

THE CONCEPT OF VISION IN
PAUL GAUGUIN'S VISION APRÈS LE SERMON

by

HELLE KAJA VIIRLAID
B.A., University of Toronto, 1973

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
Department of Fine Arts

We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

April, 1979

© Helle Kaja Viirlaid, 1979

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study.

I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of Fine Arts

The University of British Columbia
2075 Wesbrook Place
Vancouver, Canada
V6T 1W5

Date 20 April 1979

THE CONCEPT OF VISION IN PAUL GAUGUIN'S VISION APRÈS LE SERMONAbstract

The central concern of this thesis is the concept of vision as subject and artistic mode as a means of comprehending Paul Gauguin's Vision après le sermon of 1888. The painting in its style and imagery is argued to be a reflection of Gauguin's beliefs and aims at the time of its execution, showing continuity in his growth and development of a visionary approach to art. The visionary aspects of the painting are presented as being most significant in revealing the nature and meaning of Vision après le sermon and placing the work into the context of its time.

The evolution and development of the artist's interests and concerns up to and including 1888 are examined to demonstrate the growth of his visionary style with this work discussed as exemplar of his manner of expression.

Gauguin's own view of himself as seer and spiritual leader is explored in relationship to the late nineteenth century attitude of the artist as visionary, to suggest that he was very much a product of his time. The nineteenth century concept of dream or vision as the artist's own reality is focused upon to suggest that Gauguin's Vision après le sermon reflects the artist's perception of his personal environment.

The iconographic significance of the various elements in the painting are assessed to show how Gauguin's attitudes were manifested through his use of imagery in this work - a painting which was a culminating statement in his artistic development and which clearly reflected his concerns about life and art at the time.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
List of Plates	vi
List of Charts	vii
Acknowledgements	viii
 I. CHAPTER ONE: <u>The Thesis in Perspective</u>	
A. Introduction to Paul Gauguin's <u>Vision après le sermon</u>	1
B. A Review of Literature Relevant to <u>Vision après le sermon</u>	2
C. Purposes of the Present Thesis	9
D. General Content and Methodology of the Thesis:	
1. The Growth and Development of Gauguin's Visionary Style - An Outline of Chapter Two	11
2. The General Iconography of <u>Vision après le sermon</u> - An Outline of Chapter Three	12
3. Gauguin's Intentions in His Use of Imagery in <u>Vision après le sermon</u> - An Outline of Chapter Four	15
E. Literature and References Cited in the Thesis	16
F. Visual Description of <u>Vision après le sermon</u>	17
G. Elements Found in <u>Vision après le sermon</u> as Part of Gauguin's Repertoire of Motifs Prior to and Including 1888	21
 II. CHAPTER TWO: <u>The Growth and Development of Gauguin's Visionary Style</u>	
A. Gauguin's Depiction of Vision in <u>Vision après le sermon</u>	24
B. Gauguin's Artistic Interests and Concerns and Their Stylistic Consequences:	
1. Gauguin as an Eclectic: His Early Interest in and Collection of Contemporary Art of the Time as it Later Affects His Style	27
2. The Appeal of the Orient and the Japanese Influence on Gauguin's Art	29
3. Gauguin's Quest for Primitive Cultures and Life-Styles in Martinique and Brittany	37
4. Gauguin's Attraction to Delacroix's Expressive Use of Line and Colour	43

	PAGE
5. Gauguin's wish to "Paint Like Children"	46
6. Gauguin's Personal Interpretation of Nature from Memory as It Affects His Art	48
7. Intentional Mystery and Ambiguity in Gauguin's Work . .	49
8. Gauguin's Meditative and Contemplative Approach to Art	51
C. <u>Vision après le sermon</u> as an Exemplar of Gauguin's Artistic Concerns	56
III. CHAPTER THREE: <u>The General Iconography of Vision après le sermon</u>	
A. Gauguin's Depiction of the Same Subject prior to 1888 . . .	63
B. Wrestling as a Metaphor in Gauguin's Own Life	66
C. Gauguin as Artistic and Spiritual Leader in His Own Community	71
D. The Concept of Painter as Poet	76
E. Poet as Visionary	78
F. The Dream as a Personal Vision of Reality	80
G. The Religious Significance of Art in Gauguin's Time	86
H. Gauguin's Awareness of Contemporary Thought	90
I. Albert Aurier's Article - "Le Symbolisme en peinture - Paul Gauguin, 1891"	93
J. Gauguin's Exposure to and Interest in Religion	112
IV. CHAPTER FOUR: <u>Gauguin's Intentions in His Use of Imagery in Vision après le sermon</u>	
A. Parallels Between Gauguin and the Character of Jacob . . .	117
B. Gauguin as Priest in <u>Vision après le sermon</u>	119
C. Interpretation of the Composition of <u>Vision après le sermon</u>	
1. The Theater-like Arrangement of the Painting	121
2. Functions of the Tree	123
D. The Importance of the Open-Eyed Figure at the Centre of <u>Vision après le sermon</u>	124
E. Conclusion	128
V. SUMMARY	131
VI. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES	134
VII. FOOTNOTES	135

	PAGE
VIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY	226
IX. APPENDIX: CHARTS	235
X. PLATES: 1. <u>Vision après le sermon</u>	246
2. Detail of wrestlers	247
3. Detail of priest	248
4. Detail of open-eyed figure	249

LIST OF PLATES

PLATE	PAGE
1. <u>Vision après le sermon.</u>	246
2. Detail of wrestlers in <u>Vision après le sermon.</u>	247
3. Detail of priest in <u>Vision après le sermon.</u>	248
4. Detail of middle, open-eyed figure in <u>Vision après le sermon.</u>	249

LIST OF CHARTS: MOTIFS APPEARING IN GAUGUIN'S PAINTINGS
PRIOR TO AND INCLUDING 1888

	PAGE
Chart I : Women in Breton Costume	235
Chart II : Women in Groups: Before Brittany, and Women in Martinique	236
Chart III : Women in Attitudes of Prayer or Meditation	237
Chart IV : Cows	238
Chart V : Single Animal with or without Figure(s)	239
Chart VI : Isolated Tree	240
Chart VII : Treatment of Water and Wrestling Figures	241
Chart VIII: Diagonal Compositional Device: Line from Lower left to Upper Right	242
Chart IX : Figures: Close-up and Cut-off	243
Chart X : View from Above	244
Chart XI : "Peering over the Shoulder" Views	245

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend my sincere gratitude and appreciation to the several people who shared their valuable time and energy in helping me to complete this thesis.

I feel especially indebted to the following individuals who made the work possible:

George Rosenberg was instrumental in guiding and aiding me during the initial stages of the thesis.

Serge Guilbaut undertook the task of helping me to complete the study and, together with David Solkin, offered invaluable criticism and commentary.

I am deeply grateful to my family who gave me constant encouragement throughout: "minu Memmeke, Taadike, Antsuke, aitäh Teile, alati!"

And finally - to Ken - I owe a very special thanks for his unfailing support and assistance as well as his careful editing of the whole.

CHAPTER ONE: THE THESIS IN PERSPECTIVE

A. Introduction to Paul Gauguin's Vision après le sermon

The painting, Vision après le sermon, executed in 1888 by Paul Gauguin, has been acknowledged by artists and critics alike as one of his major works.

In spite of the significance attached to the painting, the meaning behind this, Gauguin's rendering of a vision of Jacob wrestling with an angel, remains puzzling and obscure. Inherent in the mystery behind the work is Gauguin's choice of the subject of a vision as his vehicle of expression. The thesis will focus on the concept of vision as a key to understanding the painting and as a means of clarifying the more mystifying elements of Vision après le sermon.

It is the author's intention to deal with the concept of vision both as subject and as artistic mode in Paul Gauguin's art with particular attention to La Vision après le sermon or La Lutte de Jacob avec l'ange (Vision after the Sermon - Jacob Wrestling with the Angel).¹

The work depicts a group of twelve Breton women and a priest in an outdoor setting, witnessing the event of Jacob wrestling with the angel.² The biblical story of Jacob wrestling with the Angel may be interpreted as a test set by God for Jacob to prove his spiritual strength and his right to become patriarch.³ When Jacob prevails in the struggle, the Angel blesses him: "Your name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel, for you have striven with God and with men and have prevailed" (Gen. XXXII, v. 28).⁴ Israel, which became the designation of a people, was granted to him by God as a special distinction after Jacob had demonstrated his fortitude and gained a victory.⁵

Gauguin's own description of the painting suggests that a sermon was delivered after which the people experienced a vision of the wrestling match:

... Pour moi, dans ce tableau le paysage et la lutte n'existent que dans l'imagination des gens en prière par suite du sermon c'est pourquoi il y a contraste entre les gens nature et la lutte dans son paysage non nature et disproportionnée. 6

The painting was executed at Pont-Aven in Brittany, France, between August and September, 1888, where Gauguin had been residing since February.⁷ Two years prior to this, Gauguin had lived in Brittany from the end of June, 1886, until November of that year.⁸ From Gauguin's September 1888 description of the painting to Vincent van Gogh, one can clearly ascertain that by this time he had completed the work: "Je viens de faire un tableau religieux très mal fait mais qui m'a intéressé à faire et qui me plaît."⁹

He had offered it to a church by Pont-Aven but it had been refused: "Je voulais le donner à l'église de Pont-Aven, naturellement on n'en veut pas."¹⁰ Gauguin wrote to Emile Schuffenecker, October 8, 1888, saying that he was sending the painting to Theo van Gogh: "J'ai fait pour une église un tableau naturellement il a été refusé, aussi je le renvoie à Van Gogh."¹¹

The painting was later shown in Brussels at the sixth exhibition of Les XX in February and March 1889; the title Vision du sermon appeared in the exhibition catalogue.¹² In an article, "Le Salon des XX à Bruxelles," of the March 3, 1889, issue of La Cravache, it was briefly but favourably reviewed by the critic Octave Maus.¹³ A laudatory article, "Le Symbolisme en peinture-Paul Gauguin," by Albert Aurier, in which Vision après le sermon was discussed at considerable length, appears in the March 1891 Mercure de France.¹⁴

B. A Review of Existing Literature Specifically Relevant to Vision après le sermon

In viewing the literature pertaining to Vision après le sermon, one immediately recognizes that the majority of critics consider this painting to

be one of Gauguin's most important works. For John Rewald it represents "the epitome of [Gauguin's] new style".¹⁵ Robert Goldwater believes that the canvas is the "first complete result" of "synthetism," "a religious painting conceived and executed with the faith of a convert to a new artistic credo".¹⁶ Wladyslawa Jaworska asserts that the painting marks a turning point in Gauguin's style:

There is no doubt at all that Gauguin, from the moment he finished Vision after the Sermon, abandoned the Divisionism that Pissarro had taught him, and also painting from nature. Gauguin's future development was determined by Vision after the Sermon.¹⁷

Marc Roskill, on the other hand, isolates the work in the artist's stylistic development, maintaining that it "stands out as exceptional in Gauguin's output of 1888. It is exceptional in structure, in composition and in its basic experimentalism."¹⁸ Although the above critics realize that the work is a climactic one in Gauguin's oeuvre, they disagree about how to place it in his artistic development. This disagreement may be partly due to the fact that no one has adequately discussed the *raison d'être* of Vision après le sermon, or how in fact it came to be painted.

The question of Emile Bernard's influence has been exhaustively debated. Many critics convincingly discuss Bernard's Bretonnes dans un pré (1888) acting as a stylistic catalyst for the execution of Vision après le sermon.¹⁹ Why Bernard's views might have been conducive to Gauguin's outlook has not been adequately considered, but will be discussed in the present paper, in order to reveal that many of the ideas shared by Bernard with Gauguin were not new to the latter.

Much has also been written about the influence of Japanese woodblock prints on Gauguin's rendering of Vision après le sermon. The general stylistic influence of Japanese prints has been discussed and the flattening and

outlining of forms, the use of bright colours, and the bird's-eye view are all accepted as having influenced Gauguin's art.²⁰ Specifically, the prints of wrestlers in Hokusai's Mangwa have often been cited as possible prototypes for the figures of Jacob and the Angel.²¹ Why these prints might have appealed to Gauguin and why he may have been attracted to this kind of interpretation of nature has not yet been explored. The present thesis will discuss the reasons for Gauguin's interest in Japanese prints and the Orient as they contribute to the growth of his visionary style.

Although many authors have touched on the influence of the physical environment of Brittany where Vision après le sermon was painted, only Mathew Herban III has considered the matter at length, in his recent article "The Origin of Paul Gauguin's Vision after the Sermon: Jacob Wrestling with the Angel (1888)".²² That the Breton environment as a whole, its customs, religious festivals or pardons, and superstitions, was an important influence on Gauguin's rendering of Vision après le sermon is one of the central arguments of the present thesis. Herban on the other hand argues that Vision après le sermon records the events of only one particular religious festival, the Pardon of St. Nicodemus.²³ This festival occurred on the fourth and fifth of August, 1888, at the Chapel of St. Nicodemus located "two kilometers from the small railroad town of St. Nicholas-des-Eaux, in a part of Brittany called Morbihan."²⁴ As V. Jirat-Wasiutynski has pointed out, St. Nicholas-des-Eaux is in a remote location 120 kilometers from Pont-Aven.²⁵ It would have been economically impractical and thus unlikely that Gauguin travelled such a distance to attend this festival.²⁶

If, however, as Herban argues, Gauguin had been at the chapel of St. Nicodemus on August 5, 1888 - and while it is true that the Festival or Pardon of St. Nicodemus always falls on the first Saturday and Sunday in August

and that the first Sunday in August fell on August fifth in 1888 - it is unlikely that Genesis 32: 22-31, the story of Jacob wrestling with the Angel, was "one of the nine lessons" appointed for that day.²⁷ Herban bases his argument on one citation from the 1952 book of Common Prayers, psalms and lessons for the Christian year based on the Sarum tradition.²⁸ In light of information obtained from William Adams, Vancouver School of Theology, however, the readings in 1888 might have been different. Readings vary from time to time and what is currently the reading on a given day is unlikely to have been the reading on the same day in, for example, 1888.²⁹ Moreover, it is questionable whether the "breviary ... of the Celtic Church, preserved today in the liturgical calendar of the Sarum tradition," from which Herban draws his information, was even being used in Brittany when Gauguin was there.³⁰ Pierie Taurze, the curé in Pont-Aven for thirteen years, claims that in Gauguin's time the Brevarium Romanum was used:

...depuis le Concile de Trente, le breviaire du clergé breton a été le Bréviaire Romain et s'il y a question de la lutte de Jacob avec L'Ange, il s'agissait sûrement du texte citation de la Vulgate en latin. 31

Several additional facts presented in Herban's article about the Pardon of Nicodemus need clarification. Throughout his article Herban makes note of events that occur during this particular Pardon, concluding that "the events that stimulated Gauguin's imagination live again before our eyes and in our imaginations thanks to our knowledge of the Pardon of St. Nicodemus," thus giving the strong impression that the information imparted has been specifically about the Pardon of St. Nicodemus.³² Yet many of these events are common to most pardons.

Informing the reader that "on Sunday afternoon, the Pardon continued with wrestling matches," Herban immediately follows this with a quote from Le Braz's Au Pays des Pardons, giving a description which exactly fits that

of Gauguin's painting - where the onlookers are women (with the exception of the priest) seated on the surrounding slopes above the action: "Les gars se défient à la lutte ... sous les yeux de filles sagement assises sur les talus environnants, applaudissements des vieillards."³³ Le Braz, however, is not writing about a particular Sunday afternoon or a particular pardon, but giving a general introduction about pardon activities.³⁴ Herban's use of this passage in support of his argument is thus apparently without basis.

Many of the elements found in Gauguin's painting are common to all pardons. As the Blue Guide notes, "pardons are sometimes accompanied by festivals, fairs, wrestling matches, or horseraces ... and sometimes by a 'benediction of the sea' ".³⁵ In a recent New York Times article, for example, Herbert R. Lottman writes:

... on the third Sunday of September there is a Pardon of Celtic wrestlers at the chapel of St. Cadou near Hennebont that affords the tourist an opportunity to see this traditional sport... While in Brittany, watch for posters announcing a Fest-Noz (traditional dance evening), wrestling, or other local fare... 36

In Breiz-Izel ou Vie des Bretons de l'Armorique, first published in 1844, there is a small chapter about the sport, about the audience "placés ... comme à un amphithéâtre sur les arbres voisins," about the wrestlers with their "longue et gênante chevelure s'attache en faisceau sur le derrière de la tête avec une grossière tresse de paille," and about the ceremony preceding the match: "... les deux adversaires s'avançant l'un vers l'autre d'un air religieux, font le signe de croix, se frappent dans la main et se jurent qu'ils resteront amis après comme avant le combat..."³⁷ As can be seen from Gauguin's painting, its amphitheatre-like arrangement, its long-haired wrestlers, its apple tree, the above excerpts are generally applicable.³⁸ Herban, describing the Pardon of St. Nicodemus further, quotes le Braz:

"from 1876 on, participants have written describing the rising flames, whose reflected light turned the surrounding fields glowing red, the priest calling out, 'Le feu! Le feu de joie!'"³⁹ Again, Le Braz is not making any reference to St. Nicodemus's Pardon as Herban suggests he is, and the quote, which is from Le Braz's general introduction, is in Herban's argument both out of context and misleading.⁴⁰ Elsewhere, Le Braz devotes ten chapters of the book to the Pardon of Saint Jean-du-Doigt, which he calls the Pardon of Fire, where elaborate descriptions of flames occur.⁴¹

By way of offering a source for the apple tree in Gauguin's painting, Herban notes the presence of apple orchards in the countryside around the chapel of St. Nicodemus.⁴² On the other hand, Macquoid, in the 1876 article "The Fair at St. Nicodème," mentions the surrounding chestnut trees no fewer than eight times, with not a single word about an apple tree.⁴³

As for the "curve of the river Blavet" and the "landscape spread[ing] out at a tilted angle," Gauguin, as will be shown, depicted water and landscape in this way in other works executed prior to Vision après le sermon.⁴⁴ In addition, the presence of a cow which Herban bases part of his argument on appears again and again in the artist's repertoire.⁴⁵ Gauguin would not necessarily have had to go to St. Nicholas-des-Eaux (and there is no existing document to prove that he did) to witness Breton women, praying on their knees, outside wrestlers, an angel with outstretched wings, apple trees or the red colour of wheat fields.⁴⁶

Herban argues that because Gauguin mentions in one of his letters that in the painting "le paysage et la lutte n'existent que dans l'imagination des gens en prière, par suite du sermon," he must have been inspired to paint the subject of Jacob wrestling with the angel after having heard a sermon on the same subject.⁴⁷ The story of Jacob, however, was not altogether a rarity

at this time. A religious play, Vie de Jacob, was being performed in the late nineteenth century in Brittany.⁴⁸ A lengthy poem by J. Germain-Lacour, "La Vision de Jacob," appears in the April, 1891, issue of La Plume.⁴⁹ It will be demonstrated in the thesis that Gauguin did not receive all his inspiration from any one particular source. Important will be the consideration of why and how the primitive environment in Brittany would have appealed to Gauguin and how this interest might have influenced the painting of Vision après le sermon. Moreover, it will be found that there were significant influences and factors other than the primitive environment of Brittany which contributed to the realization of this work as Gauguin envisioned it.

With consideration to the iconographic significance of Vision après le sermon, critics offer various interpretations. Merete Bodelson writes:

In his painting of The Vision he presents both the dream of the artist and the dream of the Breton women. From behind their closed eyes they are imagining Jacob's struggle with the Angel, and the artist - perhaps identical with the priest whose eyes are also closed - is seeing the whole scene in his imagination: both the dreaming girls and their dream ... 50

John Rewald suggests that the subject of Jacob wrestling with the angel is "symbolic as well as religious, almost as if he himself meant not to relinquish his grasp on his new ideas until he was blessed."⁵¹

Wayne Anderson believes that "[i]n reality Gauguin used the theme as a vehicle to point up his active male-passive female polarity..."⁵²

Ziva Maisels asserts:

He paints not just Jacob wrestling with the Angel, but, symbolically man, and specifically Gauguin, wrestling with his inspiration, his muse or his angel. It is the artist grappling with a new art that he envisages and feels capable of, refusing to release it till he has been blessed and his work accomplished - which is exactly what occurs in this painting. 53

Sven Loevgren feels that "one cannot avoid feeling strongly that Jacob's

struggle is symbolic of Gauguin's own private problems."⁵⁴

V. Jirat-Wasiutynski claims that:

The Vision is not only an image of peasant faith, but also a more personal allusion to the struggle of the artist with his medium ... In the flaming red arena created by the circle of watching women, the angel-demon and Jacob wrestle; a tonsured priest with Gauguinesque features "watches" with eyes closed, as do the women, the struggle in the theater of the mind. The modern artist identifies with both victor and vanquished, making himself and being made at the same time. 55

Although several of the more noteworthy of the preceding views will be explored further in the thesis - such as Gauguin being portrayed in the guise of a priest and Jacob's struggle being symbolic of Gauguin's own struggle - no one author convincingly argues how such interpretations were arrived at.

One of the most interesting assessments of the work and its visionary aspects is Albert Aurier's claim in 1891, two and a half years after the execution of the painting, that a mystic, idealistic reaction was occurring and that Vision après le sermon indicates the existence of this tendency.⁵⁶ Aurier also maintains that Gauguin marches at the head of this new "ist," that he is a sublime seer, the initiator of a new art.⁵⁷ Aurier's views of Gauguin and his painting will be discussed at length in order to reveal how Gauguin's ideas reflect those of his environment and time.

C. Purposes of the Present Thesis

The thesis will demonstrate how Gauguin's opinion of himself and his environment is reflected in the style and imagery of Vision après le sermon.

There is no doubt that Vision après le sermon has no immediate precedent in Gauguin's oeuvre but it will be shown that its stylistic and iconographic elements are not new to his way of thinking and that thus Vision après le sermon cannot be considered in isolation. It is a natural progression of Gauguin's work which evolves as consistent with his way of feeling and thinking.

The painting will be viewed as a culminating point - reflective of all Gauguin's private and artistic concerns at the time it was painted and simultaneously reflective of ideas current around him. By tracing Gauguin's development as an artist up to and including the painting of Vision après le sermon the thesis will show the emergence and growth of Gauguin's opinion of himself as a spiritual leader, a seer, a creator of a new, visionary style.

By focusing on Vision après le sermon, it will be suggested that Gauguin's style lent itself to the representation of a vision - it will be argued that his style is appropriate to the subject matter in this particular rendering. How Gauguin's ideas were manifested in the painting will be demonstrated to suggest that this work became for him a culminating statement of his beliefs in himself as a leader of a new movement and of his difficulties in achieving recognition.

The painting will be discussed as a clear reflection of Gauguin's aims at this time, so as to point out why he chose the subject of the vision of Jacob wrestling with the Angel and why he chose to depict the vision as he did.

Gauguin and his work, Vision après le sermon, will then be placed into proper context with respect to the concept of vision in the art of the second half of the nineteenth century. The concept of the artist as a spiritual leader, which was a prevalent attitude by the 1880's, particularly in the literary symbolist movement, will be examined.

The thesis will, therefore, demonstrate that it is indeed the visionary aspects of Gauguin's Vision après le sermon which are the most important in revealing the nature and meaning of the painting and that it is crucial to understand the work in this context in order to fully comprehend Gauguin's artistic development.

D. General Content and Methodology of the Thesis

1. The Growth and Development of Gauguin's Visionary Style - An Outline of Chapter Two

Before examining the growth of Gauguin's visionary style, his manner of depicting the vision in comparison with other paintings of visions is briefly considered in order to clarify aspects he stresses in the vision, devices he employs - to include both real and imagined world together - how he fits into the stylistic tradition of depicting visions and how he departs from the norm. The meditative state of the seers in his painting as compared with the shock and amazement experienced by seers in other depictions of visions will be stressed. It will be shown how Gauguin also develops a meditative approach to his art.

Gauguin's stylistic concerns will be traced in this chapter in order to discover the reasons for his manner of representing the Vision. The artist's adoption of stylistic traits, motifs, themes of those he admires, will be explored in order to show his inclination to be an eclectic, and his refusal to admit his sources. It will be seen that Gauguin was well aware of the various artistic views and pursuits around him, even though these were not included at great length - perhaps intentionally - in his writings.

His self-directed move away from naturalism and impressionism towards a personal and meditative approach to both nature and art will be revealed by examining his interest in Japanese art, the Primitive, his opinions about expressive and emotional values of colour and line, his wish to paint from memory and his desire to paint like children. The reasons for these interests and inclinations will be speculated upon.

The consequences of Gauguin's contemplative approach will be shown: art becomes an abstraction, a painting of inner visions, with the theme of

closed eyes symbolizing his feelings. Hence the style of Vision après le sermon will seem more appropriate for the subject it depicts.

Gauguin's stylistic tendencies will be compared to other artists with similar concerns in order to demonstrate that he is not alone in his inclinations.

The style of Vision après le sermon will be analyzed in order to show how this painting exemplifies the culmination of Gauguin's stylistic concerns. The preliminary sketch and the finished painting will be compared to show what aspects have been emphasized.

The appropriateness of the subject of a vision to demonstrate the artist's new style will be viewed by noting the similarity of his stylistic conception of a painting to Breton peasants meditating and dreaming in front of nature, where a vision results, and exists only in the peasants' imagination. Gauguin's definition of art is an abstraction resulting from dreaming in front of nature. Neither process adheres to prescribed laws. Vision après le sermon expresses Gauguin's need to search for and develop his own style - nature reordered to fit his own purposes, and to follow his own temperament.

2. The General Iconography of Vision après le sermon - An Outline of Chapter Three

In order to show what aspects of the story of Jacob wrestling with the Angel Gauguin chose to depict, comparisons will be made with other versions of the same subject. Gauguin's version, it will be noticed, is highly suggestive and intentionally ambiguous: a climactic moment is portrayed when neither Jacob nor the Angel could claim to be the victor in their wrestling match. Gauguin, in his interpretation, emphasizes not so much a specific aspect of the story, but more generally the activity of wrestling itself.

Subsequently, it will be made apparent how appropriate it was for Gauguin to emphasize the aspect of wrestling as a metaphor for his own state of existence. It will be argued that the idea of representing a struggle on canvas for Gauguin points out his own difficulties with Mette, his relatives, the lack of emotional support, and his artistic struggle to gain both recognition and financial security.

His identification with Jean Valjean, an outcast of society but also a spiritual leader, in Victor Hugo's Les Misérables will be explored to further amplify the suitability of the wrestling theme and the theme of Gauguin as a leader. Gauguin's knowledge of this novel serves, as well, to show his awareness of a popular literary work and thus a familiarity with his environment.

Part of Gauguin's struggle was a consequence of the difficulties he encountered while aspiring to become identified as the founder and leader of a new style. Gauguin as a leader will be shown to follow his own temperament, one who rarely seeks advice but who willingly gives it. He is seen to establish a following of disciples, like Jacob in the Biblical story or a Breton priest with his parish. Gauguin's view of the special role held by the artist, who in his opinion forms the finest part of the nation, is noted to reinforce his opinion of himself. He expresses himself in the tone of a spiritual leader, instructing his "disciples" to create like the "Divine Master". These ideas, it will be argued, do not belong to Gauguin alone but mirror those of his contemporaries.

The concept of painter as poet is discussed and Gauguin's view of himself as a poet, his opinions of the poetic in painting, Vincent van Gogh's paralleling of Gauguin with Petrarch and naming Gauguin as an important figure in the new Renaissance of painting, are all considered.

Having done this, the importance of Gauguin being regarded and regarding himself as a poet will be established by showing that the concept of the poet as a visionary was a prevalent one in 19th century literary and religious circles. The views of Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Poe, Carlyle and the Saint-Simonians pertaining to the poet as the illuminator, the all-knowing, the prophet or priest will be revealed. Along with this, the poet's personal vision of reality, the dream, will be compared to Gauguin's ideas of dreaming in front of nature by discussing the concept of dream in 19th century literary and artistic circles in order to show the significance of Gauguin's ideas, how they correspond with the views of his contemporaries, how these ideas are literally depicted by him in his Vision après le sermon.

Having discussed how the artist assumes the role of revealer, and illuminator, it will become evident that Vision après le sermon in turn assumes a religious significance. This view will be reinforced by including the ideas of Charles Morice, Plotinus, Carlyle, Poe, Baudelaire, Mallarmé, and others who feel that the artist strives to become God, that the essence of his work is religious, and that is the Godlike rendered visible. Gauguin's access to the above ideas prior to the painting of Vision après le sermon will then be explored to point out the probability of his awareness of such contemporary opinions.

An article by Albert Aurier, "Le Symbolisme en peinture-Paul Gauguin" (Mercure de France, March, 1891) will then be examined closely as his views of Gauguin indicate how Vision après le sermon was regarded in the artist's own time by a leading symbolist critic. Aurier's assessment will be shown to correspond with Gauguin's opinion of himself and his art: Gauguin marching at the head of a new style; Gauguin a sublime seer and the initiator of a new art. Noteworthy, too, are Aurier's thoughts about the "ideist" and

mystical tendencies in art in revealing ideas current at the time. Again, Gauguin's familiarity with the "ideist" philosophy of Balzac and Swedenborg prior to 1888 are assessed in order to determine the influence of such ideas on the execution of Vision après le sermon.

More generally, Gauguin's exposure to and interest in religion is evaluated here in order to reveal how it would have been natural for him to paint a religious theme (i.e. Vision après le sermon) due to his thorough familiarity with Christian iconography, but how - in light of what will have been established from the above - he would wish to interpret this religious theme in his own way and to convey his own ideas. It will be shown that Gauguin was not particularly religious in the orthodox sense, but in a highly personal way, indicated by his interest in the primitive and in Breton life. Vision après le sermon, by reflecting a rustic and superstitious simplicity for Gauguin, becomes a religious work in the truest sense in his estimation.

Gauguin's interpretation of the pious and superstitious nature of the Bretons as primitive will be stressed for it will be seen that, in striving for rustic and superstitious simplicity in his portrayal of the figures and manner of representation (i.e. style) in Vision après le sermon, Gauguin was realizing his search for the primitive in painting. His search for the primitive in painting will be acknowledged as a personal quest, a religious and mystical one and a search for self-realization. Thus, it will be seen that Gauguin's reason for choosing a biblical story was above all personal.

3. Gauguin's Intentions in his use of Imagery in Vision après le sermon - An Outline of Chapter Four

Finally, the iconography and meaning of Gauguin's Vision après le sermon will be examined in order to discover how this painting was for him the most

appropriate subject of self-expression, how the elements had a distinctly personal purpose. This personal symbolic interpretation will be justified by drawing parallels between Gauguin and Jacob and also between the priest and Gauguin. The iconographic significance of the structure of Vision après le sermon will be dealt with: first, the theatre-like arrangement and the concept of theatre for Gauguin and his time will be looked at; secondly, the importance of the tree will be assessed; finally, the open-eyed figure at the centre of Gauguin's work will be examined.

In the end V. Jirat-Wasiutynski's view that this painting, Vision après le sermon, is "a symbolic image in which simplification and abstraction have introduced enough ambiguity and suggestiveness to provoke and justify symbolic interpretation of a more personal (to Gauguin) sort"⁵⁸ will be regarded as valid. In addition, however, because of the nature of this symbolic interpretation, Vision après le sermon will also be acknowledged as reflecting many of the major artistic and philosophical concerns of the time.

E. Literature and References Cited in the Thesis

In the thesis, Gauguin's own writings, memoirs and reminiscences will be utilized. Gauguin never acknowledged any sources in his writings; his written documents remain highly ambiguous and suggestive and reveal nothing of his eclecticism. This unwillingness to impart any direct information about his work will be seen to correspond to the intentionally suggestive and abstract aspects of the style he develops.

Vincent van Gogh's letters will be referred to as they willingly admit much more than Gauguin's letters about the various events and attitudes of the time. Relevant writings of contemporary and earlier critics (e.g.

Aurier, Morice and Baudelaire, etc.), and of the Symbolist poets (e.g. Mallarmé, Verlaine, Rimbaud, etc.) will be employed as well.

Relevant comparative visual material will be included in the study, in order to seek to establish what may have been points of reference and sources of inspiration for Gauguin (e.g. Japanese prints, Delacroix, Bernard, etc.).

F. Visual Description of Vision après le sermon

La Vision après le sermon depicts a group of Breton women and a priest experiencing a vision of Jacob wrestling with an Angel. The viewer observes the struggle from behind the foreground figures who are turned with their backs facing the front. The vision occurs out-of-doors as indicated by the presence of a tree in leaf, growing diagonally from the lower right to the upper left. There is also water in the distance behind the foliage of the tree on the upper right. To the upper left of the tree stands a cow.

Twelve women, clothed in Breton costume, wearing white bonnets with dark blue and black dresses, are grouped along the left side and front, their positions indicated by overlapping. On the furthest plane and hence furthest from the viewer, on the upper left, hidden largely by branches and leaves, are three of the women, facing frontally, sitting on the ground with hands clasped in light blue-aproned laps. Immediately beside them to their right and closer to the viewer in the upper left corner of the canvas are two more women, seated as the first three, but turned in three-quarter view. Both wear white caps and dark dresses with white collars and aprons. The closer one who is partially cut by the picture's left edge has her head turned in profile towards Jacob and the Angel. These five figures face both the priest at the lower right corner and the wrestling match at the upper right.

In the left middleground are three white-bonneted heads in a row. The furthest one to the right kneels on her knees, hands folded in an attitude of prayer, almost full-face, head inclined with eyes closed. She faces in the direction of the priest. She is partially overlapped on the left by a woman also kneeling on her knees, also in a reverent pose with folded hands, head bowed, eyes closed. But she kneels in profile view, facing the action on the other side of the tree. Her head appears much too large in proportion to the rest of her body. The former wears a light blue apron over a white collared dark dress, the latter, an ocher-brown one. The third woman, closest to the picture edge, is completely overlapped by a foreground figure, with the exception of her face in three-quarter view, which reveals shut eyes and a pronounced scowl; as her hands are hidden, one does not see if she is in an attitude of prayer or not; her head is turned away from the vision and towards the priest. In sharp contrast the figure in front of her is shown with a truly inspired countenance and the hint of a smile, head bowed in profile, eyes closed, hands held up close to her in the gesture of prayer; she faces right, towards both the priest and the two wrestlers. Placed at the lower left of the painting with only her right shoulder and profile showing, she is one of the close foreground figures. In front of her, to the right, again in profile is a figure who occupies a prominent position in the work: she stands highest of the five foreground persons; whereas all the others in the composition are grouped or huddled closely together, she is surrounded by more space; wearing a smaller, simpler bonnet and no collar, her neck and face are accentuated. Her forehead and bonnet's upper edge echo the line of the tree's left side above her. Her head occupies as much picture space as the two combatants. Unlike the others, she stands with head uplifted, eyes wide open, gazing

directly towards Jacob and the Angel. Her gaze ties together the left and right sides of the composition. Moreover, her right eye falls directly at the centre of the painting.

The remaining two women, the left one overlapped slightly by the right one, are represented from the back, brought closest to the picture plane and viewer, behind both the woman just discussed to the left and also the priest to the right. (The tips of their noses are in front, on either side, of the enormous white shapes. This woman and the priest seem thus somehow associated, for the faces on the other side of the head-covers are not visible.) The backs of the two figures reveal a large white collar to the left and a dark green one on the right, with black dresses underneath. The bonnets seem quite abstract in rendering, the one on the left somewhat mask-like in appearance. With sides hanging down, they thrust one's gaze up towards the wrestlers and also along the tree to the upper left, to the cow and down again along the far left.

The priest stands in profile at the extreme lower right corner with very little of his shoulder and collar showing. The back of his head, left ear, chin and neck are cut by the picture's right edge. Head bowed, eyes closed, he is turned more towards the women to his left to whom he has delivered the sermon about Jacob and the Angel than towards the wrestlers.

From the priest's direction grows the tree, its lower trunk hidden by the two bonnets. The diagonally placed trunk divides the spectators to the left from their vision to the right, the physical and actual from the metaphysical and imagined. At the same time it divides the female figures on the left from the male figures on the right, the priest included. The tree, a burnt sienna colour, extending past the upper left of the picture's edge, branches out across the top of the painting to the right, its dark and

light green foliage running diagonally to the extreme upper right. This area frames the action below as does the tree trunk to the left; a triangular space is thus formed with the addition of the picture's right edge into which the wrestlers are placed as well as the priest.

Light blue and white strokes show through the lower edge of the foliage stretching to the right, indicating water, as mentioned before.

The cow, standing to the left of the tree and in front of the women seated at the upper left, is painted with its nose touching the left side of the trunk as is the Angel's right foot touching the right side. The position of the cow's four limbs is not totally unlike the placement of the wrestlers' legs.

