

VAN GOGH CHOOSES REMBRANDT AND DELACROIX

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REMBRANDT, NOT RAPHAEL

On the cover of the Rembrandt van Ryn fascicle of his two-volume *École hollandaise*, Charles Blanc introduces the Dutch master with his etchings entitled *Self-Portrait* and *Faust*. Charles Blanc was an artist, journalist, art politician, art historian, Rembrandt scholar, and writer, authority on art education and journalism, and founder of the famous *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. He was also the author of *Histoire des peintres*, consisting of 14 volumes with 3000 illustrations. In 1867 he published the *Grammaire des arts du dessin* and in 1882 the *Grammaire des arts décoratifs*, two books on free and applied art being widely-acclaimed works.¹ At the end of his fascicle on Rembrandt, Blanc praises the artist's oeuvre and defends it against those who criticise him for shortcomings of style and drawing technique: "Grand poète, grand peintre, inimitable graveur, Rembrandt est trois fois digne de la statue qui lui a été élevée à Amsterdam. Comme peintre, il n'a point de maître dans ces trois parties essentielles de l'art: le clair-obscur, la touche, l'expression. S'il ignore le style, sa trivialité au moins est sublime. Si son dessin manque de noblesse, s'il est incorrect dans les proportions, il est relevé par une qualité supérieure, le sentiment; il va droit au cœur du sujet. Ses défauts, du reste, sont de la nature de ceux qu'il ne faut pas ôter. Génie tout d'une pièce, Rembrandt est incorrigible: c'est là sa grandeur."²

Besides the *Self-Portrait* and *Faust*, Charles Blanc reproduced additional works by Rembrandt. Two of these etchings, *The Raising of Lazarus* and *The Good Samaritan*, play an important role in the work of Van Gogh.

Rembrandt had increasingly been appreciated in France since the mid-19th century.³ Eugène Delacroix and Bürger-Thoré considered the Dutch artist the best painter of all, while others opined this position was rightly held by Raphael. Delacroix, writing in his journal in 1847, protested against the popular view and the judgment by the followers of Ingres that the "fameuse beauté" was the main objective of art. Delacroix praises the northern artists – referring to Rubens and Rembrandt – claiming that they possess completely different artistic qualities.⁴ On June 6, 1851, Delacroix published an article on the occasion of the re-opening of the Louvre, which had been closed for renovations during the preceding two years. Delacroix has been commissioned to complete the renovation of the ceiling of the Galerie d'Apollon, but this was finished only in October 1851.⁵

In his article, Delacroix addresses *unité*, i.e. the coherence of objects in a picture. In Delacroix's view, Nicolas Poussin lacks unity of colours, while Raphael is incoherent, because he scrupulously draws every figure without any clothing before covering them. It is on this that he bases the contrast of Raphael and Rembrandt: "Je suis bien sûr que si Rembrandt se fût astreint à cet usage d'atelier, il n'aurait ni cette force de pantomime, ni cette force dans l'effet qui rend ses scènes la véritable expression de la nature. Peut-être découvrirait-on que Rembrandt est un beaucoup plus grand peintre que Raphaël." Delacroix is establishing a hierarchy: while acknowledging Raphael for his art and majestic sketching, to Rembrandt, who in his view was more of a born artist than the diligent student of Perugino, he grants the position "dans la mystérieuse conception du sujet, dans la profonde naïveté des expressions et des gestes", a view considered to be desecration in the opinion of the "hommes d'école" – the protagonists of academic classicism.⁶

In his two-volume publication *Les musées de la Hollande* (1858–1860), Bürger-Thoré offers an interesting confrontation of Raphael with Rembrandt by pinning the portraits of the two artists found in the magazine on his wall. Above the two faces looking in different directions he writes the word "Janus", and at that moment he understands that Raphael embodies the past while Rembrandt embodies the future.⁷ The change is represented by the rejection of lifeless ideals favoured by the academies and illustrated by an army of plaster casts.

FRANS HALS, THE DISCOVERY

While the Neo-Classicistic perception of Raphael was being devalued the always appreciated work of Rembrandt was for the first time reappraised. Frans Hals, on the other hand, forgotten outside of Holland and only little respected even in Holland, was now being rediscovered.⁸ Paul Mantz, who wrote the volume on Frans Hals for Charles Blanc, writes that it was due to a lack of sources and knowledge of art history that Hals had failed to attain the status he deserved.⁹ In his discussion of the *Art Treasures Exhibition* organised in Manchester in 1857, Bürger-Thoré gives an entirely new appraisal of the master. He describes Frans Hals as one of the bravest and most independent artists, and draws a parallel between his relationship to Rembrandt and that of Tintoretto to Titian in accordance with the popular notion of historical equivalence. At the same time, he refutes the view that Hals' paintings are merely sketches, clearly treating the artist's method of painting extremely fast as a positive quality.

