid paper 30.8 x 24.2 cm Watermark: Michallet Unsigned

Inv. d 247 V/1962 SD 1727 JH 610

- 1 Amsterdam 1987, no. 2.251, dates cat. 2.1 to Nuenen, January 1885. Hulsker 1996 dates the work to January-February 1885.
- **2** However, Heenk 1995, p. 145, incorrectly assumed that Van Gogh had used charcoal.
- 3 See Drawings 3, cats. 238-250, note 20. The sketches at the lower edge are described there as studies of what is presumably a leg.

2.1 Study of a hand

On this sheet Van Gogh drew a hand and two sketches of what is probably a lower arm. He worked mainly in black chalk; pencil is visible only on the top of the hand, in the triangular areas indicating the knuckles.

Study of a hand has been given various datings over the years. In his 1970 catalogue raisonné, De la Faille dated the work to April-May 1890, when Van Gogh was working in Saint-Rémy. Hulsker, in his catalogue raisonné of 1977, placed the sheet in Nuenen and dated it to January 1885. In 1995 Heenk then assigned the study – on the basis of watermark, linear style, technique and subject matter – to the Paris period. The authors of *Drawings 3*, the volume in this series devoted to the drawings in the Van Gogh Museum that the artist made in Antwerp and Paris, did not share that opinion and therefore did not include the sheet in their book. They assumed the drawing originated in Saint-Rémy, but expressed this view with reservations.

However, the way in which Van Gogh emphasised the form of the hand by means of flowing contours does not resemble the style of drawing seen in the works originating in Saint-Rémy, where he drew various studies of a hand (see *cats. 426-428*). In the studies made in that period, the outlines also play an important role, but they are somewhat angular because Van Gogh used short lines to stress the different parts of the hand and fingers. Even though in this *Study of a hand*





2.1a Man with a sack of wood (F 895 JH 21), 1881. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

2.1b Verso of cat. 2.1.



2.1 Study of a hand

Van Gogh accentuated the contours – as indeed he usually did in the works made in March-June 1886 in Fernand Cormon's studio – the present drawing does not display the pronounced style characteristic of the Paris oeuvre. The rather robust style of the hands from his Nuenen period also differs greatly from that of the work discussed here.

The present authors assign the study to Van Gogh's stay in Etten, the period from April 1881 until the last week of December. The main reason is the style, which betrays Van Gogh's inexperience. The hand and the rendering of the fingers recall a drawing from the autumn of 1881, *Man with a sack of wood (fig. 2.1a)*. Both the coarseness of the clogs and the emphasis on their contours correspond to the way in which Van Gogh made his *Study of a hand*. His rendering of the peasant's fingernails is also similar.

The paper on which the present drawing was made bears the watermark Michallet, as does the sheet on which Van Gogh drew *Landscape with draw bridge* in the period 1881-83.4 The study has another thing in common with that drawing: in both cases Van Gogh pasted an illustration on the back,⁵ something he occasionally did in Etten and The Hague. In contrast to the above-mentioned landscape, the illustration on the back of *Study of a hand* has disappeared. In the place where it was, the paper is less discoloured. Small traces of the cutting are still visible in the corners (*fig. 2.1b*). It may be assumed that its second life as a support for a print is the reason this drawing still exists. Van Gogh did not usually keep such studies; this sheet is therefore unique for the period in question.

4 See Drawings 1, Appendix 1, 1.3 on p. 243 (inv. t 204 V/1962, F – JH –). Michallet paper also occurs in the Paris period, but with less space between the vergures.

5 The illustration on the back of the landscape came from *The Illustrated London News* 64 (1873). Van Gogh gathered together approximately 1,400 magazine illustrations; that collection is now preserved in the Van Gogh Museum. See Drawings 1, pp. 27, 28.

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1962-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; De la Faille 1970, pp. 585, 672; Hulsker 1980, pp. 138, 144; Amsterdam 1987, p. 409, no. 2.251; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, p. 461, vol. 2, pl. cclv; Heenk 1994 1, pp. 40, 41; Heenk 1995, pp. 145, 270; Hulsker 1996, p. 138.

Exhibitions
None

2.2

Winter landscape with hut and figure

Winter landscape with hut and figure was drawn on a sheet of laid paper, the upper edge of which was probably attached to a sketchpad. Van Gogh drew a hut and to the right of it a man walking, carrying a bundle of sticks on his back. Given the debranched tree trunks leaning against the back of the structure, it could well be a wood-cutter's hut. Whatever is standing and lying in front of the building is however unidentifiable.

After making an underdrawing in pencil, Van Gogh drew in red, blue, yellow, black and white chalk, which is stumped in some places, such as in the background. In the horizon on the right he scratched into the paper with a sharp object. The blue chalk in the figure gleams slightly, owing to its oiliness. Around the door one can see that Van Gogh first laid in the composition with a hard pencil before working it up with chalk. Evidently another sheet or a solid, damaged surface was lying beneath the present drawing when it was being made, since the deep lines it contained prevented the drawing material from adhering properly in several places in the area of the figure. In Etten Van Gogh used a wooden board to rest his drawings on, as recollected by the minister's son Jan Benjamin Kam (1860-1932) in a letter written on 12 June 1912 to the art critic Albert Plasschaert (1874-1941): 'In June 1881 I again went to visit Vincent. He was then living with his parents in Etten; he had a room there next to the house, to use as a study where he also slept. He went about oddly dressed, without a collar, and drew tree or shrub studies in pencil. He went out with a portfolio and a hefty board on which he spread the paper. He needed a hard base because he preferred to work with a simple carpenter's pencil, that broad,

November-December 1881 Pencil, red, blue, yellow, black and white chalk, on laid paper 22.6 x 29.0 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 86 V/1962 F 1126 JH 605

1 Old glue is discernible at the upper edge. The round corner at the lower left led Heenk 1995, p. 129, to conclude that the sheet came from a sketchpad.



2.22 Cemetery in winter (F 1237 JH 433), 1883. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



2.2b Cart with donkey (SD 1677 JH 52), 1881. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.





2.2c Digger (F 866 JH 54), 1881. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

coarse pencil that carpenters use. I once saw him clutching it in his fist, attacking the paper until it tore.'2

Until now Winter landscape with hut and figure has usually been assigned to Van Gogh's Nuenen oeuvre.³ The author of Drawings 2, the volume in this series devoted to the drawings made in Nuenen, was the first to place the sheet in Etten.⁴ On the basis of style and technique, we too place the drawing in Etten and date it to the period November-December 1881.5 Winter landscapes from Nuenen (see, for instance, fig. 2.2a) display a more practised hand than the work discussed here. Van Gogh must have made Winter landscape with hut and figure when he was still inexperienced as an artist, since the drawing has little depth and the figure is rather awkwardly rendered. The sheet bears little resemblance to other drawings, but the working method recalls to some extent the way in which Van Gogh drew the foreground, background and cart in Cart with donkey (fig. 2.2b) of October 1881. Another argument for placing Winter landscape with hut and figure in Etten rather than Nuenen is the fact that coloured chalk does not occur in the Nuenen work. This material is present, however, in the drawing of a Digger (fig. 2.2c) of October 1881, where green and black chalk are combined with charcoal and transparent and opaque watercolour.6

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 69, vol. 4, pl. LXXIV; Vanbeselaere 1937 I, pp. 259, 322, 411; De la Faille 1970, pp. 414, 653; Hulsker 1980, pp. 136, 137; Amsterdam 1987, p. 409 no. 2.250; Hulsker 1989, pp. 136, 137, 144; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 69, 287, vol. 2, pl. LXXIV; Heenk 1995, p. 129; Hulsker 1996, pp. 136, 137, 140.

- 2 We are indebted to Hans Luijten for drawing our attention to this letter which is preserved in the Van Gogh Museum (inv. b3025). Van Gogh also made use of a drawing board in The Hague. The grain of the wood is still visible in many of the drawings he made there; see, for example, Drawings 1, cat. 28.
- 3 Van Gogh stayed in Nuenen from 4 December 1883 until the end of November 1885. De la Faille 1928 maintains a dating to February 1884. De la Faille 1970 dates the work to March 1884; the 1992 edition revised this interpretation, dating it on stylistic grounds to early 1885. Amsterdam 1987 dates the landscape to January 1885. Hulsker 1980 dates the drawing to January 1885 and Hulsker 1996 assumes that it originated in February 1885.
- 4 See Drawings 2, p. 6.
- 5 Heenk 1995, p. 129, noted the unusualness of both the drawing material and the paper.
- 6 During this period Van Gogh took Anton Mauve's advice and began to draw with charcoal, chalk, brush and stump. See Drawings 1, p. 21 and cat. 21.

EXHIBITIONS

1905 Amsterdam I, no. 293 [Dfl.140]; 1914-15 Amsterdam, no. 118; 1915 The Hague, no catalogue; 1923 Rotterdam, no cat. known; 1926 Amsterdam, no. 39; 1927-28 Berlin, no. 17; 1928 Vienna & Hanover, no. 17; 1928 Munich, no catalogue; 1928 Paris, no. 18; 1931 Amsterdam, no. 143; 1947-48 Alkmaar, no. 23; 1948 Amersfoort, no cat. known; 1955 Antwerp, no. 67.

PROVENANCE

1890-91 T. van Gogh; 1891-1925 J.G. van Gogh-Bonger; 1925-62 V.W. van Gogh; 1962 Vincent van Gogh Foundation; 1931-73 on loan to the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam; 1973 on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam. October 1880-April 1881 Pencil, brushed, rubbed over, on wove paper 42.6 x 30.5 cm (framed image: 40.3 x 28.9 cm) Signed at lower left in pencil (not by the artist): Van Gohg Inscription at bottom centre: d'après Hans Holbein La fille du Bourgemestre Jacques

Inv. d 1125 S/2005 F 847 JH juv.12

- 1 For Bargue, see cats. 483-485.
- 2 See letter 155/134.
- 3 Van Gogh worked at Goupil's from July 1869 to May 1873. See Drawings 1, p. 14.
- 4 See letter 156/135 of 7 September 1880. Tersteeg also sent him several manuals on perspective and anatomy; see Drawings 1, pp. 16, 17.
- 5 See letter 158/137 of 15 October 1880. Van Gogh refers here to the third part of Cours de dessin, but he actually meant the second part. He considered the Exercices au fusain the first part, although this had been published separately.
- **6** For the copies after the *Exercices au fusain*, see cats. 483-485.
- 7 The third surviving work after Holbein is Woman of Basel (F 848 JH –), a copy after plate 26, which was earlier identified incorrectly as a copy after plate 27 (A lady from the court of Henry viii). See De la Faille 1970, p. 316; Chetham 1976, p. 258; Heenk 1995, p. 25. The fourth work (F 849a JH –) was made after plate 18, Roman woman (study of a head), after an original by Paul Dubois. See A. De Robertis and M. Smolizza, Vincent van Gogh. Le opere disperse: oltre 1000 disegni e dipinti citati dall'artista e introvabili, Nuori 2005, pp. 127-37, for reproductions of the Bargue examples. With thanks to Teio Meedendorp. De la Faille 1970 did not recognise the work as a copy after Bargue.
- 8 Letter of 1 November 1880.
- **9** Holbein's original drawing belongs to the collection of the Kunstmuseum Basel.

3.1 The daughter of Jacob Meyer (after Bargue after Holbein)

This portrait is one of the few works to have survived from the beginning of Van Gogh's career as an artist. The drawing is a copy after a reproduction of a work by Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/98-1543) that was part of the loose-leaf drawing method *Cours de dessin* by Charles Bargue (*fig. 3.1a*). Making copies was an approved method of art instruction.

On 20 August 1880 Van Gogh, then living in Cuesmes (Belgium), wrote to his former boss H.G. Tersteeg, head of the Hague branch of the French firm of Goupil & Cie, asking if he could borrow Bargue's drawing method *Exercices au fusain pour préparer à l'étude de l'académie d'après nature* (1871).² Van Gogh knew these examples intended for practice in drawing the human figure in charcoal (*fusain*), because they had been published by Goupil in 1871 when he was working for the firm.³ Tersteeg complied with his request and sent him, moreover, Bargue's other method, *Cours de dessin* (1868-1870), the first part of which included 70 lithographs after plaster casts and the second part 67 drawing examples after the work of famous masters.4

By the time Van Gogh moved to Brussels in early October 1880, he had already copied the first part and had begun on the sheets of the second part, the *Modèles d'après les maîtres de toutes les époques et de toutes les écoles.* Examples after the work of Hans Holbein the Younger comprise more than one-third of these lithographs. As he had done with the examples in the *Exercices au fusain*, Van Gogh copied these examples more than once, though precisely how many times is not known. Four drawings have survived, three of which are after Holbein. Two of these were made after the same lithograph: *The daughter of Jacob Meyer.* Van Gogh wrote the following about these examples: 'The Holbeins from the Modèles d'après les Maitres are splendid, I notice that now, drawing them, much more than before. But they're not easy, I assure you' [159/138].⁸

Bargue's lithograph after Holbein's drawing of Anna Meyer, the daughter of the mayor of Basel, follows the original very closely. The drawing discussed here, the older of the two copies after Bargue's example, shows that Van Gogh in turn made a fairly faithful copy of the lithograph. The work was drawn entirely in pencil, brushed in the background into a uniform soft grey. The drawing material was rubbed somewhat with an eraser at the nose, cheek and lips. He rendered the pupil by impressing a solid dot in the eye with a pencil, using a blacker tone to accentuate the hair and the collar, and scratching a bit in the hair at the lower right. Compared with the lithograph, Van Gogh's copy is less refined: the nose is rather pronounced, for example, and the hair is wilder. The rendering of the eye was not entirely successful either: it is placed too low with respect to the eyebrow, and its glance is directed upwards, so that the girl does not have the contemplative appearance of Bargue's reproduction.



3.1 The daughter of Jacob Meyer (after Bargue after Holbein)





3.1a Charles Bargue, The daughter of Jacob Meyer (after Holbein). From Cours de dessin exécuté avec le concours de J.-L. Gérôme. Partie 11: Modèles d'après les maîtres de toutes les époques et de toutes les écoles, 1868-70, plate 10. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

3.1b Vincent van Gogh, The daughter of Jacob Meyer (after Bargue after Holbein) F 833 JH 13, 1881. Otterlo, Kröller-Müller Museum.

Van Gogh framed the depiction with pencil lines and wrote below it: 'd'après Hans Holbein La fille du Bourgemestre Jacques Meyer'. Another, unknown hand wrote in a different kind of pencil at the lower left 'Van Gohg', misspelling the artist's name.

The drawing, which is dated broadly to the period between October 1880 and April 1881, was made on wove paper of a format corresponding more or less to that of the lithograph. The work, which was rather damaged and discoloured, was restored in the 1990s in Paris. I

In the summer of 1881, Van Gogh made another copy on laid paper after *The daughter of Jacob Meyer (after Bargue after Holbein)* (fig. 3.1b).¹² In that version, which deviates slightly more from the lithograph, he first sketched an underdrawing in pencil, afterwards adding great detail in pen and ink. Unlike the girl in the first copy, this one has a more peasant-like appearance, recalling somewhat the heads that Van Gogh later drew in The Hague and in Nuenen. In this case he added no framing lines.¹³

The present sheet was bought jointly in 2005 by the Van Gogh Museum and the Kröller-Müller Museum.

10 The framed reproduction measures 41.3 x 29.7 cm.
 11 Communicated by the former owner via Annet
 Gelink Gallery, Amsterdam. See the photograph in De la Faille 1970, p. 316. There was a triangular tear in the middle, on the left along the edge, which ran to the right.

12 This work was mentioned in letter 168/147 of between c. 15 and c. 20 July 1881.

13 See also the text on the second version that Van Gogh made after the reproduction after Holbein, in the collection catalogue of the Kröller-Müller Museum at Otterlo (to be published in 2007). With thanks to Teio Meedendorp.

PROVENANCE

Between 1914 and 1920-1956 H.P. Bremmer, The Hague; 1956 heirs of H.P. Bremmer; 1960?-81 F. Bremmer, The Hague; 1981-89 Mrs A.A. Bremmer-Hollmann, The Hague; 1990 sale Amsterdam (Christie's), 12 December, lot 254; 1990-2004 Blondeau Fine Art Services, Geneva; 2004-05 Annet Gelink Gallery, Amsterdam; 2005 bought by the Van Gogh Museum and the Kröller-Müller Museum with financial assistance from the BankGiro Loterij.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 6, vol. 4, pl. v11; Vanbeselaere 1937 1, pp. 52, 60, 407; Tralbaut 1964, pp. 52-54; Wadley 1969, pp. 10, 23; De la Faille 1970, pp. 316, 644; Chetham 1976, pp. 14, 15, 18, 73-75, 258; Hulsker 1980, p. 14; Van der Wolk 1987, p. 268; Christie's 1990, pp. 76, 77 lot 254; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 6, 217, vol. 2, pl. v11; Heenk 1995, pp. 23, 30; Hulsker 1996, p. 489 [juv. 12]; Dirven/Wouters 2003, p. 121; Amsterdam 2006, p. 90 no. 53.