The two bare-footed wrestlers are much smaller in size than the foreground figures and larger than the most distant spectators, all of them arranged in a semi-circle around the action and above it. The Angel has large, yellow, outstretched wings, the right wing following the curve of the tree, the left wing following the lower edge of the foliage. Dressed in blue, he leans forward with his left arm reaching across Jacob's back to clasp his shoulder, his right hand gripping Jacob's neck. Jacob, in green, bends from the waist with his left hand on the Angel's left calf. While Jacob's right arm is not visible it may well be tucked around the Angel's back or waist (the curve of Jacob's back suggests this). Although the Angel appears to be in a superior position as conqueror and Jacob as the conquered, in actual fact Jacob has been represented in the correct and advantageous position whereby he could easily throw the Angel.

The pronounced angles of the Angel's wings, the stiff folds of the pair's clothing and the triangular space into which they are set all contribute to a sharpness in comparison to the softer effects of rounder curved

lines on the opposite side of the composition.

The background throughout is painted a vibrant strong red, a striking contrast to the rich yellow, blue, green, black and white elsewhere. For the most part the forms are rendered in flat areas of colour, although there is evidence of shading and modelling with small, short brushstrokes in the foreground figures. Facial features are not distinguishable except, again, in the foreground area. The forms are outlined, with the width of the line varying, in either gold or black. As one sees from the gold band running along the tree's right edge, light enters from an unknown source to the upper right.

G. Elements Found in Vision après le sermon as Part of Paul Gauguin's Repertoire of Motifs Prior to and Including 1888.

If one considers the works painted before and during 1888, one may observe that certain devices and motifs existent in Vision après le sermon were not unprecedented and had been previously employed by Gauguin.⁵⁹ When examining the manner in which he depicted Breton women it becomes apparent that, with the exception of portraits, they are always situated outside, in the countryside, by and large not engaged in strenuous physical activity.⁶⁰ They are shown sitting or standing, alone or in groups. Yet even if there are two or more women shown together, they seldom appear to be communicating with one another.⁶¹ In many cases, their stance and position suggests a sense of aloneness or solitude; each exists in a private, silent space.⁶² At times they appear in meditative or ponderous poses; rarely do they seem joyous or light-hearted.⁶³ It was not unusual for Gauguin to place one man amidst a group of women.⁶⁴ Nor was it unique to place a single cow in a composition with figures.⁶⁵ Gauguin was painting cows as early as 1884 in Rouen, where one or more cows would occur in a

a landscape with or without people.⁶⁶ By the end of 1888 he had completed roughly twenty-five paintings in which a cow (or cows) appeared. In the rendering of trees Gauguin painted quite a few works with single trunks growing at a diagonal and/or cut by the top and/or bottom edge of the canvas.⁶⁷ In Martinique they become more bent.⁶⁸ Often a single tree is placed in the immediate foreground but nowhere before Vision après le sermon does it appear as a separating device.⁶⁹ As for the treatment of water, Gauguin often stylized waves and delineated white caps as he did in the upper right corner of Vision après le sermon.⁷⁰ Wrestling figures appear in two of Gauguin's works prior to August 1888.⁷¹

As early as 1885 Gauguin began to use a diagonal compositional device, a line usually drawn from the lower left to the upper right, such as that occurs in the Vision - the line produced by the tree's foliage to the upper right separating the water behind from the land below.⁷²

Figures placed in the composition whereby they are partially cut by a framing edge and/or brought up close to the picture plane were a recurrent compositional element from 1883 on.⁷³

Paintings with bird's-eye views or high vantage points were not uncommon in Gauguin's oeuvre; in 1888, landscape, still-life and human subjects were repeatedly viewed from above.⁷⁴

As well, commencing in 1881, works by Gauguin began to appear periodically in which a figure was placed in the corner and the viewer had the impression of peering over the person's shoulder at what was being gazed at.⁷⁵

When viewed in light of the many pre-existing elements and motifs occurring in Vision après le sermon this painting does not mark a sudden or radical break in Gauguin's oeuvre, unlike anything he had ever executed

before. That the work is to be regarded more in terms of a natural outgrowth in style and personal convictions will become evident in subsequent chapters. Whether the motifs occur for purely compositional reasons or whether they are thematically important will be considered.

CHAPTER TWO: THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF GAUGUIN'S VISIONARY STYLE

A. Gauguin's Depiction of Vision in Vision après le sermon compared to Representations of Visions Prior to 1888

As was mentioned above in Chapter One, the Vision après le sermon occurs out of doors - a commonplace practice in the depictions of visions executed prior to 1888.¹ Such works commonly depicted a group of people experiencing the same vision.² It was not typical, however, to show someone who initiated or inspired the vision (the priest in Gauguin's work) beside and/or in the same pose as the spectators. Most often, as in Gauguin's painting, both the vision and visionary were illustrated, although in many cases just the visionary was represented - a person seen meditating or looking out into space with no vision actually noted - and in other cases just the vision without the witnesses.³ In works like Vision après le sermon where both are shown, one must consider whether the vision - the thing seen, or the visionary - the seer, is emphasized and given prominence in terms of picture space. In Gauguin's painting both are given equal emphasis, a practice which is generally true in many examples.⁴

The relationship between the visionary and the vision - what kind of interaction if any exists - is also important. Gauguin has depicted his participants facing the vision but with heads bent and eyes closed, the exception being the middle female figure whose gaze is directed towards the vision in front of her. Most visions prior to Gauguin portrayed the observer looking upward open-eyed at the spectacle, gazing up in shock, amazement or fear, open-mouthed, with outstretched hands, as if having no idea beforehand that a vision might occur.⁵

Gauguin's Vision après le sermon resembles Redon's Apparition of

1870-75 (although the vision is not represented) where the visionary with closed eyes stands in a prolonged trance-like state. The open-eyed central figure in Vision après le sermon may in turn be compared with Courbet's Voyante who gazes out, seemingly unaware of and through the viewer, at her vision.⁶ Bastien-Lepage's Joan of Arc displays the same lack of awareness of her physical environment; she perceives the apparition behind her but gazes calmly into a space out beyond, behind and to the right of the viewer. The Annunciation of the 1499 Missale romanum and the works of the same title by Goltzius after Martin de Vos and by Raphael, all reveal the same unperturbed expression of the Madonna as is the case with the central female in Vision après le sermon. The poses of Gauguin's spectators suggest a prolonged state of meditation - a duration of time passing as Jacob wrestles with the Angel.⁷ The result is a dream-like state not unlike Puvis de Chavannes' Dream (1883) where the figure on the ground dreams of angels hovering above.⁸ Another example is Goya's Dream of Reason Produces Monsters (1797), where the bat-like creatures fly around the sleeper's head.⁹ Utamaro's woodcut, A Youth's Dream, depicts a young man not asleep but awake with his eyes closed dreaming about his future; this woodcut is similar to Vision après le sermon in that the experience does not occur to a sleeping figure.¹⁰

In Vision après le sermon the priest's sermon has initiated the vision. Having heard the sermon the women are inspired to fall into a meditative state whereby a vision takes place. They have been consciously prepared for the occurrence of the vision which the priest has helped to induce or to create.

The viewer of Gauguin's painting is also meant to experience the vision as do the spectators in the painting. This is indicated by the near position of the foreground spectators, their backs facing the viewer of

Gauguin's work. The viewer in turn is situated immediately behind them. Unlike Doré's L'Ange de Tobie where so much physical distance exists between the viewer in the foreground and the spectators in the middleground and the vision high up in the sky - in Vision après le sermon there is an immediacy and closeness felt by the viewer. There is no distance whatsoever; one is both a spectator and simultaneously aware of the observers in front of him.

When both the real and the imagined world are included together in the depiction of a visionary work, in many instances one notes the use of a separating device between the imagined and the real. In Gauguin's work, the tree growing from the lower right diagonally towards the upper left acts to separate the vision from the visionaries (with the exception of the priest - this perhaps intentionally, to suggest a closer relationship between the priest and wrestlers). When compared with prior works it is apparent that Gauguin is quite unique in using the tree. In other works the vision is enveloped in a cloudy substance.¹¹ In many the vision emits a glow or rays of light or is situated in its own bubble of space.¹² In most examples, the vision floats above the visionary in space as if having descended from some higher plane.¹³ This is in fact how the angel is represented in Gauguin's version of the vision of Jeanne d'Arc (W#329). Like Bastien-Lepage, Gauguin paints the vision behind Joan of Arc, but where Gauguin's Joan stares directly at the viewer, Bastien-Lepage's saint stares past. Gauguin paints the angel with the same outstretched wings as in Vision après le sermon but foreshortened in a cloud in the sky. In contrast to others Gauguin's vision takes place in an arena-like space below the spectators who are grouped around in a semi-circular fashion as though watching a theatrical performance on a stage - some (foreground figures) from a balcony and some (middle

and upper left figures) from an orchestra level. In this way, Gauguin's structure of the vision and its composition departs from the norm.

Having pointed out some similarities and some differences between Gauguin's Vision après le sermon and other depictions of visions, the reasons for Gauguin's manner of representation will be examined by tracing the main thread of his stylistic concerns.

B. Gauguin's Artistic Interests and Concerns and Their Stylistic Consequences

1. Gauguin as Eclectic: His Early Interest and Collection of Contemporary Art as it Later Affects His Style

Evidence of the nature of Gauguin's earliest artistic interests is found in the works he chose to collect. Three Pissarro paintings belonging to Gauguin which he exhibited at the fourth Impressionist exhibition show that he was purchasing paintings as early as 1879.¹⁴ Between and perhaps before 1879 and 1887, Gauguin acquired no less than fifty works, among them six canvases by Cézanne, two charcoal drawings by Daumier, a pastel by Degas and one by Mary Cassatt, two Forains, eleven Guillaumins, two Jongkinds, two Manets (one painting and one pastel), thirteen Pissarros, two Renoirs and two Sisleys.¹⁵

In addition to Camille Pissarro's initial tutorship and Gauguin's introduction by Pissarro and Emile Schuffenecker to other artists, Gauguin was much influenced by the works that he owned, adopting in his own painting similar stylistic traits - cursory brushstroke, theory of complementaries - motifs and themes characteristic of impressionist works.¹⁶ From Pissarro he learned ways of rendering landscape.¹⁷ From Degas, he derived the method of cutting figures by the picture edge (an obvious example being Nature morte au profil de Laval of 1886, Brittany, W#207, p. 76).¹⁸ In the natural pose of a boy adjusting his shoe in the Hiver or Petit Breton arrangeant son sabot

(Brittany, 1888, W#258, p. 96) Gauguin has been directly influenced by Degas' pastel, Danseuse ajustant son chausson, which he owned.¹⁹ In 1885 (Copenhagen) Gauguin painted a fan-shaped gouache on canvas, copied after Cézanne's painting, Montagnes, L'Estaque, another of his possessions.²⁰ Before 1884, Gauguin had executed another fan-study with motifs (figures, a horse and house), drawn from Cézanne's La Moisson which Gauguin probably owned as well.²¹ He chose these motifs to reorder them into his own designs. This choice is also apparent in the switching of the right and left sides of the landscape in his ceramic vase of the winter 1886-7.²² Cézanne's still-life owned by Gauguin was utilized by the artist in the background of his Portrait de Femme a la nature morte de Cézanne (1890, W#387) and its elements (tablecloth, glass, knife) tilted differently.²³ It is clear that Gauguin was from the beginning very much an eclectic, influenced by works he admired. He did not hesitate to utilize and to benefit artistically from his surroundings, switching, changing sources to meet his purpose but rarely acknowledging his courses of inspiration.

Due to financial difficulties, Gauguin eventually had to sell most of his collection.²⁴ From his reluctance to part with Cézanne's works one senses his particularly deep admiration for this artist. In a letter to Schuffenecker from Pont-Aven, in June 1888, he refuses to sell the still-life mentioned above for three hundred francs, claiming that it is an exceptional pearl, the apple of his eye and that he would part with it only after his last shirt:

Le Cézanne que vous me demandez est une perle exceptionnelle et j'en ai déjà refusé 300Frs, j'y tiens comme à la prunelle de mes yeux et à moins de nécessité absolue je m'en déferai après ma dernière chemise. 25

Gauguin wrote to Pissarro asking him to make Cézanne talk in his sleep in

order to learn the secret of his painting.²⁶ Cézanne's appeal for Gauguin had to do not only with inheriting aspects of style but also with Cézanne's conception of and approach to nature - the man himself and his solitary ways mattered to Gauguin. On January 14, 1885 in a letter to Schuffenecker, Gauguin referred to Cézanne as a mystic and described him as having an essentially mystic Eastern nature, looking like an old man of the Levant:

Voyez Cézanne, l'incompris, la nature essentiellement mystique de l'Orient (son visage ressemble à un ancien du Levant).²⁷

2. The Appeal of the Orient and the Japanese Influence on Gauguin's Art

Gauguin's references to the Orient and Far East were not unusual in the light of access to Japanese art he must have had at this time.

In 1883 the Georges Petit Gallery offered a major exhibition of Japanese art borrowed from private collections in Paris.²⁸ Pissarro, with whom Gauguin was in close touch at this time, was truly impressed with the exhibition.²⁹ No doubt, he would have shared his enthusiasm with Gauguin. In early summer 1886, having met the engraver and ceramicist, Felix Bracquemond, Gauguin would have in all probability been introduced to the artist's vast collection of Japanese prints.³⁰ Degas, whom Gauguin knew and with whose works he was familiar, also collected prints by Utamaro, Kiyonaga, Hiroshige, Hokusai and others.³¹ Vincent and Theo van Gogh, with whom Gauguin had become acquainted in Paris in the autumn of 1886, organized an exhibition of Japanese prints at the restaurant Le Tambourin in the Boulevard Clichy in 1887.³² Emile Bernard writes of meeting Vincent in the fall of 1887 at Cormon's and of going home with him and seeing Japanese prints on the walls.³³

Taking into account his acquaintances and the abundance of Japanese art in Paris, Gauguin would have had ample opportunity to study this art from an

early date on. By 1889 he had his own selection of prints, among them works by Utamaro and Hokusai, which he hung in his studio at the Pension Gloanec in Pont-Aven and also in Paris.³⁴

The earliest indication of Gauguin's awareness of and interest in the Orient is found in the 1873 pencil and water-colour sketch of an Oriental doll.³⁵ The first example of his use and incorporation of Japanese motifs into his own works comes in 1884, with the execution of a wooden box: on one side Gauguin has fastened two miniscule Japanese Netsuke (theatre) masks.³⁶ In 1885 he painted a still-life, Nature morte a la tête de Cheval (W#183), which included a Japanese doll and two round Oriental fans. Beginning in 1884 Gauguin painted numerous fan-shaped paintings in addition to the two mentioned above.³⁷ This was not an original method of organizing a composition, as shown by Degas' Fan Design: Dancers of ca. 1879 or Pissarro's L'Hiver retour de la foire, which Gauguin owned as early as 1879.³⁸ From the frequency with which Gauguin used the shape, however, one notes its appeal for the artist.

The prevalence of close-up and cut-off silhouette figures in Gauguin's works (see charts, Chapter One, including Vision après le sermon) has antecedents not only in Degas but originally in Japanese prints, such as the close-up view in Kunichika's Actor Portrait or Koua-Setsu's silhouette print which appeared in the 1882 Gazette des Beaux Arts) indicate.³⁹ Natural poses like bending over to tie a shoe (Degas' ballet dancers and Gauguin's breton boy, noted above) have again a Japanese precedent, as does the overlapping of forms in a composition in order to create a sense of distance.⁴⁰

A structural device used by Japanese artists of the time and copied by Gauguin involved the use of a prominent diagonal. The line marked by the stretch of foliage and water to the upper right of Vision après le sermon and

some of Gauguin's other works (see charts, Chapter One) is comparable to the oar in Hiroshige's Bueten Temple (although in reverse) and to the wooden board in the same artist's Wagon Wheel.⁴¹ The diagonal formed by the boat extending from the lower right into the centre in Hiroshige's Station-Mitsuke is similar to the direction in which the tree in Vision après le sermon is growing - as is the diagonally placed row of trees in Hiroshige's Promontory in Tango.⁴² Hiroshige's Rain in Shono appearing as a full-page reproduction in Volume Two of Bing's Japon Artistique (1888-91) combines the two diagonals (of people arranged in a line from the lower right to the upper left and vegetation from the left to the upper right) as in Gauguin's Vision après le sermon. The tree in Vision après le sermon also bears some resemblance to the many prints of bridges by Hiroshige in its curve, direction and separation of the composition into two halves.⁴³ That Gauguin used a Japanese print as a prototype for the tree seems almost certain. His version is not unlike the flattened silhouette brought close to the picture plane stretching from lower left to upper right in Hiroshige's Moon Pine at Ueno.⁴⁴ Vincent van Gogh, while in Paris during the first half of 1887, painted a copy of one of Hiroshige's prints, The Flowering Plum Tree. Hiroshige's plum tree, like his Moon Pine, curves across the picture plane, the main trunk growing in the same direction as the tree in Vision après le sermon.⁴⁵ As he became acquainted with Van Gogh before the Japonaiserie work was painted, Gauguin might have seen Vincent's copy and the Hiroshige print at some time during the period the two spent together in Paris.⁴⁶ Later that year in Martinique, when he painted the two trunks in the left foreground of Bord de Mer, II (W#218) (and perhaps also the water and hills in the back), it is probable that Gauguin was using as a starting point Utagawa Kuniyoshi's View from Fifty-Three Stages and Four Post Towns Along the Tokaido.⁴⁷ The diagonal arrangement of boats in his

Fenêtre ouverte sur la mer (W#292) of 1888 (Brittany) is similar to Hiroshige's Fishing Boats Returning to Yabase.⁴⁸

The bird's-eye view used in Vision après le sermon for the wrestling figures and cow was a common compositional device employed in Japanese prints.⁴⁹ Gauguin's La vague (W#286), a Breton water-rockscape painted in 1888, is another example of such a view with its pair of miniscule figures in the upper right corner.⁵⁰ Animals too, were executed in this way by artists such as Kuniyoshi in his cat print, or Utamaro with his tiger.⁵¹ In the rendering of a cow Gauguin did likewise not only in Vision après le sermon but also in other Breton works, such as Vaches au bord de la mer (W#206, 1886) and Audessus de gouffre (W#282, 1888). Les trois petit chiens (W#293) and Le petit chat aux trois-pommes (W#294), again painted in Brittany in 1888, are another two very obvious examples of this view down onto three puppies eating from a bowl in one case and a small cat in the other.

In the latter two works showing the puppies and cat, the forms have been flattened with little or no shading and brought close to the picture surface as is the case with Japanese prints. The objects and animals have also been outlined in black and coloured brightly, again indicative of the Japanese manner. Gauguin's La vague (W#286), in its stylized ornamental treatment of the water, the curling, delineated foam and the undulating, sweeping lines of the waves, is similar to Hokusai's Great Wave off Kanagawa and Hokkei's Mekari Festival.⁵²

Although Gauguin had been exposed to brightly-coloured Japanese prints long before 1887, it was not until he went to Martinique, with its tropical light and colour, that his palette became significantly brighter and his forms consequently acquired a more decorative appearance.⁵³ Bord de mer (1) (W#217) of 1887, showing the Martinique seashore, reveals a stylized treatment

of trees with patches of colour for foliage. People in the middle-ground are indicated with little detail or modelling. An overall even pattern is established throughout. In Huttes sous les arbres (W#230) and Végétation tropicale (W#231), both of 1887, Gauguin has obtained a uniform decorative surface through swirling movements of line and broken areas of colour rendered with broader brushstrokes. In the latter painting the two figures and the horse have been so abstracted as to appear barely visible. In the Martinique works Gauguin has shown little interest in transient light effects or spatial depth. Forms have not been broken up into components of light and shadow. Rather, the surface quality of the canvas has been emphasized with patterns of brushstrokes arranged within abstracted shapes. The colours have been applied evenly, in bright, rich tones. The tapestry-like effect of all three works continued to appear in Gauguin's oeuvre the following year. In 1888, Le Gardien de porcs (W#255) depicting a swineherd and pigs in a Breton landscape, was painted by Gauguin with no convincing spatial recession, but rather with the same bright tropical palette of Martinique and with patterns of colour arranged within abstracted forms. In Les Misérables (W#239) (1888) - the drawing of which Gauguin compared to the flowers in a Persian carpet - the colour is no longer applied in strokes but flattened masses, in the style of Japanese prints.⁵⁴ As Gauguin moved further from the impressionist brushstroke to a Japoniste conception of masses of colour, a sense of movement and direction was imparted not so much to the brushstroke as to the contours of forms. In Les Misérables, masses of colour, because of their flat application, suggest a stillness; it is the drawing itself which creates a rhythm, and the bright contrasts of colour, a vibrating quality.

The influence of Martinique is an important consideration in the development of Gauguin's style, assisting him towards a more abstract portrayal of

nature. It was thus due to Gauguin's Martinique venture that the influence of Japanese prints was truly felt and manifested in his work.

In June, 1888 Vincent van Gogh wrote to Emile Bernard from Arles:

... the Japanese artist ignores reflected colours, and puts the flat tones side by side, with characteristic lines marking off the movements and the forms ... Suffice it to say that black and white are also colors, for in many cases they can be looked upon as colors, for their simultaneous contrast is as striking as that of green and red, for instance.

The Japanese make use of it for that matter. They express the mat and pale complexion of a young girl and the piquant contrast of the black hair marvellously well by means of white paper and four strokes of the pen. 55

Aside from the use of black and white, of bright colours flatly laid, Vincent stressed the clarifying and expressive use of line. He also hinted at their economy of means in using less to say more. These Japanese characteristics became increasingly evident in Gauguin's works after Martinique, when he and Vincent were also in closer communication.⁵⁶

On July 8, 1888 Gauguin wrote to Schuffenecker from Pont-Aven, saying that he had finished a work about two boys near a river, wrestling. He described it as being "tout à fait japonais... Tres peu exécuté, pelouse verte et le haut blanc."⁵⁷ A month later Gauguin wrote to Vincent about the same painting, claiming that he had exceeded all that which he had done up to the present. Describing the composition and colouring, he stressed that it was like the Japanese prints, underlining "sans execution":⁵⁸

... dans mes dernières études j'ai je crois dépassé ce que j'ai fait jusqu'à présent...je viens de terminer une lutte bretonne que vous aimerez j'en suis sûr. Deux gamins caleçon bleu et caleçon vermillon. Un dans le haut à droite qui monte sortant de l'eau - Pelouse verte/veronize pur dégradant jusqu'au jaune de chrome sans exécution comme les crépons japonais.

En haut cascade d'eau bouillonnante blanc rose et arc en ciel sur debord pres du cadre. En bas tache blanche un chapeau noir et blouse bleue. 59

Included in the letter was a sketch of the painting Enfants luttant I (W#273). The boys appear etched into an empty, flatly rendered green lawn; there is an evident lack of detail and hence the pile of clothes in the foreground appears abstracted. Although there is a certain plasticity conveyed in the bodies of the boys by the minimal use of shading, their strong outlines create a sense of flatness.

Later, in November, 1888, when he had joined Vincent van Gogh in Arles, Gauguin wrote to Emile Bernard about the question of shadows. He noted that the Japanese, who draw admirably, depict life in the open air and sunshine without shadows, using colours like a combination of tones, diverse harmonies, giving the impression of warmth. Gauguin told Bernard that he himself withdrew as far as possible from that which gave the illusion of an object; shadows being "le trompe l'oeil" of the sun, he suppressed them:

Vous discutez avec Laval sur les ombres et me demandez se je m'en fous. En tant que quant à l'explication de la lumière, oui. Examinez les Japonais qui dessinent pourtant admirablement et vous verrez la vie en plein air et au soleil sans ombres. Ne se servant de la couleur que comme une combinaison de tons, harmonies diverse, donnant l'impression de chaleur, etc. ... je m'éloignerai autant que possible de ce qui donne l'illusion d'une chose et l'ombre étant le trompe l'oeil du soleil, je suis porté à la supprimer... 61

The role of Gauguin's ceramics is important in the development of this flattened, simplified style. As Bodelsen has clearly shown, "in transferring a motif from a drawing, a pastel or a painting to his ceramics," for example in using a drawing of a Breton girl from the summer of 1886 for the glaze decoration in a stoneware vase of the winter, 1886-87, "Gauguin is compelled greatly to simplify both line and colour."⁶² The glazed forms in the vase cited above have been outlined in both black and gold, just as the figures are in Vision après le sermon. In another stoneware vase of 1886-87 showing a profile head and shoulder view of a Breton girl (which reappears

in Gauguin's painting of La femme a la cruche W#254 of 1888) he incised the outline into the clay. This technique again contributed to his tendency to outline with paint onto canvas.⁶³ The colourful glazes he employed also brightened his palette. He describes the colours of his self-portrait Les Misérables (W#239) in terms of glazes, a collection of pottery all twisted by the furnace, reds and violets streaked by flames, like a furnace:

... figurez-vous un vague souvenir de la poterie tordue
par le grand feu! Tous les rouges, les violets, rayés
par les éclats de feu comme une fournaise rayonnant aux
yeux... 64

At the same time Gauguin's exposure to Bracquemond, the ceramicist and engraver, is noteworthy. Bracquemond's incorporation of motifs and methods inherent in Japanese art into his own work by way of sharply defined (incised or outlined), flattened forms probably influenced Gauguin's style as well.⁶⁵

Finally, in addition to stylistic influences of Japanese art, the appeal of the Orient for Gauguin was strong. He drew analogies between Cézanne, whom he revered, and the Oriental mystic; he believed that Cézanne looked like an old man of the Levant, had an Eastern nature, and spent whole days on mountain tops meditating: his colours were, in Gauguin's opinion, grave like the character of Orientals and he was a mystic even in drawing.⁶⁶ Hence the Oriental man was regarded by Gauguin as one living in harmony with nature, expressing himself via his art through the study of and meditation about nature. In drawing the parallel between Cézanne and the Oriental and in imitating Cézanne's style and wishing to extract his secrets, one senses Gauguin's wish to think of himself in a similar fashion. Vincent van Gogh wrote to his brother Theo in September, 1888:

If we study Japanese art, we see a man who is undoubtedly wise, philosophic and intelligent, who spends his time doing what? In studying the distance between the earth and the moon? No. In studying Bismarck's policy? No. He studies a single blade of grass.

But this blade of grass leads him to draw every plant and then the seasons, the wide aspects of the countryside, then animals, then the human figure...

Come now, isn't it almost a true religion which these simple Japanese teach us, who live in nature as though they themselves were flowers?

And you cannot study Japanese art, it seems to me, without becoming much gayer and happier, and we must return to nature in spite of our education and our work in the world of convention... 67

A few weeks earlier, Vincent had written of Arles,

Here my life will become more and more like a Japanese painter's, living close to nature. 68

To his sister in September, 1888, he maintained, "here I am in Japan."⁶⁹

3. Gauguin's Quest for Primitive Cultures and Life-styles in Martinique and Brittany

Similar to Vincent's attitude was Gauguin's wish to escape a civilized and corrupted world to find an uninhabited, free and fertile land where he could take his paints and brushes and become rejuvenated. But despite his feelings about the Orient he planned to go to Panama. In early April, 1887, he wrote to Mette, that he was going there to live like a native:

... je m'en vais à Panama pour vivre en sauvage. Je connais à une lieue en mer de Panama une petite île (Taboga) dans le Pacifique, elle est presque inhabitée, libre et fertile. J'emporte mes couleurs et mes pinceaux et je me retremperai loin de tous les hommes. 70

It was not unusual for Gauguin to look in this direction. His mother Aline Chazel came from a Spanish family which had settled in Peru. Between the ages of three and seven Gauguin spent four years (1851-1855) in Lima.

Entering the merchant marine in 1865, he travelled to Rio de Janeiro and many other places until 1871.⁷¹ From an early age he had been exposed to

pre-Columbian art through his guardian Gustave Arosa's collections and

publications.⁷² One of the earliest indications of his interests in this kind of art is his drawing of a Peruvian motif, possibly a design for a

cupboard, of 1873.⁷³ In his carved wood cabinet of 1881 a similar motif appears.⁷⁴ His portrait-vase of a Breton girl of 1886-87 is not unlike a primitive portrait vessel in its form.⁷⁵ As in primitive cultures, Gauguin modelled his ceramic pieces by hand, without the use of a potter's wheel. The Martinique experience was by Gauguin's account a most positive one in artistic terms; he wrote to Schuffenecker from Martinique in September, 1887:

Je rapporterai une douzaine de toiles dont 4 avec des figures bien supérieures à mon époque de Pont-Aven. 76

Vincent's and Bernard's views are revealed in a letter of May 1888 from Vincent to Bernard:

You are quite right to see that those Negresses [in Gauguin's Martinique paintings] were heart-rending. ... You are damned right to think of Gauguin. That is high poetry, those Negresses and everything his hands make has a gentle, pitiful, astonishing character. 77

In Paris, during the winter of 1887-88, Martinique figures continued to surface in Gauguin's ceramics, as for example in a portrait-head of unglazed stoneware.⁷⁸ Another jar made at this time shows a figure of a girl standing in a pose reminiscent, as Bodelsen points out, of those in reliefs from the Baraboudour temple in Java of which Gauguin had photos.⁷⁹ Later in Pont-Aven during October, 1888, Gauguin wrote to Bernard that he was inclined to agree with Vincent and his view that the future belongs to the painters of the tropics which have not yet been painted:

... Je suis peu de l'avis de Vincent l'avenir est aux peintres des tropiques qui n'ont pas été encore peints... 80

Shortly after March 30, 1888, Vincent wrote to his sister from Alres:

... there is nothing that prevents me from thinking that later painters will go and work in tropical countries. 81

When planning his return to Brittany, Gauguin wrote to Mette in February,

1888, telling her that two natures dwelled within him, the Indian and the sensitive man, and it was the Indian that was now going forward:

Il faut te souvenir qu'il y a deux natures chez moi: l'Indien et la sensitive. La sensitive a disparu ce qui permet à l'Indien de marcher tout droit et fermement. 82

In the same letter he explained to her that he wished to penetrate the character of the people and the country. This he believed was essential for good painting:

Je dois partir jeudi pour Pont-Aven et j'aime mieux répondre à ta lettre maintenant que je suis tranquille. Évidemment le pays en hiver n'est pas tout à fait favorable pour ma santé mais il me faut travailler 7, 8 mois à la file, pénétré du caractère, des gens et du pays, chose essentielle pour faire de la bonne peinture. 83

Anatole Le Braz, a noted Breton scholar of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, described Brittany as a "solemn country, so suggestive of prayer and meditation."⁸⁴ George Edwards claimed the region was "filled with legend and superstition," calling Brittany:

...land of a terrible coast, dotted with mysterious celtic sphinxes; land of Calvaries, of dolmen, or cromlechs and alignments or Druidical Menhirs; land of pardons and of peasants who pride themselves upon their ignorance of the French language; land of poetry and romance of the middle ages... 85

Edwards wrote,

The people are intensely religious of course, and they are never gay, even in their fêtes, for religion is their passion and it flourishes... 86

Francis M. Gostling in 1909 maintained:

It is impossible to understand these people without in some degree participating in their strong religious instincts. Religion is to them a prime necessity as it was to their ancestors before the coming of Christianity... I venture to say that in no country today is life so governed by religion as in this little western peninsula of France. 87

Henry Blackburn in Breton Folk of 1880 (illustrated by Randolph Caldecott) describes the devout character of one such Breton woman:

At a side altar of the chapel there is a young face, very fair with large devotional eyes, deepened in colour and intensity by her white cap; but below it is a stiff, shapeless bodice as hard as wood, and a bundle of lower garments piled one upon the other... She is on her knees ... working or praying, half her young life has been spent in this position... 88

Blackburn wrote of "so many young faces clouded by superstitious awe":

The saying would seem to apply to Brittany, that national piety springs from a fountain of tears. 89

Pardons or once-yearly religious ceremonies and celebrations were in Gauguin's time and still are held in churches, chapels and shrines, seldom in largely populated centres but rather in the countryside.⁹⁰ Edwards noted:

Pardons, it should be explained, are the yearly gatherings for religious celebration of the day devoted to some saint, generally in the country at a fountain or a wayside chapel endowed with certain miraculous characteristics. They usually begin with Vespers the night before the day of ceremonies, and the peasants gather in crowds, sleeping in the fields and hedges, and sometimes in the churches where they chant the livelong night. At daybreak they celebrate mass, then in the afternoon there is a grand procession with sacred relics and banners; after which they promenade, eat and drink, and finally depart to their homes in the evening.

...At some of the Pardons the ceremonies will take place in the evening at which a procession of strange figures, often barefoot and at times clad only in shirts and bearing lighted candles in their hands, will march chanting along dark roads, amid a wailing chant from the kneeling pilgrims; at others there will be a huge bonfire of brushwood lighted by a figure which slides down a rope from the steeple or tower of the church. 91

Edwards maintains that the calvaries (single crosses with statuettes close by) were perhaps "the most superstitious part of this land of superstitions":

Here, under our very feet, sleep generations of Bretons, and perhaps the huge, erect stones mark the tombs of Celtic Chiefs of bygone ages. Faithful to their traditions, the peasants still practice strange rites around these stones, and M. le Notaire tells me that sometimes at nightfall, one may see, among the rocks, young married couples who come to pray at the menhirs, lying upon their faces before the huge stones as did perhaps the Druids of old... 92

Ossuaries, or reliquaries - bone houses which were attached to churches or buildings in the cemeteries, exerted an influence on Breton life as well:

This is the country whose people still sing the grave and melancholy poems of their forefathers, solemnizing the cult of the early Bretons whose bones rest in the magnificent ossuaries by the roadsides. "Christians come and pray where the bones of your parents whiten in the reliquaries, come pray for the soul of those whom you have welcomed at your firesides, now bleaching in the sun, washed by the rain, and stirred by the night winds." Thus runs one of the Breton canticles. 93

In addition, editors of the 1928 Brittany Blue Guide observed that a good deal of superstition still prevailed "especially in relation to the menhirs and domens of the province," the megalithic monuments existing throughout the Breton countryside.⁹⁴ As Edwards noted:

The district lying between Pont Aven and Concarneau abounds in megalithic remains, dolmen and menhirs... 95

For this superstitious country, the experiencing of visions was not so unnatural a phenomenon. The Brittany Blue Guide reports:

The cult of the dead is almost universal, and Death himself is spoken of in hushed tones as "Ankou," the driver of a coach that picks up souls by the roadside. 96

Francis M. Gostling recalls:

It was still early when we got out of the train at the little station of Belle Isle Begard. No sign of a village was to be seen... The road lay through a labyrinth of leafy tunnels, bordered on either hand ... now it was grey-green and ghostly, a fit haunt for the disembodied spirits which are supposed to frequent such places.

... One of the most noticeable things in Brittany is the intimate relations that seem to exist between the people of this world and the phantoms who inhabit the Land of Shadows. 97

As evidenced by the number of artists temporarily presiding in Brittany during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the appeal of these unique surroundings must have been great.⁹⁸ Indeed, the March 1894 issue of La Plume published a series of articles on Breton history, literature, religion, art and customs by Gustave Geffroy, Anatole Le Braz and others.⁹⁹

After arriving in Brittany in February, 1888, Gauguin wrote Schuffenecker:

J'aime la Bretagne ... j'y le sauvage, le primitif.
 Quand mes sabots résonent sur ce sol de granit, j'entends
 le ton sourd, mat et puissant que je cherche en peinture. 100

In the same frame of mind, he informed Schuffenecker on July 8, 1888, that his own painting of the Breton boys wrestling near a river (Enfants luttant (I) W#273), discussed above, had been executed "par un sauvage du Perou."¹⁰¹ Later in Arles Gauguin again noted that he was inclined towards a primitive state.¹⁰²

Gauguin also strongly favoured the European "primitives," especially Giotto and Fra Angelico.¹⁰³ Gauguin admired the relative flatness, simplification and plane-like arrangement of forms inherent in their art - qualities which he also found in the work of Puvis de Chavannes.¹⁰⁴ A conversation about Puvis' Poor Fisherman between Puvis and Gauguin which might have taken place as early as 1881, when the painting received poor reviews, was conveyed by Gauguin in a letter to Andre Fountaines in 1889:

...Puvis de Chavannes me disait un jour; tout à fait affligé à la lecture d'une basse critique "mais qu'ont-ils donc à ne pas comprendre? le tableau - (il s'agissait de son pauvre pêcheur) est cependant bien simple - je lui répondis.

"Et pour les autres il leur sera parlé en paraboles afin que voyant ils ne voient pas, et entendant ils n'entendent pas." 105

As Richard Wattenmaker has pointed out, Gauguin would no doubt have been acquainted with Puvis' work from the Salons, the Pantheon and the Sorbonne. He would also have witnessed exhibitions at Durand-Ruel's, including Puvis' one-man show of 1887.¹⁰⁶ No doubt his conception of Enfants Luttant (W#273, #274) was largely influenced by the two naked wrestling boys in Puvis' Pleasant Land of 1882.¹⁰⁷

Puvis had also once commented: "... I have tried always to say as much as possible in the fewest possible words."¹⁰⁸ This inclination towards abbreviation - inherent not only in Puvis' work but also in Japanese,

Primitive and Pre-Renaissance art - exemplifies a lack of adherence to a literal representation of nature and a refusal to submit to a doctrine of exact visual reproduction. Gauguin also perceived and respected these qualities in Delacroix's art.