In 1876, Eugène Fromentin's *Les maîtres d'autrefois. Belgique – Hollande* was published by Plon in France. The comments on Frans Hals are relatively brief, whereas his discussion of Rembrandt's works and qualities take up a third of the chapter on Dutch artists. Fromentin, irritated by Hals' extraordinarily long period of artistic activity, as documented by the Academy of Haarlem with works created between 1616–1664, is obliged to admit the emergence of artistic energies with their ascension, their height and their exhaustion.¹⁰ In his study of the rediscovery of Frans Hals, Frances S. Jowell calls attention to a book by Eugène Vernon entitled *L'Esthétique* (1878). Vernon, a republican writer, accentuated Hals' overwhelming originality and offered his style as an example for modern art.¹¹ In saying this, art critics were rediscovering what Gustave Courbet with his reproduction of *Malle Babbe* (1869), and Edouard Manet with his *Le Bon Bock* (1873) had long before known.¹² In 1883, an unsigned editorial titled *Le modernisme de Frans Hals* was published in *L'Art moderne*, the semi-official newspaper of *Les Vingt*, a Brussels artists' association. The author unscrupulously declared: "Frans Hals est un moderne. Son esthétique, son coloris, son dessin, ses procédés, appartiennent à notre époque."¹³

Writing about Rembrandt's modest life localised in the lowest social class, Fromentin evokes the contrast between him and the sophisticated Rubens: "Autant Rubens se montre tel qu'il était au plein jour de ces œuvres, de sa vie publique, de sa vie privée, net, lumineux et tout chatoyant d'esprit, de bonne humeur, de grâce hautaine et de grandeur, autant Rembrandt se dérobe et semble toujours cacher quelque chose, soit qu'il ait peint, soit qu'il ait vécu. [...] Point d'honneurs officiels, ni ordres, ni titres, ni cordons, rien qui le mêle de près ni de loin à tel fait ou à tels personnages qui l'auraient sauvé de l'oubli, car l'histoire en s'occupant d'eux aurait incidemment parlé de lui. Rembrandt était du tiers, à peine du tiers, comme on eût dit en France en 1789."¹⁴

In November 1885, towards the end of his self-education as a painter, Van Gogh responded to Fromentin's claim regarding Rembrandt's low social status: while in Nuenen, Van Gogh's brother Theo sent him Edmond and Jules de Goncourt's book *L'art du XVIII^e siècle*. Vincent finished reading the "splendid book" in a single night, and sent a letter to his brother the following morning. The artist's references in the letter to Chardin and Rembrandt are particularly interesting. Regarding Chardin, Van Gogh paraphrases: "*Tiers état*, Corot-like as to bonhomie – with more sorrow and adversity in his life. [...] I enjoyed immensely what he says about Chardin's technique. I am more convinced than ever that the true painters did not finish their things in the way which is used only too often, namely correct when one scrutinizes it closely. The best pictures, and, from a technical point of view the most complete, seen from near-by, are but patches of colour side by side, and only make an effect at a certain distance. That is what Rembrandt stuck to, notwithstanding all the trouble it caused him (the honest citizens greatly preferred Van der Helst, because his work can also be looked at up close). In that respect Chardin is as great as Rembrandt. Israël's is the same [...]."¹⁵

Van Gogh then refers to a paragraph about Chardin in the Goncourts' book that Theo has highlighted, which discusses the poor payment received by painters. Van Gogh quotes literally: "Que faire, que devenir? Il faut se jeter dans une condition subalterne ou mourir de faim. On prend le premier parti." Moreover, it was clearly important to Van Gogh that according to the Goncourts most artists, with the exception of some martyrs, became fencing coaches, soldiers or jugglers.¹⁶ Vincent interpreted his brother's highlighting of this paragraph as tactfully inquiring about his plans for the future. In response, he wrote back that he was planning to go to Antwerp where he "shall find an opportunity somewhere to paint from the nude". Interestingly, he tells his brother that in Nuenen he was given by children the nickname "t schildermenneke" [the little painter fellow].