Exhibitions

1937 Paris, no. 110; 1960 Paris, no. 74; 1961 Munich, no. 6; 2004 Amsterdam, no catalogue.

3.2 Woman on her deathbed

The drawing *Woman on her deathbed* was made after a painting purchased in 1880 by the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium (*fig. 3.2a*). The panel, which was thought at the time to be a Rembrandt, came from the estate of the painter Pierre Louis Kuhnen (1812-1877), which was sold on 22 November and the following days. Since 1882 the work has no longer been attributed to the artist Van Gogh admired so much;¹ it is now placed in the circle of Jan Lievens.²

Van Gogh drew *Woman on her deathbed* in pencil, which he stumped in the face and other places. He scratched with a sharp object in the foreground and background, afterwards applying ink with a brush.³ In various places – on the left, for example, on and above the blanket, and near the woman's chin – white lines are visible. It is possible that a wooden board with a rough surface or another sheet with lines on it was lying beneath this drawing while Van Gogh was working on it,⁴ which might explain why the drawing material did not adhere properly in some places.

It cannot be said with certainty whether Van Gogh worked directly from the original or from a reproduction. There is no sign of the gridlines Van Gogh would have used to copy the representation, which are customarily found in such work and are frequently present in the copies Van Gogh is known to have made from reproductions. The list of names of the people who came to the museum to make copies in the nineteenth century does not include Van Gogh, and no contemporary

Circa 20 November 1880-end December 1881 Pencil, brush and brown ink (wash), on wove paper 25.7 x 33.8 cm Signed at lower right: Vincent

Inv. d 1132 S/2007 F 1026a JH 360

- 1 In Edouard Fétis, Catalogue descriptif et historique des tableaux anciens du Musée Royal de Belgique, Brussels 1882, the painting was discussed under the Maîtres inconnus, École Hollandaise, xvIIe siècle. With thanks to Liesbeth De Belie (Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium) and Michiel Franken (Project Manager of the Rembrandt Research project). For Van Gogh and Rembrandt, see Hecht 2006 and Roelie Zwikker, De leermeesters van Van Gogh, in Amsterdam 2003, pp. 43-45.
 2 See Werner Sumowski, Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler, Landau in der Pfalz 1983, vol. 1v, pp. 2874, 2941 and plate 913a.
- 3 A work in which Van Gogh made similar scratches is *Shed with mossy roof* (F 842 JH 5) of April-July 1881. With thanks to Teio Meedendorp.
- 4 It is known that Van Gogh sometimes made use of a hard plank as a drawing board. See Appendix 2.2.
- 5 The auction catalogue of the estate from which the



3.2a (Circle of) Jan Lievens, *The dead woman*, seventeenth century. Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium.



^{3.2} Woman on her deathbed

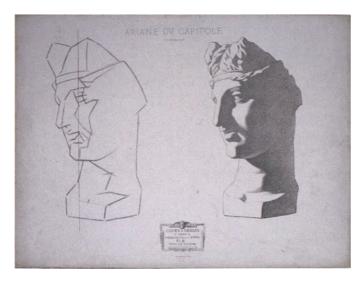
reproduction of the painting has yet surfaced.⁵ If he did make this copy at first hand from the painting, it is the only drawing he ever made after an original. The fact is that Van Gogh is not known ever to have copied originals in museums; rather, he made systematic use of reproductions as examples from which to draw.⁶

There are a number of differences between the painting and the drawing. The form of the blanket, the head-cloth and some of the proportions – the distance between the mouth and the nose, for instance, and the width of the cloth on the right side of the head – are not exactly the same as in the original. Because Van Gogh rather strongly stressed the contours of cloth, nose and mouth, the drawing – unlike the painting – has a certain hardness and angularity. Here Van Gogh made the face smooth, whereas in the painting it displays many small brushstrokes, which emphasise the woman's age. Moreover, the shadows cast by the head have been strongly accentuated in the drawing. The pillow on which the woman's head rests is unrecognisable. Van Gogh made the background here somewhat lighter, by means of such techniques as rubbing and scratching.

Remarkably, there are two elements that Van Gogh did not include in the painting: the crucifix in the left background and the rosary on the blanket. We can only guess at his reasons for omitting them. In the painting these aspects are not so clearly visible: it is possible that when the painting was purchased, a thick layer of varnish made them impossible or at least very difficult to discern. Perhaps the painting was hung very high – at least if Van Gogh indeed worked from the original – making it difficult to see such details. Another reason could be that Van Gogh, as mentioned above, made his drawing after a reproduction, one in which the crucifix

work was sold contains no illustration. See Catalogue/de la collection de/tableaux & de dessins/anciens et modernes/estampes, livres anciens et modernes/manuscrits, autographes/monnaies et médailles, objets d'art et antiquités/délaissée par feu Pierre Louis Kuhnen/artiste peintre/Chevalier de l'Ordre de Léopold, Chevalier de l'Ordre de N.-D. de la Guadeloupe etc./dont la vente aura lieu/par le ministère de Me Du Boccage, notaire, à Bruxelles/avec le concours de/M.J. Linnig, expert et peintre-graveur, à Anvers, etc./le 22 novembre 1880 et jours suivants/à 1 1/2 heure précise de relevée/en la salle Saint-Luc, rue des Finances, 12/à Bruxelles, Brussels, 1880. With thanks to Marieke Jooren for looking for a reproduction of the painting in contemporary (weekly) journals.

- 6 Examples of drawings after reproductions are French peasant woman nursing her child (after Dalou) (SD 1673 JH –) and The sower (after Millet), F 830 JH 1 (see Drawings 1, cats. 15 and 16) and The daughter of Jacob Meyer (after Bargue after Holbein) (F 847 JH juv.12); see Appendix 3.1.
- 7 Van Gogh used a hard pencil and drew the lines so forcefully that the contours are visible on the verso.
- 8 Working from a reproduction can involve 'mistakes



3.2b Charles Bargue, Ariane du Capitole, Antique. From Cours de dessin, 1re partie, Modèles d'après la Bosse, Paris 1868-70, plate 41. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.



3.2c Charles Bargue, Sainte Marthe, Ghotique. From Cours de dessin, 1re partie, Modèles d'après la Bosse, Paris 1868-70, plate 70. Amsterdam, Van Gogh Museum.

and rosary were either unclear or altogether lacking.⁸ Finally, one must also consider the possibility that Van Gogh purposely omitted these religious symbols in order to lend more emphasis to the woman's head.

In the past *Woman on her deathbed* has been dated variously to Brussels 1880-81, The Hague 1883 and Antwerp 1885. Here we assume that it was drawn either in the Belgian capital, where Van Gogh lived from August 1880 to April 1881, or in Etten, where he stayed from April 1881 to the last week of December of that year. If the drawing originated in Brussels, Van Gogh could have worked from the painting – either on the pre-sale viewing days or in the museum – or from a reproduction; if he made the drawing in Etten, he most likely used a reproduction as his example. One must also consider the possibility that Van Gogh made a preliminary sketch after the original panel – which is only a few centimetres larger than the drawing in both length and width – and then worked up the sketch at home, using both pencil and ink.¹⁰

The drawing's angular style is highly reminiscent of Charles Bargue's lessons 'd'après les bosses', in which the shapes are first laid in broadly (see *figs. 3.2b* and *3.2c*). Van Gogh copied Bargue's examples several times in the period in which he lived first in Cuesmes, then in Brussels and finally in Etten; none of his studies after the lessons 'd'après les bosses' has survived.¹¹

The wove paper of *Woman on her deathbed* is similar in thickness and texture to that of the *Portrait of Vincent van Gogh, the artist's grandfather* of July 1881, which was also drawn in pencil and brush and ink.¹² The pencilled signature at the lower right, displaying relatively large spaces between the letters, resembles that of *Boy with cap and clogs* of April-June 1881.¹³

The drawing of the *Woman on her deathbed*, which was on display in 2006 at the exhibition *Van Gogh and Rembrandt* at the Van Gogh Museum, became part of the museum's collection in 2007.

lithograph, but gives no further information. Finally, Hulsker 1996 also places the work in The Hague and dates it to the period April-May 1883.

- 10 The painting measures 29.5 x 36.5 cm.
- 11 With thanks to Teio Meedendorp. For more information on the studies after Bargue, see cat. 3.1 and Drawings 1, p. 14 and cats. 483-485.
- 12 See Drawings 1, cat. 18 (F876 JH 14). Woman on her

deathbed used to be in a mount, so the edges of the sheets are less discoloured and therefore slightly less brown than the rest of the paper.

13 See Drawings 1, cat. 17 (SD 1681 JH 202). The bold signature differs from the way in which Van Gogh later signed his work in The Hague, where he used smaller letters.

PROVENANCE

Private collection, Wassenaar; 1945-56 H.P. Bremmer, The Hague; 1956 heirs of H.P. Bremmer; 1970-80? R. Bremmer; 1980?-96 Art Gallery Monet, Amsterdam; 1996-2007 Private collection; 2007 bought by the Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam.

in translation'. This occurred in the case of The sower

period December 1881-September 1883. Otterlo 1966,

no. 91, refers to the drawing and mentions for the first time that the drawing was made after a painting in the

museum at Brussels. De la Faille 1970 thinks that the

drawing was probably made in The Hague in 1883.

Chetham 1976, pp. 16, 17, is of the opinion that Van

Gogh drew the work in pencil in Brussels in 1880-81 and worked on it again with brush and ink in The

Hague in 1883. He points out that the simple, angular forms indicate origins in Brussels. He also called

attention to the fact that Van Gogh never worked from

an original, so it would have been only natural for him

to work from a reproduction. Amsterdam 1961, no. 40,

dates the drawing, with reservations, to Antwerp 1885.

De la Faille 1992 and Heenk 1995, p. 79, both date the

work to The Hague 1883. Heenk connects it with Van

(see also F 841 JH 359). She says that he worked from a

Gogh's interest in drawing infirm and dead people

9 The Hague 1950, no. 48, places the work in the

(after Millet); see Drawings 1, cat. 16.

LITERATURE

Not in De la Faille 1928; Otterlo 1966, p. 29 no. 91; De la Faille 1970, pp. 380, 381, 650; Chetham 1976, pp. 16, 17; Hulsker 1980, pp. 86, 87; Heenk 1995, p. 79; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, p. 265, vol. 2, pl. CCXIX; Hulsker 1996, pp. 86, 87; Hecht 2006, pp. 8, 10.

Exhibitions

1950 The Hague, no. 48; 1952 Milan, no. 25; 1956 Munich, no. 38; 1961 Amsterdam, no. 40; 2006 Amsterdam, no catalogue.

3.3 Portrait of Jozef Blok

Jozef Blok (1832-1905), a Jewish bookseller from The Hague, was known as the open-air librarian of the Binnenhof. On Mondays and Fridays he had a stand on the Grote Markt in front of the Boterwaag (*fig. 3.3a*), and on the other weekdays he was at his permanent place beneath one of the Binnenhof's colonnades. Blok traded mainly in second-hand books, including literary work ranging from Dickens, Van Lennep and Multatuli to Couperus and Van Eeden. He also had an affinity with French literature and was well acquainted with his customers' tastes.¹

The printed matter Van Gogh bought from Blok included issues of the magazine *The Graphic*, from which he cut out illustrations for his collection. He wrote the following to Theo on 8 or 9 January 1882: 'I got a great bargain on some splendid woodcuts from the Graphic, some of them prints not of the clichés but of the blocks themselves. Just what I've been wanting for years. The drawings by Herkomer, Frank Holl, Walker, and others. I bought them from Blok, the Jewish bookseller, and chose the best from an enormous pile of Graphics & London News for five guilders. Some of them are superb' [198V/169].

Jozef Blok and his brother David (1823-1904), who was also a bookseller, were in touch with various artists. Matthijs Maris was acquainted with them, for example, and Jan Weissenbruch made an etching and a watercolour of David.²

Van Gogh drew Jozef Blok's portrait on 5 November 1882: 'Do you know who I drew this morning? Blok the Jewish bookseller, not David but the short one who's on the Binnenhof. I wish I had more from that family, for they are a true type. It's enormously difficult to get the types one would prefer to have – in the meantime I'm content to draw *what I can get*, without losing sight of the others I would draw if I had the choice. I'm very pleased with Blok. He reminds me of things from many years ago. I hope he'll come again some other Sunday morning' [281/241].

Generally speaking, in this period Van Gogh was mainly interested in drawing figure types. Unlike the rather angular, rough studies in black drawing materials made at this time, the portrait of Blok is a very carefully drawn work in which the bookseller's striking head is executed in great detail. The portrait may be considered unique in Van Gogh's Dutch oeuvre.

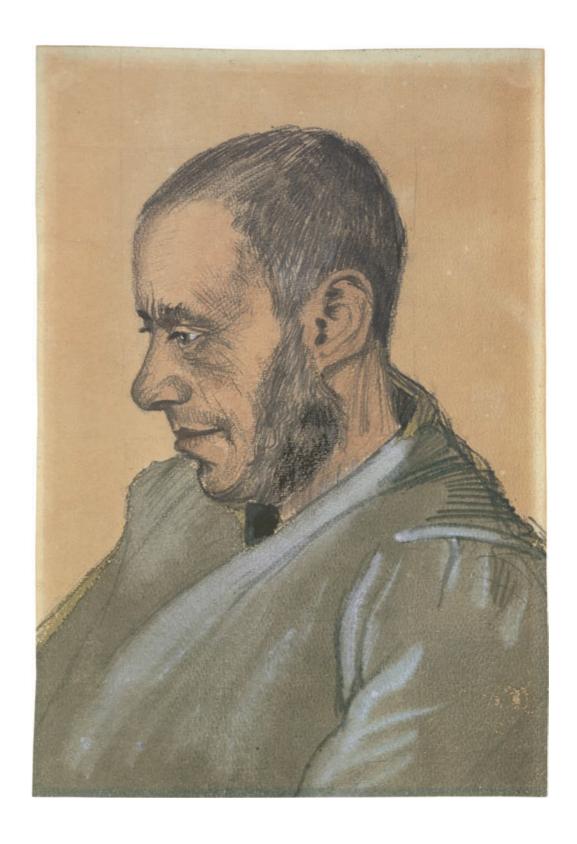
The horizontal and vertical lines in the background indicate that Van Gogh made use of a perspective frame.³ After making an underdrawing in pencil, he painted with opaque watercolour.⁴ He then worked up the clothing and the face, using at least two pencils of varying thicknesses to emphasise in particular the contours of the nose.⁵ He accentuated the eyebrows and side-whiskers with lithographic chalk and elaborated various parts of the face, such as the eyes and ears, with brush and black watercolour. The portrait was made on heavy watercolour paper which Van Gogh referred to in French as 'torchon'.⁶ At the edges, which were previously

5 November 1882 Pencil, opaque watercolour, lithographic chalk, on watercolour paper 38.5 x 26.3 cm Unsigned

Inv. d 1123 V/2004 F 993 JH 254

Letter 281/241

- 1 See Heijbroek 1993, pp. 23-28. In 1892 Blok was to bring the French writer Paul Verlaine to the Netherlands. See Heijbroek/Vis 1985.
- 2 Weissenbruch made the etching in 1856 and the watercolour in 1859. Both works are to be found in the Rijksprentenkabinet in Amsterdam. Op. cit. (note 1).
- 3 Regarding this aid in capturing the correct proportions of a subject, see Drawings 1, pp. 21-25.
- 4 In the places in the drawing where white opaque watercolour was used, the back of the paper is less discoloured. The contours of the face, the eye and the body are indicated on the verso in pencil.
- 5 It is possible that Van Gogh used a carpenter's
- 6 See Drawings 1, p. 26.



3.3 Portrait of Jozef Blok

3.3a Theo Mesker, The book stall of Jozef Blok on the Grote Markt in The Hague, c. 1877-78. Amsterdam, Jewish Historical Museum.



covered by a mount and thus not discoloured, one can see that the clothing was originally more grey and the paper more cream-coloured.

Van Gogh must have made four more portraits in The Hague, as evidenced by a letter written around 18 January 1883 to Anthon van Rappard: 'I had to go to some trouble to get The Graphic. For example, I had to do two portraits (two of each!) of the father & mother of the Jew I bought them from' [303/R22]. As far as we know, these four works have not survived. The Vincent van Gogh Foundation purchased the *Portrait of Jozef Blok* in 2004.⁷

7 See Amsterdam 2006, p. 47.

PROVENANCE

Art Gallery Oldenzeel, Rotterdam; 1909-44
R. Wentges; 1944-78 R.W. Wentges; 1978-2004
E.W. Wentges; 2002 auction London (Sotheby's),
24 June, lot 8 (not sold); 2004 bought by the
Vincent van Gogh Foundation, Amsterdam;
on permanent loan to the Van Gogh Museum.