4. Gauguin's Attraction to Delacroix's Expressive Use of Line and Colour

When Gauguin described his Enfants luttant (I) (W#273) in 1888 as being "(t)rès peu exécuté" and "sans exécution,"¹⁰⁹ this is a characteristic that he also applied to Delacroix's Barque de Don Juan which he discussed in a letter to Schuffenecker of May 24, 1885. He quoted Albert Wolff (an unsympathetic critic of impressionist painters as well) who had written in the Figaro that not one of Delacroix's pictures was a masterpiece - always incomplete:

Et dire que M. Wolff a écrit dans le Figaro que pas un tableau de Delacroix était un chef d'oeuvre, toujours incomplet dit-il. 110

Gauguin on the other hand maintained that Delacroix did well not to render forms in archaeological exactitude, that Delacroix was not only a great draughtsman but an innovator; his stroke was a way of emphasizing an idea:

... il a ma foi bien raison de ne pas imiter Gérôme, l'exactitude archéologue... Delacroix est non seulement un grand dessinateur de la forme mais encore un innovateur, que le trait est chez lui un moyen d'accentuer une idée. Du reste, cela ne s'explique pas! 111

Gauguin described Delacroix's drawings as being like the supple and strong movements of a tiger. One does not know where the muscles are attached in this animal and the turn of a paw suggests the impossible, but nevertheless real. In the same way Delacroix's arms and shoulders always turn back and in an irrational and impossible fashion, yet express reality in passion:

Le dessin de Delacroix me rappelle toujours le tigre aux mouvements souples et forts. On ne sait jamais dans ce

superbe animal où les muscles s'attachent, et les contorsions d'une patte donnent l'image de l'impossible, cependant dans le réel. De même chez Delacroix les bras et les épaules se retournent toujours d'une façon insensée et impossible au raisonnement, mais cependant expriment le réel dans la passion. 112

Theophile Silvestre, in Les Artistes français I Romantiques, also discusses this quality of exaggeration in Delacroix's work:

Delacroix ... semble désarticuler à l'occasion certains personnages, en vue de développer par des exagérations volontaires l'effet général d'une action dramatique. 113

The same exaggeration is apparent in Gauguin's figures, one good example being the enlarged feet of Enfants luttant (I) (W#273). As early as 1885 he pondered the expressive use of line:

... J'en conclus qu'il y a des lignes nobles, menteuses, etc. la ligne droite donne l'infini, la courbe limite la création... Le triangle équilatéral est la forme la plus solide et la plus parfaite d'un triangle. Un triangle long est plus élégant. Dans la pure vérité il n'existe pas de côté; à notre sentiment il y a les lignes à droite vont de l'avant, celles à gauche reculent... 114

The principle of the curved line corresponding with the finite and the straight line with the infinite had already been delved into by Charles Blanc, whose Grammaire des arts du dessin (1867) had also considered the idea of lines expressing emotion.¹¹⁵ Gauguin, in the same letter, wondered why willows with hanging branches are called weeping; is it because dropping lines are sad?

... Pourquoi les saules dont les branches pendent sont-ils appelés pleureurs? Est-ce parce que les lignes baissantes sont tristes? 116

Furthermore, the sycamore is sad not because it is found in cemeteries but because of its colour:

Et le sycomore est-il triste parce qu'on le met dans les cimetières, non c'est la couleur qui est triste. 117

Gauguin spoke of the power of colour on the eye, of noble and common tones,

of tranquil and consoling harmonies or bold ones; indeed, lines and colour reveal the grandeur of the artist's character:

... Il y a des tons nobles, d'autres communs, des harmonies tranquilles, consolantes, d'autres qui vous excitent par leur hardiesse. En somme, vous voyez dans la graphologie des traits d'hommes francs, d'autres de menteurs; pourquoi un amateur, les lignes et les couleurs ne nous donneraient-ils aussi le caractère plus ou moins grandiose de l'artiste... 118

In speaking of Les Misérables (W#239) Gauguin himself asserts that the flaming colours indicate the artist's state of mind:

La couleur est une couleur loin de la nature; figurez vous un vague souvenir de la poterie tordue par le grand feu! Tous les rouges, les violets, rayés par les éclats de feu comme une fournaise rayonnant aux yeux, siège des luttes de la pensée du peintre. 119

The letter from which the above passage is taken was sent to Schuffenecker on October 8, 1888 from Quimperle, Brittany, along with a letter from Vincent which Gauguin had just received and which included the following description:

J'ai un portrait de moi tout cendré. La couleur cendrée qui résulte du mélange du véronèse avec la mine orange sur fond véronèse pâle tout uni, à vêtement brun rouge. Mais exagérant moi aussi ma personnalité, j'avais cherché plutôt le caractère d'un bonze simple adorateur de Bouddha éternel. 120

In Gauguin's next letter to Schuffenecker, he requested that Vincent's letter be returned to him (Gauguin).¹²¹

Indeed, most of Vincent's statements about his own paintings in Arles described them primarily in terms of colour; in a letter to Bernard from the first half of August, Vincent elaborated about:

... a decoration in which the raw of broken chrome yellows will blaze forth on various backgrounds - blue, from the palest malachite green to royal blue, framed in thin strips of wood painted with orange lead.

Effects like those of stained-glass windows in a Gothic church. 122

There can be no doubt that Bernard would have shown these letters from Vincent

to Gauguin as he did with Vincent's sketches accompanying the letters.¹²³

In all likelihood Vincent contributed to Gauguin's perception of colour and its suggestive attributions; he had written to Theo in September 1888 -

I do not know if anyone before me has talked about suggestive colour but Delacroix and Monticelli, without talking about it, did it. 124

As well, Vincent's attitude towards anatomically correct drawing, expressed in a letter to Theo in July, 1885, reinforced Gauguin's views:

... I should be desperate if my figures were correct ... I do not want them to be academically correct ... my great longing is to learn to make those very incorrectnesses, those deviations, remodelings, changes in reality, so that they may become, yes lies, if you like - but truer than the literal truth. 125

Due to the expressive values assigned by Gauguin to line and colour, together with an emphasis on their suggestive qualities, his interpretation of nature became not only more abstract but above all - personal.¹²⁶

5. Gauguin's Wish to "Paint like Children"

In an undated letter written to Theo in August-September, 1888, Vincent noted that "Gauguin and Bernard talk now of 'painting like children'".¹²⁷ It was not unusual for Gauguin to be speaking this way, taking into consideration the emotional values he attached to colour and line; he quite obviously was not interested in pictorial representation or exact reproduction. Remembering Gauguin's fascination for primitive art it is interesting to consider the link Baudelaire draws between the "barbarie" and the "enfantine"; he refers to what is an inevitable synthetic, child-like barbarism which is often visible in a perfect art (Mexican, Egyptian or Ninevehite), which derives from the need to see things big and which must be considered above all in terms of its total effect. (Interesting too was his observation that the artists who are accused of barbarism have an eye for the synthetic and abbreviated.):

Ce mot barbarie, qui est venu peut-être trop souvent sous ma plume, pourrait induire quelques personnes à croire qu'il s'agit ici de quelques dessins informes que l'imagination seule du spectateur sait transformer en choses parfaites. Ce serait mal me comprendre. Je veux parler d'une barbarie inévitable, synthétique, enfantine, qui reste souvent visible dans un art parfait (mexicaine, égyptienne ou ninivite), et qui dérive du besoin de voir les choses grandement, de les considérer surtout dans l'effet de leur ensemble. Il n'est pas superflu d'observer ici que beaucoup de gens ont accusé de barbarie tous les peintres dont le regard est synthétique et abrégiateur... 128

Children's books by Walter Crane, Kate Greenaway and Randolph Caldecott, which appeared in Paris in the early 1880's were enthusiastically received by Huysmans in his Salon review of 1881.¹²⁹ As well, the Gazette des Beaux Arts of the summer of 1886, before Gauguin's departure for Brittany, produced a lengthy article on Caldecott, mentioning his illustrations for Henry Blackburn's Breton Folk (1880).¹³⁰ During the summer of 1886 A.S. Hartrick met Gauguin, who, according to the English painter's memoirs, was impressed with Caldecott's manner of drawing geese:

He had been making some drawings of geese which he showed me. He then produced one of Caldecott's coloured books, in which some geese were depicted in the artist's very characteristic way. These he praised almost extravagantly as it seemed to me then. "That" he said "was the true spirit of drawing." 131

If one compares a page with studies of geese from Gauguin's Brittany sketchbook of 1886 to one of Caldecott's illustrations,¹³² similarities in their conceptions do exist: the geese have been simplified, executed with a few strokes and minimal shading. The rest of Gauguin's sketchbook also bears some resemblance to Caldecott's simpler drawings in Breton Folk.¹³³ In Gauguin's paintings from 1886 (W#278 La Gardeuse l'oies) geese appear frequently in an abstract and decorative fashion. The same is true of his ceramics during the winter of 1886-7 and 1887-8.¹³⁴ The pair of geese drawn (along with others scattered around) on the back of the letter Gauguin sent to Madeleine, Emile Bernard's sister, in October, 1888, is very similar

indeed in pose, position and style to a pair by Caldecott.¹³⁵ Not only Gauguin's geese but also his other animals - goats (Bord de mer W#217), cows (Vision après le sermon), dogs (Les Trois petits chiens, W#293) and cats (Le Petit chat aux trois pommes, W#294) - reveal the same simple, abbreviated child-like rendering.

In Le Peintre de la vie moderne Baudelaire describes a writer in the act of creating: things seen are born again on paper, natural and more natural, beautiful and more than beautiful, singular and endowed with an enthusiastic life, like the soul of their creator. All the materials, stored by memory, are classified, ordered, harmonized, and undergo that deliberate idealization which is the result of a child-like perception that is acute, and magical by an ingenuous force:

Et les choses renaissent sur le papier, naturelles et plus que naturelles, belles et plus que belles, singulières et douées d'une vie enthousiaste comme l'âme de l'auteur. La fantasmagorie a été extraite de la nature. Tous les matériaux dont la mémoire s'est encombrée se classent, se rangent, s'harmonisent et subissent cette idéalisation forcée qui est le résultat d'une perception enfantine, c'est-à-dire d'une perception aigüe, magique à force d'ingénuité! 136

This child-like perception also implies an innocent, "untaught" attitude which Gauguin, with his interest in Caldecott's books and in primitive art, was striving to express by "drawing like children."¹³⁷

6. Gauguin's Personal Interpretation of Nature from Memory as it Affects His Art

After Gauguin has joined him in Arles, Vincent informs Theo:

Just now [November, 1888] [Gauguin] is doing some women in a vineyard, completely from memory ... 138

From Vincent's next few letters one sees that Gauguin has introduced to him the method of painting from memory:

I have been working on two canvases.

A memory of our garden at Etten, with cabbages, cypresses, dahlias, and figures, then a woman reading a novel in a library like the Lecture Francaise, a woman all in green. Gauguin gives me the courage to imagine things, and certainly things from the imagination take on a more mysterious character ...

Gauguin, in spite of himself and in spite of me, has more or less proved to me that it is time I was varying my work a little. I am beginning to compose from memory, and all my studies will still be useful for that sort of work, recalling to me things I have seen. 139

It is not known for how long prior to this Gauguin had been painting from memory but it is conceivable that Bracquemond in 1886 had introduced Gauguin to Lecoq de Boisbaudran's method of drawing from memory.¹⁴⁰ Lecoq's book, L'Éducation de la mémoire pittoresque, originally published in 1847,¹⁴¹ contained the steps in memory training; Lecoq appealed to each student's individual nature, claiming "art is essentially individual. It is individuality which makes the artist."¹⁴² He closely linked memory and imagination: "imagination can only use what memory has to offer her, producing, like chemists from known elements, results completely new."¹⁴³ Lecoq also believed in the importance of first impressions: "I allowed them entire liberty to choose the impression that had most vividly struck them. In this way I was enabled to discover their differences of artistic bent."¹⁴⁴ In addition from at least 1885-6, Gauguin owned a "Turkish treatise" which encouraged the artist to rely on memory in his work.¹⁴⁵ Certainly Gauguin did not follow any rigid rules in memory training but, as Vincent claimed, did compose at times from memory, and in so doing, used his own imagination - "things from the imagination tak[ing] on a more mysterious character."¹⁴⁶

7. Intentional Mystery and Ambiguity in Gauguin's Work

Gauguin's intention to impart a sense of mystery to his works is evident in the frequency with which he employed puzzling or hidden imagery.

The wooden box of 1884, on the front of which are carved ballet motifs and on the sides of which are attached the Netzke masks, opens to reveal a figure of a dead woman carved in relief with pieces of leather placed at her head and feet.¹⁴⁷ Bodelsen maintains that the box, executed by Gauguin in Copenhagen, was inspired by the oak coffins of the Danish Bronze Age, which were hollowed out of tree trunks, the dead body usually wrapped in a cow hide with remains of leather (footwear) found near the feet.¹⁴⁸ Although Gauguin may have seen these coffins in the National Museum of Copenhagen, it remains unclear as to why he would have chosen this image in the first place. It may have been a statement about his Copenhagen environment and his wife, Mette. Nature morte dans un interieur (W#176) of 1885, in its juxtaposition of dead birds in the foreground with a still, silent group of people in the back, betrays his attitude towards his relatives, the result of their lack of support in his artistic pursuits and their negative opinion of him as a businessman, husband and father.¹⁴⁹ Gauguin's acquaintances were often symbolically represented in his works without acknowledgement.¹⁵⁰

In his ceramics of 1887-8, Gauguin used double images which created a kind of ambivalence in meaning; a jar in unglazed stoneware shows Martinique girls, a peacock and fish, with a girl kneeling, holding a mirror, who at the same time occupies a space which can be interpreted as a nose above which two hollowed-out eyes stare vacantly out at the viewer.¹⁵¹ The heads of the Martinique girls become part of the headgear, the peacocks and fish are like tattoos; a mustached, frowning mouth lies at the base of the jar. Hidden masks or faces in his compositions were a frequently used motif; in Enfants luttant (I) (W#273) a blurred pair of eyes, a nose and mouth appear in the water to the upper left; in Dans le jardin de l'hopital d'Arles (W#300) of 1888 the bush in the foreground contains rather grotesque facial features

and the bench at the upper left has the appearance of a beetle-like insect. In two works of 1889, Petits bretonnes devant la mer (I, II) (W#340-1), especially in the girl to the right, the aprons change into masks, the pockets becoming eyes, the folds along the bottom of the hem turning into large nostrils. It is highly likely that in such imaginings Gauguin was largely influenced by Odilon Redon whom he greatly admired and whom he had most probably met in 1886 at the last Impressionist Exhibition.¹⁵² Redon, in a Salon review of 1868, had written:

... Some people insist upon the restriction of the painter's work to the reproduction of what he sees. Those who remain with these narrow limits commit themselves to an inferior goal. The old masters have proved that the artist, once he has taken from nature the necessary means of expression, is free, legitimately free, to borrow his subjects from history, from the poets, from his own imagination... While I recognize the necessity for a basis of observed reality ... true art lies in a reality that is felt. 153

Later in Avant et Après, Gauguin hinted at this aspect of intentional ambiguity: a critic, perturbed about Gauguin's paintings asked to see his drawings. The artist refused, claiming that they were his letters, his secrets; Gauguin maintained that he would reveal only what he wanted to reveal, that it was the inner man one wanted to see:

Un critique chez moi voit les peintures, et la poitrine oppressée me demande mes dessins. Mes dessins! que nenni: ce sont mes lettres, mes secrets. L'homme public, l'homme intime.

Vous voulez savoir qui je suis: mes oeuvres ne vous suffisent-elles pas? Même en ce moment où j'écris je ne montre que ce que je veux bien montrer. Mais vous me voyez souvent tout nu: ce n'est pas une raison, c'est le dedans qu'il faut voir. 154

8. Gauguin's Meditative and Contemplative Approach to Art

Les Misérables (W#239) is truly a portrait of the inner man for Gauguin uses different elements within the composition to reveal his own character and

state of mind; according to Gauguin's letter to Vincent of September, 1888, the background with the "fleurs enfantines" represents the room of a young girl, the purpose of which is "attester notre virginité notre virginité artistique".¹⁵⁵ As he indicated in his letter to Schuffenecker of October 8, 1888,

L'impressionniste est un pur, non souillé encore par le baiser putride des Beaux-Arts (École). 156

Line and colour are employed in a similar fashion. To Vincent he wrote about this abstract and symbolical art:

Le dessin des yeux et du nez semblables aux fleurs dans le tapis persans résume un art abstrait et symbolique. 157

In his letter to Schuffenecker he reiterated the above:

Les yeux, la bouche, le nez, sont comme des fleurs de tapis persan personifiant le côté symbolique. 158

Les Misérables in 1888 foreshadowed the portrait-vase of 1889.¹⁵⁹ His description of the painting's reds and violets being streaked by the flames of a fiercely burning furnace,¹⁶⁰ becomes literal fact in this vase with the effect that the firing has on the glazes. The streaked effect has been achieved by letting the red glaze drip and run more or less freely. But most interesting are the closed eyes; like the spectators in Vision après le sermon Gauguin shows himself in a reflective, meditative frame of mind. The vase is a statement about an artist who is more concerned with his innermost thought - more interested in his own inner world than the real external world. This idea was already evident in Les Misérables: the portrait of Bernard on the wall to the upper right shows the artist with his eyes closed. Similarly these ideas are also found in Bernard's self-portrait, "a son copain Vincent," painted at the same time and containing a picture of Gauguin on the wall, with his eyes closed.¹⁶¹ That Gauguin and Bernard had

mutually agreed to use this motif demonstrates its significance to both of them. The theme was employed by Redon, as exemplified in Marsh Flower (c. 1885).¹⁶² In 1889 Gauguin described Redon as a dreamer, an imaginative being; dreams through him becoming a reality by the probability he instilled in them:

Je ne vois pas en quoi Odilon Redon fait des monstres. Ce sont des êtres imaginaires. C'est un rêveur, un imaginaire. De la laideur: question brûlante et qui est la pierre de touche de notre art moderne et de sa critique. A bien examiner l'art profond de Redon, nous y trouvons peu la trace du "monstre," pas plus que dans les statues de Notre-Dame...

La nature a des infinis mystérieux, une puissance d'imagination. Elle se manifeste en variant toujours ses productions. L'artiste lui-même est un de ses moyens et, pour moi, Odilon Redon est un de ses élus pour cette continuation de création. Les rêves chez lui deviennent une réalité par la vraisemblance qu'il leur donne... 163

As early as 1885 Gauguin, in a letter to Schuffenecker, had also called Cézanne a dreamer who spent whole days on mountain tops, reading Virgil, looking at the sky, as someone who created a mystery in his forms, the backgrounds in his paintings being equally imaginative and creative and his drawings mystical:

... il affectionne dans la forme un mystère et une tranquillité lourde de l'homme couché pour rêver... il passe des journées entières au sommet des montagnes à lire Virgile et à regarder le ciel. Aussi ses horizons sont élevés, ses bleus très intenses et le rouge chez lui est d'une vibration étonnante.

Le Virgile qui a plusieurs sens et que l'on peut interpréter à volonté, la littérature de ses tableaux à un sens parabolique à deux fins; ses fonds sont aussi imaginatifs qu'y réels. Pour résumer: quand on voit un tableau de lui, on s'écrie "Étrange!" mais c'est un mystique, dessin de même. 164

In the same letter, Gauguin advised Schuffenecker not to perspire over a picture; a strong feeling can be translated immediately, one has to dream about it and seek its simplest form:

Travaillez librement et follement, vous ferez des progrès et tôt ou tard on saura reconnaître votre valeur si vous en avez. Surtout ne transpirez pas sur un tableau; un grand sentiment peut être traduit immédiatement, rêvez dessus et cherchez en la forme la plus simple. 165

Similarly, Puvis had maintained:

For all clear thoughts there exists a plastic equivalent. But ideas often come to us entangled and blurred. Thus it is important first to disentangle them, in order to keep them pure before the inner eye. A work of art emanates from a kind of confused emotion in which it is contained as an animal is contained in its egg. I meditate upon the thought buried in this emotion until it appears lucidly and as distinctly as possible before my eyes. Then I search for an image which translates it with exactitude... This is symbolism, if you like. 166

And Redon, in À Soi-Même had confessed:

My contemplative tendency made my efforts towards an optical system painful. 167

This meditative approach to nature as opposed to a careful observation and recording of literal fact, reinforced by working from memory and by wishing to appear mysterious led Gauguin to write to Vincent in August, 1888:

... je suis tout à fait d'accord avec vous sur le peu d'importance que l'exactitude apporte en art - L'art est une abstraction, malheureusement on devient de plus en plus incompris... 168

As early as 1846 in his Salon review, Baudelaire had maintained that art was nothing but an abstraction and a sacrifice of detail to the whole and that it was important to concern oneself above all with masses:

... l'art n'étant qu'une abstraction et un sacrifice du détail à l'ensemble, il est important de s'occuper surtout des masses. 169

In Japanese and Primitive art Gauguin had found these qualities of abstraction, a lack of detail and a synthetizing, anti-naturalistic tendency. He wrote to Schuffenecker on August 14, 1888 about his recent experiments to say that Schuffenecker would find in these a synthesis of form and colour:

Mes derniers travaux sont en bonne marche et je crois que vous trouverez une note particulière, ou plutôt l'affirmation de mes recherches antérieures ou synthèse d'une forme et d'une couleur en ne considérant la dominante. 170

Gauguin admired Delacroix, Puvis, Redon and Cézanne for their personal manner of expression, for their disregard for any doctrine or set rules established by the Academy or the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Gauguin, too, was inclined towards depicting a "felt reality,"¹⁷¹ using his "inner eye"¹⁷² for the expressing of his "inner visions".¹⁷³ In his letter to Schuffenecker he advises:

Un conseil, ne peignez pas trop d'après nature. L'art est une abstraction tirez-là de la nature en rêvant devant et pensez plus à la création qui résultera... 174

In the 1886 Gazette des Beaux-Arts the following passage appeared:

Baudelaire, en ses critiques sur l'Art romantique, appelait sentiment de la correspondance le sentiment qui, dans les créations poétiques, nous fait découvrir un parallélisme secret entre chaque état et l'âme et un correspondant de la nature inanimée. C'est ce sentiment, disait-il, qui nous permet de pratiquer, au moyen des arts plastiques, une sorte de sorcellerie évocatoire, et définir l'attitude mystérieuse que les objets de la création tiennent devant le regard de l'homme. "Comme un rêve est placé dans une atmosphère colorée qui lui est propre, de même, une conception devenue composition, a besoin de se mouvoir dans un milieu coloré qui lui soit particulier. Il y a un ton particulier attribué à une partie quelconque du tableau, qui gouverne les autres tons ... Sous les personnages, leur disposition relative, le paysage ou l'intérieur qui leur sert de fond ou d'horizon, leur vêtements, tout enfin doit servir à illuminer, l'idée générale et porter sa couleur originelle, sa livrée pour ainsi dire... Un tableau, fidèle et égal au rêve qui l'a enfanté, doit être produit comme un monde." 175

Baudelaire was comparing dreams to painting, noting that just as a dream is bathed in its own appropriate atmosphere, so a conception, become composition, needs to have its being in a setting of colour peculiar to itself. A good picture, faithful and worthy of the dreams that gave it birth, must be created like a world. Vision après le sermon was created in this

spirit.

C. Vision après le sermon as an Exemplar of Gauguin's Artistic Concerns

In comparing the drawing for Vision après le sermon with the finished painting one is able to see how Gauguin treated his subject and to understand more clearly how the final work evolved.¹⁷⁶ In the sketch Gauguin set out the basic structure of the composition - with the spectators arranged in semi-circular fashion around the wrestlers; only three foreground figures are drawn in, but the curved line extending from the lower right across towards the upper left suggests the position of the others. The apple tree in its entirety grows in the same direction as in the painting;¹⁷⁷ Jacob and the Angel appear in the same position and occupy the same space also in both sketch and finished work. In the sketch, as with the final painting, little attention is devoted to detail with much empty space surrounding the simplified forms. In its final version Vision après le sermon is in composition more tightly structured and in style is much more complex. The outlines are emphatic, clearly defining forms and resulting in a stable and static quality. A soft, undulating rhythm is created by the rounded, curving lines of the observers, their caps and costumes. The sharper and more pointed lines of the wrestlers produce a sense of tension. More figures including a priest and a cow, have been added or shifted; and the tree has become one long extended trunk, looking less like a tree than in the sketch, let alone an apple tree. All forms are touching, hence somehow connected. The iconographic reasons for these shifts in position and emphasis as well as the additional inclusions will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Gauguin in a letter to Vincent in September, 1888, described Vision après le sermon largely in terms of colour (not an unusual thing to do,

considering that Vincent's own descriptions during this time in Arles focused primarily on colour):

Des bretonnes groupées prient costumes noir très intense. Les bonnets blancs jaunes très lumineux. Les deux bonnets à droite sont comme des casques monstrueux; un pommier traverse la toile violet sombre et le feuillage dessiné par masses comme des nuages vert émeraude avec les intestins vert jaune de soleil. Le terrain (vermillon pur). A l'église il descend et devient brun rouge. L'ange est habillé de bleu outremer violet et Jacob vert bouteille. Les ailes de l'ange jaune de chrome 1 pur. Les cheveux de l'ange chrome 2 et les pieds chair orange. 178

Gauguin in his manner of interpreting the bonnets "comme des casques monstrueux" shows his lack of interest in pursuing literal fact and expresses his wish instead to exaggerate qualities inherent in different shapes and forms.

Along with this letter Gauguin included a rough sketch of the finished painting which, just as in the drawings Vincent would send with his letters, designated the colour of certain forms: a bonnet marked "blanc" and two dresses - "noir".¹⁷⁹

Gauguin's colour description clearly shows his preference for strong contrast, pure pigment and the flatness. Due to the vibrating quality produced by these bright contrasts and also the emphatic outlining of forms, more than any other work in Gauguin's oeuvre, Vision après le sermon has a mediaeval stained-glass window quality. As this was his first religious work and as it was meant, sincerely or not, to hang in a mediaeval Breton church, it would not have been unusual for Gauguin to suggest the religious aspect of the work through his use of colour, the colour of stained-glass windows. He wrote later to Theo, stressing the influence that surroundings would have on the painting, that the work would not have the same effect hung in a Salon as it would around the windows and stones of a church:

Le tableau d'Église vous sera remis et vous pourrez le montrer. Malheureusement il est fait pour une Église et ce qui va là n'a pas le même effect dans cet entourage de vitraux, pierres, etc. que dans celui d'un Salon. Quoi qu'il en soit le style en est le même. 180

The reasons for Gauguin's interest in painting a religious work will be discussed at length in the next chapter. Stylistically speaking, with the direction his painting had taken, with his contacts and the influences mentioned above, it was not unusual or extraordinary for Gauguin to have arrived at the use of a bright palette flatly applied.

Emile Bernard was also a catalyst for the expression of Gauguin's ideas - Bernard, late in 1893, maintained:

L'étude des crépons japonais, nous mènent (avec Anquetin) vers la simplicité. Nous créons le Cloisonnisme - 1886. 181

Bernard, like Gauguin, was keenly interested in mediaeval art; Vincent had written to him from Arles at the beginning of August, 1888:

At present you are studying the methods of the Italian and German primitives, the symbolic significance which the abstract mystical drawing of the Italians may contain. 182

Bernard's religious interests were indicated in Vincent's earlier letter to him of June 1888. "It is a very good thing that you read the Bible."¹⁸³

Bernard's art reflected these inclinations, as his religious works, Adoration of the Shepherds (1885) and the Crucifixion (1886) with their flattening, simplifying, outlining tendencies show.¹⁸⁴ Bernard's Les Bretonnes dans la prairie, painted in July, 1888, made a large impact on Gauguin, who took the work with him when he left Pont-Aven for Arles in November. Vincent, who executed a copy of it, informed Theo:

Gauguin brought a magnificent canvas which he has exchanged with Bernard, Breton women in a green field, white, black, green, and a note of red, and the dull flesh tints. 185

It was this painting with its bright colours surrounded by dark outlines, its

uniform background, its lack of shading or gradual transition of colour, and its overlapping of stylized forms to designate position in space, which caused Gauguin to flatten his figures further and to employ contrasting pigments. Both his Vision and Bernard's Bretonnes include figures in a landscape with no horizon-line or sky depicted. Yet where Bernard's painting shows bird's-eye and ground level views, in Gauguin's Vision après le sermon the juxtaposed figures follow a more coherently and logically planned progression back into space, not a jumping back and forth. As noted in Chapter One the viewer receives the impression of being behind the foreground figures and looking down further off not only towards the wrestling figures but towards the other participants to the upper left as well. In contrast, Bernard's work displays very little sense of space with its 'cut and pasted' cardboard-like forms. Hence although there are jumps from one group to the next from one plane to the other in the Vision there exists a spatial relationship between the foreground and background figures that does not occur in Bernard's canvas. The same haphazard arrangement is found in Bernard's Buckwheat (1888) but at least here the people decrease proportionately in size towards the top of the canvas, creating a sense of distance.¹⁸⁶ The colour of the wheat indicates autumn, harvesting time when the buckwheat was in fact red. Whereas Bernard justifies his red ground by adding harvesters Gauguin altered that which he experienced in nature to fit his own purposes. The colour of the background in Vision après le sermon is an exaggeration of what Gauguin saw around him, providing a rich contrast to the more somber and calm colours of the Breton women; perhaps it also suggested to him the intensity of the struggle between Jacob and the Angel.

Bernard spurred Gauguin on in the direction he was already going but such conceptions as working from memory, dreaming or meditating in front of

nature and stressing the use of the imagination as a strong creative force were all qualities and characteristics already included as part of Gauguin's methodology and style.

Gauguin's Vision après le sermon was his own vision of a vision. He felt that he had attained a rustic and superstitious simplicity in the figures. For him the landscape and the struggle in the painting existed only in the imagination of the people praying: to Vincent he wrote in September:

Je crois avoir atteint dans les figures une grande simplicité rustique et superstitieuse. Le tout est sévère. La vache sous l'arbre est toute petite par rapport à la vérité, et se cabre. - Pour moi, dans ce tableau le paysage et la lutte n'existent que dans l'imagination des gens en prière, par suite du sermon. C'est pourquoi il y a contraste entre les gens nature et la lutte dans son paysage, non nature et disproportionnée. 187

Because this vision experienced by the peasants in the painting was in fact something experienced with and existing in the imagination, having resulted from their falling into a dream-like, meditative state after listening to the priest, it did not adhere to laws of nature. It was, above all, a personal experience, created by the seers themselves, like Gauguin's definition of art - an abstraction having resulted from dreaming in front of nature. It was appropriate for Gauguin to have chosen to depict the vision in the personal manner that he did.¹⁸⁸ On October 8, 1888, Gauguin informed Schuffenecker:

J'ai fait pour une église un tableau naturellement il a été refusé, aussi je le renvoie à Van Gogh. Inutile de vous le décrire, vous le verrez.

J'ai cette année, tout sacrifié, l'exécution, la couleur, pour le style, voulant m'imposer autre chose que ce que je sais faire. C'est je crois une transformation qui n'a pas porté ses fruits mais qui les portera. 189

In stating that he had sacrificed all, execution and colour for style, determined to do something else than usual that would result in a transformation

which would bear fruit - Gauguin was expressing a need to search for and develop his own style.¹⁹⁰ Vision après le sermon signified this personal approach; intentionally he did not follow the traditional manner of depicting visions. Nature in Vision après le sermon had been re-ordered to fit Gauguin's own purposes, its naturalistic elements discarded, its forms simplified and abstracted. By meditating in front of nature and painting from memory, Gauguin had set down essentials which to his mind were most significant. Vision après le sermon, was above all Gauguin's own vision, the expression of his quest.

Japanese and Primitive art, with its abstracted and flattened forms, attracted Gauguin, as did the art of Delacroix, Puvis, Redon and Cézanne, with their expressive, suggestive use of line and colour. In his opinion, their art conveyed a personal style and was fortunately neither anatomically correct nor subject to any established doctrine. Gauguin's preferences reflected his own artistic values. He dreamed in front of nature like the Oriental mystic, whom he equated with Cézanne; he painted from memory, from his own imagination, following his own way; in reaction to his own corrupted society, he assumed an innocent, untaught attitude like that of a child or a primitive. Considering himself an Indian, a savage of Peru, wishing to escape civilization, Gauguin went to Martinique and Brittany. He wanted to paint the character of the people in Brittany, which he regarded as primitive, a country described as solemn, suggestive of prayer and meditation, a land filled with legend and superstition, where the occurrence of visions was a natural phenomena. With these attitudes in mind he executed Vision après le sermon, a product of his own vision, its style reflecting definite personal artistic belief.

It will become evident in the following chapter that, with his meditative

attitude to nature and with his work, Vision après le sermon, expressing the artist's inner vision, Gauguin's views represented a prevalent approach to art in the later nineteenth century. Moreover, his opinion of himself as a mystic, dreamer, and follower of his own temperament, may be regarded as part of the concept of the artist as seer and illuminator which was especially popular during Gauguin's time. It was the priest with his sermon in Gauguin's painting who initiated the vision - who inspired the peasants to fall into a meditative, dream-like state. The priest's role is like that of the artist in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The viewer of Vision après le sermon stands in close proximity to the foreground spectators; he is also meant to be a part of the audience who witnesses the vision. The viewer of the work of art then is also the viewer of a vision. It will become apparent that Gauguin regarded himself as a visionary leader and his art as a visionary experience - a view held of him by many of his contemporaries.

CHAPTER THREE: THE GENERAL ICONOGRAPHY
OF VISION APRÈS LE SERMON

A. Gauguin's Depiction of Jacob Wrestling with the Angel Compared to Other Representations of the Same Subject Prior to 1888

Vision après le sermon depicts Jacob and the angel at the height of their struggle:

... and a man wrestled with him until the breaking of the day.
(Gen. 32, v.24)

Both are actively engaged in the match. Their pose appears at first to suggest that the angel, with wings outstretched in an overbearing manner, has an advantage over the crouching Jacob.¹ Such an interpretation may, however, be misleading for, as is the case in a wrestling match, Jacob might indeed be better able to overthrow his opponent from this "inferior" position. It is thus questionable who at this point prevails over whom. Gauguin was, no doubt aware of the ambiguity he was creating by representing a critical and climactic moment when neither wrestler could yet claim to be victorious. In addition, it is unlikely that Jacob's thigh is yet out of joint for the angel would not be shown in such a superior position if this were the case. (It is after the angel sees that he cannot prevail against Jacob that he touches the hollow of Jacob's thigh and puts it out of joint.)² That Gauguin paints Jacob bending under the angel's grip suggests the power and the strength of the angel and the degree of difficulty in overcoming this adversary. But the fact that Jacob has a hold on the angel indicates that Jacob, not only unwilling to give up, might be clever enough to emerge as the winner.

In order to better understand Gauguin's depiction of Jacob wrestling with the angel and to better realize what aspects of the story he wishes to emphasize, his work will be compared to some other representations of the same theme.

Two similar Celtic stone crosses from the ninth century, one from the marketplace at Kells in Ireland, the other from N.D.-la-Grande, Poitiers, show two interlocked figures, arms wrapped around each other, heads on each other's shoulders, one foot extended forward, the pose of one wrestler echoing the other, with no sense of struggle conveyed in their static upright poses.³ In both examples the angel lacks wings, in keeping with the Biblical text, which refers to Jacob's adversary as "a man".⁴ Consequently, it is not known which figure is Jacob and which figure is the angel. Each cross simply depicts two highly stylized, anonymous figures. In Gauguin's painting, the problem of identity obviously does not arise.

A twelfth century Romanesque nave capital at Vezelay (1106-1110) depicts Jacob on the left, grasping a winged angel's cloak, who holds a sword and points heavenward as if to the breaking dawn, recalling verse 26 in which the angel asks that Jacob let him go for the day is breaking, with Jacob answering, "I will not let you go, unless you bless me."⁵ Both figures stand stiffly upright with little indication of struggle, let alone victory or defeat on either side. In contrast to Gauguin's more expressive version, here the conflict is merely hinted at through Jacob's hold of the angel's garment.⁶

In Rembrandt's version, painted between 1659 and 1669, Jacob, with his back towards the viewer and his arms gripped tightly around his assailant, holds the angel up in the air.⁷ The angel has his right hand placed on Jacob's upper back and his left hand on Jacob's waist. It is possible that Rembrandt has also chosen to depict verse 26.⁸ The angel's wings are outstretched just as in Gauguin's work. Although one cannot see the expression on the faces of Gauguin's Jacob and the angel, both his and Rembrandt's portrayals reveal great exertion and an intensity of purpose on Jacob's part, as well as an overall tenseness in the struggle.