FAST PAINTERS

Van Gogh was a keen reader and well-aware of the publications by Blanc and Fromentin on Rembrandt, as well as the writings of Bürger-Thoré on Dutch painting.¹⁷ The issue of "fini" – i.e. the perfect finish to a painting, with which Delacroix was also concerned – became clear to Van Gogh while contemplating the pictures of Frans Hals and Rembrandt in the Museum of Amsterdam.¹⁸ In October 1885, Vincent spent three days at the Museum of Amsterdam, and experienced greater ability than previously in a deepened study of the technique of painting. He admired Frans Hals and Rembrandt, in front of whose perfect picture, *The Jewish Bride* (p. 109), he stood delighted because Rembrandt could here be a true poet or creator; and he wondered how Delacroix would have interpreted this picture of "noble sentiment, infinitely deep". Comparing Frans Hals and Rembrandt, he writes "As to the pictures by Frans Hals – he always remains on *earth* – one can speak about them. Rembrandt is so deeply mysterious that he says things for which there are no words in any language."¹⁹

In a letter written from Arles in July 1888 to Émile Bernard, Van Gogh makes an effort to explain why he can understand Delacroix and Zola better than many other French people: "Since I had a somewhat complete notion of Rembrandt, one, Delacroix, got his results by colours, the other, Rembrandt, by tonal values, but they are on a par [sic!]."20

Van Gogh made the following remark about technique: "What struck me most on seeing the old Dutch pictures again is that most of them were painted quickly, that these great masters, such as a Frans Hals, a Rembrandt, a Ruysdael and so many others – dashed off a thing from the first stroke and did not retouch it so very much. And please note this too – If it was right, they left it as it was."21 In his obituary of Delacroix, Charles Baudelaire had written that a brisk skillfulness was indispensable if one does not want the artist's imagination to remain sterile.22 Van Gogh considered this as a confirmation for his own work, for he had just finished *The Potato Eaters* two months before (p. 68). In Amsterdam he found pictures by contemporary artists that were painted in "what they call a distinguished light colour scale", but which were in his opinion "flat and uninteresting, childish mixed". In this regard, Van Gogh was pleased that his own studies were found "too black".23

Inspired by the lecture of Bürger-Thoré's writings, it was the hands that Van Gogh admired above all in the pictures of Frans Hals and Rembrandt: "I have especially admired the hands by Rembrandt and Hals, certain hands in 'The Syndics,' even in 'The Jewish Bride,' and in Frans Hals, hands that lived, but were not finished in the sense they demand nowadays. And heads too – eyes, nose, mouth done with a single stroke of the brush without any retouching whatever."24

In 1864 Bürger-Thoré advised contemporary artists to study *Portrait of a Woman*, exhibited in Vienna, because of the woman's extraordinary vitality, health, open-mindedness, and particularly because of her hands: "Les deux mains unies ensemble sont merveilleuses. [...] On ne sait trop comment c'est fait, par quelques touches hardies qui accusent juste la forme et le mouvement."25 In *The Potato Eaters*, painted in September 1885, as well as in *Portrait of a Woman*, Van Gogh adhered to the example set by his ideal, Frans Hals. In a letter written to Émile Bernard in 1888, he again refers to the portraits of Frans Hals and Rembrandt. For Van Gogh, depicting fishwives, a gypsy girl, soldiers, small children, tramps and musicians was to portray all of humanity. This was in his view just as valuable as Dante's *Divina Commedia* or the works of Michelangelo or Raphael. Of Frans Hals he says: "He painted vagabonds and laughing urchins, he painted musicians and he painted a fat cook."26

IMITATIO CHRISTI

On November 19, 1873, while in London, Van Gogh wrote to his brother Theo, then living in The Hague, to suggest the painters he would like the most. In addition, he advised him frequently to visit museums, to improve his knowledge of the masters, and to read assiduously the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. At the same time, he signalled he was sending Bürger's book on Dutch museums. In February of the following year, Theo had not yet finished reading W. Bürger's *Les musées de la Hollande*, and was allowed to keep the book for some time.27

On September 4, 1877, Van Gogh wrote to his brother that he was transcribing the French edition of *Imitation de Jésus Christ* by Thomas a Kempis. Vincent reflected that if one feels a "sincere desire for light and truth", this special book could not be read without emotion or even fear. He had previously told Theo that he bought Jacques Bénigne Bossuet's book *Oraisons funèbres*, and in his next letter three days later wrote he had bought *Libri quatuor de imitatione Christi*, expressing the hope to be able to read it once in Latin.

In his letter of September 4, 1877, Vincent drew an unusual parallel between an everyday evening chat of his three uncles Jan, Cor and Vincent, and Rembrandt's etching *Christ in Emmaus*. Vincent enjoys watching his chatting uncles, but thinks Rembrandt's

etching is “even more beautiful”.²⁸ The evening gatherings that Vincent experiences with a degree of sentimentality lead him to the etching of Rembrandt, while he himself is the fourth figure. This comparison is apparently an irrational product of a sentimental outlook rather than based on the accidental likeness of the number of persons, their posture or location. In Van Gogh’s mind Rembrandt’s etching imbues the usual meeting place of the three uncles with a sort of divine presence.