LITERATURE

De la Faille 1928, vol. 3, p. 40, vol. 4, pl. xLII; Vanbeselaere 1937 I, pp. 91, 179, 189, 409; De la Faille 1970, pp. 368, 649; Visser 1973, pp. 76-81; Hulsker 1980, p. 63; Heijbroek/Vis 1985, p. 13; Van der Mast/Dumas 1990, p. 122; De la Faille 1992, vol. 1, pp. 40, 256, vol. 2, pl. xLII; Heijbroek 1993, pp. 25, 28 footnote 18; Heenk 1995, p. 222; Hulsker 1996, p. 63; Martigny 2000, pp. 155, 286, 287 no. 7; Amsterdam 2006, p. 82 no. 47.

Exhibitions

1961 Amsterdam, no. 23; 1990 The Hague, unnumbered; 1999 Rotterdam, no catalogue; 2000 Martigny, no. 7; 2000-01 Detroit, Boston & Philadelphia, unnumbered [only Detroit]; 2005 The Hague, ex-catalogue; 2005 Amsterdam & New York, ex-catalogue [only Amsterdam].

Exhibitions

- 1891 BRUSSELS Musée d'Art Moderne, 7 February-8 March Les XX. Huitième exposition annuelle The Contemporary Art Archives, Brussels
- 1891 THE HAGUE Pulchri Studio, December Vincent van Gogh teekeningen Haarlems Dagblad December 1891?
- 1892 ROTTERDAM Art Gallery Oldenzeel, March Vincent van Gogh schilderijen en teekeningen (no cat. known) b1287, Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 6-3-1892 and 13-3-1892
- 1892 Antwerp Association pour l'art, May-June
 Kunst van Heden. Art d'Aujourd'hui, 1ière exposition annuelle
- 1892-93 AMSTERDAM Panorama Art Gallery, 7 December-5 February Tentoonstelling der nagelaten werken van Vincent van Gogh Dagblad De Amsterdammer 1-1-1893
- 1893 COPENHAGEN Den Frie Udstilling, 26 March-end of May Den Frie Udstilling Politiken's Kronik 16-3-1937
- 1893 LEIDEN Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, 25 April-1 May Teekeningen van Vincent van Gogh (no catalogue) Leiden Municipal Archives
- 1896 ROTTERDAM Oldenzeel Art Gallery, March Tentoonstelling der werken wijlen Vincent van Gogh
- 1896-97 PARIS Galerie Vollard, December-February [Vincent van Gogh] (no catalogue) b1437
- 1897 GRONINGEN Groningsch Museum, March-April Title unknown (no cat. known) b2187, b5423
- 1898 The Hague Arts and Crafts Art Gallery, October-December Vincent van Gogh in the art gallery. Exhibition of the paintings Plasschaert 1898
- 1900-01 ROTTERDAM Rotterdamsche Kunstkring, 23 December-10 February Tentoonstelling van teekeningen van Vincent van Gogh Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 6-1-1901

- 1901 Zwolle unknown location, March
 [Vincent van Gogh]
 Het Centrum 24-1-1901
- 1902 Paris Galerie Laffitte, February? Title unknown (no cat. known) b2188, b5423
- 1903 ROTTERDAM Oldenzeel Art Gallery, November Vincent van Gogh (no catalogue) b3035
- 1905 Amsterdam i Stedelijk Museum, 15 July-i September Tentoonstelling Vincent van Gogh b2192, b5423, De la Faille 1992, Feilchenfeldt 1988
- 1905 Amsterdam II Stedelijk Museum, c. 15 August-I September (supplementary to 1905 Amsterdam I) Tentoonstelling Vincent van Gogh b2192, b5423, De la Faille 1992, Feilchenfeldt 1988
- 1906 Berlin Berliner Secession, December Zwölfte Kunstausstellung der Berliner Secession, Zeichnende Künste b3923, 1905 Amsterdam I
- 1907 Berlin Ausstellungshaus am Kurfürstendamm, December Vierzehnte Ausstellung der Berliner Secession, Zeichnende Künste b4052, 1905 Amsterdam I
- 1908 MUNICH Moderne Kunsthandlung, March-April Vincent van Gogh b4052, 1905 Amsterdam 1
- 1908 Dresden Emil Richter, April-May Vincent van Gogh/Paul Cézanne b2191, b3917, 1908 Munich
- 1908 FRANKFURT AM MAIN Frankfurter Kunstverein, 14-28 June V. van Gogh Ausstellung 1908 Dresden
- 1908 The Hague Art Gallery C.M. van Gogh, dates unknown; Amsterdam Art Gallery C.M. van Gogh, 3-24 September Vincent van Gogh tentoonstelling (The Hague no cat. known) Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 9-9-1908

1908 Berlin Cassirer, October Title unknown (no cat. known) b4058, 1905 Amsterdam 1

1909-10 MUNICH Brakl, October-December; Frankfurt am Main Haus of Mr. Marcus (director Frankfurter Kunstverein), January; Dresden Galerie Ernst Arnold, February-March; Chemnitz Kunstsalon Gerstenberger, April Vincent van Gogh (cat. Munich, otherwise no cat. known) b2181, b3845, b3851, b3871, b3902, 1905 Amsterdam 1

1909-10 BERLIN Ausstellungshaus am Kurfürstendamm, 27 November-9 January
Neunzehnte Ausstellung der Rerliner Secession. Zeichnende Künste

Neunzehnte Ausstellung der Berliner Secession, Zeichnende Künste b2203, b5423, 1905 Amsterdam 1

1910 COLOGNE Kunstverein, January; Frankfurt am Main Moderne Kunsthandlung Marie Held, February Title unknown b2190, b3860, 1905 Amsterdam 1

1910 BERLIN Cassirer, 25 October-20 November 111. Ausstellung. Vincent van Gogh 1853-1890 b2184, b4064, 1905 Amsterdam I, 1988 Feilchenfeldt

1910 LEIDEN Het Leidsche Volkshuis, 14 November-closing date unknown Schilderijen en tekeningen van Van Gogh (no cat. known) b1953, 1905 Amsterdam 1

1911 Frankfurt am Main Galerie Hermes, January Title unknown (no cat. known) b4076, 1910 Berlin

1911 AMSTERDAM Larensche Kunsthandel, 16 June-July Tentoonstelling van schilderijen, aquarellen en teekeningen van Vincent van Gogh b5479, 1905 Amsterdam 1

1911-12 Hamburg Galerie Commeter, November-January [Vincent van Gogh] (no cat. known) b3817, 1905 Amsterdam 1

1911-12 Bremen Kunsthalle Bremen, 6 December-8 January No title (no catalogue) b3824, 1911-12 Hamburg, Archives Kunsthalle Bremen

1912 Dresden & Breslau Galerie Arnold, February Ausstellung Vincent van Gogh 1853-1890

1912 The Hague Artz en De Bois, July-August; Amsterdam Art Gallery C.M. van Gogh, Autumn

Tentoonstelling van teekeningen door Vincent van Gogh

b5495, 1905 Amsterdam 1

1913 The Hague Gebouw Lange Voorhout, 1 July-1 September Werken van Vincent van Gogh

1913 DÜSSELDORF Galerie Alfred Flechtheim, 21 December-January Eröffnungsausstellung

1914 ANTWERP Feestzaal, 7 March-5 April L'art contemporain. Salon 1914 / Kunst van Heden. Tentoonstelling 1914 b4081, 1914 Berlin

1914 BERLIN Cassirer, 1 June-5 July Vincent van Gogh 30. März 1853 - 29. July 1890. Zehnte Ausstellung

1914 COLOGNE Kölner Kunstverein, July-August; Hamburg Galerie Commeter, September V. van Gogh (no cat. known) b4081, b4082, 1914 Berlin

1914-15 Amsterdam Stedelijk Museum, 22 December-12 January
Teekeningen door Vincent van Gogh. Uit de verzameling van mevrouw
J. van Gogh-Bonger en den heer V.W. van Gogh
De Amsterdammer 4-1-1915, Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant 10-4-1915,
1923 Utrecht, De la Faille 1992, Rotterdam Municipal Archives

1915 THE HAGUE Art Gallery d'Audretch, March Teekeningen door Vincent van Gogh. Uit de verzameling van mevrouw J. van Gogh-Bonger en den heer V.W. van Gogh (no catalogue) 1914-15 Amsterdam

1915 AMSTERDAM Gebouw van het Genootschap van kunstenaren Moderne Kunstkring, 26 September-30 November Vincent van Gogh, werken van genooten. Schilderijen, teekeningen en beeldhouwwerken De la Faille 1992

1919 HANOVER Kestner-Gesellschaft, 7 September-12 November Französische Malerei bis 1914 und Deutsche Künstler des Café du Dôme

1920 New York Montross Gallery, 23 October-31 December Vincent van Gogh exhibition b6242

1921 New York The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17 May-15 September French prints and drawings of the last hundred years b4085

1922 Amsterdam Art Gallery Goudstikker, October? Title unknown b5501, b5503

1923 UTRECHT Vereeniging 'Voor de Kunst', 28 January-25 February Vincent van Gogh. Teekeningencollectie van Mevr. J. van Gogh-Bonger De la Faille 1992, Rotterdam Municipal Archives 1923 ROTTERDAM Rotterdamsche Kunstkring, 15 March-2 April Vincent van Gogh. Teekeningencollectie van Mevr. J. van Gogh-Bonger (no cat. known) 1914-15 Amsterdam, 1923 Utrecht, De la Faille 1992, Rotterdam Municipal Archives

1923-24 LONDON The Leicester Galleries, 1 December-15 January Works by Vincent van Gogh b5935, 1914-15 Amsterdam

1924 BASEL Kunsthalle Basel, 27 March-4 May Vincent van Gogh b6060, 1923-24 London

1924 ZÜRICH Kunsthaus Zürich, 3 July-10 August Vincent van Gogh b6070, b6073, 1924 Basel

1924 STUTTGART Württembergischer Kunstverein, 12 October-30 November Ausstellung Vincent van Gogh 1853-1890 b6139, b6158, 1924 Zürich

1925 PARIS Galerie Marcel Bernheim, 5-24 January
Exposition rétrospective d'œuvres de Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890)
b5786, b5808, 1924 Stuttgart

1925 THE HAGUE Pulchri Studio, March- 26 April Vincent van Gogh (no catalogue) b5527, b5537, 1925 Paris

1926 Amsterdam Stedelijk Museum, 15 May-15 June Vincent van Gogh tentoonstelling ter gelegenheid van het internationale jeugdfeest der S.J.I. De Telegraaf 23-5-1926, Oprechte Haarlemsche Courant 5-6-1926

1926 MUNICH Glaspalast, 1 June-3 October
1. Allgemeine Kunst-Ausstellung
b6171

1926-27 LONDON The Leicester Galleries, 26 November-6 January Vincent van Gogh exhibition b5959, b5982

1927 Paris Galerie Bernheim-Jeune, 20 June-2 July Vincent van Gogh. L'époque Française (no catalogue)

1927-28 BERLIN Otto Wacker, 6 December-31 January
Vincent van Gogh. Erste grosse Ausstellung seiner Zeichnungen und Aquarelle

1928 VIENNA Neue Galerie, February-March; Hanover Kestner-Gesellschaft, 3-25 April Vincent van Gogh. Aquarelle und Handzeichnungen 1927-28 Berlin 1928 MUNICH Graphisches Kabinett, 5 May-closing date unknown Vincent van Gogh. Hunderd Handzeichnungen und Aquarelle aus holländischem Privatbesitz b6203, 1927-28 Berlin

1928 PARIS Galerie Dru, 23 June-12 July Aquarelles, dessins et pastels de Van Gogh (1853-1890) 1927-28 Berlin

1929 Amsterdam Stedelijk Museum, 19 October-17 November Teekeningen en aquarellen door Vincent van Gogh

1929 New York De Hauke & Co, 2 December-closing date unknown [Exhibition of watercolors and drawings by nineteenth and twentieth century French artists] (no catalogue)

1929-30 ROTTERDAM Rotterdamsche Kring, 21 December-12 January Teekeningen en aquarellen door Vincent van Gogh uit het bezit van den heer Ir. V.W. van Gogh te Laren

1930 New York The Museum of Modern Art, June-September
Summer exhibition

1930 Laren Public Library, 4-30 September Teekeningen van Vincent van Gogh b5660

1930 Amsterdam Stedelijk Museum, 6 September-2 November Vincent van Gogh en zijn tijdgenooten

1930 HILVERSUM Makkermacht, 29-30 November Title unknown (no cat. known) b5673

1930-31 Arnhem De Korenbeurs, 12-26 December; Groningen Pictura, Groote Societeit, 4-19 January; Leeuwarden Friesch Museum, 24 January-8 February; Enschede Public Library (Kunstzaal H.B. Blijdensteinstichting), 13-25 February

Tentoonstelling van teekeningen, aquarellen en schilderijen door

Vincent van Gogh (Arnhem, Leeuwarden and Enschede no cat. known)

ASM

1931 Providence Rhode Island School of Design, 2-27 April
Drawings and paintings from the collection from Mr. John Nicholas Brown

1931 AMSTERDAM Stedelijk Museum, 2 May-closing date unknown Vincent van Gogh. Werken uit de verzameling van Ir. V.W. van Gogh, in bruikleen afgestaan aan de Gemeente Amsterdam

1932 MANCHESTER Manchester City Art Gallery, 13 October-27 November Vincent van Gogh. Loan collection of paintings & drawings

- 1935-36 New York The Museum of Modern Art, 5 November-5 January; Philadelphia Philadelphia Museum of Art, 11 January-10 February; Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 19 February-15 March; Cleveland Cleveland Museum of Art, 25 March-19 April; San Francisco California Palace of the Legion of Honor, 28 April-24 May; Kansas City William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and Atkins Museum, 9 June-10 July; Minneapolis Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 20 July-17 August; Chicago The Art Institute of Chicago, 26 August-23 September; Detroit Detroit Institute of Arts, 6-28 October Vincent van Gogh
- 1937 PARIS Les nouveaux musées, Quai de Tokyo, June-October La vie et l'œuvre de Van Gogh
- 1937 Oslo Kunstnernes Hus, 3-24 December Vincent van Gogh. Malerier, tegninger, akvareller
- 1938 COPENHAGEN Charlottenborg, January Vincent van Gogh. Malerier, tegninger, akvareller
- 1938 LONDON Matthiesen Gallery, 3-31 May
 A century of French drawings. From Prud'hon to Picasso
- 1945 Amsterdam Stedelijk Museum, 14 September-1 December Vincent van Gogh
- 1946 MAASTRICHT Bonnefanten, 12-28 January; Heerlen Council House, 8-24 February Vincent van Gogh 1945 Amsterdam
- 1946 STOCKHOLM Nationalmuseum, 8 March-28 April; Gothenburg Götenborgs Konstmuseum, 3-26 May; Malmö Malmö Museum, 29 May-16 June Vincent van Gogh. Utställning anordnad till förmån för svenska hollandshjälpen
- 1946 COPENHAGEN Charlottenborg, 22 June-14 July Vincent van Gogh. Udstilling af malerier og tegninger
- 1946-47 Liège Musée des Beaux Arts, 12 October-3 November; Brussels Palais des Beaux Arts, 9 November-19 December; Mons Musée des Beaux-Arts, 27 December-January Vincent van Gogh
- 1947 Paris Museé de l'Orangerie, 24 January-15 March Vincent van Gogh
- 1947 GENEVA Musée Rath, 22 March-20 April 172 œuvres de Vincent van Gogh (1852-1890) b6793, 1947 Paris

- 1947 GRONINGEN Kunstlievend Genootschap Pictura, 25 May-15 June Tentoonstelling van tekeningen en aquarellen van Vincent van Gogh uit de collectie van Ir. V.W. van Gogh
- 1947 ROTTERDAM Museum Boijmans, 28 June-August
 Vincent van Gogh. Tekeningen uit de verzameling van Ir. V.W. van Gogh
- 1947 Basel Kunsthalle Basel, 11 October-23 November Vincent van Gogh 1853-1890
- 1947-48 LONDON Tate Gallery, 10 December-14 January; Birmingham City Art Gallery, 24 January-14 February; Glasgow City Art Gallery, 21 February-14 March Vincent van Gogh 1853-1890
- 1947-48 Alkmaar Stedelijk Museum, 25 December-18 January Tentoonstelling van tekeningen door Vincent van Gogh, uit de collectie van Ir. V.W. van Gogh 1948 Amersfoort
- 1948 AMERSFOORT Art Gallery d'Oude Lanteern, 31 January-22 February
 Vincent van Gogh tekeningen (no cat. known)
 ASM
- 1948 HILVERSUM Goois Museum, 20 March-17 April

 Tekeningen van Vincent van Gogh (no cat. known)

 b6659
- 1948 BERGEN Kunstforening, 23 March-18 April; Oslo Kunstnernes Hus, 24 April-15 May