Claude Lorrain, in his painting of 1672, depicts Jacob in grey, the angel in blue, standing side by side, with no sense of struggle conveyed: it is therefore very difficult to determine, for example, whether or not the angel has blessed Jacob. In any case, due to the dawn breaking, the observer at least realizes that the end of the encounter is at hand.⁹

Eugène Delacroix, who painted Jacob Wrestling with the Angel (1854-61) for the Chapel of the Holy Angels in the Church of Saint-Sulpice in Paris, presents the angel grasping Jacob's thigh.¹⁰ He has painted the two figures at a point in the story where the angel has realized that he cannot prevail against Jacob (v. 25). Again, as in Gauguin's example, the encounter he depicts is a very real and physical struggle, with Jacob's whole body weight thrust forward.

Gustave Moreau in both his versions of Jacob Wrestling with the Angel depicts a very passive angel, leaning against a tree with her left elbow on a branch, while in front of her, Jacob, arms outstretched into space, struggles with a supernatural force.¹¹ The angel in the first version extends her right hand down, presumably toward Jacob's thigh; in the second example, she places her right hand on Jacob's right arm. In both works the angel displays no effort in contrast to the exertion of Jacob in endeavouring to gain victory. Again, it is difficult to ascertain the exact moment of the story portrayed, although the sun is seen rising. It may indeed be the same moment that Gauguin has chosen to depict but one in which the angel seems more an observer than an active participant in the struggle.

Hence, in contrast to the passive poses of Jacob and the angel represented on the Celtic crosses and Romanesque nave capital and in the paintings by Lorrain and Moreau, the expressive pose of Jacob and the angel depicted by Gauguin portrays the physical nature of wrestling. It is closer in conception

to the versions by Rembrandt and Delacroix which demonstrate explicitly the conflict between the two opponents. Yet in contrast to Rembrandt and Delacroix who have apparently depicted specific verses in the Biblical story, Gauguin has chosen to emphasize the activity of wrestling - as a climactic moment in the struggle - at a point where neither wrestler can claim victory.

B. Wrestling as a Metaphor in Gauguin's Own Life

The idea of a struggle or a battle had significance as a metaphor for Gauguin's own lifestyle at the time he painted Vision après le sermon. From the outset of his artistic career he had met with disapproval from his wife, Mette, and her family. Gauguin wrote to Schuffenecker, from Copenhagen, May 24, 1885, that in the eyes of Mette's family he was a monster not to be earning money and that he had been reproached by his wife who believed that it was because of his painting he was not an eminent stockbroker:

...naturellement pour la famille, je suis un monstre de ne pas gagner, d'argent, à notre époque on estime que celui qui réussit ... [Ma femme] n'est pas amiable en ce moment. La misère l'a complètement aigrie surtout dans sa vanité (dans ce pays où tout le monde se connaît), et moi je subis tous les reproches. Naturellement c'est à cause de ma peinture que je ne suis pas un éminent boursier, etc... 12

After deciding to leave Copenhagen for Paris in June, 1885, with his son Clovis, Gauguin received a visit from Mette's sister who could offer only criticism about his painting and physical environment.¹³ In May 1886, Gauguin wrote his wife sarcastically claiming that her sister, to console him, shouted from the rooftops that he was a miserable soul, that he quit his job and his wife for his atrocious painting.¹⁴ Two years later, in February 1888, when planning to return to Brittany from Paris, he wrote to Mette that she did not believe in him unless he was selling his work, that she cared too much for money.¹⁵ Still a year later he noted that should he get a job at two or four thousand francs there would be no complaint against him by her family. Yet he

clearly asserts that art is his business.¹⁶ Hence the idea of representing a struggle on canvas paralleled Gauguin's struggle with his wife and her family. Due to his artistic pursuits and his inability to earn a lot of money, he met only opposition from Mette and her family. Yet as evidenced from his letters to her, although often filled with bitterness, he struggled again and again to gain her acceptance. He endeavoured to gain her support, to make her understand his situation, his aims and goals, to make her believe that as an artist he would succeed - financially as well. Yet he realized, too, that his life as an artist would be an ongoing struggle, not only to gain the recognition he was seeking, but physically and mentally to survive the economic hardships that he would encounter as a result of his chosen career. Hence the struggle on canvas parallels Gauguin's artistic struggle as well.

On May 24, 1885, near the beginning of his artistic career, Gauguin wrote to Schuffenecker from Copenhagen about his exhibition being closed by officials at the end of five days; he mentioned favourable criticisms being suppressed by newspapers; he spoke about the fear of the academic clique and the framemakers who believed they would lose their business if they associated with Gauguin.¹⁷ In early April, 1887, on his way to Martinique, Gauguin wrote from Paris that his reputation as an artist was growing but that he sometimes went three days without eating.¹⁸

In the letter to Vincent in August, 1888, from Pont-Aven, in which he described his latest painting, Enfants luttant (W#273), Gauguin wrote not only about exceeding that which he had done up to that time, but also about people there finding him mad. He asserted that he needs a fight, that after all he has pursued in Pont-Aven, he can easily come out in front.

Je commence à reprendre la liberté dans mes facultés:
ma maladie m'avait affaibli et dans mes dernières études
j'ai je crois dépassé ce que j'ai fait jusqu'à présent.

Naturellement cette bande de mufles qui sont ici me trouvent tout à fait fou et j'en prouve que je ne les suis pas - Je viens de terminer une lutte bretonne que vous aimerez j'en suis sur...

... J'ai comme un besoin de lutte, de tailler à coups de massue. Après toutes les recherches que je viens de faire ici je crois pouvoir aller facilement de l'avant. 19

During the first half of August, Van Gogh in his letters to Theo confirmed Gauguin's sentiments; in discussing their tentative and hopeful plans to have Gauguin join Vincent in Arles, the sense of an artistic battle being fought by Gauguin was clearly revealed.

From Gauguin himself not a word for almost a month. I myself think that Gauguin would rather fight his way through with his friends in the North, and if by good luck he sells one or more pictures, he may have other plans for himself than coming to join me.

But haven't I, with less desire than he for the struggle in Paris, the right to go my own way?

...

Nature and fine weather are the advantages of the South; but I think that Gauguin will never give up the fight in Paris, he has it too much at heart, and believes in a lasting success more than I do. 20

In one of these letters, Vincent also discusses Zola's L'Oeuvre in which the verbal image of wrestling with an angel appears as a metaphor for the artist's struggle in the creation of his work:

Ah! cet effort de création dans l'oeuvre d'art, cet effort de sang et de larmes dont il agonisait, pour créer de la chair, souffler de la vie! Toujours en bataille avec le réel, et toujours vaincu, la lutte contre l'Ange! Il se brisait à cette besogne impossible de faire tenir toute la nature sur une toile, épuisé à la longue dans les perpétuelles douleurs qui tendaient ses muscles, sans qu'il pût jamais accoucher de son génie... 21

It is conceivable that Vincent wrote to Gauguin about Zola's book as well at the time when Vision après le sermon was being painted.

The letter to Vincent from Gauguin in Pont-Aven, September, 1888, contains a description of Vision après le sermon, that Gauguin has just completed; Gauguin says that he likewise, has in all ways been wrestling, but

is in the mood to take a breath and for the moment sleep:

Si vous connaissiez ma vie vous comprendriez qu'après avoir tellement lutté (de toutes les façons) je suis en train de prendre haleine et en ce moment je sommeille... 22

A year later, from Pont-Aven, on September 1, 1889, Gauguin told Schuffenecker:

... La lutte à Pont-Aven est terminée. 23

And to Bernard, early in the same month, he confessed that there were moments of doubt, results always below what one dreamed about. He felt that the little encouragement one received helped to drag one through the thorns; that one could only rage and battle with all the difficulties and when falling, try again, forever and ever.²⁴ At bottom, Gauguin maintained that painting is like man, mortal but living always in conflict with flesh.²⁵

Therefore, from what has been noted above about his continual struggle to gain economic security and artistic recognition, that Gauguin has chosen to emphasize the activity of wrestling and to suggest the idea of an ongoing struggle in Vision après le sermon seems particularly appropriate.

Like Vision après le sermon Gauguin's Les Misérables mirrors his state of mind in 1888, but in a different manner. After completing this self-portrait, he wrote to Vincent van Gogh in September, 1888,²⁶ describing the image in the following manner:

Je me sens le besoin d'expliquer ce que j'ai voulu faire non pas que vous ne soyez apte à le deviner tout seul mais parce que je ne crois pas y être parvenu dans mon oeuvre. Le masque de bandit mal vêtu et puissant comme Jean Valjean qui a sa noblesse et sa douceur intérieure ... et que la société opprime, a mis hors la loi, c'est l'image d'un impressioniste aujourd'hui...

26

On October 8, 1888, from Quimperle, Gauguin, in a letter to Schuffenecker, mentioning that he had painted Vision après le sermon for a church and that it had been refused, described Les Misérables at length.²⁷ Van Gogh was most familiar with the novel of this title by Hugo and in 1883 he had informed

his brother, Theo, from the Hague:

I am reading Les Misérables by Victor Hugo. A book which I remember of old, but I had a great longing to read it again, just as one can have a great longing to see a certain picture again. It is very beautiful, that figure of Monsieur Muriel of Bienvenu [Jean Valjean] I think sublime. 28

In Les Misérables, Victor Hugo records the life of Jean Valjean, who was sentenced to prison for stealing a loaf of bread in order to feed his sister's seven children.²⁹ After "nineteen years of torture and slavery" he returned into a society that did not accept him because of his prison record; hence he began to steal.³⁰ Shortly after taking silver from the bishop and a forty-sous piece from a little boy, he underwent a spiritual struggle and had a vision, to become in due course Monsieur Madeleine, mayor of M.-sur-M, a kind of saviour for the people.³¹

Gauguin saw himself as Jean Valjean, and paralleled his artistic struggle with Jean Valjean's spiritual one; both were misunderstood and rejected by society. Jean Valjean escaped to a monastery in order to survive, Gauguin departed to Brittany. In his letter to Vincent (September, 1888) Gauguin had compared Jean Valjean to the impressionist, both of whom society opposed. In the October 8, 1888 letter to Schuffenecker, Gauguin referred to the impressionist as one who was pure and innocent, not yet sullied by the putrid kiss of the École des Beaux-Arts. For Gauguin, having exhibited in the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th impressionist shows of 1880, 1881, 1882 and 1886 respectively, impressionism did not represent a definite doctrine or clear-cut movement to follow but was a reaction against any established, traditional norms, an altogether new research, absolutely removed from anything mechanical.³² This belief in following his own way, exemplifying his strong independent nature, is expressed by Gauguin in Avant et Après where he writes of following his own nature: when a man says to him he must, Gauguin rebels, when his

nature says the same thing, he yields, knowing he is beaten.³³

Like Jean Valjean in Les Misérables, Gauguin felt a strong sense of duty attached to his beliefs. From Paris on November 24, 1887, he wrote that the duty of an artist was to work to become strong:

... Le devoir d'un artiste c'est de travailler pour devenir fort... 34

On December 6 of the same year, Gauguin had predicted with self-assurance, that although it would be difficult, it would not be impossible that one day he would be in the position that he deserved:

... Quoique ce soit difficile il est impossible qu'un jour j'occupe la place que je mérite. 35

In light of Gauguin's all-encompassing struggle to gain recognition in the art world then, it seems most appropriate that Gauguin chose to emphasize the aspect of wrestling in Vision après le sermon and to depict Jacob and the angel at a point in their match when neither could yet claim to be triumphant over the other. Gauguin, struggling as an artist, had not yet attained the economic and emotional security he was seeking, nor had he reached the level of recognition and popularity towards which he aspired. And yet, as noted above, Gauguin optimistically looked ahead to being in the position he felt he deserved. He believed in his own eventual success. As well, he identified strongly with Jean Valjean of Les Misérables who had been condemned by society but was eventually considered a true spiritual leader. Thus it is highly suitable that Gauguin should in addition have depicted Jacob in a unseemingly advantageous position, one which would lead to his victory and eventual leadership - the position Gauguin was seeking for himself.

C. Gauguin as Artistic and Spiritual Leader in His Own Community

After receiving Gauguin's description of the Les Misérables self-portrait, Vincent informed his brother Theo:

Enclosed a very, very remarkable letter from Gauguin.

Do put it on one side as a thing of extraordinary importance.

I mean his description of himself, which moves me to the depths of my soul. 36

Vincent then continued discussing the proposal to have Gauguin join him in Arles:

Do you realize that if we get Gauguin, we are at the beginning of a very great thing, which will open a new era for us.

... His coming will alter my manner of painting and I shall gain by it I believe...

If Gauguin gives his work to you, officially because you are with the Goupils and privately as your friend and under an obligation to you, then in return Gauguin can consider himself head of the studio, and control the money as he thinks fit... But the more Gauguin realizes that when he joins us he will have the standing of head of the studio, the sooner he will get better, and the more eager he will be to work.

... if it catches on so that Laval and Bernard will really come, Gauguin and not I will be the head of the studio...

... Bernard's letter is once more full of his conviction that Gauguin is a very great master, and a man absolutely superior in character and intellect. 37

On the same day that he received Gauguin's "Les Misérables letter," Vincent wrote back to Gauguin, saying that he kept thinking about the plan to found a studio which the two of them could turn into a refuge for comrades encountering a setback in their artistic struggles.³⁸ Vincent gave an account of his own self-portrait, aiming at the character of a simple bonze worshipping the Eternal Buddha while noting that he believed his own artistic conceptions to be extremely ordinary compared to Gauguin's:

Je trouve excessivement communes mes conceptions artistiques en comparaison des vôtres. 39

It was as if Van Gogh saw Gauguin as the Buddha, the spiritual leader. He referred to Gauguin as head of the studio:

Je crois, que si dès maintenant, vous commenciez à vous sentir le chef de cet atelier, dont nous chercherons à faire un abri pour plusieurs, peu à peu... 40-1

In Avant et Après Gauguin wrote that he had undertaken the task of enlightening Vincent when joining him in Arles:

J'entrepris la tâche de l'éclairer... Des ce jour mon Van Gogh fit des progrès étonnants... Van Gogh ... a trouvé de moi un enseignement fécond. 42

Whether or not much truth existed in Gauguin's assertion it demonstrated his own opinion of himself, of how he wished to be regarded. No doubt these feelings were nourished by Vincent in his belief that Gauguin was truly the master and leader. Laval, also, was referred to by Vincent as Gauguin's pupil.⁴³

Yet Vincent was not alone in his admiration for the artist. As Pissarro's letter of January 22, 1887 to his son, Lucien, indicates, Gauguin had quite a following in Pont-Aven already a year earlier:

... I did hear that this summer at the seashore he laid down the law to a group of young disciples, who hung on the words of the master, that austere sectarian. At any rate, it must be admitted that he has finally acquired great influence. This comes of course from years of hard work and meritorious work - as a sectarian! 44

Schuffenecker's opinion of Gauguin is quoted in Pissarro's letter of the same year (May 20, 1887):

You will see for yourself what enormous progress Gauguin has made. I have just come from the country. Gauguin is absolutely taking this direction, he is a proud painter and he has an iron will. He will be talked about. 45

Bernard's high opinion of Gauguin is reflected in Vincent's letters to Theo; after September 17, 1888, Vincent notes:

In his letter Bernard speaks of Gauguin with great respect and sympathy, and I am sure that they understand one another. And I really think that Gauguin has done Bernard good. 46

...

Today while I was working I thought a lot about Bernard. His letter is steeped in admiration for Gauguin's talent. He says

that he thinks him so great an artist that he is almost afraid and that he finds everything that he does himself poor in comparison with Gauguin.

... he feels afraid in front of Gauguin. 47

Later in 1888, after the painting of Vision après le sermon, Gauguin instructed Paul Serusier at Pont-Aven with a painting which became known as the Talisman; according to Maurice Denis in ABC de la peinture Gauguin had asked:

"Comment voyez-vous ces arbres? Ils sont jaunes: eh biens, mettez de jaune: cetter ombre plutôt bleue, peignes-la avec de l'outremer pur; ces feuilles rouges? metez du vermillon."⁴⁸ Denis had later written in Mercure de France (January, 1904):

... I maintain that it was the work of Gauguin, transmitted to us by Serusier, that was the decisive influence on Ibels, Ranson and myself at the Academie Julian. It was Gauguin who, for us, was The Master. 49

Gauguin was aware of and encouraged these sentiments; no doubt they contributed to and reinforced his sense of self - his belief that he indeed was the leader.

To Mette, as early as July, 1886, Gauguin had claimed that people from other countries as well, respected him as the best painter in Pont-Aven, that everyone there sought his opinion:

Je travaille ici beaucoup et avec succès on me respecte comme le peintre le plus fort de Pont-Aven ... tout le monde ici (Américains, Anglais, Suédois, Français) se disputent mon conseil... 50

Two years later, on July 15, 1888, Gauguin mentioned receiving letters from people reputed to be intelligent and full of admiration for him:

J'ai par-ci par là quelques lettres de personnes réputées intelligentes, pleines de sympathie, d'admiration pour moi, etc... 51

In a letter to Schuffenecker written during the painting of Vision après le sermon, Gauguin referred to Bernard as his new pupil in the growing circle in Pont-Aven:

J'ai commencé un élève qui marchera: la bande augmente.
Le petit Bernard est ici... 52

Indeed, in his role as leader, Gauguin never sought advice himself but readily gave it.⁵³ Later from Tahiti, in 1892, Gauguin wrote to Mette that he had been the creator of the new movement in painting, that he had shaped the young artists, that nothing came from them, except through him:

... Ce mouvement je l'ai créé en peinture et beaucoup de jeunes gens en profitent non pas sans talent mais encore une fois c'est moi qui les ai formés. Et rien en eux ne vient d'eux, cela vient de moi. 54

Gauguin also regarded himself as a spiritual as well as an artistic leader. In his opinion, artists held a special role; they formed the finest part of the nation, living, fructifying, stimulating progress and enriching the country. In February, 1888, he wrote to Mette:

Et quelle est la plus belle partie de la nation vivante, fructifiant, amenant le progrès, enrichissant le pays? C'est l'artiste. 55

In his letter to Schuffenecker on August 14, 1888, Gauguin spoke in the manner of a spiritual leader, maintaining that the only way to ascend towards God, was to create like the Divine Master, by not painting too much directly from nature but by dreaming in front of it and thinking about the creation that would result:

... Un conseil, ne peignez pas trop d'après nature. L'art est une abstraction tirez-la de la nature en rêvant devant et pensez plus à la création qui résultera, c'est le seul moyen de monter vers Dieu en faisant comme notre Divin Maître, créer. 56

He even gave Schuffenecker a blessing, wishing him courage, hoping that God would take him into his holy keeping by crowning his efforts:

... Allons bon courage, que Dieu vous prenne en sa sainte garde en couronnant vos efforts. 57

A further reinforcement of this religious tone came on October 16, 1888,

from Quimperle, in a letter to Schuffenecker: Gauguin referred to his own mysticism, of being true to that which is fundamental in his nature, moreover, of always being right in matters of art:

Que me parlez-vous de mon mysticisme terrible ... mais elle est au fond dans ma nature et il faut toujours suivre son tempérament... Vous savez bien qu'en art, j'ai toujours raison dans le fond. Faites y bien attention, il circule en ce moment parmi les artistes, un vent favorable très prononcé pour moi... 58

One is reminded of Gauguin's opinion of Cézanne as a mystic expressed three years earlier.⁵⁹

There is little doubt then that Gauguin was regarded and regarded himself as a spiritual and artistic leader among a number of artists of his time. It will be argued later in the thesis that his position in this role is reflected in his choice of two spiritual leaders - Jacob and the priest - as key subjects in Vision après le sermon.

D. The Concept of Painter as Poet

Vincent's letter of September, 1888, to Gauguin also included a description of a painting for Gauguin's room in Arles:

Pour la chambre où vous logerez j'ai exprès fait une décoration, le jardin d'un poète (dans les croquis qu'à Bernard il y en a une première conception simplifiée ensuite). Le Bañal jardin public renferme des plantes et buissons qui font rêver aux paysages où l'on se représente volontiers Botticelli, Giotto, Pétrarque, le Dante et Boccace. Dans la décoration j'ai cherché à démêler l'essentiel de ce qui constitue le caractère immuable du pays.

Et j'eusse voulu peindre ce jardin de telle façon que l'on penserait à la fois au vieux poète d'ici (ou plutôt d'Avignon) Pétrarque et au nouveau poète d'ici - Paul Gauguin. 60

Vincent emphasized that the decoration he had made for Gauguin's room was a poet's garden; the public garden in Arles made one imagine the presence of Botticelli, Giotto, Petrarch, Dante, Boccaccio; what Vincent was striving for in his painting of the garden was to evoke an association between the old

poet, Petrarch, and the new poet, Gauguin. Vincent wrote often about the renaissance in painting he believed was occurring. He considered Gauguin a very important figure in this new renaissance - a poet like Petrarch.⁶¹

Later in Avant et Après Gauguin was to remark "Femme, qu'y-a-t-il de commun entre nous: les enfants!!! Ce sont mes disciples, ceux de la deuxième renaissance."⁶²

Gauguin wrote to Vincent in September, 1888, about the poetic in painting, and revealed that the two artists had had previous discussions about this concept. Gauguin notes that Vincent is right to want poetic ideas from painting with suggestive colour but that he, himself, finds everything poetic and that it is the corners of his heart where he glimpses poetry. Forms and colours produce in themselves a poetry. In front of someone else's picture, Gauguin feels a sensation which induces a poetic state, dependent upon the intellectual forces of the painter from whom it is released:

Oui vous avez raison de vouloir de la peinture avec une coloration suggestive d'idées poétiques et en sens, je suis d'accord avec vous avec une différence, je ne connais pas d'idées poétiques, c'est probablement un sens qui me manque. Je trouve tout poétique et c'est dans les coins de mon coeur qui sont parfois mystérieux que j'entrevois la poésie. Les formes et les couleurs conduites en harmonies produisent d'elles mêmes une poésie. Sans me laisser surprendre par le motif je ressens devant le tableau d'un autre une sensation qui m'amène à un état poétique selon que les forces intellectuelles du peintre s'en dégagent. 63

Similarly, in his "Oeuvre et vie d'Eugène Delacroix" of 1864, Baudelaire contended that even those works of Delacroix chosen from amongst the minor or inferior ones recalled to mind the greatest sum of poetic feelings:

... celui dont les oeuvres, choisis même parmi les secondaires et les inférieures, font le plus penser, et rappellent à la mémoire le plus de sentiments et de pensées poétiques déjà connus... 64

It will be remembered that Gauguin called Delacroix a poet and an innovator in a letter to Schuffenecker of May 25, 1885:

... pas marin Monsieur Delacroix, mais aussi quel poète...
Delacroix est non seulement un grand dessinateur de la forme
mais encore un innovateur... 65

Baudelaire maintained that Delacroix was the archetype of the painter-poet, noting that his imagination never feared to scale the difficult heights of religion.⁶⁶ Baudelaire in describing the works in the Chapel of the Holy Angels at St. Sulpice in Paris, one of which was Delacroix's Jacob Wrestling with the Angel, maintained that never before had the artist exhibited drawing more voluntarily epic, colour more knowingly supernatural.⁶⁷

On October 16, 1888, discussing his own mysticism (see p. 76 above), Gauguin called himself a poet, realizing that he would be understood less and less by the masses for whom he was to remain an enigma, whereas for a few he would be a poet:

Je sais bien que l'on me comprendra de moins en moins.
Qu'importe si je m'éloigne des autres, pour la masse je serai
un rébus, pour quelques uns je serai un poète, et tôt ou tard
le bon prend sa place. 68

In referring to his own mysticism and to himself as a poet, Gauguin touches upon the phenomena of the poet as a mystic.

E. Poet as Visionary

The concept of the poet as spiritual leader and visionary was prevalent in Gauguin's time. Writing about the Exposition Universelle of 1855, Baudelaire had asserted that in the poetic and artistic order, the true prophet rarely had a precursor; the artist stemmed only from himself; he was his own king, his own priest, his own God:

Dans l'ordre poétique et artistique, tout révélateur a
rarement un précurseur. Toute floraison est spontanée,

individuelle... L'artiste ne relève que de lui-même. Il ne promet aux siècles à venir que ses propres oeuvres. Il a été son roi, son prêtre et son Dieu. 69

Arthur Rimbaud (1854-1901) described Baudelaire as "the first seer, king of poets, a true god."⁷⁰ At the age of sixteen, in 1870, he wrote to Démeny, a school friend, about the duty of a poet:

... you have to be a seer, make yourself a seer. 71

Baudelaire wrote of Edgar Allen Poe:

Edgar Poe n'est pas spécialement un poète et un romancier; il est poète, romancier et philosophe. Il porte le double caractère de l'illuminé et du savant. 72

In the Poetic Principle, Poe maintained:

I need scarcely observe that a poem deserves its title only inasmuch as it excites, by elevating the soul... 73

... the manifestation of the Principle is always found in an elevating excitement of the soul - quite independent of that passion which is the intoxication of the Heart - or of that Truth which is the satisfaction of the Reason. 74

Poe felt that Alfred Tennyson was the noblest poet who ever lived:

I call him, and think him the noblest of poets - not because the impressions he produces are, at all times, the most profound - not because the poetical excitement which he induces is, at all times, the most intense - but because it is, at all times, the most ethereal - in other words, the most elevating and the most pure. No poet is so little of the earth, earthy. 75

Elsewhere, he asks,

... this Heart Divine - what is it? It is our own. 76

Poe concludes,

... Man ... ceasing imperceptibly to feel himself Man, will at length attain that awfully triumphant epoch when he shall recognize his existence as that of Jehovah. 77

In Thomas Carlyle's Sartor Resartus, which is included in Gauguin's portrait of Meyer de Haan (W#317) of 1889, the main character, Teufelsdröckh, maintains:

... Of the Poet's and Prophet's inspired Message and how it makes and unmakes whole worlds, I shall forbear mention... 78

....

... Highest of all Symbols are those wherein the Artist or Poet has risen into Prophet, and all men can recognize a present God, and worship the same; I mean religious Symbols. 79

In "The Hero as Divinity" (On Heroes and Hero Worship), Carlyle wrote about the "great Thinker, the original man, the Seer, the spiritual Hero":

We still honour such a man; call him Poet, Genius, and so forth: but to these wild men he was a very magician, a worker of miraculous unexpected blessing for them; a Prophet, a God! 80

V.E. Michelet, writing in 1891, claimed that the poet was one of the incarnations in which was manifested the Revealer, the Hero, the man whom Carlyle called 'a messenger sent by the impenetrable Infinite with tidings for us': 81

Qu'est-ce que le Poète? C'est une des incarnations sous lesquelles se manifeste le Révélateur; le Héros, l'homme que Carlyle appelle 'un messenger envoyé de l'impénétrable Infini avec des nouvelles pour nous'. 82

The Saint-Simonians, relates Jack Lindsay, had developed the idea of a poet as priest or messiah, who was to carry on a 'veritable priesthood'; one of them, E. Barrault, in L'Appel aux artistes of 1830, had declared that only the artist, duly absorbing Saint-Simonian ideas, was worthy of guiding mankind. 83

In light of what has been cited above regarding the attitude of major nineteenth-century literary figures about the poet as seer and prophet - Gauguin's view of himself as a poet with mystical tendencies appears related to his opinion of himself as an artistic and spiritual leader.

F. The Dream as a Personal Vision of Reality

The artist as visionary could claim to have the power of mystic insight,

the power of 'le rêve', as it was called in Gauguin's time.

Baudelaire, in his article, "Richard Wagner et Tannhauser," of 1861, quoted Wagner who claimed that it was possible for the mind to be transported to the dream-state and then on to perfect clairvoyance, perceiving what the eyes could not in the normal state of waking:

Le caractère de la scène et le ton de la légende contribuent ensemble à jeter l'esprit dans cet état de rêve qui le porte bientôt jusqu'à la pleine clairvoyance, et l'esprit découvre alors un nouvel enchaînement des phénomènes du monde, que ses yeux ne pouvaient apercevoir dans l'état de veille ordinaire. 84

For Baudelaire, the dream was a means of acquiring knowledge, a mode of perceiving what was real or rather some superior reality, of which our stable universe is but a simplification, a caricature:

Mais le rêve est aussi moyen de connaissance, mode de perception du réel, ou plutôt d'une surréalité dont notre univers stable n'est que la simplification et, pour ainsi parler, la caricature. 85

For Baudelaire the dream was a vision produced by intense meditation:

C'est l'infini dans le fini. C'est le rêve et je n'entends pas ce mot les capharnäums de la nuit, mais la vision produite par une intense méditation ou, dans les cerveaux moins fertiles, par un excitant artificiel. 86

One is reminded of the women and priest in Gauguin's Vision après le sermon who have their heads bowed with their eyes closed, yet are nonetheless capable of "seeing" the vision before them, inwardly contemplating it.

Lehmann writes that for Baudelaire the dream was "equivalent to the significant experience in the crucible of the poet's art":⁸⁷

It is the world in which the criteria of truth and falsehood are abolished; in which the poet is not bound by the rules of realistic composition;⁸⁸ in infusing it into art the poet produces an experience in which the work of art and the artist are fused into one (into one activity);⁸⁹ in which the artist or spectator undergo experiences of heightened lucidity and sometimes terrifying exhilaration - which he ascribes to the beneficent effects of communion with a mystical universe, a

puissance supérieure, or at least to 'une véritable grace';⁹⁰ in which are to be found all the most mysteriously powerful turns of language and imagery, the profoundest plunges of 'awareness'. 91

In "Oeuvre et vie d'Eugène Delacroix," Baudelaire describes how Delacroix communicated better than anyone else the invisible, the impalpable, the dream, the energy, the spirit:

Mais enfin, monsieur direz-vous sans doute, quel est donc ce je ne sais quoi de mystérieux que Delacroix, pour la gloire de notre siècle, a mieux traduit qu'aucun autre? C'est invisible, c'est l'impalpable, c'est le rêve, c'est les nerfs, c'est l'âme... 92

The dream expressed by the artist was not a means of escaping reality but an endeavour to present his own view of reality. In 1859 Baudelaire translated Poe's Eureka.⁹³ Described as "an essay on the material and spiritual universe,"⁹⁴ Eureka was dedicated by Poe,

To the few who love me and whom I love - to those who feel rather than to those who think - to the dreamers and those who put faith in dreams as in the only realities... 95

Téodor de Wyzewa, writing about Mallarmé in La Vogue in July, 1886, claimed that the poet admitted the reality of the world but admitted it as the reality of fiction; dreams of the soul, all dreams were real.⁹⁶

Paul Adam, in the October, 1886, issue of La Vogue, quoted from Gustave Kahn's "Réponse des Symbolistes" (from L'Événement, September 28, 1886) who wrote in support of Moréas' manifesto and the expression of dreams, dreams being indistinguishable from life:

Pour la matière des oeuvres, las du quotidien, du coudoyé et de l'obligatoire contemporain, nous voulons pouvoir placer en quelque époque où même en plein rêve (le rêve étant indistinct de la vie)... 97

In Carlyle's Sartor Resartus, Teufelsdröckh asks:

Who am I; what is this Me?... We sit as in a boundless Phantasmagoria and Dream-grotto; boundless, for the faintest star, the remotest century, lies not even nearer

the verge thereof: sounds and many-coloured visions flit round our sense; but Him, the Unslumbering, whose work both Dream and Dreamer are, we see not; except in rare half-waking moments, suspect not... This Dreaming, this Somnambulism is what we on Earth call Life;... But that same Where, with its brother When, are from the first the master-colours of our Dream-grotto; say, rather, the Canvas (the warp and woof thereof) whereon all our Dreams and Life-Visions are painted. Nevertheless, has not a deeper meditation taught certain of every climate and age, that the Where and When, so mysteriously inseparable from all our thoughts, are but superficial terrestrial adhesions to thought; that the Seer may discern them where they mount up out of the celestial EVERYWHERE and FOREVER... 98

In "The Hero as Divinity" from On Heroes and Hero Worship, Carlyle realizes:

... They seem to have seen, these brave old Norsemen, what Meditation has taught all men in all ages, that this world is after all but a show, - a phenomenon or appearance, no real thing. All deep souls see into that, - the Hindoo Mythologist, the German Philosopher - the Shakespeare, the earnest Thinker, wherever he may be:

'We are such stuff as Dreams are made of!' 99

J.K. Huysmans, who praised Gauguin's Study of a Nude, exhibited in 1881 at the sixth Impressionist show, wrote A Rebours which was published in 1883.¹⁰⁰ In it, Huysmans discussed the possibility of undertaking long voyages of exploration sitting in one's armchair.¹⁰¹ He maintained that one must be able to concentrate the mind on a single point, so as to attain a sufficient degree of self-abstraction to produce the necessary hallucination and thus substitute the vision of the reality for the reality itself.¹⁰²

In L'Art Moderne of 1883, in which Gauguin is also referred to and his works discussed, Huysmans cites Baudelaire and Poe as being the teachers of Redon.¹⁰³ Huysmans claims that Redon seems to have thoroughly thought over the idea that everything which is certain is found in dreams, adding that it is there that one finds the true source of this creative spirit. Noted by Huysmans in L'Art Moderne were Redon's first volume of ten plates and a frontispiece (lithographs) of 1879, entitled Dans le rêve.¹⁰⁴ In A Soi-Même,

Redon wrote:

C'est la nature aussi qui nous prescrit d'obéir aux dons qu'elle nous a donnés. Les miens m'ont induit au rêve; j'ai subi les tourments de l'imagination et les surprises qu'elle me donnait sous le crayon; mais je les ai conduites et menées, ces surprises, selon des lois d'organisme d'art que je sais, que je sens à seule fin d'obtenir chez le spectateur, par un attrait subit, toute l'évocation, tout l'attirant de l'incertain, sur les confins de la pensée. 105

Hokusai was considered to be a "rêveur" as well. Ari Renan, in 1888, wrote of the Japanese artist as being not only a naturalist but also an idealist, of being not only in love with visible nature but also of being a dreamer, an imaginative painter:

Il est évident qu'il y a deux hommes dans l'auteur de la Mangua: le naturaliste et l'idéaliste. Il ne faut pas s'étonner de ce dernier terme. Hokusai n'est pas seulement un mandat de la nature visible; il est aussi rêveur, un peintre imaginaire. 106

After noting the names of Poe and Baudelaire, Renan finds it remarkable to discover the plastic realization of these dreams of 'the beyond' with an artist of the Far East, which the most advanced school of French and English literature had believed to have been the first to realize.¹⁰⁷

Gauguin remarked in 1889, with reference to the Assyrian lion reliefs which he had been studying in the Galerie Dieulafoi in the Louvre, that it must have taken "un immense génie pour imaginer des pleurs qui soient des muscles d'animaux ou des muscles qui soient des fleurs. Tout l'Orient mystique rêveur se retrouve là-dedans."¹⁰⁸

In Notes Synthétiques, Gauguin had written that one can freely dream while one is listening to music just as when one looks at a picture¹⁰⁹

... Vous pouvez rêver librement en entendant la musique comme en regardant un tableau. 109

In Avant et Après Gauguin claims that waking dreams are almost the same thing as sleeping dreams, sleeping dreams being often bolder and sometimes a

little more logical:

Rêver réveillé, c'est à peu près le même chose que rêver endormi - Le rêve endormi est souvent plus hardi, quelque fois un peu plus logique. 110

On March 12, 1897, he wrote to Daniel de Monfreid, describing Te Rerioa Le Rêve (W#557) of 1897, that everything was a dream in that picture, be it the child, the mother, the horseman on the path, or the painter's dream:

Tout est rêve dans cette toile; est-ce l'enfant, est-ce la mère, est-ce le cavalier dans le sentier ou bien est-ce le rêve du peintre! 111

To Fontainas Gauguin sent the following in 1899:

... mon rêve ne se laisse pas saisir, ne comporte aucune allégorie; poème musical, il se passe de libretto. Citation Mallarmé. Par conséquent immatériel et supérieur, l'essentiel dans une oeuvre consiste précisément dans ce qui n'est pas exprimé: il en résulte implicitement des lignes, sans couleurs ou paroles, il n'en est pas matériellement constitué...

...

L'idole ... faisant corps dans mon rêve...; Et tout cela chante douloureusement en mon âme décor, en peignant et rêvant tout à fois...; 'mes yeux se ferment pour voir sans comprendre le rêve dans l'espace infini qui fuit devant moi... 112

He maintained that his dream was not tangible, it did not contain any allegory; quoting Mallarmé, Gauguin said it was like a musical poem and could do without a libretto. The essential thing he felt, consisted in that which had not been expressed. Claiming that he painted and dreamed at the same time, Gauguin closed his eyes in order to see without understanding the dream in the infinite space receding before him.

As discussed previously in Chapter Two, Gauguin wrote to Schuffenecker in 1885 about Cézanne as a dreamer and a mystic. Gauguin advised that a strong feeling could be translated immediately; one had to dream about it and seek its simplest form.¹¹³ In 1888 he cautioned not to paint too much from nature, maintaining that art was an abstraction: "tirez-la de la nature en rêvant devant et pensez plus à la création qui résultera..."¹¹⁴

The dream, like the vision experienced by the Breton peasants in Vision après le sermon, springs from a highly subjective and individual creative process. The dream becomes the artist's vision of his own reality, freely expressed in his art by his personal choice of subject matter and style, a superior reality, not adhering to laws or norms he had not made or created himself. Taking this into account and what was expressed earlier about the poet-artist (Gauguin included) claiming the role of a visionary, it is little wonder that the work of art assumed a religious significance.