The *Imitatio Christi* was perhaps the leading motif in the self-conception of the preacher and artist Van Gogh: for a fanatic there could be no dividing line between art, the all-embracing gospel, and the self-conception as a sacrifice in Christ’s service. Quoting a remark by Thomas a Kempis that he had never been in the company of people without feeling like an ordinary person, Van Gogh insisted in a letter to his friend Anthon van Rappard in September/October 1882 that as an artist he felt weaker the more time he spent in the company of other artists.²⁹ Adoration for those who were absent was typical of Vincent van Gogh, and he aimed to follow in the footsteps of the great masters, a kind of *imitatio*. In a letter sent to Émile Bernard from Arles at the end of July 1888, he wrote about the geniuses of painting Rembrandt, Delacroix, Daumier and Millet: “It is possible that these great geniuses are only madmen, and that one must be mad oneself to have boundless faith in them and a boundless admiration for them.” Succession meant for him to do the “painting of humanity, or rather of a whole republic”, in the manner of Frans Hals, Rembrandt and Delacroix.³⁰

“VAN GOGH ÉTAIT DEVENU FOU.”

In a letter to his brother Theo dated July 20, 1873, Van Gogh inquired about photographs of paintings by Émile Wauters, except the *Hugo van der Goes* and *Mary von Burgundy* that were apparently already in his possession.³¹ The painting by Émile Wauters from 1872 depicts Hugo van der Goes, the insane artist. Returning from a journey, Hugo van der Goes evidently suffered a severe episode of manic depression, when a sympathetic abbot in the Roode-monastery in Brussels treated him with music therapy and managed to rid him of his obsessions of eternal damnation – reminiscent of the way the young David treated the melancholy of King Saul.³² From this early interest in a painting, which was a sensation in 1872, no later doom can be derived, as Van Gogh continued to be interested in the art of Wauters, the Belgian painter, who was only a little older, but more successful than him. In all probability, Van Gogh was neither concerned with the tragic story of Torquato Tasso in the mental hospital of Ferrara, popular as it was with several poets and painters, among them also Delacroix.³³ However, in a letter of July 1888 sent from Arles to Theo, Vincent wrote about the picture entitled *The Madness of Hugo van der Goes* in a personal context: “Not only my pictures but I myself have become haggard of late, almost like Hugo van der Goes in the picture by Émil Wauters.”³⁴ One still has to be aware of the fact that in 1889 Van Gogh has suffered a nervous breakdown, the nature of which is still not clear. He attacked his friend Paul Gauguin with a knife, then, following the averted attack and Gauguin’s departure, Van Gogh mutilated himself by cutting off one of his earlobes. Afterwards, he offered the bloody piece to a barmaid.³⁵ But it is to bear in mind that in his picture *Portrait of Dr. Paul Gachet*, Van Gogh, himself an acutely endangered sufferer of manic depression, painted a splendid picture of a melancholic, while at the same time hoping to receive medical help from his model.³⁶ The harrowing portrait of the doctor dressed in blue, with his right arm leaning against a diagonal red plane in front of a blue wave thrusting upwards, reveals infinite hopelessness: nothing can be expected from this weak and sick person, whose white-grey eyes do not convey any possibility of help. Beleaguered with his unfortunate illness, Van Gogh the artist has never painted clearer-sighted than in this portrait.

Émile Bernard, the young friend of Vincent van Gogh and Paul Gauguin, wrote an obituary of Van Gogh in 1890 and many other pieces about his deceased friend afterwards. In 1926, he recalled the tragedy in Arles, not mentioning the attack on Gauguin but describing Van Gogh's self-mutilation and detention that followed: "Van Gogh était devenu fou." According to Bernard, Van Gogh slowly recovered and gradually sobered up, and was able to talk about his overwrought and exhausted condition. Bernard talks of the happy captive ("captif heureux"), as he refers to him, that he is exclusively engaged with painting his environment and copying his favourite pictures: "Les malades, les médecins, les arbres du parc, le bassin où dormait l'eau dans la cour, les petites montagnes qu'il voyait au loin, tout lui était modèle; et parfois aussi il copiait des gravures, des reproductions de tableaux aimés: Rembrandt, Delacroix, Millet, Doré."³⁷

Bernard did not go deeper into the events than these memories. We are more interested, however, in the reproductions Van Gogh converted into his own pictures at the asylum in Saint-Rémy. He chose Rembrandt, Delacroix, Millet, Daumier and Doré. The choice of graphic reproductions available at the asylum was most probably rather limited, and it is not known whether he had access to his own collection of graphic illustrations. There are many indications that his works were a result of making a selection from artists and literary stories that could be joined with his unfortunate condition and his hope of recovery.³⁸