 Vincent van Gogh
- 1948 LUXEMBOURG Musée de L'État, 3-25 April La peinture Hollandaise. Les impressionnistes
- 1948-49 THE HAGUE Gemeentemuseum, 12 October-10 January Vincent van Gogh. Collectie ir. V.W. van Gogh
- 1949 HENGELO Public Library, 29 January-closing date unknown Tekeningen van Vincent van Gogh (no cat. known) b6663
- 1949 Gouda Catharina Gasthuis, 13 April-29 May Tekeningen van Vincent van Gogh (no cat. known) b6667
- 1949-50 New York The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 21 October-15 January; Chicago The Art Institute of Chicago, 1 February-16 April Vincent van Gogh paintings and drawings. A special loan exhibition
- 1950 THE HAGUE Gemeentemuseum, 9 March-23 April Verzameling H.P. Bremmer

- 1951 LYON Musée de Lyon, 5 February-27 March; Grenoble Musée de Grenoble, 30 March-2 May Vincent van Gogh
- 1951 Arles Musée Réattu, 5-27 May Vincent van Gogh en Provence
- 1951 SAINT-RÉMY Hôtel de Sade, 5-27 May Vincent van Gogh en Provence 1951 Arles
- 1951 Amsterdam Stedelijk Museum, 19 October-3 December Rembrandt, Hokusai, Van Gogh
- 1952 Basel Kunstmuseum Basel, January-February Rembrandt, Hokusai, Van Gogh
- 1952 MILAN Palazzo Reale, 23 February-13 May Van Gogh. Dipinti e disegni
- 1952 DELFT Museum Het Prinsenhof, 25 March-5 May De aquarel 1800-1950
- 1952 Groningen Kunstlievend Genootschap Pictura, 12 April-12 May Rembrandt, Hokusai, Van Gogh (no cat. known)
- 1952-53 PARIS Galerie Bernheim-Jeune, 20 December-closing date unknown Cent-cinquante ans de dessin 1800-1950
- 1953 ZÜRICH Kunsthaus Zürich, 24 January-1 March Van Gogh. Zeichnungen und Aquarelle aus der Vincent van Gogh-Stiftung im Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam
- 1953 The Hague Gemeentemuseum, 30 March-17 May Vincent van Gogh
- 1953 ZUNDERT Parish House, 30 March-20 April Vincent van Gogh in Zundert
- 1953 Ноемѕвкоек Hoensbroek Castle, 23 May-27 July Vincent van Gogh вsм
- 1953 Otterlo Kröller-Müller Museum, 24 May-19 July; Amsterdam Stedelijk Museum, 23 July-20 September Eeuwfeest Vincent van Gogh
- 1953 Assen Province house, 6-29 November Vincent van Gogh in Assen BSM

- 1953-54 SAINT LOUIS City Art Museum of Saint Louis, 17 October-13 December; Philadelphia Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2 January-28 February; Toledo The Toledo Museum of Art, 7 March-30 April Vincent van Gogh 1853-1890
- 1953-54 BERGEN OF ZOOM Town hall, 23 December-10 January Vincent van Gogh
- 1954-55 Paris Musée de l'Orangerie, 26 November-28 February Van Gogh et les peintres d'Auvers-sur-Oise
- 1954-55 BERN Kunstmuseum Bern, 27 November-30 January Vincent van Gogh
- 1954-55 Willemstad Curaçaosch Museum, 19 December-15 January $Vincent\ van\ Gogh$
- 1955 PALM BEACH Society of the Four Arts, 21 January-13 February; Miami Lowe Gallery of the University of Miami, 24 February-20 March; New Orleans Isaac Delgado Museum, 27 March-20 April Vincent van Gogh 1853-1890
- 1955 Antwerp Feestzaal, 7 May-19 June Vincent van Gogh
- 1955 Amsterdam Stedelijk Museum, 24 June-September Vincent van Gogh
- 1955-56 LIVERPOOL The Walker Art Gallery, 29 October-10 December; Manchester Manchester City Art Gallery, 17 December-4 February; Newcastle-upon-Tyne Laing Art Gallery, 11 February-24 March Vincent van Gogh. Paintings & drawings, mainly from the collection of Ir. V.W. van Gogh
- 1956 HAARLEM Vishal, 21 July-29 August Vincent van Gogh BSM
- 1956 Munich Haus der Kunst, 19 October-16 December Vincent van Gogh
- 1957 Breda De Beyerd, 2-24 February Vincent van Gogh
- 1957 Marseilles Musée Cantini, 12 March-28 April Vincent van Gogh
- 1957 Nijmegen Waag, 13 March-15 April Tekeningen en aquarellen van Vincent van Gogh

- 1957-58 STOCKHOLM Nationalmuseum, 5 October-22 November; Luleå Shoppingcenter, 4-19 December; Kiruna Norrmalmsskolan, 29 December-13 January; Umeå Länsmuseet, 18 January-2 February; Östersund Konstmuseet, 8-23 February; Sandviken Konsthallen, 27 February-11 March; Gothenburg Götenborgs Konsthallen, 15-30 March Vincent van Gogh. Akvareller, teckningar, oljestudier, brev (cat. Stockholm, otherwise no cat. known)
- 1957-58 LEIDEN Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, 9 November-16 December; Schiedam Stedelijk Museum, 21 December-27 January Vincent van Gogh
- 1958 Mons Musée des Beaux-Arts, 22 March-5 May Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890). Son art et ses amis
- 1958-59 San Francisco The M.H. de Young Memorial Museum,
 6 October-30 November; Los Angeles Los Angeles County Museum,
 10 December-18 January; Portland The Portland Art Museum,
 28 January-1 March; Seattle Seattle Art Museum,
 7 March-19 April
 Vincent van Gogh. Paintings and drawings
- 1958-59 WASHINGTON National Gallery of Art; New York The Pierpont Morgan Library; Minneapolis The Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Boston Museum of Fine Arts; Cleveland The Cleveland Museum of Art; Chicago The Art Institute of Chicago (dates unknown)

 Dutch drawings. Masterpieces of five centuries
- 1959 AIX-EN-PROVENCE Pavillon de Vendôme, 3 October-30 November Vincent van Gogh en Provence
- 1959-60 UTRECHT Centraal Museum, 18 December-1 February
 Vincent van Gogh schilderijen en tekeningen, verzameling Ir. V.W. van Gogh
- 1959-60 Dordrecht Dordrechts Museum, 24 December-31 January; Amsterdam Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap, 10 February-31 March Bekoring van het kleine
- 1960 ENSCHEDE Rijksmuseum Twenthe, 6 February-20 March Vincent van Gogh. Tekeningen
- 1960 Paris Musée Jacquemart-André, February-May Vincent van Gogh 1853-1890
- 1960-61 MONTREAL The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 6 October-6
 November; Ottawa The National Gallery of Canada, 17 November-18
 December; Winnipeg The Winnipeg Art Gallery, 29 December-31 January;
 Toronto The Art Gallery of Toronto, 10 February-12 March
 Vincent van Gogh. Paintings-drawings / Tableaux-dessins
- 1961 AMSTERDAM E.J. van Wisselingh & Co., 19 April-18 May Vincent van Gogh. Aquarelles & dessins de l'époque 1881-1885 provenant de collections particulières Néerlandaises

- 1961 ARLES Musée Réattu, 20 May-18 June Vincent van Gogh
- 1961 MUNICH Städtische Galerie, 23 May-25 June Vincent van Gogh. Zeichnungen und Aquarelle
- 1961 SCARBOROUGH Scarborough Art Gallery, 12-17 June

 Dutch Graphic Art (no catalogue)

 BSM
- 1961-62 Baltimore The Baltimore Museum of Art, 18 October-26 November; Cleveland The Cleveland Museum of Art, 5 December-14 January; Buffalo Albright Art Gallery, 30 January-11 March; Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 22 March-29 April Vincent van Gogh. Paintings, watercolors and drawings
- 1961-62 Liège Musée des Beaux-Arts, 24 November-8 January; Breda De Beyerd, 26 January-4 March Aquarelles et gouaches Hollandaises de 1850 à nos jours / Nederlandse aquarellen en gouaches van 1850 tot heden
- 1962 LONDON Marlborough Fine Art Ltd, May-June
 Van Gogh's life in his drawings. Van Gogh's relationship with Signac
- 1962 RECKLINGHAUSEN Kunsthalle Recklinghausen, 19 May-15 July Idee und Vollendung
- 1962 CAMBRIDGE Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Summer Forty master drawings from the collection of John Nicholas Brown
- 1962-63 РІТТЅВURGH Carnegie Institute, 18 October-4 November; Detroit Detroit Institute of Arts, 11 December-29 January; Kansas City William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Mary Atkins Museum of Fine Arts, 7 February-26 March
 Vincent van Gogh. Paintings, watercolors and drawings
- 1963 Paris Institut Néerlandais, 28 February-31 March L'Aquarelle Néerlandaise au siècle dernier
- 1963 SHEFFIELD Graves Art Gallery, 21 April-19 May Vincent van Gogh. Paintings and drawings
- 1963 AMSTERDAM Stedelijk Museum, 3 May-10 June; Baden-Baden Staatliche Kunsthalle, 14 June-4 August Schrift en beeld/Art and writing/L'art et l'écriture/Schrift und Bild
- 1963 Amsterdam Stedelijk Museum, 6 July-29 September 150 jaar Nederlandse Kunst. Schilderijen, beelden, tekeningen, grafiek 1813-1963
- 1963 Humlebæk Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, 24 October-15 December Vincent van Gogh. Malerier og tegninger
- 1963-64 Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, 2 December-2 February Hollandse kunstenaars en hun ontboezemingen

- 1964 Washington The Washington Gallery of Modern Art,
 2 February-19 March; New York The Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum,
 2 April-28 June
 Vincent van Gogh. Paintings, watercolors and drawings
- 1964 ZUNDERT Parish House, 28 May-8 June
 Tentoonstelling van tekeningen van Vincent van Gogh
- 1965 CHARLEROI Palais des Beaux-Arts, 9 January-9 February; Ghent Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 19 February-28 March Vincent van Gogh. Schilderijen, aquarellen, tekeningen
- 1965 NUENEN Town hall, 8-31 May Vincent van Gogh. Schilderijen, aquarellen, tekeningen
- 1965-66 STOCKHOLM Moderna Museet, 23 October-19 December; Gothenburg Götenborgs Konstmuseum, 30 December-20 February Vincent van Gogh. Målningar, akvareller, teckningar
- 1966 Paris Institut Néerlandais, 28 January-20 March; Albi Musée Toulouse-Lautrec, 27 May-31 August Vincent van Gogh. Dessinateur
- 1967 LILLE Palais des Beaux-Arts, 14 January-13 March; Zürich Kunsthaus Zürich, 5 April-4 June Vincent van Gogh. Dessins, aquarelles
- 1967 WOLFSBURG Stadthalle Wolfsburg, 18 February-2 April Vincent van Gogh. Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen
- 1967-68 Dallas Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, 6 October-4 November; Philadelphia Philadelphia Museum of Art, 17 November-31 December; Toledo The Toledo Museum of Art, 20 January-3 March; Ottawa The National Gallery of Canada, 14 March-15 April Vincent van Gogh. Drawings, watercolors
- 1968 Liège Musée des Beaux-Arts, 3-30 September Vincent van Gogh. Dessins, aquarelles
- 1968-69 LONDON Hayward Gallery, 23 October-12 January Vincent van Gogh. Paintings and drawings of the Vincent van Gogh Foundation Amsterdam
- 1969 Humlebæk Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, 25 January-16 March Vincent van Gogh. Tegninger og akvareller
- 1969-70 Los Angeles Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 14 October-1 December; Saint Louis City Art Museum of Saint Louis, 20 December-1 February; Columbus The Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, 5 March-5 April [only drawings]

 Vincent van Gogh. Paintings and drawings

- 1970-71 BALTIMORE The Baltimore Museum of Art, 11 October-29 November; San Francisco The M.H. de Young Memorial Museum, 11 December-31 January; Brooklyn The Brooklyn Museum, 14 February-4 April Vincent van Gogh. Paintings and drawings
- 1971-72 PARIS Musée de l'Orangerie, 21 December-10 April Vincent van Gogh. Collection du Musée National Vincent van Gogh à Amsterdam
- 1972 BORDEAUX Musée des Beaux-Arts, 21 April-20 June Vincent van Gogh. Collection du Musée National Vincent van Gogh à Amsterdam
- 1972 Munich Haus der Kunst, 16 June-30 September Weltkulturen und moderne Kunst
- 1972-73 Munich Haus der Kunst, 14 October-7 January Das Aquarell 1400-1950
- 1972-73 STRASBOURG Musée d'Art Moderne, 22 October-15 January; Bern Kunstmuseum Bern, 25 January-15 April Vincent van Gogh. Collection du Musée National Vincent van Gogh à Amsterdam
- 1973-74 HARTFORD Wadsworth Atheneum, 5 September-14 October; Hopkins Hopkins Center, Dartmouth College, 26 October-3 December; Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 14 December-25 January One hundred master drawings from New England private collections
- 1974 FLORENCE Palazzo Strozzi, 11 May-30 June Quarta biennale internazionale della grafica d'arte. La grafica dal realismo al simbolismo
- 1974 RECKLINGHAUSEN Städtische Kunsthalle, 16 May-14 July Was war-was ist. 25 Jahre Ausstellungen der Ruhrfestspiele
- 1975 Malmö Malmö Konsthall, 6 June-10 August Vincent van Gogh. 100 teckningar och akvareller. 100 drawings and water colours
- 1976 STOCKHOLM Galleriet, Kulturhuset, 10 February-28 March; Oslo Munch Museet, 5 April-15 June Vincent van Gogh
- 1976-77 Tokyo The National Museum of Western Art, 30 October-19 December; Kyoto The National Museum of Modern Art, 6 January-20 February; Nagoya The Aichi Prefectural Art Gallery, 24 February-14 March Vincent van Gogh exhibition
- 1977 Paris Grand Palais, 4 November-3 December Vincent van Gogh

- 1979 Amsterdam Van Gogh Museum, 8-28 March; Tokyo Odakyu Grand Gallery, 27 April-16 May; Sapporo Hokkaido Museum of Modern Art, 20 May-10 June; Hiroshima The Hiroshima Prefectural Museum, 15 June-1 July; Nagoya The Aichi Prefectural Art Gallery, 12-30/9 Nederlandse schilderkunst 1815-1914 / Dutch painting from the century of Van Gogh
- 1980-81 STUTTGART Württembergischer Kunstverein, 23 November-18 January Van Gogh bis Cobra. Holländische Malerei 1880-1950
- 1980-81 Amsterdam Van Gogh Museum, 13 December-22 March Vincent van Gogh in zijn Hollandse jaren. Kijk op stad en land door Van Gogh en zijn tijdgenoten 1870-1890
- 1981 TORONTO Art Gallery of Ontario, 24 January-22 March; Amsterdam Van Gogh Museum, 9 April-14 June Vincent van Gogh and the birth of cloisonism
- 1981 UTRECHT Centraal Museum, 14 February-20 April Van Gogh tot Cobra. Nederlandse schilderkunst 1880-1950
- 1984 New York The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 18 October-30 December Van Gogh in Arles
- 1984-85 COPENHAGEN Ordrupgaard, 12 December-10 February Gauguin og van Gogh i Kobenhavn i 1893/Gauguin and van Gogh in Copenhagen in 1893
- 1986-87 New York The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 12 November-22 March Van Gogh in St. Rémy and Auvers
- 1986-87 Rotterdam Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde, 4 September-4 January
 - In het spoor van de liefde. Japans-Nederlandse ontmoetingen sinds 1600 $\,$
- 1987 BIELEFELD Kunsthalle Bielefeld, 18 January-1 March; Munich Staatsgalerie moderner Kunst, 3 April-17 May Enzo Cucchi guida al disegno. Beuys, Fontana, van Gogh, Hugo, Newman, Pasolini
- 1988 Rome Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, 28 January-4 April Vincent van Gogh
- 1988 Paris Grand Palais, 17 May-15 August; Tokyo Museum of Western Art,23 September-11 DecemberJaponisme
- 1988-89 Amsterdam Van Gogh Museum, 9 December-26 February Van Gogh & Millet
- 1989 Arles Musée d'Arles, 18 January-15 May Van Gogh et Arles