G. The Religious Significance of Art in Gauguin's Time

Vincent wrote to Bernard at the end of June, 1888:

It is a very good thing that you read the Bible...

...

Christ alone - of all the philosophers, Magi, etc. - has affirmed, as a principal certainty, eternal life, the infinity of time, the nothingness of death, the necessity and the *raison d'être* of serenity and devotion. He lived serenely, as a greater artist than all other artists, despising marble and clay as well as color, working in living flesh. That is to say, this matchless artist, hardly to be conceived of by the obtuse instrument of our modern, nervous, stupefied brains, made neither statues nor pictures nor books; he loudly proclaimed that he made ... living men, immortals.

This is serious, especially because it is the truth.

...

And who would dare tell us that he lied on that day when, scornfully foretelling the collapse of the Roman edifice, he declared, Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away.

These spoken words, which like a prodigal grand seigneur, he did not even deign to write down, are one of the highest summits - the very highest summit - reached by art, which becomes a creative force there, a pure creative power.

These considerations, my dear comrade Bernard, lead us very far, very far afield, they raise us above art itself. They make us see the art of creating life, the art of being immortal and alive at the same time. They are connected with painting.

The patron saint of painters - St. Luke, physician, painter, evangelist - whose symbol is alas, nothing but an ox, is there to give us hope... 115

It is conceivable that Bernard shows this letter to Gauguin upon joining him in August, 1888.

Charles Morice, whom Gauguin met at the end of 1889 or the beginning of 1890, wrote La Litterature de tout à l'heure which was published in 1889.¹¹⁷ Morice believed that poets were emanations of God, sparks escaped from the fire of the All-Light; they were the exterior manifestations of God poets created their dreams in order to inform of eternity. Art is a revealer of the infinite and its essence is religious:

... l'Art n'est pas que le révélateur de l'Infini: il est au Poète un moyen même d'y pénétrer: il y va plus profond qu'aucune Philosophie, il y prolonge et répercute la révélation d'un Evangile, il est une lumière qui appelle la lumière comme un flambeau éveille mille feux aux voûtes naguère endormies d'une grotte de cristal; - il sait ce que l'artiste ne sait pas.

De nature donc, d'essence, l'Art est religieux. Aussi naît-il à l'ombre des Révélations, les manifestant vivantes par son intime union avec elles et témoignant de leur mort en les quittant. 118

Art is the very means to penetrate into the infinite; it goes much deeper than any philosophy, it prolongs and reverberates the revelation of a Gospel.

The artist strives to become God; he explores and reveals the meaning of existence through his art, creating like God:

Les Révélations, ayant pour interprète le génie humain, ne durent qu'autant qu'elles lui font l'atmosphère qui lui est essentielle pour vivre et pour se développer. Or le génie, l'ombre de Dieu, est comme lui de créer... 119

Morice was strongly influenced by Plotinus in the formulation of his theories.¹²⁰ According to Plotinus, the mystic contemplated the divine perfection in himself; he advised one to reduce the soul to its most perfect simplicity in order for it to be capable of exploration into the infinite, for it to become one with the infinite.¹²¹ Morice wrote about a return to original simplicity using the word "simplicité" with respect to painting.¹²² Plotinus also insisted that it was art which imitated the Ideas, thus elevating

art to one of the highest of human activities.¹²³ Albert Aurier in his critical review of 1891, which will be examined shortly, maintained that Gauguin was an Ideist artist.¹²⁴ Many other nineteenth century literary figures had similar views about the religious and spiritual nature of art.

In Sartor Resartus, Carlyle claimed that the symbol was a revelation of the Godlike and the concept of the symbol was inherent in true art. Thus art was the Godlike rendered visible.¹²⁵

Edgar Allen Poe wrote

That the imagination has not been unjustly ranked as supreme among the mental faculties appears from the intense consciousness, on the part of the imaginative man, that the faculty brings his soul often to a glimpse of things supernal and eternal. 126

In his article Salon de 1846, Baudelaire defined Romanticism as modern art - intimacy, spirituality, colour, aspiration towards the infinite, expressed by every means available to the arts:

Qui dit romantisme dit art moderns, - c'est-à-dire intimiste, spiritualité, couleur, aspiration vers l'infini, exprimées par tous les moyens que contiennent les arts. 127

Baudelaire asserted that Delacroix was able to express by contour man's gesture and to evoke by colour alone what might be called the atmosphere of the human drama, or the spiritual mood of the creator:

... Ce mérite très particulier et tout nouveau de M. Delacroix, qui lui a permis d'exprimer, simplement avec le contour, le geste de l'homme, si voilent qu'il soit, et avec la couleur ce qu'on pourrait appeler l'atmosphère du drame humain, ou l'état de l'âme du créateur... 128

Baudelaire continued that a picture by Delacroix, placed too far from the spectator to recognize the subject, offered even at that distance a supernatural pleasure:

Un tableau de Delacroix, placé à une trop grande distance pour que vous puissiez juger de l'agrément des contours ou de la qualité plus ou moins dramatique du sujet, vous pénètre

déjà d'une volupté surnaturelle. Il vous semble qu'une atmosphère magique a marché vers vous et vous enveloppe. 129

In 1886, Mallarmé's definition of poetry appeared in La Vogue as the expression through human language, reduced to its essential rhythm, of the mysterious meaning of the aspects of life; poetry conferred authentically upon man's existence and constituted the sole spiritual aim.¹³⁰

In his article, "La Religion de Richard Wagner et le religion du compte Leon Tolstoi" in the October 8, 1886 issue of Revue Wagnerienne, Téodor de Wyzewa contends that religion is composed of symbols, that religion needs a mystical symbol, a miraculous symbol in order to be able to persuade people; art is therefore this kind of religion which elevates people:

La Religion se compose de mythes ou symbols, nécessaires parce que, toute religion étant la constatation de la fragilité de ce monde et ayant pour fin d'en délivrer l'homme, elle a besoin du symbole mystique, du symbole miraculeux pour déterminer le peuple, inintelligent de cette fragilité, à poursuivre la tâche de sa libération. Or, ces symboles recouvrent des vérités divines que la religion doit laisser cachées, mais qui doivent être interprétés à tous par le moyen de l'art. L'art est (donc) cette forme de religion qui élève le peuple, de la pratique inintelligente, à la pratique raisonnée et sachante. 131

A.G. Lehmann refers to "poetry as an exercise in mystical knowledge" in The Symbolist Aesthetic in France 1885-1895:¹³²

... art does no more than reproduce the profounder vision of the seer. What the seer sees is variously described, though the formulae seldom move outside the repertoire of mystical tradition: it may be the 'essence of things' or the 'spirit of things' - two phrases that dovetail neatly enough into a theory of Platonic ideas ... [133] or alternatively it may be the 'visible from God' [134] so recalling a tendency ... to treat art as in some way sacred, a quasi-religious rite, or at least on a par with religion as one of the more absolute forms of mind [135] or it may be, as in Mallarmé.... 'le commentaire des signes purs, à qui obeit, toute Littérature, jet immédiat de l'Esprit'. 136

Lehmann discusses Charles Morice returning to "mystical arguments for the supremacy of art over all other forms of human enterprise".¹³⁷ He notes

Mauclair, under Mallarmé's influence,

... advancing the view that what is mystic and apparently 'irrational' in art arises from a mystic and irrational faculty in man, and that there are 'total universal laws' ascertainable by mystic insight, which artists attempt to formulate. 138

Lehmann finds "every petite revue carving out its path on the assumption that its readers treat art as a religious exercise, if not as a mystic one".¹³⁹

For many of the major and influential literary figures in Gauguin's time, then, art had a strong religious significance and purpose.

H. Gauguin's Awareness of Contemporary Thought

In order to discover the possibilities of Gauguin having had knowledge of the aforementioned ideas, his contacts with contemporary critics, writers and poets will be examined beginning with his immediate acquaintances and their interests.

Cézanne apparently followed Huysmans' work closely.¹⁴⁰ Pissarro was aware of Huysmans as well; from Osny on May 9, 1883, he informs his son, Lucien, that he has just received Huysmans' book L'Art Moderne from the author himself:

... it is a collection of his pieces on the Salon and our exhibitions between 1879 and 1882....I will send you the book as soon as I go to Paris, for I will ask Gauguin to buy a copy and mail it to you. 141

On March 26, 1888, Gauguin inquired of Schuffenecker whether he had L'Art Moderne, therefore suggesting that he himself was aware of the work.¹⁴²

On December 28, 1883, Pissarro wrote to Lucien that he was sending him Mallarmé's Les Fleurs de Mal and the book of Verlaine (although he did not specify which book): he recognized their superiority as works of art, and from the standpoint of certain ideas of modern criticism they had value to him.¹⁴³ It is known that by 1891 Gauguin was attending Mallarmé's poetry

readings and that he had executed an etched portrait of Mallarmé.¹⁴⁴ Later, in Avant et Après Gauguin wrote about Mallarmé immortalizing nymphs.¹⁴⁵ Yet due to his close association with Pissarro, Gauguin must have been familiar with Mallarmé's work as well as Verlaine's before 1891.

In March, 1886, Pissarro spoke of a dinner with the impressionists which he had just attended where the guests included Mallarmé and Huysmans; he noted having had a long discussion with Huysmans, who, in Pissarro's opinion, was very conversant with the new art and anxious to break a lance for Pissarro and his group.¹⁴⁶ Pissarro, it seems, was well in tune with what was happening in the literary world. Moreover he read Le Figaro,¹⁴⁹ L'Intransigeant,¹⁴⁸ La Vogue,¹⁴⁹ La Revue Indépendante (founded 1884 with Félix Fénéon as its chief editor)¹⁵⁰ and La Vie Moderne,¹⁵¹ all of which would have included reviews and criticisms about current artistic philosophy and thought. Pissarro was also acquainted with Gustave Kahn, who had openly supported and elaborated Moréas' symbolist manifesto.¹⁵²

Claude-Emile Schuffenecker, whom Gauguin had met while both were working for the firm of Bertin, became a drawing instructor at the Lycée de Vanves, later known as the Lycée Michelet, after his departure from the firm.¹⁵³ It was to his students, and thus in all likelihood to his friend, Gauguin, as well, that he spoke of the poetry of Rimbaud and Mallarmé.¹⁵⁴ Wladyslawa Jaworska writes:

His reputation as an 'Impressionist' and a theosophist quickly had his pupils sitting at his feet. What was more, he used to talk to them about literary things, particularly poetry, and introduce them to the complexities of Buddhist doctrine. One of them, E. Deverin, was to write: 'As for me, who knew him in days gone by at the Lycée Michelet, where he was drawing master for many years, I still have a stirring and appreciative memory of that little man with gleaming eyes, and energetic enthusiast who introduced us to the poetry of Reimbaud, Corbiere and Mallarmé and revealed to our sixteen-year-old eyes those misunderstood and much criticized painters, Cézanne, Gauguin, Van Gogh and Odilon Redon.' 155

Edgar Degas had begun to write poetry as early as 1882.¹⁵⁶ He studied poetry, bought a rhyming dictionary, composed sonnets about the ballet, and discussed his endeavours with Stéphane Mallarmé.¹⁵⁷

As evidenced from his letters, Van Gogh was familiar with the works of Balzac,¹⁵⁸ Edgar Poe,¹⁵⁹ Huysmans,¹⁶⁰ and Carlyle.¹⁶¹ To Anthon von Rappard Van Gogh wrote on March 30, 1883, asking "Do you have the portrait of Carlyle - that beautiful one in the Graphic? At the moment I am reading his Sartor Resartus - 'the philosophy of old clothes'..."¹⁶² That he was acquainted with Félix Fénéon can be seen from the drawing Lucien Pissarro made of them sitting side by side during Van Gogh's stay in Paris, 1886.¹⁶³ Vincent also read journals such as the Revue des deux mondes¹⁶⁵ and the Revue Indépendante.¹⁶⁴ As indicated in Chapter Two, he studied the life and theories of Delacroix, recorded by Charles Blanc, Theophile Silvestre, and Dargenty.¹⁶⁶ Dargenty's Eugene Delacroix par lui-même was published in 1885,¹⁶⁷ Silvestre's Les Artistes francais: I Romantiques in Blanc's Les Artistes de mon temps in 1876 and the latter's Grammaire des arts du dessin in 1867.

Charles Baudelaire's Curiosités esthétiques was published in 1885¹⁶⁸ and was widely read; Moréas, in his manifesto, had proclaimed that Baudelaire should be considered the true precursor of the present movement.¹⁶⁹

Bernard, in turn, knew Edward Dujardin, the editor of Revue Wagnerienne (founded in 1885), who had stayed in Pont-Aven between 1886-88.¹⁷⁰ Gauguin, therefore, had in all probability encountered him.

Bernard was also acquainted with Albert Aurier, whom he had met at St. Briac in 1888, and under whose influence he had begun to write poetry.¹⁷¹ Aurier, who had contributed numerous poems and articles to Le Décadent, Le Plume, etc., had just become editor-in-chief of the periodical Le Moderniste.¹⁷² Through Bernard, Gauguin became acquainted with the poet and critic himself;

by 1889 Gauguin was writing to Aurier in hope of getting his own articles published.¹⁷³

It seems fair to assume that Gauguin, via his friends and acquaintances and their contacts would also have been involved in the exchange of current ideas and on the whole well aware of the various goings-on in literary and painting circles - hence the concepts discussed in the present chapter.

I. Albert Aurier's Article: "Le Symbolisme en Peinture - Paul Gauguin"

In March, 1891, Aurier's article, "Le Symbolisme en peinture - Paul Gauguin," was published in the Mercure de France.

The review was written subsequent to Bernard's request to Aurier in July, 1890. Bernard had appealed to the young critic and writer for assistance, informing him that he and Gauguin wished to leave for Madagascar and to do so they needed money, and hence publicity.¹⁷⁴ Aurier had already composed a lengthy article in 1890 about Vincent, whose works he was familiar with via Bernard.¹⁷⁵

As editor-in-chief of Le Moderniste, Aurier had produced publicity for the Volpini "Symboliste-Synthétiste" exhibition of 1889, published articles written by Bernard and Gauguin and reviewed the exhibition himself.¹⁷⁶ It was during the Volpini show that Aurier first met Gauguin personally.¹⁷⁷

The idea of Aurier's article was part of Gauguin's campaign to recruit help to gain public recognition prior to an auction which would hopefully bring an adequate sum of money for his trip.¹⁷⁸ The auction took place on February 22, 1891, where Vision après le sermon brought the highest bid, selling for 900 francs.¹⁷⁹ Aurier's article appeared about one week later.¹⁸⁰ That this painting fetched the highest price, that Mirbeau had singled it out at the time in a letter to Monet, who liked it in particular, and that Aurier focused on the painting in his review, points out that it was highly regarded

and favourably received by Gauguin's circle of acquaintances.

Aurier's article opened with a detailed and lengthy description of

Vision après le sermon:

Loin, très loin, sur une fabuleuse colline, dont le sol apparaît de vermillon rutilant, c'est la lutte biblique de Jacob avec l'Ange. 181

The Breton peasants' piety is emphasized; they have the respectful poses and faces of simple creatures listening to extraordinary stories; their bearing is devout:

... Elles ont les attitudes respectueuses et les faces écarquillées des créatures simples écoutant d'extraordinaires contes un peu fantastiques affirmés par quelque bouche incontestable et révérée. On les dirait dans une église, toute silencieuse est leur attention, tant recueilli, tant agenouille, tant dévot est leur maintien; on les dirait dans une église et qu'une vague odeur d'encens et de prière volette parmi les ailes blanches de leurs coiffes et qu'une voix respectée de vieux prêtre plane sur leurs têtes... 182

Aurier describes the Voice which induces the vision:

... Quel accent merveilleusement touchant, quelle lumineuse hypotypose, étrangement appropriés aux frustes oreilles de son balourd auditoire, a recentrés ce Bossuet de village qui annonce? Toutes les ambiantes matérialités se sont dissipées en vapeurs, ont disparu; lui-même, l'évocateur, s'est effacé, et c'est maintenant sa Voix, sa pauvre vieille pitoyable Voix bredouillante, qui est devenue visible, impérieusement visible, et c'est sa Voix que contemplant, avec cette attention naïve devote, ces paysannes à coiffes blanches, et c'est sa Voix, cette vision villageoisement fantastique, surgie, là-bas loin, très loin, sa Voix, cette colline fabuleuse, dont le sol est couleur de vermillon, ce pays de rêve enfantin, où les deux géants bibliques, transformés en pygmées par l'éloignement, combattent leur dur et formidable combat!... 183

Standing in front of this painting, the enigma of the Poem is revealed, the charms of the Dream, the Mystery; the eternal psychological problem of the possibility of religions, of politics and sociology is solved:

Or, devant cette merveilleuse toile de Paul Gauguin, qui illumine vraiment l'énigme du Poème, aux paradisiques

heures de la primitive humanité; qui révèle les charmes ineffables du Rêve, du Mystère et des voiles symboliques que ne soulèvent qu'à demi les mains des simples; qui résout, pour le bon liseur, l'éternel problème psychologique de la possibilité des religions, des politiques et des sociologies... 184

Aurier claimed that the painting had very little to do with impressionism or naturalism. Believing that there was a mystic, idealistic reaction occurring, he maintained that Vision après le sermon testified that this tendency exists:

Quoi qu'il en soit, aujourd'hui qu'en littérature nous assistons - cela commence à devenir - à l'agonie du naturalisme, alors que nous voyons se préparer une réaction idéaliste, mystique même, il faudrait s'étonner si les arts plastiques ne manifestaient aucune tendance vers une pareille évolution. La Lutte de Jacob avec l'Ange, que j'ai tenté décrire en exorde de cette étude, témoigne assez, je crois, que cette tendance existe, et l'on doit comprendre que les peintres engagés dans cette voie nouvelle ont tout intérêt à ce qu'on les débarrasse de cette absurde étiquette d' "impressionnistes" qui implique, il faut le répéter, un programme directement contradictoire du leur. 185

One ought to find a new name for this "ist," for the newcomers, at the head of whom marches Gauguin: synthetists, ideists, symbolists, as one pleases:

... Donc, qu'on invente un nouveau vocable en iste (il y en a tant déjà qu'il n'y paraît point!) pour les nouveaux venus, à la tête desquels marche Gauguin: synthétistes, idéistes, symbolistes, comme il plaira... 186

For Aurier, Gauguin was a sublime seer, the initiator of a new art:

Paul Gauguin me semble un de ces sublimes voyeurs. Il m'apparaît comme l'initiateur d'un art nouveau, non point dans l'histoire, mais, au moins, dans notre temps... 187

For Aurier there existed in the history of art two contradictory tendencies, one which depended upon blindness, the realistic tendency, and the other upon the clairvoyancy of this "inner eye of man" which Swedenborg spoke of, the ideist tendency:

Il est évident - et l'affirmer est presque une banalité - qu'il existe dans l'histoire de l'art deux grandes tendances contradictoires qui, incontestablement, dépendent l'une de la cécité, l'autre de la clairvoyance de cet "oeil intérieur de l'homme" dont parle Swedenborg, la tendance réaliste et la tendance idéiste... 188

He went on to discuss the two tendencies, favouring the ideist inclination as being more pure and elevated; supreme art cannot be anything but ideist in nature.¹⁸⁹ Hence, Aurier asserted that the normal and final goal of painting, as in all arts, could be the direct representation of objects but the expression by translating into a special language, the Ideas. To the eyes of the artist, who is the "Expressor of Absolute Beings," objects are signs, letters of an immense alphabet that only the man of genius is able to spell.¹⁹⁰

Writing down his thought, his poem, with these signs, while remembering that the Idea alone is everything, is the task of the artist, whose eye has been able to discern the hypostasis of tangible objects. The first consequence of this principle is a necessary simplification of the writing of the sign.¹⁹¹

Only the superior, illuminated man will be able to tame the monstrous vision and to walk as a master in this fantastic temple "where the living pillars sometimes leave confusing words;" the imbecile, human herd, fooled by appearances which make them deny the essential ideas, will pass by in eternal blindness "through the forest of familiar-looking symbols":

... L'homme supérieur, seul, illuminé par cette suprême vertu que les Alexandrins nommaient si justement l'extase, sait se persuader qu'il n'est lui-même qu'un signe jeté, par une mystérieuse préordination, au milieu d'une innombrable foule de signes; lui seul sait, dompteur de monstre illusion, se promener en maître dans ce temple fantastique.

"Où de vivants piliers Laissent parfois sortir de confuses paroles... "alors que l'imbécile troupeau humain, dupé par les apparences qui lui feront nier les idées essentielles, passera éternellement aveugle.

"À travers le forêts de symboles Qui l'observent avec des regards familiers." 192

Therefore, Aurier instructed, the artist has the duty to avoid concrete truth, illusionism, the trompe-l'oeil; the duty of the ideistic painter is to carry out a rational selection among the multiple elements combined in objectivity, to utilize in his work only the general and distinctive lines, forms, colours which serve to put down clearly the ideistic significance of the object, to exaggerate, to attenuate, to deform these directly significant characters - forms, lines, colours, etc. - not only following his individual vision but also following the needs of the Idea to be expressed:

... Le strict devoir du peintre idéiste est, par conséquent, d'effectuer une sélection raisonnée parmi les multiples éléments combinés en l'objectivité, de n'utiliser en son oeuvre que les lignes, les formes, les couleurs générales et distinctives servant à écrire nettement la signification idéique de l'objet, plus les quelques symboles partiels corroborant le symbole général.

Même, il est aisé de le déduire, ces caractères directement significateurs (formes, lignes, couleurs, etc.), l'artiste aura toujours le droit de les exagérer, de les atténuer, de les déformer, non seulement suivant sa vision individuelle, suivant les moules de sa personnelle subjectivité (ainsi qu'il arrive même dans l'art réaliste), mais encore de les exagérer, de les atténuer, de les déformer, suivant les besoins de l'Idée à exprimer. 193

Hence a work of art must be ideist (since its unique ideal will be the expression of the Idea), symbolist (since it will express this idea through forms), synthetic (for it will write these forms, these signs, according to a mode of general comprehension), subjective (since the object would never be considered merely an object, but as a sign of an idea perceived by the subject); it is consequently decorative (for decorative art properly stated, as the Egyptians, very probably the Greeks and the Primitives understood it, - is nothing but a manifestation of art at once subjective, synthetic, symbolist and ideist).¹⁹⁴

Aurier believed that true painting was in fact decorative painting; it is created to decorate the bare walls of human edifices with thoughts, dreams

and ideas. Moreover, the easel painting is an illogical refinement, invented to satisfy the whim and commercial spirit of a decadent civilization; in primitive societies, on the other hand, the first pictorial attempts could only have been decorative:

Or, qu'on veuille bien y réfléchir, la peinture décorative c'est, à proprement parler, la vraie peinture. La peinture n'a pu être créée que pour décorer de pensées, de rêves et d'idées les murales banalités des édifices humains. Le tableau de chevalet n'est qu'un illogique raffinement inventé pour satisfaire la fantaisie ou l'esprit commercial des civilisations décadentes. Dans les sociétés primitives, les premiers essais picturaux n'ont pu être que décoratifs. 195

Ideist art is therefore a true and absolute art and legitimate for it is found to be identical with primitive art, with art which was discovered by the instinctive geniuses of the earliest time of humanity.¹⁹⁶

Aurier noted that the artist who was a supreme formulator who knew how to write down Ideas like a mathematician, who was some sort of an algebraist of Ideas, whose work was some kind of a marvellous equation or rather a page of ideographic writing reminding one of the hieroglyphic texts of the obelisks of ancient Egypt, had to have a psychic gift, and the gift of emotiveness. Thanks to the gift of emotiveness, the symbols, that is to say the Ideas, rise from the darkness, become animated, begin to live a life which is no longer our contingent and relative life, but a resplendant life which is the essential life, the life of Art, the being of Being. Thanks to this gift, complete art, perfect, absolute, finally exists.¹⁹⁷

Such art, claimed Aurier, that grand artist of genius, with the soul of a primitive and a little, of a savage, Paul Gauguin, has wished to establish:

Tel est l'art qu'il est consolant de rêver, tel est l'art que j'aime imaginer, en les obligatoires promenades parmi les piteuses ou turpides artistalleries qui encombre nos industrialistes expositions. Tel est l'art, aussi, je crois, à moins que je n'aie mal interprété la pensée de son oeuvre, qu'a voulu instaurer en notre lamentable et putréfiée patrie

ce grand artiste genie, à l'âme de primitif et, un peu, de sauvage, Paul Gauguin. 198

Aurier felt that one, with a clairvoyant eye, would be able to glimpse a whole ocean of Ideas in Gauguin's paintings Le Christ vert ou calvaire breton (W#328), Vision après le sermon, Le Christ Jaune (W#327), Le Christ au jardin des Oliviers (W#326), Soyez Heureuse.¹⁹⁹

Aurier concluded by stating that like all ideist painters, Gauguin was above all a decorator; one is tempted to consider his paintings as fragments of an immense fresco; he names Gauguin and possibly Puvis de Chavannes as the two great decorators of the century; Gauguin, as a decorator of genius, must be given walls.²⁰⁰

Aurier's statement about Gauguin being a great artistic genius in a deplorable country must be considered. In his article on Vincent of 1890, Aurier expressed similar anti-establishment views. He called Vincent "un exalté, ennemi des sobriétés bourgeoises et des minuties":

Vincent van Gogh, en effet, n'est pas seulement un grand peintre, enthousiaste de son art, de sa palette et de la nature, c'est encore un rêveur, un croyant exalté, un dévoreur de belles utopies, vivant d'idées et de songes. Longtemps, il s'est complu à imaginer une rénovation d'art, possible par un déplacement de civilisation: un art des régions tropicales... ... Puis, comme conséquence de cette conviction au besoin de tout recommencer en art, il eut et longtemps il caressa l'idée d'inventer une peinture très simple, populaire, quasiment enfantine, capable d'émouvoir les humbles qui ne raffinent point et d'être comprise par les plus naïfs des pauvres d'esprits... Vincent van Gogh est à la fois trop simple et trop subtil pour l'esprit du bourgeois contemporain. Il ne sera jamais pleinement compris que de ses frères, les artistes très artistes ... et des heureux de petit peuple, du tout petit peuple... 201

Vincent wrote to Theo and his sister that he felt Aurier's account had should how he should paint:

When I read the article, it made me almost sad just to think: this is how I should be and I feel myself to be so inferior. 202

As a consequence of his article on Vincent, Aurier was invited to submit art reviews to the Revue Indépendante, then still much more influential than the newly founded Mercure de France.²⁰³ Both the Revue Indépendante, founded by Felix Fénéon in 1884, and the Mercure de France were leftist in their views.²⁰⁴ The political articles in Revue Indépendante, which "became the most influential of all the magazines" published at this time, were "almost completely anarchistic".²⁰⁵ Rewald notes:

There can be no doubt that several of the smaller symbolist periodicals which had set out to shatter some of the traditions of French prose and verse eventually expanded their goals and sought to shatter bourgeois society itself. One of them even published the scientific formula for the composition of dynamite. 206

Fénéon stated in an article on Pissarro:

Everything new, to be accepted, requires that many old fools must die. We are longing for this to happen as soon as possible. This wish is not at all charitable, it is practical. 207

He claimed that "anarchist terrorism did more to spread propaganda than twenty years of pamphlets".²⁰⁸ Among many, Pissarro and Signac, both of whom Gauguin knew, openly supported the anarchist movement.²⁰⁹ Moreover,

The symbolists and most of their friends were anarchists. Was it possible not to be an anarchist when the upper classes showed themselves so resolutely blind to anything new and beautiful? How could they accept without protest a social order in which the artist had no real place, in which he had to struggle all his life for recognition... 210

1883 had witnessed the collapse of the Paris Stock Exchange with Gauguin losing his job as chief assistant to a stock-broker.²¹¹ With the ensuing economic crisis, there was an acute crisis in the art market as well.²¹² The second volume of Karl Marx's Das Kapital was published in 1885.²¹³ In 1887 the French President, J. Grevy, resigned over the Wilson scandal.²¹⁴ The "Societe des Droits de l'Homme" was founded the following year.²¹⁵ 1888 also saw the height of the Boulangist movement in France which had been "first and

foremost a popular movement of the extreme left," but degenerated into something of a farce with General Boulanger supporting both conservatives and radicals, appealing to left and right, whatever worked to his advantage.²¹⁶ He fled France on April 1, 1889 and committed suicide in 1891.²¹⁷

The Worker's Congress in Paris in 1889 declared May 1 as a worker's holiday.²¹⁸ Legal recognition had been given to trade unions in 1884. Yet,

... in many places the setting-up of unions was met by the steady opposition of the employers; the 'associations ouvrières de production' remained more of a dream than a reality; the repercussions of the economic crisis made the workers more impatient and reform more urgent. 219

In this kind of milieu, Alfred Vallette founded the Mercure de France in 1890 with Albert Aurier as one of its major contributors. Little wonder it was, in light of the above, that the magazine "made no secret of its sympathy for anarchism".²²⁰

By 1892, after Gauguin had departed to Tahiti, the series of anarchist bombings had increased.²²¹ One of the leaders, Ravachol, was arrested and executed.²²² Rewald writes:

Among those who contributed to a fund for the destitute children of imprisoned anarchists were Serusier, Camille and Lucien Pissarro, Petitjean, Mirbeau, Christophe, Fénéon...²²³ The terror was so great that according to a chronicler, for several weeks Paris presented "the aspect of a besieged city: the streets are deserted, shops closed, omnibuses without passengers, museums and theaters barricaded; the police are invisible though present everywhere, troops in the suburbs are ready to march at the first signal... 224

Many of the political leaders were implicated for corrupt practices and the government resigned that year due to the corrupt administration of the Panama Company with the public understandably coming to the conclusion that "all politicians ... were 'pourris' (rotten to the core) and thought of nothing except using their positions to enrich themselves".²²⁵

Against this background, appeared a lengthy articles by Aurier, "Les

Symbolistes," which appeared in Revue Encyclopedique and which proclaimed that the "uncontested initiator of this artistic movement - perhaps someday one may call it a renaissance - was Paul Gauguin... he decided to leave our ugly civilization far behind..."²²⁶

When examining Gauguin's political sentiments, one perceives from his statements quoted at the beginning of this chapter about Mette caring too much for money and so on, that he reacted strongly against such bourgeois values.²²⁷ From the discussion of Les Misérables, it was pointed out that Gauguin saw himself as a victim of society. Yet it was only later in Tahiti, that Gauguin publicly expressed criticism of the Government.²²⁸ Upon receiving no favourable reaction from the local police after his house had been broken into a number of times, he wrote a letter to the editor of Les Guêpes about the inefficiency of the Government.²²⁹ He continued with more articles condemning Governor Gallet of the Protestant Party. Encouraged by the interest shown in his attacks, Gauguin started a four-page illustrated monthly, called Le Sourire, the first issue appearing on August 21, 1899.²³⁰ He became editor of Les Guêpes in 1900 where he condemned the Protestant missionaries' actions and revealed the "contemptible character of the governor's motives".²³¹ Yet, as Danielsson reveals, sadly, "Gauguin served only the vested interests of his employers," the Catholic Party, who owned Les Guêpes:

His real motives were revenge on his personal enemies and the need to earn money. ²³²

Nevertheless, one may sympathize with Gauguin's poor state of existence. Mirbeau's statement of 1891 that Gauguin was "truly tortured by suffering for art"²³³ was exactly the situation the leftists were fighting to rectify,

...envisioning a society of the future in which the equality of men would assure them the freedom and respect which the present so bitterly denied them. ²³⁴

Although he did not consider himself a member of any party or group, from what has been voiced about his continuous struggle for survival and recognition, Gauguin's attitudes certainly coincided with Aurier's negative view of society.

Aurier, in his 1891 article on Gauguin, strongly supported the ideist tendency in art; supreme art had to be ideist in nature.²³⁵ Hence the final goal of painting was to express Ideas. In Oeuvres, Aurier wrote about the possibility and the legitimacy granted to the artist to be pre-occupied in his work by that ideistic substratum that is found everywhere in the universe and which, according to Plato, was the sole true reality:

... c'est concéder la possibilité et la légitimité pour l'artiste d'être préoccupé, en son oeuvre, par ce substratum idéiste qui est partout dans l'univers et qui, selon, Platon, est la seule vraie réalité. 235

The artist who could express these Ideas was a visionary. Aurier maintained that the ideist tendency in art depended upon the clairvoyancy of the "inner eye of man" as referred to by Swedenborg.²³⁷

Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772), whom Gauguin referred to later in Cahier pour Aline as "un savant," declared that when seeing visions, he used his senses exactly as when awake, "dwelling with the spirits as a spirit, but able to return to his body when he pleased."²³⁸ In 1734 his Prodomus Philosophiae Raticinanthrio de Infinite was published, which dealt with the relation of the finite to the infinite and of the soul to the body, seeking to "establish a definite connection between the two as a means of overcoming the difficulty of their relationship."²³⁹

When Aurier discussed the superior, illuminated man walking in a temple where "de vivant piliers Laissent parfois sortir de confuses paroles nues," and that the imbecile human herd passed by in eternal blindness "à travers les forets de symboles Qui l'observent avec des regards familiers," he was quoting

directly from Baudelaire's Correspondances:

La Nature est un temple où de vivants piliers
Laisseront parfois sortir de confuses paroles;
L'homme y passe à travers des forêts de symboles
Qui l'observent avec des regards familiers.

Comme les longs échos qui de loin se confondent
Dans une ténébreuse et profonde unité,
Vaste comme la nuit et comme la clarté,
Les parfums, les couleurs et les sons se répondent.

Il est des parfums frais comme des chairs d'enfants,
Doux comme les hautbois, verts comme les prairies,
- Et d'autres, corrompus, riches et triomphants,

Ayant l'expansion des choses infinies,
Comme l'ambre, le musc, le benjoin et l'encens,
Qui chantent les transports de l'esprit et des sens. 240.

The Correspondances poem developed out of Baudelaire's belief that the imagination understood the universal analogy, that which a mystical religion call the "correspondence":

... elle comprend l'analogie universelle, ou ce qu'une
religion mystique appelle la correspondance. 241

For Baudelaire, everything was hieroglyphic; a poet, in the widest sense, was a translator, a decipherer.²⁴² Baudelaire had been influenced by Swedenborg, via Balzac, in the formation of his theory of Correspondances.²⁴³ This theory Baudelaire considered to be the basis for the possibility of suggesting one thing by means of another, sound suggesting colour or vice versa, for things, in his mind, had always been expressed by reciprocal analogy.²⁴⁴

Aurier, in citing Baudelaire's Correspondances, was thus making an indirect reference to Swedenborg's doctrine of correspondences. According to Swedenborg,

(e)verything visible has belonging to it an appropriate spiritual reality ... all the mythology and the symbolisms of ancient times were so many refracted or fragmentary correspondences - relics of that better day when every outward object suggested to man's mind its appropriate divine truth. Such desultory and uncertain links between the seen and the unseen are so many imperfect attempts toward that harmony of the two worlds which he believed himself commissioned to

reveal. The happy thoughts of the artist, the imaginative analogies of the poet, are exchanged with Swedenborg for an elaborate system. All the terms and objects are catalogued in pairs ... matter and spirit were associated. 245

There existed, for Swedenborg, an agreement between things in different spheres:

For all divine things are examples; intellectual, moral and civil things are types but the images of nature as such and things physical are merely likenesses. 246

Therefore, the artist who perceived these correspondences, the "concept of natural objects as signs of the Idea, based on a belief in the correspondence of higher and lower levels of being," was the Ideist artist, a visionary.²⁴⁷

Gauguin also compared art to music, claiming that both music and painting acted on the soul through the intermediary of the senses, the harmonies of tones corresponding to the harmonies of sounds.²⁴⁸ In his Notes Synthétiques of 1884-5, Gauguin wrote that instrumental music had, like the numbers, a unity for its base.²⁴⁹ On an instrument one commenced from one tone. In painting one started from many. He spoke of the juxtaposition of colours: a green beside a red would not give a brown-red like the blend, but two vibrating notes.²⁵⁰

Vincent, too, drew parallels between painting and music.²⁵¹ To his sister shortly after March 30, 1888, from Arles, Vincent described his own colour theory, drawing analogies with Wagner:

... by intensifying all the colors one arrives once again at quietude and harmony. There occurs in nature something similar to what happens in Wagner's music, which, though played by a big orchestra, is nonetheless intimate... 252

And in the same year he remarked

... I have got back to where I was in Neunen, when I made a vain attempt to learn music, so much did I already feel the relation between our color and Wagner's music. 253

Wagner and his theories of synthesis were of course very well known

throughout Paris at this time and no doubt both Vincent and Gauguin came into contact with these ideas.²⁵⁴

Returning once more to Aurier's article of 1891, he felt that the stylistic consequences of an Ideist philosophy of art led to a necessary simplification in the writing of the sign.²⁵⁵ The ideist artist had to avoid concrete truth and he had to utilize in his work only those lines, forms and colours which expressed ideistic significance of the object, to exaggerate these directly significant characters - forms, lines, colours, etc. - not only following his individual vision but also following the need of the Idea to be expressed.²⁵⁶ Hence a work of art had to be ideist, symbolist, synthetic, subjective.²⁵⁷

As was already shown in Chapter Two, Gauguin was a strong opponent of illusionism or literal truth or naturalistic representation; he advocated exaggerating, simplifying and organizing forms in order to depict his own reality. On August 14, 1888, Gauguin wrote to Schuffenecker that his own work contained:

... synthèse d'une forme et d'une couleur en ne considerant la dominante. ²⁵⁸

The term "synthese" was in frequent use by 1888.²⁵⁹ Mallarmé, in 1867, in a letter wrote about creating a perfect synthesis of things: "En créant une parfaite synthèse des choses ..."²⁶⁰ The term is used in Neo-platonism as well:

... in it the Mind appears as the synthetic function which creates plurality out of its own higher unity. From this general point of view the Neo-platonists worked out the psychology of knowledge under the principle of the activity of consciousness. For according to this view the 'higher soul' can no longer be considered as passive, but in accordance with its essence only as active also in all its functions. All of its insight rests on the synthesis of various moments; even where knowledge is related to the sensible datum the body only is passive, whereas the soul

is active in becoming conscious of it; and exactly the same thing holds for sensory feelings and affects. 261

Gustave Kahn, in 1887, "had used the adverb 'synthetically' to describe the way in which Seurat and his associates treated the human figure, comparing the result to the effect of ancient studies".²⁶² Fénéon had employed the term in May 1887 in his article, "Le Neo-Impressionisme" (L'Art Moderne); "synthétiser le paysage dans un aspect définitif qui en perpétue la sensation."²⁶³ One ought to recall Baudelaire's use of the word (Chapter Two), with which Aurier was in all likelihood familiar (Baudelaire described Constantin Guys' work as being "synthetic" and had equated "synthetic" with the primitive). One should remember, as well, that Gauguin had entitled his reply to the critics, Notes Synthétiques - as Roskill asserts, "in reference to the claims which he made there for painting's superior powers of synthesis".²⁶⁴

Jirat-Wasiutynski feels that what gave rise to a synthetic process was the concept of "sensation":

... the artists and critics of the 1880s redefined the concept of the "sensation" which had served as the basis for Impressionist aesthetics. Sensation conceived as a simple physiological response to visual stimuli was replaced by sensation as a complex psychological process incorporating personal vision. 265

In 1886, Aurier had written:

Le vrai, en effet le positif, réel, n'est-ce pas la matière objective? Les naturalistes avait une bonne conception de l'art: reproduire la vie telle qu'elle est. Mais ils oublièrent trop que les phénomènes ne tiraient pas leurs caractères de leurs éléments objectifs. Ils se perdirent dans la description et l'analyse de ces éléments et, par conséquent, produisirent non une réelle vision de la vie, mais des sortes de catalogues inaimés, des proces verbaux...