In Saint-Rémy, Van Gogh returned to Rembrandt, Delacroix, Millet and Doré. Millet served as a model for depicting the realities of peasants' work, *The Drinkers* (cat. no. 69) was conceived under the effect of one of Daumier's engravings, *The Prison Courtyard* depicting prisoners walking in circles was painted after an illustration by Gustave Doré, while *Pietà* and *The Good Samaritan* are copies of works by Delacroix. Rembrandt's *The Raising of Lazarus* and a sketch of an angel (the latter is today attributed to Aert de Gelder) inspired Van Gogh for two further paintings.³⁹ As Cornelia Homburg has pointed out it was in September 1889 that Van Gogh first occupied himself with Delacroix's *Pietà*, of which he had received a damaged lithograph from C.-F. Nanteuil.⁴⁰ Van Gogh recreated the black and white model twice in colour. The smaller version was designed for his younger sister Wil, the larger for his brother Theo. In his colouration Van Gogh probably built on Delacroix's *Pietà* of 1843–1844 in the church of Saint-Denis-du-Saint-Sacrement. Owing to the church's darkness, the artist depicted the lights with clear chrome yellow and the shadows with Prussian blue. In a letter sent to Rappard in September 1885, Van Gogh noted this, as well as the complementary contrasts of the colours, together with a remark made by Théophile Sylvestre: "Il faut être Delacroix pour oser cela."⁴¹

An additional work from 1889, an *Angel*, was created under the influence of a Rembrandt sketch that Van Gogh received from Theo. Thereafter, Van Gogh returned to work after Rembrandt and Delacroix only in 1890, shortly before his release from the Saint-Rémy asylum which appeared to him like a prison that would cause the loss of the last shreds of his "intellect and work-power". In a journey to the northern town of Auvers-sur-Oise to visit Dr. Gachet, on the other hand, Van Gogh saw the possibility of the advent of a period of relative personal health.⁴²

Jean-Paul Laurens' lithography after the first version of Delacroix' *The Good Samaritan* was the model for Van Gogh's painting. He had planned to execute it just after the *Pietà*, but then he put it off until May 1890. At the same time, he resumed Rembrandt's *The Raising of Lazarus* (p. 387). Van Gogh isolated one part of the composition and painted only Lazarus in the open grave and the two sisters. His model in this case was not Rembrandt's etching but the copy of the wood engraving used in Charles Blanc's fascicle, or the copy used by Blanc, which can be inferred from the different position of the two women. In a letter written in 1890, Vincent thanks Theo for sending him a few etchings, among them that of "Lazarus". However, in this instance, at least, this was not a copy of the original etching.⁴³ In the same letter, Vincent refers to Charles Blanc's comments on Rembrandt's *The Raising of Lazarus*. This section of the letter reads: "Rembrandt va traduire le miracle de la Résurrection de

Lazare par un miracle de clair-obscur. La scène se peint à son imagination comme s'étant passée dans un caveau sombre, tout à coup illuminé. Pour Rembrandt, la vie c'est la lumière, la mort c'est la nuit."⁴⁴

In 1890, not long before his journey to Auvers-sur-Oise, Vincent sketched his *Lazarus* in a letter to Theo describing how he painted the deceased and his two sisters: "The cave and the corpse are white-yellow-violet. The woman who takes the handkerchief away from the face of the resurrected man has a green dress and orange hair, the other has black hair and a gown of striped green and pink. In the background a countryside of blue hills, a yellow sunrise."⁴⁵ There is as yet no clear answer to why Van Gogh isolated this group and excluded the watching crowd and the huge figure of Christ. Cornelia Homburg offers an important argument: "It was less the God-inspired miracle he wanted to evoke than the hope of his own recovery, which would largely be based on his own powers. He believed that his health might improve if he returned to the north."⁴⁶ This biographic interpretation can be supported by the fact that Lazarus is depicted with a red beard, such as that worn by Van Gogh himself. This does not explain the isolation of this part, however. In fact, the act is the following: Van Gogh resolved the compositional combination of Rembrandt's *The Raising of Lazarus* and *Pietà* into parts from which he isolated the *Pietà* group. The mourning and the raising were probably more suitable for projecting the notions of pity and salvation. The light and the rising sun convey the hope that Van Gogh added to Rembrandt's work.