- 1990 Otterlo Kröller-Müller Museum, 30 March-29 July Vincent van Gogh. Tekeningen
- 1990 THE HAGUE Haags Historisch Museum, 8 September-18 November Van Gogh and The Hague
- 1990 Dublin The National Gallery of Ireland, 30 October-9 December 'From swerve of shore to bend of bay'. Dutch drawings of the land, the sea and the sky
- 1990-91 Glasgow The Burrell Collection, 10 November-10 February; Amsterdam Van Gogh Museum, 1 March-26 May The age of Van Gogh. Dutch painting 1880-1895 / De schilders van Tachtig. Nederlandse schilderkunst 1880-1895
- 1992 Kyoto Kyoto Museum of Art, 18 February-29 March; Tokyo Setagaya Museum of Art, 4 April-24 May Vincent van Gogh and Japan
- 1998-99 Paris Musée d'Orsay, 14 September-10 January Millet - Van Gogh
- 1998-99 BASEL Fondation Beyeler, 21 November-5 April
 The magic of trees
- 1999 ROTTERDAM Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 10 January-7 February Bedrijven voor het Liliane Fonds (no catalogue)
- 1999 ENSCHEDE Rijksmuseum Twenthe, 19 June-29 August Aardse paradijzen 11
- 2000 AMSTERDAM Rijksmuseum, 15 January-9 April; Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 25 July-5 November Rond 1900. Kunst op papier in Nederland / Van Gogh to Mondrian: Dutch works on paper
- 2000 Martigny Fondation Pierre Gianadda, 21 June-26 November Van Gogh
- 2000 Tokyo Seiji Togo Memorial Yasuda Kasai Museum of Art, 14 September-13 November Vincent van Gogh drawing exhibition. Van Gogh and his time from the Van Gogh Museum and the H.W. Mesdag Museum
- 2000-01 DETROIT The Detroit Institute of Arts, 12 March-4 June; Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 2 July-24 September; Philadelphia Philadelphia Museum of Art, 22 October-14 January Van Gogh. Face to face
- 2002-03 Bremen Kunsthalle Bremen, 19 November-26 January Van Gogh: Felder. Das Mohnfeld und der Künstlerstreit
- 2003 Toledo Museum of Art, 23 February-18 May Van Gogh: Fields

2004 Amsterdam Annet Gelink Gallery, November-December What's new (no catalogue)

2005 The Hague Gemeentemuseum, 5 February-16 May De Haagse School en de jonge Van Gogh

2005 Amsterdam Van Gogh Museum, 2 July-18 September; New York The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 12 October-31 December Van Gogh tekenaar: De meesterwerken / Van Gogh draughtsman: The Masterpieces

2006 Amsterdam Van Gogh Museum, 24 February-28 June Van Gogh en Rembrandt

2006-07 Amsterdam Van Gogh Museum, 24 November-4 March; New York Neue Galerie, 23 March-2 July Vincent van Gogh en het Expressionisme / Vincent van Gogh and Expressionism

2006-07 Budapest Szépművészeti Múzeum, 1 December-20 March Van Gogh Budapesten

Documents

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Letter from Oldenzeel to J. van Gogh-Bonger, 3 March 1892

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List of works for 1896 Paris exhibition

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List of works for 1910 Leiden exhibition

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List of works for 1909 Munich exhibition

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List of works for 1910 Berlin exhibition

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List of works for 1897 Groningen exhibition

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List of works for 1902 Paris exhibition

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List of works for 1910 Cologne & Frankfurt am Main exhibition

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Letter from J. Cohen Gosschalk-Bonger to E. Richter, 24 April 1908

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Catalogue (with annotations) of the 1905 Amsterdam exhibition

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List of works for 1909-10 Berlin exhibition

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List of works for 1903 Rotterdam exhibition

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List of works for 1911 Hamburg exhibition

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List of works for 1911 Hamburg exhibition

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Letter from E. Arnold (Galerie Ernst Arnold) to J. Cohen Gosschalk-Bonger, 10 February 1910

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Letter from E. Arnold (Galerie Ernst Arnold) to J. Cohen Gosschalk-Bonger, 23 March 1910

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Postcard from M. Held (Moderne Kunsthandlung) to J. Cohen Gosschalk-Bonger, I February 1910

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Postcard from the Frankfurter Kunstverein to J. Cohen Gosschalk-Bonger, 27 January 1910

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Letter from F.J. Brakl (Brakls Moderne Kunsthandlung) to J. Cohen Gosschalk-Bonger, 8 January 1910

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Letter from Brakl & Thannhauser (Moderne Kunsthandlung) to J. Cohen Gosschalk-Bonger, 17 April 1908

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List of works for 1906 Berlin exhibition

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Letter from Th. Stoperan (Paul Cassirer Kunst-Ausstellung und Verlagsanstalt) to J. Cohen Gosschalk-Bonger, 9 March 1908

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List of works for 1908 Berlin exhibition

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List of works for 1910 Berlin exhibition

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Letter from P. Cassirer (Paul Cassirer Kunst-Ausstellung und Verlagsanstalt) to J. Cohen Gosschalk-Bonger, 24 December 1910

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Letter from Th. Stoperan (Paul Cassirer Kunst-Ausstellung und Verlagsanstalt) to J. van Gogh-Bonger, 26 June 1914

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Letter from Th. Stoperan (Paul Cassirer Kunst-Ausstellung und Verlagsanstalt) to J. van Gogh-Bonger, 29 August 1914

DOCUMENTS

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List of works for 1905 Amsterdam exhibition

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List of works for 1911 Amsterdam exhibition

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List of works for 1912 exhibition in The Hague & Amsterdam

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List of works for 1922 Amsterdam exhibition

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Letter from J. Goudstikker to J. van Gogh-Bonger, 25 October 1922

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Letter from Pulchri Studio to J. van Gogh-Bonger, 27 February 1925

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Lists of works for 1925 exhibition in The Hague

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List of works for 1930 Laren exhibition

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Letter from V.W. van Gogh to the firm of Brak & Moes, 28 November 1930

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Letter from Galerie Marcel Bernheim to J. van Gogh-Bonger, 4 April 1924

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Letter from Galerie Marcel Bernheim to J. van Gogh-Bonger, 17 December 1924

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List of works for 1923-24 London exhibition

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Letter from V.W. van Gogh to Oliver Brown (Ernest Brown & Phillips), 27 November 1926

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List of works for 1924 Basel exhibition

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List of works for 1924 Zürich exhibition

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Letter from J. van Gogh-Bonger to J.M. Wartman (Zürcher Kunsthaus), 24 April 1924

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Letter from J. van Gogh-Bonger to O. Fischer (Staatliche Gemäldegalerie Stuttgart), 11 August 1924

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List of works for 1924 Stuttgart exhibition

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List of works for 1926 Munich exhibition

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Letter from G. Franks (Graphisches Kabinett München) to V.W. van Gogh, 3 October 1928

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List of works for 1920 New York exhibition

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List of works for 1948 Hilversum exhibition

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List of works for 1949 Hengelo exhibition

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List of works for 1949 Gouda exhibition

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Correspondence exchanged by V.W. van Gogh and Musée Rath Genève, 1947

Literature

- Amsterdam 1905 exhib. cat. Tentoonstelling van schilderijen en teekeningen door Vincent van Gogh, Amsterdam (Stedelijk Museum) 1905.
- Amsterdam 1926 exhib. cat. Vincent van Gogh tentoonstelling ter gelegenheid van het internationale jeugdfeest der S.J.I., Amsterdam (Stedelijk Museum) 1926.
- Amsterdam 1931 exhib. cat. Vincent van Gogh. Werken uit de verzameling van Ir. V.W. van Gogh, in bruikleen afgestaan aan de Gemeente Amsterdam, Amsterdam (Stedelijk Museum) 1931.
- Amsterdam 1958 M.E. Tralbaut, exhib. cat. Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890). Leven en scheppen in beeld, Amsterdam (Stedelijk Museum) 1958.
- Amsterdam 1961 exhib. cat. Vincent van Gogh. Aquarelles & dessins de l'époque 1881-1885 provenant de collections particulières Néerlandaises, Amsterdam (Van Wisselingh) 1961.
- Amsterdam 1987 Evert van Uitert and Michael Hoyle (eds.), cat. *The Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh*, Amsterdam 1987.
- Amsterdam 1988 Ellen Wardwell Lee et al., exhib. cat. Neo-impressionisten. Seurat tot Struycken, Amsterdam (Van Gogh Museum) 1988.
- AMSTERDAM 1988-89 Louis van Tilborgh et al., exhib. cat. Van Gogh & Millet, Amsterdam (Van Gogh Museum) 1988-89.
- Amsterdam 1990 Evert van Uitert et al., exhib. cat. Vincent van Gogh. Paintings, Amsterdam (Van Gogh Museum) 1990.
- Amsterdam 1991 1 cat. Van Gogh Museum. Aanwinsten/acquisitions 1986-1991, Amsterdam & Zwolle 1991.

- Amsterdam 1991 II Charlotte van Rappard-Boon et al., cat. Catalogue of the Van Gogh Museum's collection of Japanese prints, Amsterdam & Zwolle 1991.
- Amsterdam 2003 Chris Stolwijk et al. (eds.), exhib. cat. Vincent's choice. The Musée imaginaire of Vincent van Gogh, Amsterdam (Van Gogh Museum) 2003.
- Amsterdam 2006 cat. A decade of collecting: acquisitions 1997-2006. Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam 2006.
- Amsterdam/Boston 2000 Carel Blotkamp et al., exhib. cat. Van Gogh to Mondrian: Dutch works on paper, Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) & Boston (Museum of Fine Arts) 2000.
- Amsterdam/New York 2005 Colta Ives et al., exhib. cat. Vincent van Gogh: the drawings, Amsterdam (Van Gogh Museum) & New York (The Metropolitan Museum of Art) 2005.
- Amsterdam/Pittsburgh 2000-01 Andreas Blühm, Louise Lippincott, exhib. cat. Light! The industrial age 1750-1900. Art & science, technology & society, Amsterdam (Van Gogh Museum) & Pittsburgh (Carnegie Museum of Art) 2000-01
- Antwerp (955 exhib. cat. Vincent van Gogh, Antwerp (Feestzaal) 1955.
- Arles 1989 R. Pickvance, exhib. cat. Van Gogh et Arles, Arles (Ancien Hôpital Van Gogh) 1989.
- ARLES 2003 exhib. cat. Van Gogh à Arles. Dessins 1888-1889, documents originaux, photographies, Arles (La Fondation Vincent van Gogh-Arles)
- Arles Guide 2001 Odile Caylux et al., Arles.

 Museums, monuments, excursions/tours, Paris
 2001.

- Arnold 1995 Matthias Arnold, Vincent van Gogh. Werk und Wirkung, Munich 1995.
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35	Old man reading	966	280	75	Melancholy	1127	426
36	Man and woman seen from the back	991	233	76	Landscape with a church	1238	435
37	Woman with a broom	1074	249	77	Lumber sale	1113	438
38	Woman with a broom	1075	224	78	Weaver	1122	454
39	The poor and money	970	222	79	Weaver, with a baby in a highchair	1118	452

	De la	FAILLE	Hulsker		Ε	DE LA FAILLE	Hulsker
80	Weaver	II2I	453	132	Three hands	1164v	611
81	Weaver	1116	462	133	Lap with hands	1167r	625
82	Weaver	1107	445	134	Lap with hands and a bowl	1165	624
83	Weaver	1114	444	135	Two hands with a hearth shovel	1166	751
84	Weaver	1125	448	136	Seated woman	1189	677
85	Weaver	1115	502	137	Seated woman	1190	6 7 6
86	Weaver	1123	455	138	Seated woman	1191	547
87	Man winding yarn	1140	487	139	Hand with a stick, and four people		717
88	The vicarage garden	1132	463	-33	sharing a meal	1168r	666
89	Winter garden	1128	466	140	Four people sharing a meal	1227r	672
90	Pollard birches	1240	469	141	Four hands, two holding bowls	, 1159v	, 742
-	The kingfisher	1135	468	142	Hand with a bowl, and a cat	1229r	740
91	Avenue of poplars	1239	464	143	Three hands, two holding forks	1161r	746
92	Young man with a pipe	1199	579	144	Studies of the interior of a cottage, an		, ,
93 94	Pine trees in the fen	1249	473	-11	a sketch of The potato eaters	1161v	760
	Ditch	1243	473 472	145	Hand with a pot, the knob of a chair a		,
95 96	Part of a portrait of Anthon van Rappard	1243 12971	49 ¹	-47	a hunk of bread	1157	739
-	Head of a young man	1156v	582	146	Clock, clog with cutlery and a spoon-		731
97 98	Head of a woman	1170	630	147	Plate with cutlery and a kettle	1349v	732
-	Head of a woman	11/5	595	148	Lamp in front of a window	1158v	
99 100	Head of a woman	1186	748	149	Woman peeling potatoes	1208	652
	Head of a young man		581	150	Woman preparing a meal	1215	798
IOI	Head of a young man	1145 1146	580	151	Woman sewing	1204	798
102	Head of a young man with a pipe	1147	578	152	Woman sewing	1205	711
103	Head of a woman	1224	6 ₇ 8	153	Woman peeling potatoes	1210	709
104	Head of a woman	1184	597	154	Woman cutting bread	1219	720
105 106	Head of a woman	•		155	Kettle over a fire, and a cottage by nig	-	733
	Head of a woman	1192 1182	544 590	156	Two studies of a cottage	1152V	665
107	Head of a man	1102	564	157	Three people sharing a meal	12290	775
	Head of a woman		— —	158	Man and woman sharing a meal	1332V	781
109	Head of a woman		609	159	Sale of building scrap	123IV	771
110	Head of a woman	1177 11 71	570	160	Sale of building scrap	123Ir	769
III II2	Head of a woman	1171	572	161	Sale of building scrap	1230	779
	Head of a man	1200	560	162	Studies for figures carrying bundles	,-	//-
113	Head of a woman	1150r	575	102	of wood	1297v	795
114	Head of a woman		589	163	Woman with a mourning shawl	1197	817
115 116	Head of a woman	1172	571	164	Woman with a shawl	1187r	812
117	Head of a woman	11/2	647	165	Woman with a shawl	1187v	813
117	Head of a woman	1176	549	166	Woman with a shawl	1188	820
110	Three hands, two with knives	1156r	613	167	Three studies of a woman with a share		765
119	Four hands	1158r	626	168	Woman with a shawl	1298v	766
	Three hands	11501 1167v	623	169	Woman with her left arm raised	1227V	811
121	Hands with a stick	1168v	664	170	Peasant woman lifting potatoes	1257r	829
122	Two hands and a woman's head	1152r	•	170	Peasant woman lifting potatoes	1257V	830
123	Two hands and a woman's nead Two hands	-	749	171	Peasant woman lifting potatoes	1258	892
124	Two hands Two hands and two arms	1153r	741	•	Peasant woman lifting potatoes	1256	897
125		1155 1160r	744	173	Peasant lifting potatoes	1309	855
126	Arm	1160r	1005	174	Stocky man		
127	Arm		1004 612	175	Stocky man Stocky man	1331 1332r	759 758
128	Two hands	1154		176	Woman by a hearth	13321	789
129	Two hands with a stick	1159r 1162	614	177	Peasant lifting potatoes	1308	769 844
130	Two hands		622	178		-	696
131	Three hands	1164r	615	179	Woman winding yarn	1290	090

	De la	FAILLE	Hulsker		De la	FAILLE	Hulsker
180	Digger	1310	852	229	Jardin du Luxembourg	1383	1025
181	Peasant woman digging	1250	842	230	Restaurant menu	1377	1033
182	Peasant woman digging	1255	826	231	Shaggy ink-cap mushroom	- <i>577</i>	——————————————————————————————————————
183	Peasant woman lifting potatoes	1251	841	232	Man on a bench	1380v	1020
184	Reaper	1316	8 ₅ 8	233	People walking on a street in the evening	1380r	1019
185	Reaper	1317	863	234	A man and a woman seen from the back	1705r	1028
186	Reaper	1318	866	235	Sheet of sketches	1705V	
187	Reaper	1319r	857	236	View of Montmartre	1394	1181
188	Peasant woman binding sheaves	1266	868	237	Woman walking her dog ('A La Villette')	1704	1035
189	Peasant lifting beet	1303	860	238	Standing female nude seen from the back		1036
190	Digger	1305	849	239	A woman's legs	1363fv	1036
191	Digger in a potato field: February	1302	859	240	Seated male nude seen from the back	170IV	1085
192	Peasant with a fork	132IV	885	241	Standing male and seated female nudes	1363ar	1014
193	Woodcutter	1327	902	242	Standing male nude seen from the front	1364-1	1007
194	Peasant woman lifting potatoes	1273	909	243	Standing male nude seen from the front	1364-2	1008
195	Landscape with cottages and a mill	1345	802	244	Standing male nude seen from the front	1362r	1009
196	Landscape in stormy weather	1346	804	245	Seated girl and Venus	1366v	1044
197	Wheatfield with reaper and peasant	-7-7-		246	Studies of a seated girl, L'Echorché and	1,001	1044
,	woman binding sheaves	1321r	915	-43	Venus	1366r	1039
198	Stooks and a peasant stacking sheaves	1339	912	247	Seated girl seen from the front	1367	1043
199	Stooks and a mill	1319V	911	248	Seated female nude	1700	1010
200	Wheatfield with a stook and a mill	1341	918	249	Standing female nude seen from the back	•	1012
201	Stooks and a mill	1340	913	250	Feet	1703r	1083
202	Wheatfield with stooks and a mill	1342	919	251	Venus	1709V	1050
203	Woman shelling peas	1214	702	252	Torso of Venus	1709v 1708v	1065
204	Woman by a hearth	1288	797	253	Idol	1364a	1041
205	Woman by a hearth	1222	895	254	Idol and sketches of Venus	1710V	1048
206	A Sunday in Eindhoven	1348	958	255		1364bv	1040
207	Dance-hall	1350a	968	256	Venus de Milo	1371V	-
208	Couple dancing	1350b	969	257	Venus	1363g	1052
209	Two women in a balcony box	1350v	96 7	258	Torso of Venus	1707	1052
210	Head of an old man	1359	984	259	Bust of a young warrior	1701r	1081
211	Head of a man	1358	980	260	Torso of Venus	1708r	1064
212	City view	1355	966	261	Torso of Venus	17001 17091	1066
213	View of Het Steen	1350r	976	262	Idol	17091 1364br	1046
214	View of Het Steen	1351	977	263	Idol	1364dr	1047
215	The Grote Markt	1352	975	264	Torso of Venus	1371r	1068
216	The spire of the Church of Our Lady	1356	974	265	Torso of Venus	1363av	1063
217	Portrait of a woman	1357	981	266	Torso of Venus	1363b	1069
218	The discus thrower	1364e	1080	267	Venus in a top hat	1363fr	1051
219	Standing female nude seen from the front	1696	IOII	268		1364dv	1040
220	Standing female nude, seen from the side	1699	1013	269	L'Echorché	1702V	1038
221	Seated man with a beard	1370	1087	270	L'Echorché and Borghese Gladiator	1702r	1037
222	Standing man seen from the back	1706	1088	27I	Fragment of a Venus		<i>y</i> /
223	Seated man with a beard	1369v	1018	272	Couple making love	_	
224	Seated man with a moustache and cap	1369r	1017	273	Skeleton	1361	998
225	View of Paris with Notre-Dame and the	, ,	,	274	Park with figures	1382r	1027
,	Panthéon	1387	1098	275	Park view	1703V	1026
226	View of Paris with the Hôtel de Ville	2-1	-)-	276	Torso of Venus	1703v 1713r	1061
	and the Tour-Saint-Jacques	1388	1095	277	Torso of Venus	17131 1711V	1057
227	View of Paris with the Opéra	1390	1097	278	Torso of Venus and a landscape	1711V 1712V	1053
228	Figures in a park	1386	1022	279	Torso of Venus	1712v 1712r	1056
		<i>)</i>	- 2	~/3		-/	1050