L'Art nouveau, au contraire, proclame la nécessité de facsimiler exactement la vision telle qu'elle est (c'est vrai naturalisme)... 266

Aurier identified the language of the new art as "la langue des sensations".²⁶⁷

Noting Fénéon's use of the term above, he had written in his review of the 1887 Indépendants exhibition:

Parmi la cohue des machinaux copistes des extériorités, ils imposent ... la sensation même de la vie: c'est que la réalité objective leur est simple thème à la création d'une réalité supérieure et sublimée ou leur personnalité se transfuse. 268

In a review of J.F. Henner's paintings ("J.F. Henner," Le Moderniste illustré, I, nos. 2, 13: 13 & 20 avril, 1889, p. 10), Aurier claimed that Henner wanted to produce a work that was the synthesis of sensations, ideas, moral impressions, the philosophies of the artists:

Produire une oeuvre qui soit la synthèse des sensations, des idées, des impressions morales, des philosophies du Moi de l'artiste... 269

In Notes Synthétiques, Gauguin had maintained that painting was the most beautiful of all arts:

In it all sensations were condensed, at its aspect everyone could create romance at the will of his imagination, and at a glance have his soul invaded by the most profound memories, no efforts of memory, everything summed up in the one moment. Complete art which sums up all the others and completes them.

...

... To judge painting and music special sensations in nature are necessary besides intelligence and artistic science. In short, one has to be a born artist, and few are chosen among all those who are called. (Pour juger la peinture et la musique, il faut - en outre de l'intelligence et de la science artistique - des sensations spéciales dans la nature, il faut être, en un mot, ne artiste et peu sont élus parmi tous les appelés). Any idea may be formulated, but not so, the sensations of the heart.... The vaguest, the most undefinable, the most varied, that is matter. Thinking is a slave of sensations. 270

To Schuffenecker in January, 1888 Gauguin also wrote about this concept of sensations:

... Depuis longtemps les philosophes raisonnent les phénomènes qui nous paraissent surnaturels et dont on a cependant la sensation. Tout est là, dans ce mot. Les Raphael et autres, des gens chez qui la sensation était formulée bien avant la pensée, ce qui leur a permis, tout

en étudiant, de ne jamais détruire cette sensation, et rester des artistes. Et pour moi le grand artiste est la formule de la plus grande intelligence, à lui arrivent les sentiments, les traductions les plus délicates et par suite les plus invisibles du cerveau. 271

Gauguin claimed that for a long time philosophers had reasoned about phenomena which seemed supernatural and of which nonetheless one had the sensation. Everything was in this word. For Gauguin, the great artist was synonymous with the greatest intelligence; from him came the feeling, the translation of the most delicate and as a result of the most invisible emotions of the brain.

In his article Aurier claimed that art as the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Primitives understood it, was a manifestation of art at once subjective, synthetic, symbolist and ideist.²⁷² It was created to decorate bare walls with thoughts, dreams and ideas. Aurier associated decorative wall painting with primitivism. Ideist art was identical with primitive art which had been discovered by the instinctive geniuses of the earliest time of humanity (p. 51).²⁷³ Charles Morice was later to quote Gauguin as saying that primitive art proceeded from the spirit and used nature:

L'art primitif procède de l'esprit et emploie la nature.
L'art soi-disant raffiné précède de la sensualité et sert
la nature... 274

In La Littérature de tout à l'heure of 1889, Morice equated primitive and religious art, with the belief that the primitive was able to perceive the basic truths of existence and to reveal an ultimate religious reality.²⁷⁵ One has already witnessed in Chapter Two Gauguin's deep-rooted interest in primitive art and how his own work was consequently influenced by it.

To what extent Gauguin may have been at all familiar with the ideist philosophy of art before 1888 cannot be precisely ascertained.²⁷⁶ Such ideas existed in both Swedenborg's writings and Balzac's Séraphita and Louis Lambert.²⁷⁷ That Gauguin was aware of Balzac's works, in which Swedenborg's

philosophies played a major role, is recorded by Charles Morice:

Ses auteurs préférés sont Balzac et Poe. Non pas le Balzac des grands romans d'analyse, mais celui des Études philosophiques, de la Recherche de l'Absolu, de Louis Lambert et surtout de Séraphita. Il a pour ce petit livre un culte, il prétend y trouver tout Balzac; c'est une opinion. 278

A direct reference to Balzac's Louis Lambert and Séraphita comes on page 12 verso of Gauguin's Cahier pour Aline of 1893.²⁷⁹ Richard Sampson Field informs us that "the phrase Seraphitas-Serphita" appears now and then in Gauguin's writings, including the last page of the so-called Sourire of 1899-1900.²⁸⁰ Whether or not Gauguin was reading Balzac prior to 1888 is difficult to prove. Van Gogh certainly was²⁸¹ and may have exposed Gauguin to Balzac's views.

Balzac's writings were filled with Swedenborg's doctrines. Séraphita contains an entire chapter about Swedenborg's life, his writings, his visions, listing his works. The documentary is narrated by a character in the story, Pastor Becker, who has all of Swedenborg's literature in his library.²⁸² He relates Swedenborg's theory of Correspondences.²⁸³ The phenomena of seership is described in Séraphita and also in Louis Lambert.²⁸⁴ The seer, Louis Lambert, maintained that,

Facts are nothing; they do not subsist; all that lives of us is the Idea. 285

Lines and numbers were assigned special properties by him as well:

Why are there so few straight lines in Nature? Why is it that man, in his structures, rarely introduces curves? Why is it that he alone, of all creatures, has a sense of straightness?

...

Number, which produces variety of all kinds, also gives rise to Harmony, which, in the highest meaning of the word is the relation of parts to the whole.

...

Three and seven are the two chief spiritual numbers.

...

Three is the formula of created worlds. It is the spiritual sign of the creation, as it is the Material Sign of dimension. In fact, God has worked by curved lines only: the Straight Line is an attribute of the Infinite, and man, who has the

presentiment of the Infinite, reproduces it in his works. Two is the number of generation. Three is the number of Life which includes generation and offspring. Add the sum of four and you have Seven, the formula of Heaven. Above all is God; He is the Unit. 286

In Séraphita Swedenborg maintained that "the spirit penetrates the sense of numbers; it masters them all and knows their meaning."²⁸⁷

In Gauguin's letter to Schuffenecker from Copenhagen, January 14, 1885, he discussed the immense creation of nature and its laws where there were noble and false lines, where the straight line reached to infinity, and the curve limited creation: Gauguin pondered whether the figures three and seven had been sufficiently discussed:

Observez dans l'immense création de la nature et vous verrez s'il n'y a pas lois pour créer avec des aspects tout différents et cependant semblables dans leur effect, tous les sentiments humains... J'en conclus qu'il y a des lignes nobles, menteuses, etc. La ligne droit donne l'infini, la courbe limite la creation, sans compter la fatalité dans les nombres. Les chiffres 3 et 7 ont'ils été assez discutés?... 288

There is, in short, reason to believe that Gauguin was indeed familiar with Balzac's literature or at least Swedenborgian philosophy and mysticism. In many ways, Aurier does not give such an exaggerated account of Gauguin and Vision après le sermon as may first appear. Gauguin, in fact, was familiar with many of Aurier's ideas. What has been said in this chapter of Gauguin in the role of a spiritual-artistic leader seems to reinforce Aurier's beliefs about Gauguin. Aurier's numerous references to ideist art and Swedenborgian philosophy were commonly used in symbolist circles of this period. Lehmann informs one that "Orliac (La Cathedrale symboliste, 1933), among many others, finds in the whole course of French literature a subterranean thread of mysticism making its appearance in Chateaubriand, Lamartine, in Balzac; and (in the period under review) in the illuminism of de Guaita, Papus, M. Barres, Paul Adam, Dubus, Morice, Schure, Vulliaud, Péladan, and others. Téodor de

Wyzewa, writing in the Revue Indépendante in 1887, gives a long list of recently published works of mystical tendency which certainly suggests a flourishing market for this literature..."²⁸⁹

As has been suggested above, Gauguin's epoch was that in which "pre-occupation with theosophy, spiritualism and occultism was particularly strong".²⁹⁰ The Catholic fervor of the above-mentioned artists was "part of the general phenomenon of the symbolist milieu of the fin-de-siècle, which witnessed ... startling conversions to extreme religiosity in Verlaine, Huysmans, Claudel and Peguy".²⁹¹

J. Gauguin's Exposure to and Interest in Religion

Vision après le sermon was Gauguin's first portrayal of a religious theme.²⁹² Many artists residing with Gauguin at Pont-Aven in 1888 were religiously and/or mystically inclined in one way or another. Paul Sérusier, a devout Catholic, whom Gauguin had directed in the painting of The Talisman in October, 1888, was attracted to Plotinus and also to theosophy - Schuré's Les grands initiés.²⁹³ In 1893 he was to write that it was in Brittany that he had undergone his spiritual birth.²⁹⁴ In 1895 he was to become a pupil of the Benedictines at Beuron in Germany and in 1903, as indicated in a letter to Jan Verkade, he began studying the Summa Theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas.²⁹⁵

Maurice Denis was "a practicing Catholic with mystical tendencies." Jaworska notes that "he had been called to serve his faith by assisting the regeneration and revival of religious art."²⁹⁶

Charles Filiger who arrived at the Pension Gloanec on July 13, 1889, fused "the Catholicism instilled into him with the spiritualism practised in social circles connected with the Société de la Rose+Croix, under the aegis of which organization he exhibited in his capacity as a 'religious painter' ..."²⁹⁷

A Dutch artist, Jan Verkade, a later arrival at Pont-Aven in 1891 converted to Catholicism there and was baptised at Vannes in 1892. He later became a monk. Jaworska notes,

The religious tendencies of Verkade probably dated from the early days of his acquaintance with Sérusier, who prevailed on him to read "Les grands initiés," the Bible and Balzac's *Séraphita*." 298

Mogens Ballin, a Danish painter of Jewish origin, who first presented himself at Gauguin's farewell banquet, also became a Catholic a few days after Verkade's conversion. Not long after his baptism he was admitted to the Third Order of St. Francis. 299

Maisels shows how Gauguin, through his upbringing and education, would have had a knowledge of the Bible and would have been thoroughly familiar with the practice and iconography of Christianity. 300 Gauguin was born into a Catholic home. 301 In Avant et Après he wrote about his childhood in Peru, recalling, among other things, the church, the dome of which was entirely carved wood, and the negro girl who, according to custom, carried to church the rug on which they knelt to pray. 302 From ages eleven to sixteen, Gauguin attended the Jesuit seminary, the Petit Séminaire in Orléans, France. 303 Yet later when he married Met Gad, a Lutheran service was held. 304 From Copenhagen, on May 24, 1885, Gauguin wrote to Schuffenecker about the Danes, with respect to their religious leanings, complaining that he had been undermined by certain Protestant devotees, to begin with, the Countess de Moltke, who had agreed to pay the boarding school fees for his son Emil, only to stop doing so for religious reasons:

Ici j'ai été sapé en dessous par quelques bigotes protestantes, on sait que je suis un impie, aussi on voudrait me voir tomber. Les Jésuites sont de la St. Jean auprès des religieux protestants, aussi pour commencer la Comtesse de Moltke, qui payait la pension de mon fils Emil, a supprimé immédiatement pour cause religieuse, vous comprenez, rien à dire... 305

From his writings up to 1888 there is no indication that Gauguin was especially religious in the traditional sense of the word.³⁰⁶ And like many of the painters he was acquainted with, such as Pissarro, Degas, Cézanne, etc., there existed a lack of religious repertoire in his work prior to the painting of Vision après le sermon.³⁰⁷ Yet as was shown in Chapter Two, all of Gauguin's work was not completely secular either. His art displayed a personal approach, with the inclusion of somewhat ambiguous images. The abundance of Breton subject matter in his oeuvre between 1886-88 also indicates a strong interest in their way of life, their activities and pastimes. He wrote to Mette in February, 1888, that he wished to work in Brittany for seven to eight months, to penetrate the character of the people of the country, an essential thing in the making of paintings:

... il me faut travailler 7-8 mois à la file, pénétrer du caractère des gens du pays, chose essentielle pour faire de la bonne peinture. 308

In September, 1888, after painting Vision après le sermon, Gauguin informed Vincent that he had made a religious painting and described the people in the work, concluding that he had achieved in the figures a great rustic and superstitious simplicity, the whole being very severe.³⁰⁹ Gauguin had written to Schuffenecker around February, 1888 that he found the primitive and savage in Brittany, that he wanted to find the same thing in his painting.³¹⁰ This he managed by achieving the great rustic and superstitious simplicity in the figures of Vision après le sermon. As noted in Chapter Two, Gauguin interpreted the pious and superstitious nature of the Breton peasants in their customs and traditions as primitive. In striving for a rustic and superstitious simplicity in his portrayal of the figures and manner of representation (i.e. style) Gauguin was realizing his search for the primitive in his painting as well as his life.³¹¹ The quest for the primitive was for Gauguin

a religious and mystical one.³¹² Just as Cézanne was, for Gauguin, a mystic, a man of the Levant, meditating for hours on hilltops - so too Gauguin with his Peruvian roots, the exposure to Primitive countries,³¹³ his wish to find an environment unfettered by civilization (resulting in his stay at Martinique and Brittany), his growing belief that he himself was a savage, his wearing of Breton clothes and wooden shoes, all this expresses a search for self-realization - not through conventional, civilized means, but in his own way, by a return to a primitive state, a quality which Gauguin, as he himself claimed, strove to express in his art as well. Thus the search for the primitive is a religious and visionary one, and Vision après le sermon a religious painting, not only because of its subject matter, but also due to the rustic and superstitious simplicity achieved in the style of the figures. Gauguin wanted to give Vision après le sermon to the Breton church of Nizon.³¹⁴ He believed that the work would fit the stained glass and stone interior.³¹⁵ Why the curé refused the painting is not clearly known.³¹⁶ Certainly Gauguin's gesture was genuine. He did not wish, like Denis, to reform the Church with his art.³¹⁷ It was his wish to identify with the primitive in Brittany. As Vision après le sermon, in Gauguin's estimation, reflected the primitive, rustic and superstitious qualities of the Breton attitude to life and religion, so did he believe that his painting should naturally harmonize with and be a part of the Breton environment. It is not difficult therefore to understand that Gauguin's reason for choosing to depict a biblical story would also have to be personal. His was a personal interest in religion - a refusal to be tied down to any dogma.

From what was noted above about Gauguin's opinion of himself as the seer-illuminator struggling to gain artistic leadership, dreaming in front of nature to paint his own visionary experience, it will become apparent in the

next chapter that the use of the biblical subject - Jacob wrestling with the Angel - in Vision après le sermon, was the best means of self-expression for what Gauguin wished to state about himself, his surroundings and his art.

CHAPTER FOUR: GAUGUIN'S INTENTIONS IN HIS USE OF IMAGERY
IN VISION APRÈS LE SERMON

In light of the foregoing discussion about the work of art in the 1880's becoming the vision of the seer, of the visionary artist, this chapter will demonstrate how Gauguin's Vision après le sermon is a painting of the artist's own vision. The functions of the various elements and their arrangement in the work will be discussed and the reasons for their inclusion in the painting will be examined in order to show how Vision après le sermon served as a personal statement of Gauguin's views and aspirations at the time of its execution.

A. Parallels Between Gauguin and the Character of Jacob

It will be argued, knowing the story of Jacob wrestling with the angel, that Gauguin identified with the character of Jacob - in his character and aspirations, the artist was very much like Jacob who wrestled with the angel until the breaking of the day (Gen. 32, v. 24). When the angel sees that he cannot prevail over Jacob, he touches the hollow of Jacob's thigh and puts it out of joint, yet Jacob continues to wrestle with the angel (Gen. 32, v. 25). When the angel asks Jacob to let him go because the day is breaking, Jacob responds that he will not let go until the angel blesses him. Jacob does not give in until the angel blesses him and gives him the name of Israel. Gauguin, in his unwillingness to give up his struggle displays a similar determination in striving to gain artistic recognition and leadership.¹

In the biblical story, Jacob, considered a leader among men, was also somewhat of a crafty schemer - for example, when he tricked his brother, Esau, into selling him his birthright (Gen. 25, v. 29-34). Jacob also deceived his father, Isaac, into believing he was Esau, Isaac's first-born,

in order to receive his father's blessing which included a legacy meant for Esau (Gen. 27, v. 1-40).² A parallel may be drawn between this conspiring side of Jacob's character and a similar trait of Gauguin's. Pissarro wrote on January 22, 1887 that Gauguin's success came from years of work as a sectarian.³ Vincent, too, despite his deep admiration for Gauguin perceived him in a different light; in discussing with Theo, Gauguin's plans to come to Arles, he wrote in September, 1888:

I feel instinctively that Gauguin is a schemer who, seeing himself at the bottom of the social ladder, wants to regain a position by means which will certainly be honest, but at the same time very politic...

I cannot blame Gauguin - speculator though he may be as soon as he wants to risk something in business, only I will have nothing to do with it. 4

Gauguin had sarcastically written to Mette on May 24, 1886, that he believed that the mob was always right (including Mette in this group), that its members were angels and he an atrocious scamp.⁵ In his eclectic nature and his unwillingness to admit sources of inspiration, Gauguin, as an artist, displayed a cunning side of his nature as well.

When Jacob wrestles with the angel, he wins the match and is blessed yet at the same time his thigh is put out of joint by the angel having touched it; hence Jacob, having striven with God has prevailed, but at the expense of injuring his thigh. Jacob's struggle may be equated to the suffering which Gauguin experienced and endured in striving to become the artist and leader he envisioned for himself. In an undated letter to Mette from about February 1888, Gauguin, prior to leaving for Brittany for a second time, begged her not to give up believing in him, to hold on for another year.⁶ Yet during the course of his artistic endeavours, Gauguin lost Mette and his children and endured economic ills, declining health and adverse criticism. Later in 1890 from Pouldu, Gauguin wrote to Bernard that sacrifices had to be made in art,

but that the moment one realized a dream - however briefly - was in itself compensation enough and was more potent than all earthly things. He maintained that they, pioneer artists and thinkers, were destined to succumb to the blows of the world, but to succumb only so far as they were flesh.⁷ Like Jacob, continuing to wrestle, even with his thigh out of joint (Gen. 32, v. 25), Gauguin, with equally strong determination and will, continued to struggle as an artist, while experiencing the "coups du monde". Like Jacob who would not let go of the angel until he had received the blessing, Gauguin was not willing to give up the artistic battle until he had succeeded in gaining recognition. Both Jacob and Gauguin, in their struggle for leadership, demonstrate an aspiring and persistent nature. Like Jacob, Gauguin, in his own way, had "striven with God and with men" (G. 32, v. 28). But Gauguin, in Vision après le sermon, paints Jacob "striv[ing] with God and with men" and not yet having "prevailed" (G. 32, v. 28) over them. This manner of representing the struggle is appropriate: for in 1888, Gauguin's own battle for artistic recognition and leadership was not yet over. Thus he portrayed himself as Jacob by depicting the biblical leader at the height of the struggle.

B. Gauguin as Priest in Vision après le sermon

Not only did Gauguin see himself as Jacob but it is very likely that he also perceived himself in the role of the priest depicted at the lower right of his painting. The Breton priest, as described in Francis Gostling's The Bretons at Home (1909), was an important community and spiritual leader:

... the priest has mounted the pulpit and is giving out the text, and the faces of the men grow eager as they listen, for it is the sermon which interests them, it is their Sunday News.

These sermons in Western Brittany are a great institution. Most of the Breton priests are fine preachers and know how to hold their audiences spell-bound for a good three-quarters of an hour. They deal in politics as well as in morals, and are fearless and outspoken... 8

Not only Jacob, therefore, but also the priest in Gauguin's painting should be considered a leader; after all, it was he who delivered the sermon about Jacob wrestling with the angel and hence inspired the occurrence of the vision. Thus the priest and Jacob in Vision après le sermon are closely associated through their capacity to lead. Moreover, the priest's role in the Breton way of life and in the painting may be likened to Gauguin's own view of himself and the kind of spiritual leader-seer he himself aspired to be. His followers and supporters perceived him in this light. Vincent's beliefs point to Gauguin's role; planning the artistic community and Gauguin's arrival to Arles, Vincent, writing to Theo calls Gauguin an abbot:

... when it is a question of several painters living a community life, I stipulate at the outset that there must be an abbot to keep order, and that would naturally be Gauguin... It does not matter if you stay with the Goupils or not, you have committed yourself to Gauguin body and soul.

So you will be one of the first or the first dealer-apostle. I can see my own painting coming to life, and likewise a work among the artists...

... Gauguin's fare comes before everything else, to the detriment of your pocket and mine. Before everything else. 9

Although in Gauguin's painting, Jacob's features are so abstracted and simply rendered as to appear little more than distinguishable, the priest, because of his proximity to the viewer, has clearly defined features. The deeply inset eyes, the heavy eyelids and rather hooked nose, the curve of the cheekbone and sloping chin are easily discernible and when compared to self-portraits, paintings and photographs of Gauguin are without a doubt seen to be those of the artist himself.¹⁰ Because he believed and wished others to believe he was a leader and visionary, Gauguin, it appears, portrayed himself in the characters of both Jacob and the priest.

C. Interpretation of the Composition of Vision apres le sermon

1. The Theatre-like Arrangement of the Painting

The grouping of the figures around the wrestlers, situated as though watching a theatrical performance, the foreground figures from a balcony and the left side figures from the orchestra, with the tree trunk acting like the edge of a stage, is in composition very similar to many paintings of the time depicting performances on stage, especially, for example, Daumier's The Melodrama (1856-60).¹¹

The idea of connecting the theatre with Vision après le sermon is not as odd as might first appear. As will be remembered from Chapter One, the biblical story of Jacob was being performed as a play in Brittany. As well, theatre in Paris at this time (1880s) was thriving. Indeed Paris life itself was theatre. Roger Shattuck in Banquet Years describes this era, all of Paris being a stage and all of its inhabitants wearing costumes. Writing about the construction of the Opera and the Théâtre-Français he says of Paris:

... She had become a stage, a vast theatre for herself and all the world. For thirty years the frock coats and monocles, the toppers and bowlers (chapeaux hauts de forme and chapeaux melon) seemed to be designed to fit this vast stage-set, along with the ladies long dresses and corsets and eclipsing hats. Street cleaners in blue-denim, gendarmes in trim capes, butchers in leather aprons, coachmen in black cutaways, the army's crack chasseurs in plumes, gold-braid, and polished boots - everyone wore a costume and displayed himself to the best advantage ... living had become increasingly a special kind of performance...¹²

Gauguin himself wore his Breton costume and his wooden shoes while in Paris so that he too was assuming a role - that of a Breton peasant.¹³

Artists themselves were at times directly involved with the theatre. It was not unusual for them to be commissioned to design programmes or scenery.¹⁴ Gauguin himself was familiar with materials and designs used in theatre.¹⁵ He seemed fully aware of the concept of theatre - life as theatre - as it existed

in his own times. In Notes Synthétiques, Gauguin wrote that one needed the theatre to compliment one's work.¹⁶ In Avant et Après he claimed that his own theatre was Life: in it he found everything, actors, scenery, the noble and the trivial, tears and laughter. When moved, he ceased to be the auditor and became the actor. The artist contemplated about the theatre widening in primitive life. He maintained that nothing troubled his judgment, not even the judgment of others. He looked at the stage whenever he and he alone chose, without constraint, without even a pair of gloves.¹⁷ Hence, as he himself suggests, Gauguin can be the auditor - the priest - or the actor - Jacob - in Vision après le sermon.

The concept of théâtre had a deep significance for many artists. Mallarmé, in his article, "Richard Wagner: Rêverie d'un poète français" for the Revue Wagnerienne, wrote about Wagner's beliefs in wishing to transform the theatre into a "temple and the spectacle a ceremony in which the masses participate in a sacred rite."¹⁸ Baudelaire, in his "Letter sur la musique" extracted a passage from one of Wagner's books about the ideal relationship between the theatre and public life, the ancient Greek theatre and its religious nature:

... là, le théâtre n'ouvrait son enceinte qu'à de certaines solennités où s'accomplissait une fête religieuse qu'accompagnaient les jouissances de l'art. Les hommes les plus distingués de l'État prenaient à ces solennités une part directe comme poètes ou directeurs; ils paraissaient comme les prêtres aux yeux de la population assemblée de la cité...¹⁹

The most distinguished men in the State took a direct part in festivals as poets or directors; in the eyes of the assembled population they seemed like priests. For Wagner and his followers a theatrical performance was ideally a spiritual experience.

Gauguin was familiar with the ideas of both Baudelaire and Wagner and hence most likely aware of the religious significance they attributed to theatre. In Vision après le sermon, he uses a theatrical structure to portray

a religious event. His painting depicts a spiritual experience in a theatrical setting showing that for Gauguin, too, theatre might well have had a religious importance. Thus not only did the theatre-like arrangement of Vision après le sermon provide a stage for Gauguin as auditor and actor but it also had iconographic significance in its use of theatre to portray the occurrence of a vision.

2. Functions of the Tree

The structure of the tree in Vision après le sermon stretching from lower right to upper left is important. It is bent just as Jacob is bent under the angel's force.²¹ The tree also emerges from the direction of the priest, suggesting a connection between himself and Jacob. Because of its angle, the tree also reminds one of Jacob's ladder:

And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth,
and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels
of God, ascending and descending on it (Gen. 28: 12).

No doubt for Gauguin, the diagonal trunk symbolized the Tree of Knowledge; he himself referred to it as "un pommier," an apple tree.²² It seems most appropriate then that the priest and Jacob, both spiritual leaders, appear closely associated with the Tree of Knowledge.

In Gustave Moreau's paintings of Jacob and the angel, a tree is also depicted, but directly behind the angel who is leaning on one of its branches, suggesting a strong relationship between the two - the angel, a direct link with God - and the tree, perhaps the Tree of Knowledge, both associated with the supernatural. (Both the Tree of Knowledge and the angel would be endowed with limited accessibility; not everyone is entitled to see either one.) Moreau, it is known, was familiar with the works of Eliphas Lévi, a "sorte de mage contemporain" who had written Fables et symboles avec leur explication, a copy of which the artist had in his library.²³ Lévi writes about the active vs.

passive, the male vs. female principle which seems clearly represented by Moreau's passive female angel and the active Jacob.²⁴

In Gauguin's work the tree provides a physical separation of the active and passive not existing in Moreau's paintings. The tree serves to separate the male figures wrestling (as well as the priest) from the silent and still female onlookers - the imagined from the real, the spiritual and supernatural from the physical. As mentioned in Chapter One, both the cow, a manifestation of a tangible, physical reality, and the angel - a symbol for the intangible and the spiritual, are painted by Gauguin touching the tree. Later, Gauguin in writing of Noa-Noa, referred to the concept of matter and spirit.²⁵ Whether or not Gauguin was aware of these ideas as early as 1888 cannot be absolutely ascertained but such ideas were current by the middle of the nineteenth century.²⁶

Thus the tree, echoing Jacob's bent position and emerging from the priest, symbolizes the Tree of Knowledge, separating the active from the passive, the male from the female, the spirit from the matter.

D. The Importance of the Open-eyed Figure at the Centre of Vision après le sermon

In Vision après le sermon, matter (the women and cow)²⁷ to the left and spirit (Jacob and the angel) to the right are unified by the open-eyed figure who gazes at the wrestlers and in doing so, links the left with the right - matter with spirit. Her open eye placed near the centre of the painting was clearly meant by Gauguin to serve some function. Because of her wide, open-eyed gaze, this figure does not appear passive as do the other women, but rather is actively involved and participating in what she is witnessing. She stands for "a union of opposites" - matter and spirit, the active and the passive and therefore can be seen as androgynous.²⁸

The concept of the Androgyne was a popular one in the nineteenth century. Balzac's Séraphitus-Séraphita was based upon this theme.²⁹ Josephin Péladan, Gauguin's contemporary, who founded the Ordre Kabbalistique de la Rose + Croix,³⁰ produced the novel Curieuse in 1886, which dealt with the transformation of a woman into an androgynous ideal. Influenced by Balzac's Séraphita, Péladan has one of his characters, Nebo, in the novel, propose the "grand oeuvre passionnel, l'androgyne complet" to the Princess Paula Riazan, while drawing her portrait:

... considérez-moi comme un grand frère... Vous avez en Séraphita, voyez en moi Séraphitus, vous êtes Minna, nos pieds pose sur la Falberg... 31

He goes on to explain the concept of the Androgyne:

Au commencement, il y avait trois genres: le masculin issu du soleil, le féminin de la terre, et l'androgyne de la lune, qui participe des deux. 32

In Vision après le sermon the feminine is associated with the earth (the women to the left) and the masculine with the sun (the sun shines from the direction of the male wrestlers onto the faces of the women).

Péladan continues:

Ces androgynes étant des êtres complets, devinrent redoutables aux dieux.... "Qu'on les coupe en deux" ordonna Zuex et chaque androgyne fut séparé en un homme et une femme. Des lors, chacun regrettant sa moitié - courut après elle, de la l'amour sexuel qui essaya de reconstituer momentanément la nature primitive, par l'accouplement, mais si tous les corps furent bien séparés en deux sexes, des âmes restèrent androgynes; tels les génies dont l'oeuvre a la grace et la force: Platon, Saint-Jean, Leonard, Shakespeare et Balzac; telle dans le domaine de l'action Judith et Jeanne d'Arc. Les génies et les héros sont androgynes... 33

Geniuses and heroes, like Joan of Arc, are, in Péladan's mind, androgynous.

in Cahier pour Aline (1893), Gauguin refers to Balzac's Séraphita and offers quotations from Péladan.³⁴ Gauguin's Oviri sculpture (1893-5) illustrates the androgynous theme.³⁵ Bodelsen asserts that "the attraction of

l'androgynie was not merely a literary attitude, but something that came to colour Gauguin's whole conception of primitive life."³⁶ She cites as an example the passage in Noa Noa "where he describes the young Tahitian who walks in front of him in the ravine:

... son souple corps d'animal avait des gracieuses formes, il marchait devant moi sans sexe... ³⁷

He comments: "le côté androgynie de sauvage - le peu de difference de sexe chez les animaux".³⁸ Gauguin regards the primitive as androgynous.³⁹

It is appropriate, then, with Gauguin achieving the primitive in his painting of Vision après le sermon that he should have included the androgynous open-eyed figure in this work.

Not only is the open-eyed figure iconographically significant in its representation of the androgynous but it also portrays the image of an important woman in Gauguin's life. Shortly after the completion of Vision après le sermon, Gauguin wrote to Madeleine Bernard, Emile Bernard's sister, who had been staying in Pont-Aven with her brother and to whom Gauguin had apparently grown quite attached, calling her "Chère soeur".⁴⁰ He advised her that if she wanted to be someone, to find happiness solely in her independence and her conscience, it was now time for her to think of such things. He maintained that she should regard herself as Androgynie, without sex; heart and soul, but as divine, and not a slave of matter, or the body. The virtues of a woman he said, were exactly the same as the virtues of a man and were the Christian virtues - duty towards one's fellows based on kindness, and always sacrifice:

Si au contraire, vous voulez être quelqu'un avoir pour unique bonheur celui qui est le résultat de votre indépendance et de votre conscience, il n'est que temps d'y penser et dans trois ans d'agir.

Premièrement il faut vous considérer comme Androgynie sans sexe; je veux dire par là que l'âme, le coeur; tout ce qui est divin enfin, ne doit pas être esclave de la matière, c'est à

dire du corps. Les vertus d'une femme sont semblables entièrement à celles de l'homme et sont les vertus chrétiennes - avoir un devoir vis-à-vis de ses semblables, basé sur la bonté, et toujours le sacrifice, n'ayez pour juge que le conscience. 41

He warned her not to flout divine laws, and to crush vanity above all the vanity of money: "Mais supprimez la vanité qui est le lot de la médiocrité, et dans les vanités celle de l'argent."⁴² This seems an indirect criticism of Mette, a purse-proud Philistine, as Gauguin had called her.⁴³ He was in effect warning Madeleine not to be like Mette and saw in her a promise of all the virtues lacking in his wife. Gauguin told Madeleine that if she was ever in need of help, she could turn to him (and other artists) as to a brother and ask for support. He felt that they, the artists, were also in need of her defence, of her aid and that she could be persuasive. Hence each could render the other a good service, and bring about an exchange of different forces:

... Ne craignez pas. Si vous avez besoin d'aide de vous adresser à nous en criant: "frère, soutenez-moi!" Nous autres artistes nous avons besoin aussi de votre défense, de votre aide, et vous pouvez persuader. Ce serait donc bienfait pour bienfait, un échange de deux forces différentes. 44

In Vision après le sermon the androgynous linking figure of the open-eyed woman then symbolically portrays Madeleine Bernard. Gauguin in real life perceived Madeleine as androgynous. In Vision après le sermon the open-eyed figure and the priest are related by their turned heads, their positions. At the same time she looks to the wrestlers; with her direct open gaze she appears, in comparison with the other women with closed eyes and bowed heads, to be the only one who truly understands the vision before her. Because of her proximity to both the priest and the wrestlers, she does indeed appear to be interested, sympathetic, involved, supportive, even inspiring, thus recalling what Gauguin was asking Madeleine to be for the artists.

Comparing the open-eyed woman's features to those of the figure on the lower left corner of the painting - one perceives that there are distinct

differences in their physiognomy. It appears that no matter how abstracted or stylized their features are here - Gauguin used two different models for the rendering of these two women. There is no indication in his writing as to any models employed, but in his sketches and paintings one finds a sketch of the heads of two Breton women, the left one bearing a strong likeness to the lower left corner figure in Vision après le sermon; although the head in the sketch is turned to face the other way, the same broad features, curved forehead, nose, full lips, rounded cheeks appear in both.⁴⁵ But what of the open-eyed figure? A comparison with the painting Gauguin executed of Madeleine (W#240) in 1888 shows a striking resemblance of features - the same oval, longish face, the thin fine features, long pointed nose, narrow jaw, long slender neck, thin upper lip, fuller lower lip.⁴⁶

The open-eyed figure then not only parallels in the painting what Gauguin saw as Madeleine's role in real life but it also closely resembles her physical features.