In the same letter of May 1890, in which he informed Theo that he is painting *Lazarus* after Rembrandt, Van Gogh mentioned that he "tried a copy of the 'Good Samaritan' by Delacroix". The man being attacked is not clear of danger: the Samaritan tries to help the victim of the robbery onto his donkey, but the saved seems to be sliding back down towards him. The saviour is present, but it is doubtful whether his intention succeeds.

ACQUIREMENT AND SUCCESSION

With his pictures of victims, painted after Rembrandt and Delacroix in the autumn of 1889 and the spring of 1890, Van Gogh evoked the artists he admired most. This relationship cannot simply be called "influence", the term usually used in art history. In his desperation, Van Gogh engages himself with the themes of the two artists, from which he hopes to attain clarification, empowerment and possibly even escape. At the same time, however, "imitation" in Thomas a Kempis' sense, together with the interaction between themes and the artist did play a role in the way he related to Rembrandt and Delacroix.

Although Van Gogh himself used the word "copies" to refer to his works painted after graphics of Rembrandt, Delacroix and others it would not be correct to use this word today. The interpretation of the relationship of artists to existing works of art has recently ameliorated and has differentiated.⁴⁷ Van Gogh transcribes the models of other artists into his personal colour system using his own artistic technique. In no way did Van Gogh copy in the sense of the best definition of copying by Charles Levesque in his *Encyclopédie méthodique: Beaux-Arts* (1788), and in the five-volume *Dictionnaire des Arts de Peinture, Sculpture et Gravure* (1792).⁴⁸ There are indications that Van Gogh chose the motifs of Rembrandt and Delacroix for personal reasons. He might have hoped that by transcribing them into his own idiom he would evoke their effect for himself. There is also a third consideration important to Van Gogh. By assimilating the paintings of Rembrandt and Delacroix and integrating them into his own work, he followed the long-established Christian tradition of succession and by this was able to legitimise himself as a modern artist. To this end, he made use of both Rembrandt and Delacroix.

Translated from the German by István Bakódy – Katalin Havas

I L L U S T R A T I O N S

- P 84 "Rembrandt", in: Charles Blanc, Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles. École hollandaise, vol. I, Paris: Jules Renouard, Librairie-Éditeur, 1863
- P 84 "François Hals", in: Charles Blanc, Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles. École flamande, Paris: Jules Renouard, Librairie-Éditeur, 1868
- P 87 Vincent van Gogh: Portrait of a Woman, 1885, F 174
- P 87 Frans Hals: Portrait of a Woman, around 1650/1652
- P 88 Émile Wauters: The Madness of Hugo van der Goes, 1872
- P 89 Vincent van Gogh: Portrait of Dr. Paul Gachet, 1890, F 754
- P 90 Célestine-François Nanteuil: Pietà (after Delacroix)
- P 90 Vincent van Gogh: Angel (after Rembrandt), 1889, F 624.
- P 91 Jean-Paul Laurens: The Good Samaritan (after Delacroix's version 1)
- P 91 Vincent van Gogh: The Good Samaritan, 1890, F 633
- P 92 Vincent van Gogh: The Raising of Lazarus, 1890, F 677
- P 92 Rembrandt van Rijn, The Raising of Lazarus, in: Charles Blanc, Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles. École hollandaise, vol. I, Paris: Jules Renouard, Librairie-Éditeur, 1863
- P 93 Vincent van Gogh, The Raising of Lazarus, sketch made in May 1890 in his 632nd letter