	De la	FAILLE	Hulsker		De	la Faille	Hulsker
280	Torso of Venus	1711r	1062	328	Farmhouse in a wheatfield	1415	1408
281	Torso of Venus	1363cr	1070	329	The park and pond in front of the		
282	Young slave	1363cv	1079	, ,	Yellow House	1513	1412
283	Dying slave and figures at a table	1365	1086	330	Park with shrub	1421	1414
284	Male torso and study for 'Portrait of	, ,		331	Avenue in a park	1498v	1614
	a woman with flowers'	1713V	1077	332	Landscape with windmills at Fontvieille		1496
285	Kneeling échorché	1363d	1075	333	Landscape with hut	1498r	1457
286	Torso of Venus	1716r	1073	334	Field with houses	1506	1375
287	Nude woman squatting over a bassin	1376	1162	335	Montmajour	1423	1433
288	Window at the Bataille restaurant	1392	1218	336	The ruins of Montmajour	1417	1434
289	A guinguette	1407	1034	337	Heath	1493	1436
290	The boulevard de Clichy	1393	1217	338	Beach at Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Mer	1432	1455
291	View from the apartment in the rue Lepic	1391	1220	339	Houses in the sun in Les Saintes-Marie		133
291	Gardens on Montmartre and the Blute-fin		1220	779	de-la-Mer	1437	1450
292	windmill	1396	1222	340	Houses in Les Saintes-Maries-de-la-Me		1448
202	Violinist seen from the back	1390 1244ar	1154	341	Seated zouave	1443	1485
293	Violinist seen from the front		1154	342	The rock of Montmajour with pine tree		1503
294	Double-bass player	1244av	-	343	La Crau seen from Montmajour	1420	1501
295	Pianist	1244CV	1153 1157		The sower	1441	1543
296	Clarinettist and piccolo player	1244cr 1244br		344	Garden of a bathhouse	1457	1539
297	Head of a man with a top hat		1155	345 346	Railway storage yard	1495	1555
298	Head of a man (possibly Theo van Gogh)	1244dv	1159		Thistles by the roadside	1466	1552
299	(2	1244dr	1158 1160	347 348	Park with fence	•	1411
300	Woman pianist and a violinist	1714			The Yellow House (The street)	1477 1413	1591
301	Study for 'Reclining female nude'	1404	1213	349	Garden of the hospital	1413	1688
302	Seated woman	1718	1152	350	Giant peacock moth	1523	1700
303	Self-portraits	1378r	1197	351	Giant peacock moth and poppy seed po		1,00
304	Self-portrait	1379	1196	352	Giant peacock moth and beetle		_
305	Sorrowing woman	1378v		353	Periwinkle	 1614	2060
306	Study for 'Woman sitting by a cradle'	1244bv	1151	354	Tassel hyancinth	1614	
307	Barn owl viewed from the side	1373r	1190	355	Arums		2059
308	Barn owl viewed from the front	1373v	1189	356	Fountain in the garden of the asylum	1613	1703
309	Four swifts with landscape sketches	1244r	1289	357	Tree with ivy in the garden of the asylu	1531 m 1532	1705 1696
310	Swift	1244V	1290	358	Trees in the garden of the asylum		_
311	Strollers and onlookers at a place of	_		359	Tree and bushes in the garden of the	1501	1739
	entertainment	1692	993	360		7522	1710
312	Sailing boat on the Seine at Asnières	1409	1276	.6.	asylum Stairs in the garden of the asylum	1533	•
313	Restaurant De la Sirène at Asnières	1408	1252	361	Stone bench in the garden of the asylum	1535	1713
314	Apartment blocks and miscellaneous			362	Olive trees with the Alpilles in the	m 1537	1711
		374/1375	1291	363	-	75.43	TT 42
315	Study of the Paris ramparts	1719r	1279		background	1543	1743
316	Study of the Paris ramparts	1719v	1285	364	Olive grove	1555	1859
317	Road running beside the Paris ramparts	1400	1283	365	View of Saint-Rémy and sketches		
318	Gate in the Paris ramparts	1401	1284			1541v/1611v	1729/-
319	Entrance to the Moulin de la Galette	1406	1277	366	Trees with ivy in the garden of the		6
320	Shed with sunflowers	1411	1305		asylum	1522	1695
321	Couple out for a stroll	1720	1308	367	Wheatfield with cypresses	1538	1757
322	Portrait of Père Tanguy	1412	1350	368	The enclosed wheatfield after a storm	1547	1724
323	Landscape with path and pollard willows	1499	1372	369	Wild vegetation	1542	1742
324	Figures working in a field	1090	1406	370	Study of horses and peasants	1512V	_
325	Provençal orchard	1414	1385	371	Study of horses and a peasant	1724V	
326	Blossoming peach trees	1469	1384	372	Window in the studio	1528	1807
327	Field with farmhouses	1474	1407	373	Vestibule in the asylum	1530	1806

	De la	FAILLE	Hulsker		De la	FAILLE	Hulsker
374	Pine cone		_	415	Couple with child, walking in the rain	1589r	1951
375	Studies of a dead sparrow	1360v	621	416	Landscape with houses and two men		
376	Chestnut leaf with pod and landscape			,	with spades	1591V	1908
,,		r/1611r	1730/2058	417	Landscape with a house and two men	1597v	1912
377	Pine trees and wall in the garden of	,		418	Landscape with houses and two diggers	1594r	1915
	the asylum	1563	1824	419	Winter landscape with working figures	1593r	1906
378	(Pine) trees and wall in the garden of			420	Winter landscape with figures	1591r	1907
	the asylum	1565	1826	421	Winter landscape with walking figures	1592r	1910
379	Pine trees and wall in the garden of			422	Winter landscape with couple walking	1585r	1909
	the asylum	1568	1829	423	Studies of a sower and a hand	1603r	1936
380	Road with trees	1569	1827	424	Sketches of figures and studies of a hand	1603v	1937
381	Pine trees and wall in the garden of			425	Studies of a hand and a digger	1608v	618
	the asylum	1570	1821	426	Studies of a hand	1726	616
382	Trees and wall in the garden of the asylum	1571	1818	427	Studies of a hand	1360r	619
383	Trees and wall in the garden of the asylum	1 5 72r	1830	428	Studies of a hand	1725	617
384	Trees in the garden of the asylum	1572V	1822	429	Studies of a foot	1724r	620
385	Landscape with pine trees	1573	1823	430	Studies of a window and a foot	1605v	1704
386	Tree and wall in the garden of the asylum	1575	1815	431	Sketches of figures seated at a table	1601r	1953
387	Tree in the garden of the asylum	1576r	1817	432	Sketches of sitting figures	1601v	1952
388	Trees and wall in the garden of the asylum	1576v	1816	433	Three figures eating	1596v	1959
389	Trees, stone bench and fountain in the			434	Interior with five figures around a table	1594v	1958
	garden of the asylum	1577	1820	435	Interior with two figures eating	1585v	1961
390	Trees in the garden of the asylum	1579	1809	436	Interior with three figures at a table	1589v	1960
391	Almond tree and wall in the garden of	,,,		437	Interior with ten figures	1588	1954
	the asylum	1580	1810	438	Figures on the beach and of a plate,		
392	Pine trees and wall in the garden of			.,	bowl and spoon	1604r	1930/1931
	the asylum	1581	1811	439	Figures on the beach	1604v	
393	Pine trees along a path	1582	1814	440	Study of a tree trunk and clouds	1583	1917
394	Sketch of pine trees	1590r	1944	441	Cloud study	1584	1918
395	Mountain landscape behind the walled			442	Sketch of a woman seated at a table		_
	wheatfield	1549v	1721		and a woman standing	1606r	1940
396	Two peasant women digging	1586v	1924	443	Sketches of a man and a horse	1606v	1941
397	Peasant digging	1587v	1948	444	Sketches of a man and of a woman		
398	Man working in a field	1551V	1947		on a road	1607r	1938
399	Sower in the rain	1551r	1898	445	Sketch of women doing the washing	1607v	1939
400	Field with sower	1592V	1899	446	Figures by the fireplace	1608r	1962
401	Studies of diggers	1600r	1928	447	The walled wheatfield	1556	1714
402	Studies of diggers	1602v	1927	448	The walled wheatfield	1557	1715
403	Studies of working figures	1598v	1932	449	The walled wheatfield	1558	1716
404	Farmhouses and studies of diggers	1600v	1905	450	The walled wheatfield	1561	1719
405	Studies of figures	1599r	1929	451	The walled wheatfield with pruned tree	1562	1813
406	Studies of figures working and eating	1599v	1933	452	The wall enclosing the wheatfield		
407	Figures working the land	1605r	1935		near the asylum	1602r	1720
408	Landscape with cypresses and studies			453	Chair	1512r	1966
	of figures	1593v	1890	454	Chair and study of a hand	1549r	1965
409	Landscape with figures and wheelbarrows	1598r	1925	455	Chair by a fireplace	1510	1964
410	Three men shouldering spades on			456	Chair by a fireplace	1511	1963
	a road in the rain	1597r	1949	457	Study of a head and figures around a table	_	
411	Four men on a road	1590v	1946	458	Blossoming chestnut trees by a house	1640v	1990
412	Two men on a road	1586r	1945	459	Old vineyard with peasant woman	1624	1985
413	Carriage and figures on a road	1587r	1969	460	Landscape with houses	1640r	1986
414	Couple walking down a road	1596r	1943	461	Dead-end street with houses	1638r	1996
			,	•			

		De la Faille	Hulsker	De l	a Faille	Hulsker
462	Landscape with houses and woman			Appendices		
•	with a spade	1636	2079	ı/ı.ı Sower	_	44
463	Sketches of animals and children	1631r/1632	2063/2064	ı/ı.2 Fields and houses	_	<u></u>
464	Sketches of a horse with covered	<i>y</i> , <i>y</i>	<i>y</i> , ,	1/1.3 Landscape with a lift bridge (?)	_	
	wagon and of a baby in a pram	1610r/1633	2090/2092	1/1.4 Side view of a woman with a shawl	_	
465	Sketches of women doing the	, ,,	<i>J</i> , <i>J</i>	1/1.5 Construction sketch	_	
7-7	washing	1631v		1/1.6 Female figure (?)	_	_
466	Sketch of women working	1610v	2091	1/1.7 Two sketches of landscapes with willows	_	
467	Village street	1638v	1998	1/2.1 Thistle	IX	_
468	Head of a man	_	_	1/2.2 Bouquet of flowers	х	_
469	Study of a tree	1623v	2094	1/2.3 Studies of animal and human heads	I	_
470	Landscape with the river Oise	1627	2024	1/2.4 Sawmill	IV	
471	Landscape with the river Oise	, 1629	2025	1/2.5 House and barn	VII	
472	Landscape with river	1628	2026	1/2.6 Barn		
473	Trees along the river Oise	1578	1819	1/2.7 Houses	xxıv	
474	Interior with tables and chairs, and	-57 -		1/2.8 Woman with a bundle of faggots and		
777	a sketch of 'The bedroom'	1508v	1611	studies of hands	1689	_
475	Egyptian head and figure study	1520r	1733	3/1.1 Tracing of Hiroshige, The Plum tree	,	
476	Egyptian head	1520V	1734	teahouse		
477	Egyptian head	1521r	1735	at Kameido	_	_
478	Egyptian head	1521V	1736	3/1.2 Tracing of the cover of Paris illustré.		
479	Egyptian head and figure study	1596ar	1738	Le Japon	_	_
480	Egyptian head	1635r	1737	3/2.1 Seated female nude	1368	1015
481	Landscapes with houses	1630v/1637r	2081/2083	3/2.2 The hill of Montmartre	1398	1174
482	Auvers town hall and head of a man	, , ,,	2080/2082	3/2.3 Standing male nude seen from the side	1364c	1084
483	Standing and sitting male nude		,	3/2.4 Venus	1363e	1049
1.7	(after Bargue)	_	add. 4	3/2.5 Torso of Venus	1716v	1074
484	Sitting male nude (after Bargue)	1609v	<u>'</u>	3/2.6 Sorrowing woman	1717	1163
485	Standing male nude and sitting figu	_		4/I.I Sketch of figures	_	_
Τ-)	(after Bargue)	1508r		4/1.2 Sketch of a seated woman	_	
486	Horse and carriage	1609r	2089	4/1.3 Landscape with peasant and two horses	_	_
487	Marguerite Gachet at the piano	1623r	2047	4/2.1 Study of a hand	1727	610
488	Sketch of a thatched roof	1634v	<u></u>	4/2.2 Winter landscape with hut and figure	1126	605
489	Sketch of two women	1634r	2067	4/3.1 The daughter of Jacob Meyer		
490	Field with sheaves of wheat	1641	1484	(after Bargue after Holbein)	847	juv. 12
491	Peasant woman working the land	1626r	2087	4/3.2 Woman on her deathbed	1026a	360
492	Two peasant women in a field	1626v	2088	4/3.3 Portrait of Jozef Blok	993	254
493	Peasant with a scythe	1635v	2086			
494	Stooping man	1596av	1942			
495	Landscape with peasants reaping	1615r	2084			
	Landscape with women harvesting	1615v	2085			

Concordance

D	e la Faille	Сат.	Di	e la Faili	e Cat.	D	e la Failli	е Сат.	De la Faille	Cat.	De la Fa	AILLE CAT.
F	830	16	F	1099	68	F	1165	134	F 1233r	72	F 1316	184
F	847	4/3.1		1104	67	F	1166	135	F 1233V	73	F 1317	185
F	853	46		1107	82	F	1167r	133	F 1236r	70	F 1318	186
F		2I	F		77		1167v	121	F 1236v	71	F 1319r	187
F	871	22	F	1114	83		1168r	139	F 1237	69	F 1319v	199
F	876	18	F	1115	85	F	1168v	122	F 1238	76	F 1321r	197
F	895	19	F	1116	81	F	1170	98	F 1239	92	F 1321V	192
	906	44	F	1118	79	F	1171	III	F 1240	90	F 1327	193
F	907	45	F	II2I	80	F	1172	116	F 1243	95	F 1331	175
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F	913	23	F	1125	84	F	1177	110	F 1244br	297	F 1339	198
F	924	26	F	1126	4/2.2	F	1182	107	F 1244bv	306	F 1340	201
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F	960	33	F	1128	89	F	1185	99	F 1244cv	295	F 1342	202
F	962	31	F	1131	74	F	1186	100	F 1244dr	299	F 1345	195
F	966	35	F	1132	88	F	1187r	164	F 1244dv	298	F 1346	196
F	970	39	F	1135	91	F	1187v	165	F 1244r	309	F 1348	206
F	977	34	F	1140	87	F	1188	166	F 1244v	310	F 1349r	146
F	985	47	F	1145	IOI	F	1189	136	F 1245	41	F 1349v	147
F	991	36	F	1146	102	F	1190	137	F 1249	94	F 1350a	207
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PARVAE CRESCUNT (see also VDL, and shield