Although there is apparently no evidence on which to base such an argument, one is left wondering whether Gauguin has not in contrast to Madeleine portrayed Mette as the scowling woman on the left side of the painting turned away from the wrestlers.

E. Conclusion

All the major elements of Vision après le sermon then contribute to making this work an autobiographic document for Gauguin, expressing his situation in life at this time, as well as his personal convictions about himself, his life and his art.

The theme of wrestling was an appropriate metaphor in Gauguin's life; part of his artistic struggle resulted because the artist - like Jacob -

encountered difficulties while aspiring to become leader. Gauguin expressed himself as a spiritual leader, instructing his "disciples" to create like the "Divine Master" and advising Madeleine not to flout divine laws, not to be a slave to matter but rather to support the artist - himself. Gauguin had his own group of followers in Brittany - just as Jacob in the biblical story or the priest in Vision après le sermon, with his parish of women - notably the open-eyed figure - who listened to his sermon and were inspired to see a vision.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century the artist assumed the role of seer and illuminator. Art was considered the "Godlike rendered visible," and became a visionary experience - like the vision in Vision après le sermon was for the priest, his parish and the viewer.

Gauguin was not religious in the orthodox sense but rather in a personal way; his religious quest was a search for the primitive. In his estimation the Breton people with their pious and superstitious nature were primitive. Hence, it is appropriate that he should have dressed as a Breton fisherman and that he should have painted himself as a Breton priest in Vision après le sermon along with Breton peasants experiencing a vision. He maintained that, in finding the primitive and savage in Brittany, he wanted to achieve the same in his painting. This he managed to do not only by expressing, as he put it, a rustic and superstitious simplicity in his portrayal of the peasants, but also by including the androgynous theme - the figure of Madeleine - an important element in his conception of the primitive and his search for self-realization.

In his style Gauguin did not follow any dogma, but reordered nature to fit his own purposes, not according to any prescribed laws but according to his own temperament. Gauguin reacted against a naturalistic or impressionistic

style by developing a more meditative approach to nature in his art. Art became for him, as he puts it, an abstraction with suggestive qualities, resulting from dreaming in front of nature. The concept of the dream in the nineteenth century was closely associated with this meditative approach. The dream as the artist's personal view of reality - may be compared to Gauguin's idea of dreaming in front of nature - and subsequently painting one's vision. This idea was represented by him in Vision après le sermon in his depiction of the peasants dreaming and meditating in front of nature and consequently experiencing a vision. For Gauguin, the artistic process is the same: like the priest inspiring the vision, Gauguin, the visionary artist with his meditative approach, painted his own vision, Vision après le sermon.

The concept of dream, of art becoming an expression of inner visions, of art (including theatrical performances) assuming a religious significance, of the poet-artist aspiring to become a visionary - all these ideas were prevalent in Gauguin's time. All are reflected in Vision après le sermon by Gauguin through the use of a non-naturalistic style and personal imagery. Hence not only do Gauguin's artistic beliefs correspond with those of his contemporaries but these are literally depicted in Vision après le sermon.

Vision après le sermon, in its choice of subject and style, mirrored Gauguin's ideas in 1888. Gauguin himself did believe and continued to believe that, as in Aurier's words, he was "ce grand artiste génie, à l'âme de primitif et, un peu, de sauvage," "l'initiateur d'un art nouveau..." - "un de ces sublimes voyeurs"⁴⁷ - and he painted Vision après le sermon with such views in mind.

SUMMARY

Chapter One outlined the general content of the thesis and specific content of following chapters. The intention to focus on the concept of vision as a means to understand Gauguin's Vision après le sermon was disclosed. Existing literature on the painting was considered to discover that, although the majority of critics had regarded the work as one of the artist's major achievements, the evolution and development of Vision après le sermon had not been adequately investigated or convincingly dealt with. In contrast to Herban's belief, it was argued that Gauguin was influenced by the Breton environment and its religious festivals in general rather than by any one specific pardon. A description of the painting followed. It was suggested that Vision après le sermon is deliberately ordered in its tightly structured elements and that certain elements, due to their placement in the composition, have iconographic significance. Finally, the existence of a repertoire of motifs providing continuity in Gauguin's oeuvre up to and including Vision après le sermon was explored.

Chapter Two traced Gauguin's development as an artist to reveal the emergence of a visionary style. It was argued that Vision après le sermon was a natural progression in his artistic growth. Gauguin painted his participants in a meditative, dream-like state, which resulted in the occurrence of a vision. His style was appropriate to this manner of depicting the occurrence of a vision, since the artist himself had developed a meditative, dream-like approach to nature, making his style personal, abstract and suggestive. Such qualities, it was shown, were to Gauguin's mind inherent in the art of Cézanne, the Japanese, the Primitives, Delacroix and Redon, to which Gauguin felt a strong attraction. It was demonstrated that, by wishing to identify with these people and by working from memory, painting like a child, a mystic

and a primitive, Gauguin was reacting against a naturalistic or literal representation in order to express his own vision or his own inner reality.

Chapter Three discussed Gauguin's opinion of himself as a visionary, struggling to be accepted and recognized as an artistic leader. It was shown that in comparison to other depictions of Jacob wrestling with the angel, Gauguin's Vision après le sermon emphasized the physical nature of wrestling - an appropriate metaphor for the artist, in light of the difficulties he encountered as a consequence of his chosen career. The mystical and intellectual concerns of the period in which he was working were investigated to show that Gauguin's beliefs concerning the artist as visionary and spiritual leader - with the work of art having religious significance - reflected contemporary attitudes. Gauguin's view of himself as a poet was discussed since the concept of the poet as a seer was prevalent in this time, as was the concept of the dream as a personal vision. It was pointed out that Gauguin's depiction of women dreaming and meditating in Vision après le sermon and his view of art being an abstraction resulting from dreaming in front of nature were part of the "rêve" concept. Albert Aurier's article of 1891 was discussed at length to reveal a contemporary critic's view of Gauguin as seer, revealer, illuminator and initiator of a new mystical tendency in art, which corresponded with Gauguin's ideas of himself and his painting. Gauguin's exposure to and interest in religion was conveyed to show that he was opposed to any dogmatic or orthodox approach, and that he chose to depict the Breton vision of Jacob wrestling with the angel for personal reasons. Gauguin, in his search for the primitive both in life and in art, interpreted the religious nature of the Breton peasants as primitive - a quality he achieved in Vision après le sermon.

Chapter Four showed how Gauguin's ideas were expressed through his imagery

in Vision après le sermon. The meaning and function of various elements in the work were examined to demonstrate how the painting was for the artist an appropriate vehicle for self-expression. The major elements of Vision après le sermon were shown to contribute to making this work a culminating statement about both the artist's role as a visionary leader and his personal convictions regarding his life and art. Parallels were drawn between Gauguin and the figures of both Jacob and the priest. The iconographic significance of the theatre-like structure, the inclusion of the tree as a separating device between matter and spirit and the importance of the open-eyed, androgynous figure were discussed.

It was concluded that Gauguin's views concerning the concept of vision as subject and artistic mode corresponded with those of his contemporaries and, through his style and imagery, were clearly represented in Vision après le sermon.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN FOOTNOTES

- Baudelaire - Baudelaire, Charles. Curiosités esthétiques. L'Art Romantique. Paris: Éditions Garnier Frères, 1962.
- Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics - Boledsen, Merete. Gauguin's Ceramics. London: Faber and Faber, 1964.
- Gauguin, Avant et Après - Gauguin, Paul. Avant et Après. Paris: Les Éditions G. Cres et Cie., 1923.
- Goldwater - Goldwater, Robert. Paul Gauguin. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1928.
- Gray - Gray, Christopher. Sculpture and Ceramics of Paul Gauguin. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1963.
- Jaworska - Jaworska, Wladyslawa. Gauguin and the Pont-Aven School. London: Thames and Hudson, 1972.
- J. Wasiutynski - Jirat-Wasiutynski, Wojtech. Gauguin in the Context of Symbolism. Princeton University, Ph.D., 1975.
- Loevgren - Loevgren, Sven. The Genesis of Modernism. Seurat, Gauguin, Van Gogh and French Symbolism in the 1880's. U.S.A.: Indiana University Press, 1971.
- Maisels - Maisels, Ziva. Gauguin's Religious Themes. Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel, Ph.D., 1970.
- Malingue - Gauguin, Paul. Lettres de Gauguin à sa femme et à ses amis. ed. Maurice Malingue. Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1949.
- Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh - Musée National Vincent van Gogh. Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh. Amsterdam, 1975.
- Rewald, Post-Impressionism - Rewald, John. Post-Impressionism. From Van Gogh to Gauguin. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1962.
- Rookmaaker - Rookmaaker, H.R. Synthetist Art Theories. Genesis and Nature of the Ideas on Art of Gauguin and his Circle. Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1959.
- Roskill - Roskill, Mark. Van Gogh, Gauguin and the Impressionist Circle. Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, Ltd., 1970.
- Van Gogh, Letters - Van Gogh, Vincent. The Complete Letters of Vincent van Gogh. 3 vols. Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, Ltd., 1959.
- Wildenstein (or "W" followed by a plate number) - Wildenstein, Georges and Raymond Cogniat. Paul Gauguin, Catalogue, Vol. 1. Paris: Édition d'Études et de Documents, 1964.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER ONE

1. Wildenstein, Gauguin, p. 90. This is the title given to the work by Wildenstein and is generally accepted and most commonly used. cf. Wildenstein, pp. 90-1: W#245: "La Vision après le sermon ou La Lutte de Jacob avec L'Ange; toile. H. 0, 73; L. 0, 92; Signé et daté en bas à gauche: P. Gauguin 1888" Full provenance for the work follows, as well as a list of the literature on the painting.
2. Gauguin has depicted the Biblical story of Jacob wrestling with the Angel, Genesis, 32, verses 22-32 (The Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version containing the Old and New Testaments, New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1952):
 22. The same night he arose and took his two wives, his two maids, and his eleven children, and crossed the ford of the Jabbok.
 23. He took them and sent them across the stream, and likewise everything that he had.
 24. And Jacob was left alone; and a man wrestled with him until the breaking of the day.
 25. When the man saw that he did not prevail against Jacob, he touched the hollow of his thigh; and Jacob's thigh was put out of joint as he wrestled with him.
 26. Then he said, "Let me go, for the day is breaking." But Jacob said, "I will not let you go, unless you bless me."
 27. And he said to him, "What is your name?" And he said, "Jacob."
 28. Then he said, "Your name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel, for you have striven with God and with men, and have prevailed."
 29. Then Jacob asked him, "Tell me, I pray, your name." But he said, "Why is it that you ask my name?" And there he blessed him.
 30. So Jacob called the name of the place Peniel, saying, "For I have seen God face to face, and yet my life is preserved."
 31. The sun rose upon him as he passed Peniel, limping because of his thigh.
 32. Therefore to this day the Israelites do not eat the sinew of the hip which is upon the hollow of the thigh, because he touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh on the sinew of the hip.

The story, as it appears in an 1887 French edition of the Bible, follows: La Saint Bible (Paris: Depot de la Société Biblique Britannique et Etrangère, 1887), p. 34:

22. Et s'étant levé cette nuit-là, il prit ses deux femmes et ses deux servantes et ses onze enfants, et il passa le gué de Jabbok.
23. Il les prit donc, et leur fit passer le torrent. Il fit aussi passer tout ce qu'il avait.
24. Or, Jacob étant demeuré seul, un homme lutta avec lui, jusqu'à ce que l'aube du jour fût levée.
25. Et quand cet homme-là vit qu'il ne pouvait le vaincre, il toucha l'endroit de l'emboîture de sa hanche; ainsi l'emboîture de l'os de la hanche de Jacob fut démise pendant que l'homme luttait avec lui.
26. Et cet homme lui dit: Laisse-moi, car l'aube du jour est levée. Mais il dit: Je ne te laisserai point, que tu ne m'aies béni.

27. Et il lui dit: Quel est ton nom? Et il répondit: Jacob.
 28. Alors il dit: ton nom ne sera plus Jacob, mais Israël; car tu as été le plus fort en luttant avec Dieu et avec les hommes.
 29. Et Jacob l'interrogea, disant: Je t^e prie, apprends-moi ton nom. Et il répondit: Pourquoi demandes-tu mon nom? Et il bénit là.
 30. Et Jacob nomma le lieu, Péniel; car dit-il, j'ai vu Dieu face à face, et mon âme a été délivrée.
 31. Et le soleil se leva, aussitôt qu'il eut passé Péniel; et il était boiteux d'une hanche.
 32. C'est pourquoi jusqu'à ce jour les enfants d'Israël ne mangent point du muscle retirant, qui est à l'endroit de l'emboîture de la hanche, parce que cet homme-là toucha l'endroit de l'emboîture de la hanche de Jacob, à l'endroit du muscle retirant."
3. The blessing of birthright had been bestowed upon Jacob by his father Isaac, who had been deceived by Jacob and his mother Rebekah (Gen. XXVI, v. 5-29) into believing he (Jacob) was Esau, the first-born who rightfully should have received them:
28. May God give you of the dew of heaven and of the fatness of the earth and plenty of grain and wine.
 29. Let people serve you and nations bow down to you. Be lord over your brothers, and may your mother's sons bow down to you. Cursed be every one who curses you, and blessed be everyone who blesses you. (Gen. XXVI, v. 28-29)

The Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological and Literature (ed., The Rev. John McClintock, DD and James Strong, S.T.D.) (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1969, vol. 4, p. 728) notes: "... The following sacred and important privileges have been mentioned as connected with primogeniture in patriarchal times and as constituting the object of Jacob's desire:

- (a) Superior rank in the family (see Gen. xlix, 3-4)
- (b) A double portion of the family's property... (see Deut. xxi, 17, and Gen. xlvii, 22)
- (c) The priestly office in the patriarchal church (see Numb. vii, 17-19)
- (d) A conditional promise or adumbration of the heavenly inheritance (Gen. xxv)
- (e) The promise of the Seed in which all nations should be blessed, though not included in the birthright, may have been so regarded by the patriarchs, as it was by their descendants (Rom. ix, 8 and Shuckford, viii)."

When Isaac discovers that it was Jacob who took away Esau's blessing he says to Esau:

Behold, away from the fatness of the earth shall your dwelling be and away from the dew of heaven on high.

By your sword you shall live, and you shall serve your brother; but when you break loose you shall break his yoke from your neck. (Gen. xxvii, v. 39-40).

Isaac's words bring true God's prophesy to Rebekah who had been informed, prior to the birth of Jacob and Esau, that her offspring would be the founders of two nations, and that the elder should serve the younger (Gen. xxv, v. 23):

Two nations are in your womb and two peoples, born of you, shall be divided; the one shall be stronger than the other, the elder shall serve the younger.

Jacob's conception is stated by some to have been supernatural (Cyclopaedia, Op. Cit., p. 728). Esau, hating Jacob for taking away his blessing and birthright (Gen. xxvii, v. 36) vows to kill him (Gen. xxiii, v. 41). Learning this, Jacob is forced to leave the land of promise and live with his cousins in Haran. Before departing, Jacob again receives his father's blessing, "which, under the aid of divine Providence, was to end in placing the family in possession of the land of Palestine, and in so doing, to make it a multitude of people (Cyclopaedia..., Op. Cit., p. 720):

God Almighty bless you and make you fruitful and multiply you, that you may become a company of peoples. May he give the blessing of Abraham to you and to your descendants with you, that you may take possession of the land of your sojournings which God gave to Abraham (Gen. xxviii, v. 304).

"A third phase of Jacob's history began with his re-entrance into the promised land and his settlement in the heart of the country. But first an understanding with Esau was necessary, and then to take possession of the disputed heritage, for which a severe struggle was required..." (Samuel Macauley Jackson, D.D., LL.D. (ed), The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, New York: Funk and Wagnolls Company, 1910, p. 730).

The angel who appears to wrestle with Jacob is referred to as a "man" in the biblical text and has been considered by many to have been God himself. Gerhard von Rad in Genesis (translated by John H. Marks) (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1952), p. 317, claims that "this nocturnal assailant was later considered to be Yahweh himself, God of heaven and earth at work with Jacob."

The Cyclopaedia notes that God "suddenly appeared in the form of a man, and in the guise of an enemy wrestling with him and contending for the mastery. Esau was still at some distance but here was an adversary already present with whom Jacob had to maintain a severe and perilous conflict; and thus plainly an adversary in appearance only human, but in reality the angel of the Lord's presence. It was as much as to say, "You have reason to be afraid of the enmity of one mightier than Esau and, if you can only prevail in getting deliverance from this; there is no fear that matters will go well with you otherwise, right with God, you may trust him to set you right with your brother." The ground and reason of the matter lay in Jacob's deceitful and wicked conduct before leaving the land of Canaan, which had fearfully compromised the character of God, and brought disturbance into Jacob's relation to the covenant. Leaving the land of Canaan covered with guilt, and liable to wrath, he must now re-enter it amid sharp contending, such as might lead to great searchings of heart, deep spiritual abasement, and the renunciation of all sinful and crooked devices..." (Op. Cit., p. 730).

4. Jacob's receipt of the blessing and the name of Israel may be interpreted as an answer from God to his prayer (Gen. xxxiii, v. 11-12):
 Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my brother, from the hand of Esau, for I fear him, lest he come and slay us all, the mothers with the children.

The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge explains Jacob's struggle:

Jacob succeeded by the help of spiritual powers (Gen. xxxii, 24 sqq.) After such a victory no human being could do him harm. The dreaded Esau received him kindly and retired again to the desert land of the Edomites while Jacob established himself in Shechem..." (Op. Cit., pp. 74-5).

Jacob realizes after the struggle, "I have seen God face to face, and yet my life is preserved" (Gen. xxxii, v. 30). Gerhard von Rad, (Op. Cit., p. 318) writes "according to the common Israelite conception, to see God meant death".

5. The Cyclopaedia contains the following: "... In attestation of the fact, and for a suitable commemoration of it, he had his name changed from Jacob to Israel (combatant or wrestler with God) ... his preservation was a sign of reconciliation and blessing" (Op. Cit., p. 731). Throughout Jacob's life, God had shown him special favour and support, promised him protection and blessing. He found himself again and again in close personal communion with God. When he had set out from Beersheba on his way towards Haran he came to a certain place, stopping there for the night. He dreamed he saw a ladder, resting on the ground with its top reaching to heaven, and angels of God were going up and down upon it. The Lord, standing above it, said to him:

"I am the Lord, the God of Abraham your father and the God of Isaac; the land on which you lie I will give to you and to your descendants; and your descendants shall be like the dust of the earth, and you shall spread abroad to the west and to the east and to the north and to the south; and by you and your descendants shall all the families of the earth bless themselves. Behold I am with you and will keep you wherever you go, and will bring you back to this land; for I will not leave you until I have done that of which I have spoken to you" (Gen. xxviii, v. 13-15).

The repeated acts of God's favour to Jacob, reflect God's superior blessing for him. After the struggle, God tells him to settle in Bethel and says to him,

"Your name is Jacob; no longer shall your name be called Jacob, but Israel shall be your name." So his name was called Israel and God said to him, "I am God Almighty: be fruitful and multiply; a nation and a company of nations shall come from you, and kings shall spring from you. The land which I gave to Abraham and Isaac I will give to you, and I will give the land to your descendants after you (Gen. xxxv. v. 10-12).

6. Unpublished letter written by Gauguin to Vincent from Pont-Aven, September, 1888, from the Van Gogh Rijksmuseum Library, Amsterdam.
7. Malingue, Lettres, #61, p. 124, dated Paris, February, 1888.
8. Malingue, Lettres, #41, p. 91, undated; claimed by Malingue to have been written in Pont-Aven, at the end of June, 1886: "J'ai fini par trouver l'argent de mon voyage en Bretagne..." Also, see #44, p. 96, undated; claimed by Malingue to have been written in Pont-Aven in November, 1886:

"Je partirai pour Paris le 13 de ce mois, quand tu auras à m'écrire écris 257 rue Lecourbe."

9. Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 22, #69: published excerpt from letter written by Gauguin to Vincent from Pont-Aven, September 1888 (same letter as cited in footnote #6).
10. Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 22, #69. Cf. Wildenstein (p. 91) who quotes Charles Chasse, Gauguin et son temps (Paris: La Bibliothèque des Arts, 1955), p. 52: "... c'est cette Vision après le sermon que Gauguin allait vainement offrir ... au curé de Pont-Aven. Nous partîmes pour Nizon, m'a dit Sérusier, en portant le tableau que nous voulions donner au curé de cette paroisse, mais il savait que Gauguin déjà avait essuyé en refus à Pont-Aven et lui aussi repoussa l'offre faite à son église." Pierie Tuarze, the curé in Pont-Aven for thirteen years, wrote in a letter (addressed to the author of this thesis) dated November 23, 1977: "... c'est sans aucun doute à l'église de Nizon que Gauguin, Bernard, etc., avaient voulu offrir ce tableau." My thanks to M. Bodolet at U.B.C. for his assistance in this matter.
11. Malingue, Lettres, p. 140, #71. Cf. Wildenstein, p. 91: "... Envoyé à Paris, chez Théo van Gogh qui l'expose probablement..."
12. See Loevgren, pp. 3-4, for background of the foundation of the Belgian Association of Artists, Les XX in 1883-4: "The official date of the foundation of the Belgian Association of Artists, Les XX, is 4 January 1884. The general program, however, was drawn up at a meeting in a cafe during the autumn of 1883. A prominent citizen with marked literary and artistic interests, Octave Maus, a lawyer at the Court of Appeal in Brussels, became secretary of the group. As its name implies, Les XX consisted of twenty artists, most of whom enjoyed a good reputation in official Belgian art circles... Les XX had no consistent aesthetic program... Les XX assured its members full freedom to realize their personal artistic aspirations..." Cf. Wildenstein, p. 90, cites René Huyghe, Le Carnet de Paul Gauguin, Editar, 1952, p. 73: "Dans Le Carnet ... '7 Vision du Sermon, 1000', 7 indique le numéro de la liste des oeuvres destinées à l'exposition des XX à Bruxelles et 1000 le prix que Gauguin demandait pour cette toile." Cf. also Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 310, in his footnote #1: "The catalogue lists Gauguin's entries as follows: Paul Gauguin, 2 place Lamartine, Arles ... 1. Aux Mangos ... 2. Conversation ... 3. Paysage Breton; 4. Breton et veau; 5. Berger et Bergère; 6. Lutteurs en herbe ... 7. Vision du Sermon; 8. En pleine chaleur; 9. Misères humaines ... 10. Au presbytère; 11. Les mas ... 12: "Vous y passerez, la belle!"
13. Rewald, Post Impressionism, p. 271. Maus reports: "Of all the exhibitors the one who has the distinction of exciting the utmost hilarity is M. Paul Gauguin ... because one of his landscapes shows blue trunks and a yellow sky, people conclude that M. Gauguin does not have the most elementary notions of colour, and a Vision after the sermon, symbolized by the struggle of Jacob with the angel on a vermillion field, makes them believe that the artist intended to pull the visitors' legs in a most presumptuous way. I myself humbly admit my sincere admiration for M. Gauguin, one of the most refined colorists I know and a painter who,

more than any other, avoids the customary tricks. I am attracted by the primitive character of his paintings as well as by the charm of his harmonies. There is something of Cézanne in him, and something of Guillaumin, but his most recent canvases show that he is developing and that the artist is already freeing himself from all obsessive influences ... none of his paintings have been understood by the public ... all are praised by Degas, which should amply compensate the artist for all other opinions, the ironic echoes of which must have come to his ears."

14. Albert Aurier, "Le Symbolisme en peinture-Paul Gauguin," Mercure de France, March 1891, pp. 155-165. With consideration to what happens to the painting after the curé at Nizon rejects it, cf. Gauguin's unpublished letter to Theo van Gogh, written from Pont-Aven, October 1888: "Le mère de Bernard va à Paris ces jour-ci et vous apportera quelques toiles de moi. Bernard vous apportera le reste le mois prochain... La tableau d'Église vous sera remis et vous pourrez le montrer. Malheureusement il est fait pour une Église..." (A portion of the above-quoted letter appears in Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 25, #611). The painting was sold on February 23, 1891, for 900 francs to a Henry Meilheurat and later owned by a Sir Michael Sadler, and finally acquired in 1925 by the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh (Wildenstein, p. 91: "... Vente Gauguin 23 février 1891, No. 25 du p.v., no. 6 du catalogue (900 F) à Henry Meilheurat des Pruraux; -- Sir Michael Sadler; -- Acquis en 1925 par la National Gallery of Scotland, Edinbourg.")
15. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 201.
16. Goldwater, p. 80.
17. Jaworska, p. 20.
18. Roskill, p. 104.
19. Cf. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 182: "That in the actual composition of The Vision after the Sermon Gauguin borrowed features from Bernard's Bretonnes dans un pré is, however, obvious. Like Bernard he painted his Breton girls in a meadow against a monochrome abstract background, the perspective being achieved by the relative dimensions of the figures; ... the picture acted as a catalyst on his art." Cf. Jaworska, p. 20, who discusses the impact of Bernard's color theory on Gauguin. Cf. Y. Thirion, "L'Influence de l'estampe japonaise dans l'oeuvre de Gauguin," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, January-February, 1956, pp. 98-100; Loevgren, pp. 127-31; he remarks that the two paintings are almost the same size; V. Jirat-Wasiutynski, Gauguin in the Context of Symbolism, pp. 148-9. Roskill, on the other hand, negates Bernard's influence altogether (Roskill, pp. 104-6).
20. Thirion, pp. 97-104; Loevgren, pp. 130-2; Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 198; Goldwater, p. 80.
21. Jaworska, p. 23; Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 179, Goldwater, p. 80; Loevgren, p. 129; Maisels, p. 26; Thirion, pp. 103-4.

22. Mathew Herban III, "The Origin of Paul Gauguin's Vision after the Sermon: Jacob Wrestling with the Angel (1888)", The Art Bulletin, Vol. LIX, No. 3, September 1977, pp. 415-420.
23. Ibid., p. 420.
24. Ibid., p. 418.
25. V. Jirat-Wasiutynski, "Letters to the Editor," The Art Bulletin, Vol. LX, No. 2, June 1978, p. 396.
26. Ibid., p. 396. "Gauguin would have had to take a cab 17 kilometers to Quimperle, and then a train in the direction of Auray, where he would probably have had to change to another train in the direction of Pontivy, in order to alight at St. Nicholas-des-Eaux approximately 100 kilometers later. Not only is this a long journey which, surprisingly, has left no record in Gauguin's letters, but the artist simply could not have afforded the journey and accommodation necessary at the pardon. Gauguin's letters from June and July 1888 refer repeatedly to his penniless condition and to a mounting bill at the Pension Gloanec in Pont-Aven (Lettres de Gauguin a sa femme et a ses amis, ed., Maurice Malingue, new and rev. ed., Grasset, Paris, 1949, 131-33). Only after Theo van Gogh bought 300 francs worth of Gauguin's pottery, in late September, was he able to leave Pont-Aven to join Vincent in Arles (Ibid., p. 141)."
27. Herban, Op. Cit., p. 420. Regarding the date of the Pardon of St. Nicodème: cf. Findlay Muirhead, and Marcel Mon-Marché, eds., The Blue Guides Brittany (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1928), p. xxii for a list of pardons and when they occur. Regarding the first Sunday in August falling on August fifth and it being the tenth Sunday after Trinity, cf. Massey Hamilton Shepherd Jr., The Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. liii: Tables for finding Holy Days, in 1888 Easter Sunday fell on April 1; p. 1: Tables and rules for the movable and immovable feasts, "Easter Day, on which the rest depend, is always the First Sunday after the Full Moon, which happens upon or next after the Twenty-first Day of March ... Trinity Sunday is Eight Weeks after Easter".
28. Herban, Op. Cit., p. 420.
29. Professor William Adams of the Vancouver School of Theology conveyed this to me in conversation, citing how the 1662 and 1549 English Common Books of Prayer do not include Gen. 32: 22-31, as a reading for the tenth Sunday after Trinity, but rather the passage is included as a morning prayer on January 15 for the 1549 Prayer Book.
30. Mathew Herban, Op. Cit., p. 420. Herban calls this an "equally ancient breviary" (p. 420), comparing it to the Breviarium Romanum. In actual fact the breviary of the Celtic Church was introduced earlier, in the 7th century, whereas by the 12th century the Roman one was dominant everywhere in Western Europe with the exception of Spain and Milan. When Herban writes of the ancient Sarum usage (see his footnote 43, p. 420) originating in northern France and becoming widely used in Great Britain and Ireland and remaining popular in Brittany in the form

Celtic-Christian rites into the early part of the 20th century, he cites F.E. Warren (Liturgy and Ritual in the Celtic Church, Oxford, 1881, p. 25) who only mentions in connection with Brittany that the Celtic Church "began by the colonization of Brittany from the British Church in the 5th century" giving no indication of what follows (p. 24). He also cites Batiffol (Histoire du brevière roman, Paris, 1893) but gives no pages. When Herban lists the Roman breviary readings for August and September (footnote 43, p. 420) (from P. Salmon's The Breviary through the Centuries, Collegeville, Minn. 1951, II and III) he clearly wishes to demonstrate that Gen. 32: 22-31 is lacking (for August the lessons are from the Book of Kings and for September, Job, Tobias, and Esther). Yet one may well ask, was it even necessary for Gauguin to have heard a sermon himself based on Jacob wrestling with the Angel (or on any subject for that matter) in order to paint Vision après le sermon as he did.

31. From a letter dated November 23, 1977, by Pierie Tuarze.
 32. Herban, Op. Cit., p. 420.
 33. Ibid., p. 420.
 34. Anatole Le Braz, Au Pays des Pardons (Paris: Calmann-Levy, Editeurs, 1901), pp. II, III: Le Braz has described the serious nature of pardons and noted the health-giving properties of the fountains' waters and he goes on to say that only toward evening, when Vespers are over, do the festivities begin, rustic and primitive in nature: "Vers le soir seulement, après veprès, les divertissements s'organisent. Plaisirs agrestes et primitifs. On s'attroupe pour jouer aux noix, dans le gazon, au pied des ormes. Les gars se défient à la lutte..." (p. III).
- Herban follows this quote with a statement about the young men striving for the honour of carrying the martyred Saint Nicodemus's gold-embroidered, crimson banner at the head of the pardon's final procession (p. 420) implying this was what the wrestling matches were about, for he continues a discussion about wrestling in the next paragraph. Yet the source he cites, Macquoid, p. 398, does not say a single word about wrestling, or for young men striving to carry the banner. Reference is only made to the procession of men and women carrying lighted candles, crosses, and crimson and gold banners (no indication of any "gold-embroidered, crimson banner" of Saint Nicodemus). See K.S. Macquoid, "The Fair at St. Nicodème," Temple Bar, XLVI, March 1876, pp. 386-399.
35. Brittany Blue Guide, Op. Cit. p. xxi.
 36. Herbert R. Lottman, "What's Doing Along the Brittany Coast," The New York Times, Sunday, September 12, 1976, p. XX-9.
 37. Alexandre Bouet/Olivier Perrin, "... un champion s'approche de l'arbre qui, suivant l'annonce de la fête, porte des prix, comme un pommier des pommes." Breiz-Izel ou Vie des Bretons de L'Armorique (Paris: Tchou, 1970), p. 287.
 38. Cf. all drawings by Olivier Perrin in Breiz-Izel; men have shoulder-length hair.

39. Herban, Op. Cit., p. 419. Among others, Herban cites Macquoid (p. 398) in describing the red fields caused by the fire's reflected light but Macquoid only observes that the bonfire casts "a lurid glare on all around".
40. Le Braz is giving a short account of a procession forming, with certain individuals carrying the banners and young people standing along the route to be followed by the fire: "Dans le plaine, le recteur, de sa proper main, met le feu au bûcher de lande. - Le feu! Le feu de joie! Et tous de crier en chœur: - Iou! Iou! Et voici maintenant le tour du ménétrier." Op. Cit., p. V.
41. Ibid., pp. 250-2: "An Tan! An Tan! Il monte, lui aussi, le cri sacré des immémoriales liturgies solaires, jailli du plus profond de l'âme des ancêtres aux lèvres de leurs lointains descendants. Ainsi, les Celtes primitifs glorifiaient l'Esprit de lumière et de vie, autour des feux de la tribu, sur les pentes de l'Himalaya... Le spectacle est d'une indicible beauté barbare. Souple et reptilienne, la flamme enlace maintenant le bucher de ses anneaux... Le rayonnement du dieu est devenu si intense qu'on n'en peut plus supporter ni la chaleur ni l'éclat." Cf. also F. Gostling, The Bretons at Home (London: Methuen and Co., 1909), p. 23, for her description of the Festival of Fire: "... Down every dark street flowed a double file of lights, each casting a bright reflection on the face of the person who bore it..."
42. Herban, Op. Cit., pp. 418, 420.
43. Macquoid, Op. Cit., pp. 386, 387, 391, 393, 397, 399.
44. Herban, Op. Cit., p. 418.
45. Ibid., pp. 417-8: Herban contends: "Paul Gauguin's use of the cow in conjunction with the Jacob story is unique ... the cow is the symbolic attribute of four Breton saints venerated as protectors of horned beasts: Saint Cornely, Nicodème, Herbot (or Herve) and Theogonnie: it is with this connotation that the cow image provides the necessary link between symbolism and Gauguin's actual experience." To further strengthen his argument, Herban describes the pilgrimage fountains by the Chapel of St. Nicodemus, and offers: "The attribute figures, carved in relief, are still extant and Saint Nicodemus's cow is still here (Fig. 7)." Yet Macquoid, Op. Cit., calls it an ox, not a cow, and G.W. Edwards' description in Brittany and the Bretons (London: Herbert and Daniel, 1910), p. 73, maintains the figure is an ox as well: "The church of Saint Nicodème is pointed out, by authorities as the most beautiful existing structure of the kind in all Morbihan. I was most interested, however, in the fountains dedicated to Saint Gaenaliel, who appears with an ox beside him attended by a binou or piper, and to St. Nicodémus and Abibo, who are accompanied by a human-headed ox, or bull, and a horseman... Because we know for certain, from Gauguin's own description, that a cow exists in his painting Vision après le sermon ("La vache sous l'arbre est tout petite par rapport à la vérité, et se cabre." - unpublished letter to Vincent, September 1888). Herban's argument does not seem at all soundly based.

46. The Pont-Aven curé, Pierie Tuarze, writes of the Pont-Aven church façade as being decorated with an angel with outstretched wings: "l'église de Pont-Aven, porte sur sa façade un ange (la tête) avec les ailes déployées ..." With regards to the red colour of the field in Vision après le sermon Emile Bernard's painting of the same year, Buckwheat, shows a rich red background as well; the subject of harvesting indicates the fields in Brittany might have taken on such a shade during autumn. For illustrations of women in Breton costume, in praying attitudes, on their knees, see Breiz-Izel, Op. Cit., pp. 293, 298.
47. Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 22, letter 69, to Vincent from Pont-Aven, September 1888. Herban, Op. Cit., p. 420.
48. Anatole le Braz, La Plume, March 1894, p. 81: "Un autre cycle comprend les sujets empruntés à la Bible, la Creation du Monde, par exemple, et la Vie de Jacob." Maisels mentions the same play in her thesis, p. 11, Foot.72.
49. La Vision de Jacob.

Lorsque Jacob, errant sur la route lointaine,
Fuyait vers le pays où Laban demeurerait,
Il s'arrêta le soir au bord d'une fontaine,
Dont la source, dans l'ombre, auprès de lui pleurerait.

Des bruits vagues et sourds faisaient l'âme inquiète;
Les crimes, dans la nuit, craignaient d'être expiés.
Et la pierre était froide où reposait sa tête,
Et le terre boueuse où reposaient ses pieds.

Or Jacob ce soir-là s'endormit plein de crainte.
Mais ceux sur qui Dieu veille auront toujours la paix,
Puisqu'une vision majestueuse et sainte
Apporta la lumière en son sommeil épais.

Jacob dormait. Mais Dieu veillait pour un mystère.
Jacob vit apparaître une échelle de feu,
Et cette échelle en bas descendait jusqu'à terre,
Et cette échelle en haut s'élevait jusqu'à Dieu.

Vos légends, Seigneur, sont pleines de symboles,
Puisque vous permettez au cœur las du péché
De découvrir, au fond de vos saintes paroles
Le sens mystérieux dans vos livres caché.

Car nous avons peiné sur des routes étranges,
Où nous ne comptions plus les deuils et les affronts;
Et nous voici ce soir couchés parmi les fanges,
Et les cailloux sont durs où reposent nos fronts.

Tantôt, dans la clarté sereine des journées,
Nous allions sans faiblir, assurés du soleil.
La nuit nous trouble et rend nos âmes consternées:
Lequel donc, parmi nous, ne craint pas le sommeil?

Plus d'un ce soir est seul et songe avec des larmes
 A l'abri maternel qui trop tôt lui manqua,
 Et qu'il est pour toujours sans défense et sans armes
 S'il n'a plus près de lui sa mère Rébecca.