- 1 See Andrea Selinde Edel, "Charles Blanc (1813–1882). Die Grammatik der zeichnenden Künste" (PhD diss., Phil.-hist. Fak., Universität Bern, 1993); Kristiane Pietsch, "Charles Blanc (1813–1882) der Kunstkritiker und Publizist" (PhD diss., Universität Düsseldorf, 2004).
- 2 Charles Blanc, "Rembrandt van Ryn' fascicle," in Charles Blanc, *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles. École hollandaise* (Paris: Jules Renouard, Librairie-Éditeur, 1863), vol. 1, 22.
- 3 Regarding the 19th-century appreciation of Rembrandt, see further literature by Johannes Stüchelberger, *Rembrandt und die Moderne. Der Dialog mit Rembrandt in der deutschen Kunst um 1900* (Munich: Fink, 1996), 21–66.
- 4 Eugène Delacroix, *Journal 1822–1863*, ed. A. Joubin (Paris: Plon, 1981), 130–131 (February 9, 1847).
- 5 Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, ed., *La galerie d'Apollon au Palais du Louvre*. Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Louvre, Paris 2004–2005 (Paris: Gallimard, 2005).
- 6 E. Delacroix, op. cit. (note 4) 279–280.
- 7 Willem Bürger [Théophile Thoré], *Les musées de la Hollande*, 2 vols. (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1858–1860), vol. 2, X.
- 8 See Frances S. Jowell's outstanding work: "The Rediscovery of Frans Hals," in *Frans Hals*, Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1989, ed. Seymour Slive (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1989), 61–86.
- 9 Paul Mantz, "Fascicle 'François Hals'," in Charles Blanc, *Histoire des peintres de toutes les écoles. École flamande* (Paris: Jules Renouard, Librairie-Éditeur, 1868).
- 10 Eugène Fromentin, *Les Maîtres d'autrefois. Belgique – Hollande* (Paris: Plon, 1876), 299–312.
- 11 F. Jowell, op. cit. (note 8) 74.
- 12 Further artists referring to contemporary comments on Frans Hals: Wilhelm Busch, Max Liebermann, Wilhelm Leibl, Mary Cassatt, John Singer Sargent, James Ensor and many others. See F. Jowell, op. cit. (note 8).
- 13 "Le Modernisme de Frans Hals," *L'Art moderne*, no. 38, 1883, 301–303, quoted from p. 302.
- 14 E. Fromentin, op. cit. (note 10) 395–396.
- 15 Vincent van Gogh, *The Complete Letters. With Reproductions of all the Drawings in the Correspondence*, 3 vols., 3rd ed. (Boston, New York and London: A Bulfinch Press Book Little, Brown and Company, 2000), vol. 2, no. 431, p. 431; Edmond et Jules Goncourt, *L'art du XVIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Rapilly, 1873–1874, deuxième édition), vol. 1, 75–174.
- 16 Van Gogh, op. cit. (note 15) vol. 2, no. 433, pp. 435–436; Goncourt, op. cit. (note 15) vol. 1, 163: "[...] L'élève est âgé de dix-neuf à vingt ans, lorsque la palette lui tombant des mains, il reste sans état, sans ressources et sans mœurs; car d'avoir sans cesse sous les yeux la nature toute nue, être jeune et sage, cela ne se peut. Que faire, que devenir? Il faut se jeter dans quelques-unes de ces conditions subalternes, dont la porte est ouverte à la misère, ou mourir de faim. On prend le premier parti..."
- 17 See his letter written to Theo in October 1885 in: Van Gogh, op. cit. (note 15) vol. 2, no. 426, pp. 416–419, and the one written to Émile Bernard in July 1888 in: Van Gogh, op. cit. (note 15) vol. 3, no. B12, pp. 503–504.
- 18 For the problem of "fini" and Delacroix: Oskar Bätschmann, "Zeichnen und Zeichnung im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Zeichnen ist Sehen. Meisterwerke von Ingres bis Cézanne aus dem Museum der Bildenden Künste Budapest und aus Schweizer Sammlungen*, ed. Judit Geskó and Josef Helfenstein, Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Kunstmuseum of Bern and of the Hamburger Kunsthalle, 1996 (Stuttgart: Verlag Gerd Hatje, 1996), 24–33.
- 19 Van Gogh, op. cit. (note 15) vol. 2, no. 426, pp. 416–419.
- 20 Ibid. vol. 3, no. B13, pp. 505–506.
- 21 Ibid. vol. 2, no. 427, p. 419.
- 22 Charles Baudelaire, "L'œuvre et la vie d'Eugène Delacroix" [1863], in Charles Baudelaire, *Curiosités esthétiques*, ed. Henri Lemaître (Paris: Garnier, 1962), 421–451.
- 23 Van Gogh, op. cit. (note 15) vol. 2, no. 426, pp. 417–418; no. 427, pp. 419–422.
- 24 Ibid. vol. 2, no. 427, p. 419.
- 25 Willem Bürger, "Galerie de MM Pereire," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, no. 6, 1864, 193–213, 297–317.
- 26 Van Gogh, op. cit. (note 15) vol. 3, no. B13, p. 506 (July 1888).
- 27 Van Gogh, op. cit. (note 15) vol. 1, no. 12, p. 16; no. 14, p. 18.
- 28 Ibid. vol. 1, no. 108, pp. 137–138; no. 109, pp. 139–140.
- 29 Ibid. vol. 3, no. R16, pp. 338–340.
- 30 Ibid. vol. 3, B13, pp. 506–507.
- 31 Ibid. vol. 1, no. 10, pp. 10–11.
- 32 Emile Wauters, *Madness of Hugo van der Goes*, 1872, oil on canvas, 186 × 275 cm, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique; Raymond Klibansky und Erwin Panofsky, *Saturn und Melancholie. Studien zur Geschichte der Naturphilosophie und Medizin, der Religion und der Kunst* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1990), 143–144.
- 33 Andrea Buzzoni, ed., *Torquato Tasso tra letteratura, musica, teatro e arti figurative*, Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Palazzo della Cultura e dei Congressi, Ferrara, 1985 (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1985); André Joubin, "À propos du Tasse dans la maison des fous," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, no. 76, 1934, 247–249; Lee Johnson, "Erminia and the Wounded Tancred. A New Tasso Subject by Delacroix," *Apollo*, no. 136, 1992, 379–383.
- 34 Van Gogh, op. cit. (note 15) vol. 2, no. 514, p. 622.
- 35 Douglas W. Druick and Peter Kort Zegers, ed., *Van Gogh und Gauguin. Atelier des Südens*, Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Art Institute of Chicago and of the Van Gogh