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— vidalon-les-annonay ♠ Anc<sup>ne</sup> Manuf<sup>re</sup>
  CANSON & MONTGOLFIER (blind stamp)
  (see also canson & montgolfier vidalon-
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394	1379	4/ 56, 63, 65 (fig. 326a)	470	1582	4/ 167 (fig. 348b), 167	578	1538	4/ 15, 147, 153
	1363	4/ 46	47I	1613	4/ 167 (fig. 348c), 167		1692	4/ 182
395 396	1367	4/ 37, 38	471 472	1598	4/ 88, 90 (fig. 331a)	579 581	1751	4/ 236
390 397	1368	4/ 2, 2, 37, 38, 63, 66 (fig. 326b)	472 473	1588	4/ 128, 130	585	1751	4/ 225
397 398	1366	4/ 37, 38		1592	4/ 174	587	1853	4/ 225
399	1398	4/ 56	474 475	1592	4/ 52, 54 (fig. 324a), 171, 420	595	2009	4/ 194
フソソ	-220	T / J [∨]	475	÷333	7/ 2-, 24 (1.5. 244), 1/1, 420)Y)	2009	71 *34

F	JН		F	JH		F	JН	
597	2011	4/ 189, 191	683	1982	4/ 29, 328 (fig. 410b), 460, 460	787	2050	4/ 470, 471 (fig. 475e)
608	1691	4/ 21, 182, 189	689	1836	1/82; 4/151	790	2108	4/476 (fig. 482a)
609	1693	4/ 182, 191, 197, 199, 203, 2 06,	690	1837	1/82; 4/151, 299, 302 (fig.	791	1995	4/ 426 (fig. 461a), 428
		236, 237 (fig. 366c)			399a)	792	1978	4/ 473
610	1702	4/ 186-88 (fig. 351d), 189, 197	694	1922	4/ 24, 304, 313 (fig. 401b), 380	794	2002	4/ 420 (fig. 459a)
611	1723	4/ 237, 238 (fig. 366e), 238, 392,	695	1923	4/ 24, 292, 296 (fig. 396a),	796	2037	4/ 494
	, ,	393			304, 321, 337, 380, 380	798	2021	4/ 451
612	1731	4/ 228, 228, 230 (fig. 365b), 231,	700	1781	2/80	803	2124	4/ 392
	.,	239	701	1847	4/ 304, 304, 314 (fig. 401c)	810	2109	3/310
613	1746	4/ 231	702	1967	1/ 164; 3/ 260; 4/ 345, 404, 405	811	2096	4/302
615	1755	4/ 237	•		(fig. 453a)	819	2112	4/ 469, 471 (fig. 475d)
617	1753	2/ 237; 4/ 231, 392, 393	703	1832	4/ 481	822	2095	4/ 432, 432, 434 (fig. 463b)
618	1773	2/ 237; 4/ 288, 392	704	1981	4/ 337	828	juv.13	1/82; 4/304
619	1792	2/ 237; 4/ 392	706	1794	4/ 245	829	c.b.	1/82, 96 (fig. 21a), 98; 4/304
620	1748	4/ 231	7 0 7	1857	4/ 225	830	I	16 , 1/78-82; 4/ 150, 535, 536
622	1 7 66	4/ 261 (fig. 374a)	709	1760	4/ 225	831	juv.11	1/14 (fig. 2), 15, 82; 4/320, 321
624	1778	1/89	712	1740	4/ 231, 239	-	·	(fig. 410a)
625	1768	4/ 245, 245, 248 (fig. 370a), 392	714	1858	4/ 225, 225, 227 (fig. 364a)	832	c.b.	1/16 (fig. 3), 17
626	1770	1/89	715	1759	4/ 225	833	13	4/3,3,532 (fig. 3.1b)
627	1772	4/481	717	1756	4/ 237 (fig. 366d), 237	836	juv.	zie F xIII
629	¹ 774	4/ 481	718	1727	4/ 26, 392, 393, 401, 402	837	juv.	zie F xıv
631	ュフフフ	4/ 481	•	, ,	(fig. 447g)	838	juv.	zie F xv
640	1800	4/ 253	719	1725	4/ 231, 237	839	juv.	zie F xvı
641	1795	4/ 392, 393	720	1728	4/ 238, 392, 393, 401	841	359	4/ 536
643	1799	4/ 253	, 721	1864	2/88	842	5	4/ 533
644	1805	4/ 390 (fig. 446b)	, 722	1872	4/ 392	845	7	2/ 90, 91 (fig. 91a); 3/ 30
646	1686	4/ 178 (fig. 350b), 179, 254, 254	, 723	1722	4/ 24, 288, 288, 290 (fig.	,,	•	(fig. 19), 31; 4/3
647	1834	1/ 222 (fig. 62b), 223; 4/ 390,	, ,	•	395a), 392	846	8	1/89
.,	,	391 (fig. 446c)	724	1745	4/ 392	847	juv.12	4/3.1, 4/ 479, 530-32, 535
648	1833	4/ 304, 313 (fig. 401a)	730	1841	4/ 203, 253	848	_	4/ 530
650	1839	4/ 299, 392, 401	731	1801	4/ 253	849	II	1/88
653	1840	4/ 252, 253 (fig. 372c)	732	1842	4/ 201, 203 (fig. 357a), 203, 263	849a		4/ 530
654	1868	2/ 237	734	1698	4/ 21, 182, 203	851	61	1/ 33 (fig. 18), 33
655	1869	2/ 237; 4/ 27	735	1761	4/ 392	852	275	1/89,174
656	1870	2/ 237	737	1862	4/ 22, 23 (fig. 18), 392, 401	853	274	46 , 1/18, 173-75; 2/99, 110
659	1850	4/ 203	739	1876	4/ 400	855	43	1/33
660	1849	4/ 203	743	1790	4/ 237	856	17	1/33
662	1804	4/ 231, 236 (figs. 366a, 366b),	744	1802	4/ 254 (fig. 372e)	859	29	1/33
		238	748	2013	4/ 189, 191	860	38	I/ 33
664	1865	4/ 299	749	2012	4/ 188 (fig. 351e), 189	860a	42	1/33
667	1884	4/ 342 (fig. 419a)	750	1984	4/ 416, 423, 425 (fig. 460a)	863	34	1/33, 160, 161 (fig. 42b); 3/260
671	1891	4/ 199, 290 (fig. 395b), 291	75 ¹	1992	4/416	864	51	1/ 163; 3/ 260
672	1975	4/ 393, 401, 419	752	1991	4/ 416, 416, 418 (fig. 458a)	866	54	21 , 1/ 22 , 90, 96-98, 160; 3/
673	1919	4/ 24, 25 (fig. 19), 265, 317, 331,	753	2007	4/ 445, 481, 483 (fig. 483h)			78; 4/ 529 (fig. 2.2c), 529
		335 (fig. 416a), 380	754	2014	4/445,445,447 (fig.468b),481	870	84	I/ 100
674	1920	4/ 24, 317, 331, 335 (fig. 416b),	760	2019	4/ 435, 488 (fig. 486a), 488	871	85	22 , 1/ 22, 34, 99-101
	_	380	766	2031	4/416,418 (fig. 458b)	876	14	18, 1/86-89, 234, 236; 2/ 107;
675	1921	4/ 24, 317, 331, 335 (fig. 416c),	768	2035	4/ 494			4/ 536, 536
• •	-	380	771	2125	4/ 502, 502, 504 (fig. 490c)	879	62	1/33
676	1970	4/ 401, 419	772	2048	4/ 491 (fig. 487a), 492	886	69	1/216
677	1972	4/ 345, 349 (fig. 423a)	775	2038	4/491	890	45	1/ 146
678	1977	4/419	780	2115	4/ 442, 496 (fig. 488a)	891	24	I/ 33
680	1978	4/ 419	786	2036	4/494	894	20	1/ 92 (fig. 19a)
	,,	•	•	,				

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		•	19, 1/33, 90-92, 96, 160;	970	222	39 , 1/ 26, 31, 35, 150-54, 240,	1024	336	62, 1/30, 194, 220-24; 2/22
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945 160				IOII		•			
947 164 2/88; 4/46, 48 (fig. 323a) 1014 310 56, 1/29, 36, 200-02, 204; 1090 1406 324, 4/3, 5, 46, 52-55, 69, 95, 951 197 1/125, 126 (fig. 30b), 232 2/268 98, 420 98, 420 952v 193 1/94, 231 (fig. 66a) 1015 307 57, 1/29, 36, 200, 203, 205; 2/ 1092 270 2/88; 4/46 953 234 1/137 268 1094 398 1/31, 89, 240 954 287 1/131 1016 304 55, 1/29, 36, 197-200, 201; 1096 411 1/31 960 241 33, 1/35, 128, 136-38, 154, 208, 2/268 1099 399 68, 1/31, 89, 234, 236, 238-40 2/78, 99 1017 302 58, 1/29, 36, 198, 206, 207; 1104 424 67, 1/26, 31, 89, 234-37, 238; 2/268				1012	308			124	
951 197 1/125, 126 (fig. 30b), 232 2/268 98, 420 952v 193 1/94, 231 (fig. 66a) 1015 307 57, 1/29, 36, 200, 203, 205; 2/1094 398 1/31, 89, 240 953 234 1/137 268 1094 398 1/31, 89, 240 954 287 1/131 1016 304 55, 1/29, 36, 197-200, 201; 1096 411 1/31 960 241 33, 1/35, 128, 136-38, 154, 208, 2/78, 99 1017 302 58, 1/29, 36, 198, 206, 207; 1104 424 67, 1/26, 31, 89, 234-37, 238; 2/268 2/28 961 284 1/176 (fig. 47a) 2/268 2/268 2/22 962 212 31, 1/36 (fig. 21), 128-32, 140, 1020a 330 60, 1/30, 36, 184, 211-16, 222; 1106 460 2/30 144, 208; 2/99 1020 331 1/211, 212 (fig. 60a), 214 270 966 280 35, 1/128, 141-43; 2/99 1022 344 1/124 1108 451 2/50, 62, 63 (fig. 80d)		164	2/88; 4/46, 48 (fig. 323a)	1014	310	56 , 1/ 29, 36, 200-02, 204;	1090	1406	324 , 4/ 3, 5, 46, 52-55, 69, 95,
953 234 1/137 268 1094 398 1/31, 89, 240 954 287 1/131 1016 304 55, 1/29, 36, 197-200, 201; 1096 411 1/31 960 241 33, 1/35, 128, 136-38, 154, 208, 2/268 1099 399 68, 1/31, 89, 234, 236, 238-40 2/78, 99 1017 302 58, 1/29, 36, 198, 206, 207; 1104 424 67, 1/26, 31, 89, 234-37, 238; 961 284 1/176 (fig. 47a) 2/268 2/28 962 212 31, 1/36 (fig. 21), 128-32, 140, 1020a 330 60, 1/30, 36, 184, 211-16, 222; 1106 460 2/30 144, 208; 2/99 2/22 1107 445 82, 2/23, 51, 62, 63, 66-73, 115, 965 298 1/137 1020b 331 1/211, 212 (fig. 60a), 214 1008 451 2/50, 62, 63 (fig. 80d)			1/ 125, 126 (fig. 30b), 232			2/ 268			98, 420
954 287	952v	193	1/ 94, 231 (fig. 66a)	1015	307	57 , 1/ 29, 36, 200, 203, 205; 2/	1092	270	2/88;4/46
960 241 33, 1/35, 128, 136-38, 154, 208, 2/78, 99 1017 302 58, 1/29, 36, 198, 206, 207; 1104 424 67, 1/26, 31, 89, 234-37, 238; 961 284 1/176 (fig. 47a) 2/268 2/268 2/268 2/268 2/22 31, 1/36 (fig. 21), 128-32, 140, 1020a 330 60, 1/30, 36, 184, 211-16, 222; 1106 460 2/30 144, 208; 2/99 2/22 1107 445 82, 2/23, 51, 62, 63, 66-73, 115, 965 298 1/137 1020b 331 1/211, 212 (fig. 60a), 214 270 270 270 280 35, 1/128, 141-43; 2/99 1022 344 1/124 1108 451 2/50, 62, 63 (fig. 80d)	953	234	1/ 137			268	1094	398	1/ 31, 89, 240
2/78,99 1017 302 58,1/29,36,198,206,207; 1104 424 67,1/26,31,89,234-37,238; 961 284 1/176 (fig. 47a) 2/268 2/22 962 212 31,1/36 (fig. 21), 128-32, 140, 1020a 330 60,1/30,36,184, 211-16, 222; 1106 460 2/30 144, 208; 2/99 2/22 1107 445 82, 2/23, 51, 62, 63, 66-73, 115, 965 298 1/137 1020b 331 1/211, 212 (fig. 60a), 214 1008 451 2/50, 62, 63 (fig. 80d)	954	287	1/ 131	1016	304		1096	411	
961 284 1/176 (fig. 47a) 2/268 2/22 962 212 31, 1/36 (fig. 21), 128-32, 140, 1020a 330 60, 1/30, 36, 184, 211-16, 222; 1106 460 2/30 144, 208; 2/99 2/22 1107 445 82, 2/23, 51, 62, 63, 66-73, 115, 1020b 331 1/211, 212 (fig. 60a), 214 270 966 280 35, 1/128, 141-43; 2/99 1022 344 1/124 1108 451 2/50, 62, 63 (fig. 80d)	960	241	33 , 1/ 35, 128, 136-38, 154, 208,				1099	399	
962 212 31, 1/36 (fig. 21), 128-32, 140, 1020a 330 60, 1/30, 36, 184, 211-16, 222; 1106 460 2/30 144, 208; 2/99 2/22 1107 445 82, 2/23, 51, 62, 63, 66-73, 115, 965 298 1/137 1020b 331 1/211, 212 (fig. 60a), 214 270 966 280 35, 1/128, 141-43; 2/99 1022 344 1/124 1108 451 2/50, 62, 63 (fig. 80d)				1017	302		1104	424	67 , 1/ 26, 31, 89, 234-37, 238;
2/22 1107 445 82 , 2/23, 51, 62, 63, 66-73, 115, 965 298 1/137 1020b 331 1/211, 212 (fig. 60a), 214 270 270 270 270 280 35 , 1/128, 141-43; 2/99 1022 344 1/124 1108 451 2/50, 62, 63 (fig. 80d)		284				•			
965 298 I/137 1020b 331 I/211, 212 (fig. 60a), 214 270 966 280 35, I/128, I41-43; 2/99 1022 344 I/124 1108 451 2/50, 62, 63 (fig. 80d)	962	212		1020a	330		1106	460	
966 280 35 , 1/128, 141-43; 2/99 1022 344 1/124 1108 451 2/50, 62, 63 (fig. 80d)			144, 208; 2/ 99				1107	445	82, 2/23, 51, 62, 63, 66-73, 115,
				1020b	331	1/ 211, 212 (fig. 60a), 214			270
968 213 1/137 1023 343 1/168 1109 439 2/50		280	35, 1/ 128, 141-43; 2/ 99	1022	344		1108	451	2/50, 62, 63 (fig. 8od)
	968	213	I/ 137	1023	343	1/168	1109	439	2/50