- Museum, Amsterdam, 2001–2002 (Milan: Electa, 2002), 260.
- 36 Jean Clair, ed., *Mélancolie. Génie et folie en Occident*. Exhibition Catalogue of Grand Palais, Paris, 2005 (Paris: RMN and Gallimard, 2005), 412–417 (Jean Starobinski); Pascal Bonafoux, Anne Distel and Marina Ferretti-Bocquillon et al., ed., *La collection Gachet*, Exhibition Catalogue of the Grand Palais, Paris, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1999 (Paris: Société française de promotion artistique, 1999).
- 37 Émile Bernard, *Propos sur l'art*, 2 vols., ed. Anne Rivière (Paris: Séguier, 1994), vol. I, 250–251; see obituary pp. 26–29; Bernard's letter written in 1890 about the funeral of Van Gogh in Auvers-sur-Oise pp. 30–32; the "Souvenirs" of 1924, 241–247.
- 38 Cornelia Homburg, *The Copy Turns Original. Vincent van Gogh and a New Approach to Traditional Art Practice* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1996), 70–99.
- 39 Ibid. 79–92 (Millet) and 95–98 (Doré und Daumier).
- 40 Ibid. 70–72. – Eugène Delacroix, *Pietà*, 1850, oil on canvas, 35 × 27 cm, Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet.
- 41 Van Gogh, op. cit. (note 15) vol. 3, no. R58, p. 422, in respect of Delacroix Van Gogh makes reference to Théophile Sylvestre, *Eugène Delacroix. Documents nouveaux* (Paris: M. Lévy, 1864).
- 42 Van Gogh, op. cit. (note 15) vol. 3, no. 632, pp. 268–269.
- 43 Ibid. vol. 3, no. 630, p. 263. – The lithograph in the Van Gogh Museum is not the original used by C. Homburg (op. cit. [note 38] in illustration 16).
- 44 C. Blanc, op. cit. (note 2) vol. I, 15.
- 45 Van Gogh, op. cit. (note 15) vol. 3, no. 632, p. 269.
- 46 C. Homburg, op. cit. (note 38) 77.
- 47 Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann and Carolyn Logan, ed., *Creative Copies. Interpretative Drawings from Michelangelo to Picasso*, Exhibition Catalogue of the New York Drawing Centre, 1988 (London: Sotheby's Publications, 1988); *Copier-Créer. De Turner à Picasso. 300 œuvres inspirées par les maîtres du Louvre*, Exhibition Catalogue of the Louvre, Paris, 1993 (Paris: RMN, 1993); about Van Gogh: Evert van Uiter, "Some Artists with Whom Vincent van Gogh Identified," in Kōdera Tsukasa and Yvette Rosenberg, ed., *The Mythology of Vincent van Gogh* (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1993), 129–149; C. Homburg, op. cit. (note 38); Matthias Arnold, *Van Gogh und seine Vorbilder* (Munich: Prestel, 1997); Peter Hecht, *Van Gogh en Rembrandt* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2006).
- 48 O. Bättschmann, op. cit. (note 18) 26; "[...] On distingue trois sortes de copies: les premières, fidèles & serviles; les secondes, faciles & peu fidèles; les troisièmes, fidèles & faciles à la fois. Le gêne que le copiste a éprouvée dans les premières, les fait aisément reconnoître, quoique le dessin & la couleur de l'original y soient conservés. La facilité des secondes peut leur donner une apparence d'originalité; mais comme le copiste ne s'est pas asservi à imiter exactement la touche, le pinceau, le style du maître qu'il a copié, on voit que le tableau n'est pas de la main de ce maître. Les troisièmes, réunissant la facilité à une imitation précise, jettent dans le doute les plus grands connoisseurs." Pierre-Charles Levesques, "Copie," in Claude-Henri Watelet and Pierre-Charles Levesque, ed., *Dictionnaire des Arts de Peinture, Sculpture et Gravure*, 5 vols. (Paris: L. F. Prault, 1792), vol. I, 493–494.