F	JН		F	јн		F	јн	
IIIO	437	2/ 50, 62 (fig. 80b)	- 1150r	575	114, 2/ 11, 22, 25, 111, 114,	1174	562	2/124
IIII	483	2/52	,	373	124-33; 4/ 31	1175	645	2/111
1112r	768	2/ 187 (fig. 159c)	1150v	_	2/ 126, 127 (fig. 108a)	1176	549	118, 2/11, 22, 25, 111, 114,
1112V	774	2/ 187 (fig. 159d)	1152r	749	123, 2/ 23, 25, 114, 134-43;	, -	ノマン	124-33; 4/ 31
1113	438	77, 2/11, 23, 45-48, 190, 274		712	4/351	1177	609	110, 2/11, 22, 25, 111, 114,
1114	444	83, 2/ 23, 51, 62, 62, 66-73, 115,	1152V	665	156 , 2/ 12, 88, 176, 178-80, 182,	//		124-33; 4/ 31
	777	270	,		252	1178	594	2/111, 124
1115	502	85 , 2/ 23, 51, 62, 63, 66-73, 115,	1153r	74 ^I	124 , 2/ 23, 25, 114, 134-43, 176;	1180	545	2/ 122 (fig. 107a), 123
. ,	,	270	"	, ,	4/ 351, 351, 352 (fig. 426c)	1181	679	2/111
1116	462	81 , 2/ 22, 50, 51, 64, 65, 77, 115,	1153V	733	155, 2/176, 177, 252; 4/388	1182	590	107, 2/25, 121-23, 127, 194
		157	1154	612	128, 2/ 23, 25, 114, 134-43;	1183	596	2/111
1116av	499	2/50	54		4/ 351 (fig. 426b), 351, 352	1184	597	105, 2/23, 25, 99, 110-20, 123,
1118	452	79 , 2/ 22, 52, 56-60, 76, 115	1155	744	125, 2/ 23, 25, 114, 134-43;	•	727	127, 138, 194
1119	449	2/50,56,58 (fig. 79a)	55	7 1 1	4/351	1185	595	99, 2/23, 25, 99, 110-20, 123,
1120	443	2/50	11 5 6r	613	119, 2/ 23, 26, 115, 134-43;	,	777	127, 138, 194
1121	453	80 , 2/ 18, 22, 51, 60-63, 67, 76,			4/ 351	1186	748	100, 2/23, 25, 99, 110-20, 123,
	700	115	1156v	582	97 , 2/ 23, 25, 99, 110-20, 123,		, ,	138, 194
1122	454	78 , 2/ 9, 11, 22, 49-55, 58, 60,	,	,	138, 194	1187r	812	164, 2/23, 26, 192, 196-202,
	727	67,74,76,115	1157	739	145, 2/ 134, 153, 157-63, 182	,		211, 215, 223, 266, 268
1123	455	86 , 2/ 22, 51, 52, <i>62</i> , <i>6</i> 2, <i>6</i> 3,	1158r	626	120, 2/ 23, 25, 114, 134-43, 158;	1187v	813	165, 2/23, 26, 192, 196-202,
	100	74-76, 115			4/351	•		211, 215, 223, 266, 268
1124	456	2/62	1158v	_	1 48 , 2/ 153, 157-63, 182	1188	820	166, 2/23, 26, 188, 196-202,
1125	448	84 , 2/ 23, 51, <i>62</i> , 62, 66-73, 115,	1159r	614	129, 2/ 23, 25, 114, 134-43;			211, 215, 223, 266, 268
,		270	,,,	•	4/ 351	1189	677	136, 2/ 25, 127, 148-52
1126	605	4/2.2 , 4/ 527-29	1159v	742	141, 2/ 134, 153, 157-63, 182	1190	676	137, 2/ 25, 127, 148-52
1127	426	75, 2/22, 30, 31, 36, 38, 40-42,	1160r	1005	126, 2/ 23, 25, 114, 134-43, 153;	1191	547	138, 2/ 25, 127, 148-52
,	•	44, 83, 96, 185		•	3/ 71; 4/ 351	1192	544	106, 2/23, 25, 99, 110-20, 123,
1128	466	89 , 2/ 9, 22, 23, 74, 82-87,	1160v	1004	127, 2/ 23, 25, 114, 134-43, 153;	-		127, 138, 194
	•	102		•	3/ 71; 4/ 351	1193	566	1/56; 2/124
1129	461	2/82,83 (fig. 89a), 88; 4/46	1161r	746	143, 2/ 134, 157-63, 182	1193a	552	2/ 124
1130	465	2/82,84 (fig. 89b)	1161v	760	144, 2/ 157-63, 182	1194	588	2/ 111
1131	427	74, 2/ 22, 22, 30, 31, 36, 38, 39,	1162	622	130, 2/ 23, 25, 114, 134-43;	1194a	747	2/111
-		40, 42, 44, 82, 84			4/351	1195r	818	2/196
1132	463	88 , 2/ 22, 80, 81	1164r	615	131, 2/ 23, 25, 114, 134-43;	1195v	819	2/196
1134	481	2/ 50, 58 (fig. 79b), 59			4/351	1196	816	2/ 200 (fig. 163b)
1135	468	91, 2/9, 12, 18, 22, 23, 83, 87,	1164v	611	1 32 , 2/ 23, 25, 114, 134-43;	1197	817	163, 2/ 23, 26, 192, 196-202,
		90-94, 102			4/ 351			211, 215, 223, 266, 268
1136	496	2/ 78	1165	624	134 , 2/ 25, 134, 144-46	1198	564	108, 2/ 11, 22, 25, 111, 114,
1137	493	2/78	1166	751	1 35 , 2/ 25, 134, 144-47			124-33; 4/ 31
1138	486	2/ 77, 78 (fig. 87a)	11 67 r	625	133 , 2/ 25, 134, 144-46	1199	579	93, 2/ 21, 22, 86, 99-102
1139	494	2/78	1167v	623	121, 2/ 23, 25, 114, 134-43	1200	560	113, 2/11, 22, 25, 111, 114,
1140	487	87 , 2/ 22, 23, 24 (fig. 14), 67,	1168r	666	1 39 , 2/ 134, 153-57, 182			124-33; 4/ 31
		77-79, 219, 270	1168v	664	122 , 2/ 23, 25, 114, 134-43;	1201	778	2/ 196
1144	511	1/94			4/351	1202	229	40 , 1/ 155, 156, 158; 2/ 99
1145	581	101, 2/ 23, 25, 99, 110-20, 123,	1169	631	2/ 111	1203	710	2/ 169
		138, 194	1170	630	98 , 2/ 23, 25, 99, 110-20, 123,	1204	708	151 , 2/ 157, 158, 164, 169-76,
1146	580	102, 2/23, 25, 99, 110-20, 123,			127, 138, 194, 238			263; 4/ 384
		138, 194	1171	570	111, 2/11, 22, 25, 111, 114,	1205	711	152 , 2/ 158, 164, 169 - 76, 263;
1147	578	103, 2/ 23, 25, 99, 110-20, 123,			124-33; 4/ 31			4/ 384
		138, 194	1172	571	116, 2/ 11, 22, 25, 111, 114,	1206	705	2/ 169
1148	567	2/ 124			124-33; 4/ 31	1207	706	2/ 169, 215
1149	647	117, 2/11, 22, 25, 111, 114,	1173	572	112, 2/11, 22, 25, 111, 114,	1207a	707	2/ 169
		124-33; 4/ 31			124-33; 4/ 31	1208	652	149 , 2/ 164-68, 169, 176

F	JН		F	JH		F	JH	
1210	709	153, 2/ 158, 164, 169-76, 218,	1244ar	1154	293 , 3/ 24, 29, 71, 108, 199,	1272a	822	2/238
		263; 4/ 384			199, 204, 231-40, 246, 263,	1273	909	194, 2/ 10, 22, 26, 222, 237,
1211	791	4/ 388			265; 4/ 39, 88			237, 238, 247-49, 266
1212	790	4/ 388	1244av	1156	294 , 3/ 24, 29, <i>71,</i> 108, 199,	1275a	873	2/ 248, 249 (fig. 194b), <i>249</i>
1214	702	203 , 2/ 10 (fig. 2), 157, 158, 169,			199, 204, 231-40, 246, 263,	1276	900	2/ 249
		263-65, 266, 269			265; 4/ 39, 88	1281	843	2/222
1215	798	150, 2/ 11, 158, 164-68, 176,	1244br	1155	297 , 3/ 24, 29, 71, 108, 199,	1282	906	2/ 245; 4/ 384, 438
		270; 4/ 388 (fig. 446a), <i>388</i>			199, 204, 231-40, 246, 263,	1284	907	2/ 245
1217	700	2/ 164, 215; 4/ 388			263, 265; 4/ 39, 88	1287	789	177, 2/ 22, 23, 24, 215-20, 252;
1218	701	2/ 164; 4/ 388	1244bv	1151	306 , 3/ 23, 30, 188, 190, 199,			3/ 56, 56; 4/ 388
1219r	720	1 54 , 2/ 157, 158, 164, 169-76,			231, 237, 238, 238, 246, 249, 255,	1288	797	204 , 2/ 22, 158, 266-68, 269;
		263; 4/ 384			255, 263-66, 267, 278			4/ 388
1219V	721	2/ 169, 174 (fig. 151a)	1244cr	1157	296, 3/ 24, 29, 71, 108, 199,	1290	696	179, 2/ 23, 24, 77, 215-21,
1220	703	2/ 169			199, 204, 231-40, 246, 263,			252
1222	895	205 , 2/ 23, 158, 269-71;			265; 4/ 39, 88	1290a	699	2/ 78, 164, 219 (fig. 177c)
		4/388	1244CV	1153	295 , 3/ 24, 29, <i>71</i> , 108, 199,	1291	796	4/ 388
1223	894	2/ 270; 4/ 388			199, 204, 231-40, 246, 263,	1293	896	2/ 269 (fig. 205a); 4/ 388
1224	678	104, 2/23, 25, 99, 110-20,			265; 4/ 39, 88	1297r	491	96 , 2/ 22, 107-09, 195
		123, 127, 138, 194	1244dr	1158	299, 3/ 23, 237, 238, 238,	1297v	795	162 , 1/ <i>92</i> ; 2/ <i>22</i> , 26, 108, 182,
1226	736	3/ 181, 181			241-45, 265; 4/ 39			192-95, 196; 3/ <i>67</i> ; 4/ 130
1227r	672	140, 2/153-57, 182, 200;	1244dv	1159	298, 3/ 23, 237, 238, 238,	1298r	765	167, 2/ 23, 26, 192, 196-202,
		4/ 362, 370 (fig. 431b)			241-45; 4/ 39			211, 215, 223, 266, 268
1227V	811	169 , 2/ 23, 26, 192, 196-202,	1245	230	41 ,1/157,159; 2/99	1298v	766	1 68 , 2/ 23, 26, 192, 196-202,
		211, 215, 223, 266, 268	1246	520	2/98			211, 215, 223, 266, 268
1229r	740	1 42 , 2/ 134, 153, 157-63, 182	1247	953	2/88	1301r	917	2/ 255 (fig. 197a), 256
1229v	775	157, 2/ 181-84	1248	407	1/31	1301V	886	2/ 238 (fig. 180c)
1230	770	161, 2/10 (fig. 1), 11, 30, 48,	1249	473	94 , 2/ 9, 22, 102-06	1302	859	191, 2/15, 23, 26, 27, 99,
		185-91	1250	842	181, 2/ 15, 23, 26, 27, 99, 107,			107, 192, 203, 222-43, 245,
1231r	769	1 60 , 2/ 11, 30, 185-91			192, 203, 222-43, 245, 248,			248, 264, 268; 3/ 14, 15
1231V	771	1 59 , 2/ 11, 30, 185-91			264, 268; 3/ 14			(fig. 7)
1232	429	2/30,36 (fig. 72a),36	1251	841	183, 2/ 15, 22, 23, 26, 27, 99,	1303	860	189, 2/ 15, 22, 23-27, 99, 107,
1233r	430	72 , 2/ 22, 31, 35-38, 42, 44			107, 192, 203, 222-43, 245,			192, 203, 222-43, 245, 248,
1233V	434	73, 2/22, 31, 35-38, 42			248, 264, 268; 3/ 14			264, 268, 268; 3/ 14
1234	954	2/ 274; 3/ 102	1252	890	2/ 222	1304	847	2/ 196, 218 (fig. 177b)
1236r	432	70, 2/8, 12, 22, 22, 30-34, 36,	1253	898	2/215, 218 (fig. 177a); 3/56	1305	849	190, 2/ 15, 22, 23, 26, 27, 99,
		38, 40, 42, 44, 185	1255	826	182, 2/ 15, 23, 26, 27, 99, 107,			107, 192, 203, 222-43, 245,
1236v	436	71, 2/8, 22, 30-34, 36, 38, 40,			192, 203, 222-43, 245, 248,			248, 264, 268; 3/ 14, 63
		42, 44, 185			264, 268; 3/ 14	1307	853	65 , 1/p <i>3</i> 1, 228-30, <i>236</i>
1237	433	69, 2/8, 12, 22, 22, 30-34, 36,	1256	897	17 3 , 2/ 23, 26, 192, 203-10, 215,	1308	844	178, 2/ 23, 24, 215-21, 252;
		38, 40, 42, 44, 185; 4/ 527			223, 266, 268			3/ 56, 56
		(fig. 2.2a), 529	1257r	829	170, 2/ 23, 26, 192, 203-10, 215,	1309	855	174, 2/ 23, 26, 192, 203-10, 215,
1238	435	76, 2/ 22, 31, 36, 38, 40, 42-44,			223, 266, 268			223, 266, 268
		92, 273	1257v	830	171, 2/ 23, 26, 192, 203-10, 215,	1310	852	180, 2/15, 23, 26, 27, 99, 107,
1239	464	92 , 2/ 9, 22, 23, 87, 95-98,			223, 266, 268			192, 203, 222-43, 245, 248,
		102	1258	892	172, 2/ 23, 26, 192, 203-10, 215,			264, 268; 3/ 14
1240	469	90, 2/ 9, 18, 22, 23, 83, 86,			223, 266, 268	1312	854	2/ 239, 266 (fig. 204a), 268
		87-89, 102; 4/ 31 (fig. 2), 46	1262a	838	2/ 238	1314	861	2/ 222, 239
1240a	467	2/ 88; 4/ 46	1262b	840	2/ 222	1316	858	184, 2/ 15, 23, 26, 27, 99, 107,
1241	470	2/ 98	1265a	834	2/ 25 (fig. 16), 26			192, 203, 222-43, 245, 248,
1242	474	2/ 102, 102, 103 (fig. 94a)	1266	868	188, 2/ 15, 23, 26, 27, 99, 107,			264, 268; 3/ 14
1243	472	95 , 2/ 9, 22, 80, 88, 102-06			192, 203, 222-43, 245, 248,	1317	863	1 85 , 2/ 15, 23, 26, 27, 99, 107,
1244r	1289	309 , 3/ 23, 263, 267-74, 278			264, 268; 3/ 14			192, 203, 222-43, 245, 248,
1244V	1290	310, 3/ 23, 267-74	1272	910	2/ 249			264, 268; 3/ 14; 4/ 54

F	јн		F	јн		F	јн	
1318	866	186, 2/ 15, 23, 26, 27, 99, 107,	1360r	619	427 , 4/ 40, 257, 345, 351-56,	1375		314, 3/ 267, 278, 286-88, 292,
,		192, 203, 222-43, 245, 248,			362, 410			303
		264, 268; 3/ 14	1360v	621	375 , 3/ <i>267</i> ; 4/ 40, 257-62	1376	1162	287 , 3/ 23, 94, 177, 208-11, <i>246</i> ,
1319r	857	187 , 2/ 15, 23, 26, 27, 99, 107,	1361	998	273 , 3/ 19, 108, 110, 179-81, 182,			311, 314
		192, 203, 222-43, 245, 248,			183	1377	1033	230 , 3/ 19, 94-97; 4/ 32, 33
		264, 268; 3/ 14	1362r	1009	244 , 3/ 71, 75, 112-37, 141, 148,			(fig. 3), 91
1319v	911	199, 2/ 11, 12, 21, 22, 248,			200	1378r	1197	303 , 3/ 190, <i>246, 249</i> , 252,
		255-62; 4/ 502, 502, 504	1363ar	1014	241 , 3/ <i>64</i> , <i>71</i> , 75, 112-37, 141,			255-60, 262, 263, 310
		(fig. 490a)			148, 160, 170, 171	1378v		305 , 3/ 23, 252, 260-62, 330
1321r	915	1 97 , 2/ 12, 248, 255-62; 4/ 502	1363av	1063	265 , 3/ 121, 138-76, <i>1</i> 88	1379	1196	304 , 3/ 255-59, 3 <i>0</i> 3
1321V	885	1 92 , 2/ 15, 23, 26, 27, 99, 107,	1363b	1069	266 , 3/ 138-76, 188	1380r	1019	233 , 3/ 19, 90, 99-103, 106, 107,
		192, 203, 222-43 (fig. 180c),	1363cr	1070	281 , 3/ 22, 138, 187-207			110
		245, 248, 264, 268; 3/ 14	1363cv	1079	282 , 3/ 22, 138, 187-207	1380v	1020	232 , 3/19, 90, 99-103, 106, 107,
1322r	916	2/256	1363d	1075	285 , 3/ 22, 138, 139, 187-207			110
1325	903	2/ 22, 239, 248 (fig. 194a), 249,	1363e	1049	3/2.4, 3/ 170, 327-30, 332	1381r	1023	3/ 10, 11 (fig. 2)
		249	1363fr	1051	267 , 3/ 60, 121, 124, 128,	1382r	1027	274 , 3/ 92, 107, 179, 179, 181,
1326	904	2/ 249			138-76			182-86
1327	902	193 , 2/ 24, 26, 99, 192,	1363fv	1036	239 , 3/ 74, 75, 112-37, 141, 148,	1383	1025	229 , 3/ 19, 90-9 3 , 106, 107, 292
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1609v	_	484 , 4/ 28, <i>4</i> 1, 428, 458,			42, 445, 470, 473, 476-78	1693i	1003	3/ 172 (fig. 251q)
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Vincent van Gogh Drawings Volume 4 – part 2 Arles, Saint-Rémy & Auvers-sur-Oise 1888-1890 Van Gogh Museum

Marije Vellekoop Roelie Zwikker

With the assistance of Monique Hageman

Translated by Diane Webb

WAN GOGH MUSEUM

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The fourth and final volume in the series of Vincent van Gogh drawings in the Van Gogh Museum features 176 drawings made by Van Gogh during his years in Arles, Saint-Rémy and Auvers-sur-Oise.

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