Croit'il donc, celui-là, qu'à l'aurore naissante
 Un doux accueil l'attend au bout de son chemin,
 Et, pour le consoler de la patrie absente,
 Que Rachel et Lia lui souriront demain?

Non! ce siècle est mauvais! Et cetter nuit est pire
 Que la nuit de Jacob au pays de Luza!
 Le mal de tous côtés élargit son empire!
 L'homme a déifié tout ce qui l'abusa!

Voici l'heure lugubre et les mornes ténèbres!
 Les vents nous ont soufflé le doute et le mépris!
 Des prêcheurs du néant j'entends les voix funèbres:
 Ils ne nous donnent rien, mais ils nous ont tout prix!

Vous, mon Dieu, montrez nous l'échelle de lumière!
 Nous ne tenterons pas les sommets réservés;
 Mais la nuit sur nos yeux ne sera plus entière.
 Elevons nos regards, et nous serons sauvés!

Car vos Saints nous diront d'une voix prophétique
 Qu'ils sont montés si haut aidés par le malheur,
 Et que, pour s'élever sur l'échelle mystique.
 Le premier échelon se nomme: la Douleur.

J. Germain-Lacour, La Plume, April 1, 1891, p. 143.

50. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 182.
51. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 201.
52. Wayne Anderson, Gauguin's Paradise Lost. (New York: Viking Press, 1971), p.60.
53. Maisels, p. 25.
54. Loevgren, p. 136.
55. V. Jirat-Wasiutynski, Gauguin in the Context of Symbolism, p. 353.
56. Aurier, "Le Symbolisme en peinture-Paul Gauguin," p. 158.
57. Ibid., pp. 158-159.
58. V. Jirat-Wasiutynski, "Letters to the Editor," The Art Bulletin, Vol. LX, No. 2, June 1978, p. 395.
59. It has already been observed by Wildenstein and Bodensen, Gauguin's Ceramics, that Gauguin often repeated figures, their poses, trees and other physical elements again and again in his works.

60. See Appendix, Chart I: All works are numbered as in Wildenstein, and may be found represented there. For women depicted in countryside, see Chart I, #197, 199, 201, 202, 203, 249, 250, 251, 252, 254, 256. As for women not engaged in strenuous physical activity exceptions may be found when Gauguin goes to Arles to join Vincent: #302 Les Lavandières a Arles, #303 Les Lavandières a Arles (II) and to some extent #304 Vendanges a Arles ou Misères Humaines, all painted after Vision après le sermon; but still 1888 note also #348 Ramasseuses de Varech (I), #349 Ramasseuses de Varech (II), of Brittany 1889, these last three examples still with an inactive, passive woman sitting in the foreground. #350 Les Faneuses, #351 La Moisson Blonde, #352 Moisson en Bretagne, painted in Brittany, 1889 as well, show women haying.
61. See Chart I, #202, 249, 252, #201 La Danse des Quatre Bretonnes, 1886 does to some extent show communication between the four women: The woman on the far left is turned to face the other three with her mouth open as if engaged in conversation, yet even here the other three do not appear to be noticeably attentive, the middle figure in back-view staring straight ahead and the other two to the right looking down. In #251 La Ronde des petites bretonnes there is a definite interaction between the three girls, smiling and dancing together, hands joined. But this is a rarity in Gauguin's oeuvre.
62. Chart 1: #197, 202, 203, 249, 252, 254.
63. As will be seen in Chapter Two Gauguin was not alone in perceiving the Bretons in this manner. Macquoid Op. Cit., pp. 389, 397, described Breton women as sad-faced, in "want of gaiety". Such was a common view.
64. Chart I: #201, 202.
65. Chart IV: #222, 223.
66. Chart IV: #105, 106, 107, 118.
67. Chart VI: #215, 217, 218, 220.
68. Chart VI: #217, 218, 220.
69. Chart VI: #279, 280.
70. Chart VII: #205, 286, 336, 338, 362.
71. Chart VII: #273, 274. The only other time an angel appears in Gauguin's work during this period is in Jeanne d'Arc (#329), 1889, where the angel has the same outstretched wings.
72. The earliest example of this device is Chart VIII: #180. Often the diagonal line divides water above from land below: #180, 216, 218, 227, 263, 273, 325. At other times the diagonal may form part of a table's edge: #288, 317.

73. Chart IX: Note especially #201, 207, 252.
74. Note #197, Chart X.
For landscape viewed from above, see Chart X: #282, 286.
For still-life viewed from above see Chart X: #288, 289, 290, 293, 294.
For human subjects viewed from above, see Chart X: #286, 254.
75. For 1881 eg., see Chart XI: #58.
Chart XI: especially interesting is #263, where the viewer looks from behind the boy in front down at two figures below.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER TWO

1. It is "vision" in the sense of an "appearance, often of a religious or prophetic character, which is seen otherwise than by ordinary sight," as defined by Violet MacDermot in The Cult of the Seer in the Ancient Middle East (London: Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine, 1971), p. 1, that will be discussed in this section.

For examples of visions occurring out of doors, see El Greco's The Vision of St. John the Divine, ca. 1608, Encyclopaedia of World Art, Vol. 7, pl. 385. or Bastien Lepage (1848-1884) Angels Appearing to the Shepherds from John G. van Dyke, Modern French Masters (New York: The Century Co., 1896).

2. Note for example;

Rubens Assumption, illustrated in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Vol. 28, 1882;

Gustave Dore's L'ange de Tobie, ca. 1865 from Grand Palais Le Musée du Luxembourg en 1874 (Paris: Ministère, des Affaires Culturelles Éditions des Musées Nationaux, 1974), #73.

3. See examples where both vision and visionary are included:

Parmigianino's The Vision of St. Jerome, 1503-40, Encyclopaedia of World Art, Vol. 11, pl. 45;

Gustave Moreau's The Apparition, 1876, from Edward Lucie-Smith's Symbolist Art (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), il., p. 67.

See examples where just the visionary is represented:

Gustave Courbet's La Voyant, 1865, from Jack Lindsay, Gustave Courbet, His Life and Art (England: Adams and Dart, 1963), il., p. 190, Odilon Redon's Apparition of 1870-75.

For illustrations where just the vision is shown see;

Rubens, La Vierge aux Innocents, illustrated in Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1881, Vol. 23; Puvis de Chavannes, A Vision of Antiquity - Symbol of Form, ca. 1887-90 from Richard Wattenmaker, Puvis de Chauvannes and the Modern Tradition (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1975), p. 76.

4. A clear division between left and right sides, with the angel appearing from the left and the Virgin seated on the right, occurs in three Annunciations: in the Missale romanum, Milan 1499; in the engraving by Goltzius after Martin de Vos (died 1603), all illustrated in Hyatt Mayor, "Visions and Visionaries," The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, Vol. V, No. 6, Feb. 1947, pp. 158-9; in Raphael's work, Auge jetant des fleurs, from Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Vol. 32, p. 193, 1885.

5. See Rubens' Assumption, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1882, Vol. 28;

Federigo Baroccio's Saint Francis of Assisi Receives the Stigmata, etching (1528-1612), Hyatt Mayor, Op. Cit., p. 162;

El Greco's, The Vision of St. John the Divine, ca. 1608, Encyclopaedia of World Art, Vol. 7, pl. 385.

Gustave Doré's L'ange de Tobie, 1883, Musée du Luxembourg en 1874, Paris, 1974, #73.

Leon Bonnat's Martyrdom of St. Denis, John C. van Dyke, Modern French Masters (New York: The Century Co., 1896);

Bastien-Lepage's Angels Appearing to the Shepherds, from John C. van Dyke, Modern French Masters (New York: The Century Co., 1896).

6. The same is true of Alphonse Osbert's Vision (1892), where the figure stands facing the viewer, hands clasped, gazing up, as though in a trance.
7. This is also the case in Gauguin's other paintings, quite conspicuously La Danse des quatre bretonnes, 1886 (W#201) in which the right two women, with their heads inclined and eyes closed, appear to be in deep thought; certainly this is true of the three women surrounding the Yellow Christ painted in 1889.
8. Lucie-Smith, Op. Cit., p. 86.
9. Ibid., p. 25.
10. Utamaro's A Youth's Dream is illustrated in Siegfried Wichmann (ed) World Cultures and Modern Art (Munich: Bruckmann Publishers, 1972), p. 118, #779.
11. For examples note:
 Rubens Assumption, illustrated in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Vol. 28, 1882;
 Louis de Boullogne the Younger's Hagar and the Angel, ca. 1716; il. in Religious and Biblical Themes in French Baroque Painting (London: Heim Gallery Ltd., 1974), #15;
 Francois Boucher's St. John the Baptist, ca. 1723, il. in Religious and Biblical Themes in French Baroque Painting (London: Heim Gallery Ltd., 1974), #17;
 Ingres' The Votive Offering of Louis XIII (1780-1867), il. in Christoffel, Non Poussin yu Ingres un Delacroix Betrachtungen uber Franzosische Malerei (Zurich: Scientia-Verlag, 1945), p. 56;
 Leon Bonnat's Martyrdom of St. Denis, illustrated in John G. van Dyke, Modern French Masters (New York: The Century Co., 1896).
12. See examples of visions emitting a glow or rays of light:
 Parmigianino's Vision of St. Jerome (1503-40), Encyclopaedia of World Art, Vol. 11, pl. 45;
 Gustave Moreau's The Apparition, 1876, il. in Edward Lucie-Smith's Symbolist Art (London: Thames and Hudson, 1972), p. 67.
 For examples of visions situated in "bubbles of space," see:
 Goltzius Annunciation, engraving after Martin de Vos (died 1603), il. in Hyatt Major's "Visions and Visionaries," The Metropolitan Museum

of Art Bulletin, Vol. V., No. 6, February 1947, p. 159;

Ingres' Votive Offering of Louis XIII;

F. Zurbaran's Vision of Blessed Alonso Rodriguez, 1630, il. in Encyclopaedia of World Art, Vol. 12, pl. 377.

13. See, for example, Ruben's L'Assomption, Parmigianino's The Vision of St. Jerome, F. Zurbaran's The Vision of Blessed Alonso Rodriguez, Francis Boucher's St. John the Baptist, Gustave Dore's L'Ange de Tobie, Moreau's The Apparition, Redon's The Apparition 1883, il. in French Painting, Vol. II, A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
14. Merete Bodelsen, "Gauguin, the Collector," The Burlington Magazine, 1970, No. 810, Vol. CXII, p. 590: "Three of Pissarro's pictures (Nos. 178, 179 and 189) were listed in the catalogue as belonging to a certain 'Monsieur G.'" She writes "For the catalogues of the Impressionist Exhibitions see L. Venturi: Les archives de l'impressionisme, II, Paris, New York (1939), pp. 255-71."
15. Ibid., pp. 606-615: Bodelsen presents a complete catalogue of the works Gauguin owned.
16. Gauguin first met Emile Schuffenecker at the firm of Bertin, stockbrokers, in the Rue Laffitte, where both were employed, in 1871 (Goldwater, p. 45). It was he who first gave Gauguin any art instruction and who introduced Gauguin to Pissarro (Jaworska, p. 49). And as Malingue adds, "il recueillit plusieurs fois Gauguin sans ressources et l'aide souvent dans la mesure de ses modestes moyens" (Malingue, p. 44).

Cf. John Rewald (ed), Camille Pissarro, Letters to his Son Lucien (New York: Paul P. Appel, 1972), p. 25. In a letter of March 15, 1883 from Osny, Pissarro informs his son, "Gauguin came to spend last Sunday with us, he made two sketches." But as Bodelsen, in "Gauguin, the Collector" (Op. Cit., p. 590) and Goldwater (p. 46) claim, Gauguin knew Pissarro already in 1879. Cf. Roskill (pp. 14-16, 41-55) for a discussion of the influence that Pissarro, Degas and other Impressionist artists had on Gauguin.
17. Roskill, p. 15.
18. Degas admired Gauguin as well. Roskill (p. 264) records: "In 1880 or early 1881 Degas acquired his first painting by Gauguin, the still-life On the Chair. This was by exchange - Gauguin probably received his Degas pastel of a Dancer in return. It was Degas, along with Pissarro, who had first invited Gauguin to show with the impressionists in 1879 [Rewald, Impressionism, p. 423]; and it was an affirmation of his support for Gauguin's inclusion in the fifth and exhibitions of 1880 and 1881 that the still-life was catalogued on the latter occasion as belonging to him (Venturi, Archives, II, p. 366, No. 34). Correspondingly, Gauguin's address appears in Degas notebook of this period (Bible. Nat. DC., 327 d. reserve Carnet 5, p. 1 bix; see Reff. Burl. Mag., 1965, p. 615). Gauguin's relationship with Degas becomes strained after 1882

but the breach healed by 1889 (Roskill, pp. 264-5).

19. See Catalogue No. 12 (Fig. 20) from list of works owned by Gauguin: Bodelsen, "Gauguin, The Collector," Op. Cit., p. 606.
20. For an ill. of the fan-shaped canvas, cf. Wildenstein, p. 55, #147: Paysage d'après Cézanne, Eventail, Gouache, Dedicace, signé et daté en bas à gauche: Dedié a M. Petro Krohn, P. Gauguin, Copenhagen, 1885." Gauguin painted with Cézanne in Pontoise in the summer of 1881 along with Pissarro (Goldwater, p. 46). Bodelsen ("Gauguin, the Collector," Op. Cit., p. 606, Catalogue #9) shows that Montagnes, L'Estaque was another of Gauguin's possessions. Both Cézanne's Montagnes, L'Estaque and Gauguin's copy of this work are illustrated together in Merete Bodelsen's article, "Gauguin's Cézannes," Burlington Magazine, May 1962, Number 710, Vol. CIV, p. 206, Figs. 39, 40.
21. For an illustration of this fan-study cf. Wildenstein, p. 45, #116: "Paysage d'été gouache sur toile, ni daté, ni signé," Cézanne's La Moisson and Gauguin's copy are illustrated together in Bodelsen, "Gauguin's Cézannes," Op. Cit., p. 209, figs. 44, 45. See p. 211 for Bodelsen's opinions about Gauguin's ownership of Cézanne's painting.
22. Bodelsen, "Gauguin's Cézannes," Op. Cit., p. 209, figs. 46, 47.
23. For information about Gauguin's ownership of Cézanne's still-life see Bodelsen, "Gauguin's Cézannes," Ibid., p. 208 and p. 206, fig. 42. Also Bodelsen, "Gauguin, the Collector," Op. Cit., p. 606, Cat. #7.
24. See Malingue:

#46: At the end of June 1886 Gauguin writes to Mette that he wants to sell the Monet: "...si tu trouvais un peu d'argent du Monet tu me l'enverrais." (p. 92)

#45: On the 26 of December, 1886, Gauguin notes the sale of a Jongkind painting: "J'ai vécu on ne sait comment avec 350 Frs de la vente de mon petit Jonkind. Là dessus il m'a fallu payer la pension de Clovis que j'ai en ce moment avec moi, sans souliers aux pieds et sans aucun joujou pour ces fêtes." (p. 97)

#58: In Paris, February 24, 1887, Gauguin asks Mette to send him the Manet painting, which he plans to sell: "Envoie-moi donc le Manet, a moins que tu ne trouves à le vendre en Danemarck, j'essayerai de le vendre ici." (p. 119)

See also Bodelsen's articles, "Gauguin, the Collector" and "Gauguin's Cézannes," Op. Cit.
25. Malingue, p. 132, #65.

See Bodelsen, "Gauguin's Cézannes" (Op. Cit., p. 208) who claims it is the still-life Gauguin is referring to in his letter. Moreover, it is known that later in 1894, Gauguin tried in vain to repurchase a Cézanne Montagnes l'Estakes, from Edward Brandes who was married to Mette's sister (Bodelsen, "Gauguin, the Collector," Op. Cit., pp. 603-4: Bodelsen writes that as soon as Gauguin comes into some money after his return from Tahiti in August, 1893, his uncle died and left him an

inheritance of about 13,000 frs. (cf. B. Danielsson, Gauguin in the South Seas, London, 1965, p. 153) he makes "an attempt to retrieve from Brandes some of his most beloved pictures. He began by asking Mette - in December, 1893, when he had not yet received his inheritance - to try to induce Brandes to exchange a Cézanne, of which he draws a sketch in his letter (Fig. 17), for one of his own pictures: 'Vois donc s'il est possible de changer le Cézanne avec des toits rouges pour une de mes toiles - tu m'a dit dans le temps que Brandes te les avait achetées avec les conditions de les receder au prix d'achat. Dans ce cas j'aimerais mieux le racheter avec l'interet de l'argent. J'aimerais énormément à avoir ce tableau.' (Letter #148, Malingue, p. 255). This attempt apparently failed. Next, in February, 1894, the very day after he had gone to Orleans to collect the money bequested to him, he writes to Mette asking her to give him Brandes's address, 'pour que je lui écrive au sujet des tableaux'. (Quoted from a fragment of an unpublished letter from Gauguin to Mette...)"

26. Cf. John Rewald, The History of Impressionism (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1961), p. 358. Rewald quotes from this unpublished letter (ca. 1881?) "Has M. Cézanne found the exact formula for a work acceptable to everyone? If he discovers the prescription for compressing the intense expression of all his sensations into a single and unique procedure, try to make him talk in his sleep." Later, in 1889, in Pont-Aven, according to Paul Serusier's account to C. Chassé (Gauguin et le Group de Pont-Aven, 1921, p. 72) (quoted by Roskill, p. 43, also) Gauguin would often remark: "Let's make a Cézanne."

27. Malingue, p. 41, #11.

From the shorter English Dictionary, Vol. 1, p. 1132, Levant is defined "1. The countries of the East ... etc." See Bodelsen, "Gauguin's Cézannes," Op. Cit., p. 207; she believes that Gauguin must have had Cézanne's Montagne l'Estaque in front of him in Copenhagen when writing this letter. Highly revealing in light of how much Gauguin respected Cézanne and how he in fact considered the above-mentioned work a religious one in its inspiration is Bodelsen's quote by Karl Madsen (from his review printed in the Danish newspaper Politikan on the 9th and 10th of November, 1889), art critic and later curator of the Danish National gallery who had met Gauguin during his stay in Copenhagen and who had written about the work, that the colour-scheme was "exactly like that of an Image d'Epinal..." but that it conveyed "the character of the country it represents." "There is a great vision in the picture. The mountain in the background gives a magnificent effect, the red roofs are excellently placed." Most interestingly, Madsen adds, "the path winding across the broken ground through the young trees reminded the young painter - the owner of the picture - of the lonely path along which Christ wandered in sombre thought towards the Mount of Olives." As Bodelsen points out, one is immediately reminded of Gauguin's self-portrait, Christ in Gethsemane, painted in 1889. Suffice to say it also demonstrates Gauguin's early religious ideas, an inclination non-existent in impressionist circles, and one not to be visually expressed by Gauguin until the painting of Vision après le sermon.

28. Siegfried Wichmann (ed), World Cultures and Modern Art (Munich: Bruckmann Publishers, 1972), p. 86. See also Gabriel P. Weisberg (Phillip Dennis Cate, Gerald Cate, Gerlad Needham, Martin Eidelberg, William R. Johnston), Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910 (Somerset: Hillman Printers Ltd., 1975), p. 53: "Japanese Influence on French Prints 1883-1910" by Phillip Dennis Cate who mentions such collectors as Louis Gonse, Philippe Burty, Samuel Bing, Theodore Duret, Alphonse Hirsch. For prevalence of Japanese art in France in the 19th century see Jacques de Caso, 1861: Hokusai rue Jacob," The Burlington Magazine, III, September 1969, pp. 562-63; Yujiro Shineda's "Chronological Survey of the Japanese Influence," in Weisberg, Op. Cit., p. 86 and Cate's article, Weisberg, etc., Op. Cit., p. 53 ff.

29. John Rewald (ed), Camille Pissarro, Letters to his Son Lucien (New York: Paul P. Appel, Publ., 1972), p. 28: on April 24, 1883, Pissarro writes to his son: "... Duret, Gonse (of the Gazette des Beaux-Arts), Burty, Hersch, the painter, etc., have opened an exhibition of Japanese prints at Petit's; it is simply marvellous. I find in the art of this astonishing people nothing strained, a calm, a grandeur, an extraordinary unity, a rather subdued radiance which is nevertheless brilliant, what astounding balance, and what taste..."

30. Regarding evidence of Gauguin's acquaintance with Felix Bracquemond, cf. Malingue, p. 88, letter #38: "M. Bracquemond le graveur m'a acheté avec enthousiasme un tableau 250 Frs. et m'a mis en relations avec un céramiste (this would be Chapelet) qui compte faire des vases d'art. Enchanté de ma sculpture il m'a prié de lui faire à mon gré cet hiver des travaux qui vendus seraient partagés le moitié." (Paris, fin mai 1886). As the letter shows he remained in touch with Bracquemond: "Cher Monsieur Bracquemond, J'irai mercredi vous voir afin de vous faire mes adieux à vous et à Madame. Si M. Chapelet le peut il viendra avec moi. Je pars vendredi soir de Paris et m'en vais faire de l'art dans un trou." (Paris, vers le 15 juin, 1886, p. 91). (Both letters were undated; these have been added by Malingue.) See letter #46 dated by Malingue, Paris, January, 1887: "Cher Monsieur Bracquemond, Merci de toutes vos démarches qui ne doivent pas toujours vous amuser. Vous l'avez dit un jour avec raison: il n'est pas difficile de faire de l'art, le tout c'est de le vendre! Espérons qu'en poterie nous y arriverons, mais quand? Pour Durand-Ruel, nous en causerons, les affaires chez lui sont aussi compliquées que l'homme." (p. 99)

For information pertaining to Bracquemond's huge collection of Japanese prints including Hokusai's Mangwa, see Wichmann, Op. Cit., p. 86; also Weisberg, etc., Op. Cit., pp. 3, 6, 7, 23, 27-34, 157. Weisberg also discussed the influence of Japanese art on Bracquemond. For further information see his article: Gabriel P. Weisberg, "Felix Bracquemond and Japanese Influence in Ceramic Decoration," The Art Bulletin, II, September 1969, pp. 277-80).

31. See foot. #18 above re: Gauguin's relationship with Degas. For information pertaining to collection of Japanese prints, see Weisberg, etc., Op. Cit., p. 18. "In 1918 the contents of Degas' studio were sold at auction at the Hotel Drouot. The author has relied upon this sale catalogue to reconstruct, only partially, the prints in Degas' possession.

The catalogue was incomplete in listing the Japanese prints under one number (331) placed 14 separate albums without providing clear documentation as to their content. Degas had prints by Kiyonaga, Sukenobu, Utamaro (two tryptichs), Hiroshige (42 landscapes, the majority by this artist), Shunsho, Yeizan, Yeisho, Toyokuni, and Hokusai, among others."

32. Regarding the date of acquaintance between Gauguin, Vincent and Theo van Gogh, see: Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 21, Goldwater, p. 46, V.J. Wasiutynski, p. 123, p. 21. V.J. Wasiutynski claims that Gauguin met Vincent in November, 1886, at the dealership. Boulevard Montmartre, that his brother Theo, operated for Boussod and Valadon. See also Bogomila Welsh-Oucharov, Vincent van Gogh, His Paris Period 1886-1880 (Utrecht-Den Haag, Netherlands: Editions Victorine, 1976), pp. 24-25, pp. 56-57 for a convincing argument that Vincent and Theo's relationship with Gauguin was casual before late 1887. Concerning Theo and Vincent's organization of the exhibition of Japanese prints cf. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 2, p. 611-2, letter #510: "The exhibition of prints that I had at the Tambourin influenced Anquetin and Bernard a good deal, but what a disaster that was!" See also, Weisberg, etc., Op. Cit., p. 55: Phillip Dennis Cate writes that these prints were from the collection of Samuel Bing whose Oriental-Import shop at 22 Rue de Provence "became the place for Van Gogh, Bernard, Anquetin and others to gather and acquaint themselves with Oriental woodcuts. Jirat-Wasiutynski (p. 134) claims that works by Gauguin, Bernard, Toulouse-Lautrec and Anquetin were also included in the exhibition.
33. Emile Bernard writes of returning to Paris after his Breton walking tour and meeting Vincent at Cormon's studio: "Rentre a Paris, je vais en visite a l'atelier Cormon. Là, un artiste, furieusement, peint ... C'est Vincent van Gogh ... Vincent me mena chez lui. Ce qui s'y voyait était un mélange singulier de Hollande et d'Orient, Israels et Mauve voisinaient les crêpons japonais... L'Atelier était tapissé de crêpons japonais..." (Mercur de France 2er semestre 1903, Dec. XII, pp. 677-8.) In the summer of 1888, from Arles, Vincent mentions that while in Paris, he gave a "fair number of Japanese things to Bernard, when [he] exchanged with him" (Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 2, p. 611, #510 to Theo). In the same letter Vincent requests Theo to keep purchasing more prints from Bing (p. 611). It seems that Vincent bought prints from Bing and wished to sell them to other artists at a small commission (#505, pp. 600-1, July, 1888). In this letter, Vincent discusses P. Loti's Madame Chrysanthème. See also letters #505, 511, 516, 519, 555, 561 for more references to Japanese art. #561, Vol. III, pp. 103-4 (November, 1888): "... Milliet has gone to Africa. He got a study of mine for troubling to take the canvases to Paris, and Gauguin gave him a small drawing in exchange for an illustrated edition of Madame Chrysanthème."
34. Colta Feller Ives, The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), p. 96. Ives writes: "At Pont-Aven in 1888 Gauguin's studio atop the Pension Gloanec was decorated with prints by Utamaro; the immense attic he painted in a Le Pouldu two years later was also hung with Ukiyo-e; and between his trips to Brittany his Paris studio was an unofficial gallery of Japanese drawings and "a sort of frieze made of

prints by Hokusai and Utamaro." Ives quotes Jean de Rotonchamp, Paul Gauguin (Paris: Edouard Druet, ed, 1946), p. 68, who wrote: "Les murs de l'atelier resplendissaient cependant de ses études claires et gaies, audessus desquelles, a deux ou trois metre de hauteur, courait une sorte de frise faite d'estampes juxtaposees d'Hokousai et d'Utamaro. Ces estampes, ainsi que de curieux dessus japonais originiaux, apres de oeuvres connues de Manet et de Puvis de Chavannes." Ives also quotes from Gauguin's Avant et Après: "In my hut there are all sorts of odds and ends that appear extraordinary because here they are unusual: Japanese prints, photographs of pictures, Manet, Puvis de Chavannes, Degas, Rembrandt, Raphael, Michael Angelo." Ives informs us that when he died, Gauguin's possessions included a Japanese sword, a Japanese book (probably Mme. Chrysanthème; see footnote #58, Vincent's letter #561), forty-five prints, some of them Japanese. (p. 96) (See "Inventaire des Beins de Gauguin," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, vol. 47, January-April, 1956, pp. 201-204. Two triptychs from his own collection were sold at auction after his death: Kunichika's Wrestlers and Kunifuku's Eagle with a Bear in its Talons, according to Jay Martin Kloner's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "The Influence of Japanese Prints on Edouard Manet and Paul Gauguin," New York: Columbia University, 1968, p. 158) p. 110.

35. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 194, fig. 140.
36. Christopher Gray, Sculpture and Ceramics of Paul Gauguin (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1963), pp. 120-1, il. #8. Gray writes, quoting M.R. Tollner Netsuke (San Francisco, 1954, nos. 228, 241) "these ... have the form of ikame masks used in the kyogen for comical female parts." Ibid., p. 4. These theater masks were also illustrated in Bing's Japon Artistique, v. 1-6 (Paris: Librairie centrale des Beaux-Arts, May 1888-1891), which indicated their presence in Paris. See also Vincent's letter to his sister from Arles, about 8 September, 1888, #W7: "Have you seen a very little mask of a smiling Japanese woman at Theo's? It is surprpsingly expressive, that little mask" (Van Gogh, Lettres, Vol. 3, p. 443).
37. Cf. Wildenstein, Examples of fan-shaped works by Gauguin:
 - #108, p. 43: Route de Rouen (1) (Rouen, 1884); "ni signe, ni date"
 - #116, p. 45: Paysage d'Ete (Rouen, 1884); "ni signe, ni date"
 - #119, p. 46: Environs de Rouen (Rouen, 1884); "ni signe, ni date"
 - #123, p. 47: Le Port de Rouen (Rouen, 1884); "ni signe, ni date"
 - \$147, p. 55: Paysage d'après Cezanne (Copenhagen, 1885); "Dedicace, signe et date en bas a gauche: Dedie a M. Petro Krohn, P. Gauguin, Copenhagen, 1885"
 - #180, p. 67: L'Enfant a la mandoline (Paris et Copenhagen, 1885): "signe et date en bas a droite: P. Gauguin, (18)85"
 - #202, pp. 74-5: Bretonnes assises (Bretagne, 1886): "ni signe, ni date"
 - #214, p. 78: Corbeille de fleurs et de fruits (Paris?, 1886); "signe en bas a droite, 'P. Gauguin' "
 - #216, p. 80: Baignade (11) (Martinique, 1887); "signe et date en bas a droite: 'P. Gauguin, 1887' "
 - #223, p. 82: Scene Martinique (Martinique, 1887); "signe en bas a gauche: 'P. Gauguin' "

- #228, p. 84: Conversation Tropiques ou Negresses Causant (11) (Martinique, 1887); "signe en bas a gauche: 'P. Gauguin' ".
 #257, p. 96: Petit berger Breton (11) (Bretagne, 1888); "signe en bas a gauche: 'P. Gauguin' ".
 #295, p. 109: Petit chat mangeant dans un écuelle (disparu)
 #338, p. 130: Ondine (11): (Bretagne, 1889); "signe..."
 #342, p. 131: Scene Bretonne (Bretagne, 1889); "signe en bas a droite: 'P. Gauguin' ".
 #373, pp. 142-3: Sur la grève (Bretagne, 1889); "signe en bas a gauche: 'P. Gauguin' ".
 #337, p. 144: Nature morte a l'éventail (Bretagne, 1889); "signe en bas a droite: 'P. Gauguin' ".
 #411, p. 159: Profil de femme (Paris-Bretagne, 1891); "signe et date en haut a gauche: 'P. Gauguin (18)91' ".
 #438, p. 173: Te Raau Rahi, le grand arbre (11) (disparu) (Tahiti, 1891).
 See also Gauguin's Dramas of the Sea, a zincograph of 1889, fan-shaped, illustrated in Weisberg, etc., Op. Cit., p. 95, il. 128, also in Ives, Op. Cit., p. 102, il. 106.
38. For illustration of Degas' Fan Design: Dancers, cf. Weisberg, etc., Op. Cit., p. 135, il. 184: "Gouache or distemper with gold and charcoal on linen... The Impressionist exhibition of 1879 included a roomful of fan paintings." Re: Pissarro's fan-shaped, L'Hiver retour de la foire which Gauguin owned cf. Bodelsen, "Gauguin, the Collector," Op. Cit., p. 612, Cat. no. 43, fig. #51: "Fan 25 x 54 cm... present whereabouts unknown," "Gauguin's Collection in Paris/4th Impressionist Exhibition 1879," No. 189: L'Hiver retour de la foire. Eventail: app. a M.G. Brought to Denmark in 1884: Two of the figures in Gauguin's Jardin sous la neige (W.-G. 140); painted in Denmark (and eventually bought by Brandes... are copied from Pissarro's fan (i.e. the woman in profile and the woman carrying a sheaf on her back. In Album Briant 1888 Gauguin lists '2 Eventails' by Pissarro as still being with Mette in Copenhagen. ..."
- See Weisberg, Op. Cit., p. 119, Fig. 32: Girl in a Field with Turkeys Water colour on fabric... 1885. For other fan shaped works by Degas, Toulouse-Lautrec and Japanese artists, see, Wichmann, ed, Op. Cit., pp. 121, 122: fig. J13, J11, 822, 821, 811.
- See also the circular construction in Gauguin's La Belle Angèle of 1889, W#315 found in Hiroshige's Hill, both illustrated in Wichmann, Op. Cit., p. 117, ils. 772, 770.
39. Kunichika's Actor Portrait is illustrated in Weisberg, etc., Op. Cit., p. 77, il. 85: "Ichiosai Kunichika; Actor Portrait; Coloured woodcut, 19th century"; Koua-Setsu's silhouette print appears in Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1882, Vol. 26, p. 309. See also the Reunion Portrait of a Tea Society Member (Anonymous), 19th c., illustrated in Weisberg, Op. Cit., p. 77, il. 86.
40. For the depiction of a natural pose see, for example, Katsushika Hokusai's Peasant bending down; page from the Manga, Volume 9, 1812-13, Tokyo, illustrated, p. 131, Ibid.; see also p. 114 for description. Note as

well, Gauguin's Petit berger Breton (1) W#256, 1888, which shows a peasant woman at the lower right stooping over.

For the overlapping of forms in a composition, see comparison of Torri Kiyonaga's Visitors to Enoshima (triptych, woodcut) and Gauguin's Les Cigales et les fourmis (The Grasshoppers and the Ants), a zincograph of 1889, illustrated in Weisberg, Op. Cit., p. 61, Fig. 21 and Cat. 125.

41. Hiroshige's Benten Temple is illustrated in Wichmann, ed., Op. Cit., p. 120, il. 809, and Wagon Wheel, p. 119, il. 808, also p. 121 from the series "Views of Famous Places in Edo, c. 1857."
42. Station-Mitsuke, il. in Ibid., p. 114, il. 745: sheet 29 from the series "Tokaido gojusan," "The Fifty-Three Stations of Tokaido," coloured woodcut, oban 25 x 36.5 cm.

Promontory in Tango, il. in Ibid., p. 113, il. 734: from the series "Famous Landscapes from more than 60 Provinces," "Roku-hu-yoshu meisho zue," coloured woodcut, oban tata-e, 36.6 x 24 cm.
43. See for example the following prints by Hiroshige: Clear Morning after a Snowfall, il. in Weisberg, etc., Op. Cit., p. 12, Fig. 8: from One Hundred Views of Famous Places of Edo, 1847-48; Bridge in Rain, il. in Ibid., p. 75, il. 76: Sudden Shower at Oshahi, from One Hundred Views of Famous Places in Edo, coloured woodcut, 1857; Kyo Bridge, il. in Wichmann, ed., Op. Cit., p. 104, il. 684; p. 106: page 112 from the series "Views of Famous Places in Edo," coloured woodcut, c. 1857. Vue des Environs de Yedo, il. in Theodore Poret, "L'Art Japonais," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, October, 1883, p. 313.
44. Hiroshige's Moon Pine at Ueno, il. in Weisberg, etc., Op. Cit., p. 58, Ct. #78, p. 75: from One Hundred Views of Famous Places in Edo, coloured woodcut, 1858.
45. Wichmann, ed., Op. Cit., p. 165 for the illustration of both works in colour. See also p. 89 for Vincent's copy, The Bridge, and the source, Hiroshige's Bridge in Rain.
46. See J.-B. de La Faille, The Works of Vincent van Gogh (New York: William Morrow and Company Inc., 1970), pp. 172-3: F371, F372, F373, Vincent's copies after Hiroshige and Kessal Yeisen. Japonaiserie: The Flowering Plum Tree, F371, after Hiroshige, was painted in Paris during the first half of 1887. Japonaiserie: The Bridge in the Rain (F372) was executed in the summer of 1887 as was Japonaiserie Oiran (F373). Gauguin might have seen these works after Martinique.
47. Kuniyoshi's print is illustrated in Weisberg, etc., Op. Cit., p. 130, Fig. 43.
48. Ibid., p. 57; Fig. 14: from Eight Views of Biwa.
49. For example, Hiroshige's Bridge in Rain, Clear Morning after a Snowfall at Nihonbashi Bridge.

50. Yvonne Thirion, "L'Influence de l'Estampe Japonaise dans l'Oeuvre de Gauguin," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, XLVII (January-April 1956), pp. 95-114: Thirion believes that Hiroshige's Triptyque, which is illustrated on p. 103 of her article, may have been the source for La Vague.
51. Thirion (Ibid., p. 106), offers this cat. print by Kuniyoshi as a possible prototype for Gauguin's Les petits chiens. For il. of Utamaro's tiger print, cf. Weisberg, Op. Cit., p. 99, Fig. 29: coloured woodcut, 18th c. Interestingly, Pierre Bonnard who most likely had a Japanese print in mind, when executing Les Chiens (Ibid., p. 103), 1893, paints a bird's eye view of a dog in the upper left corner which appears very similar to Gauguin's cow in Vision apres le sermon, which indicates that perhaps they had access to the same print.
52. For illustration of Hokusai's Great Wave off Kanagawa, cf. Weisberg, etc., Op. Cit., p. 73, Cat. 68: from Thirty-six Views of Mt. Fuji, coloured woodcut, 1823-31. For Hokkei's Mekari Festival, cf. Wichmann, ed., Op. Cit., p. 128, il. 854.
53. cf. Malingue, Letters #48, 51, 52, 53. Gauguin writes that he is departing on the 10th of April, 1887, from St. Nazaire for Panama where he works as a labourer on the Canal. His hopes of living for next-to-nothing dim. When he is fired, he goes to Martinique in June. He falls sick, and in the fall (September-October) returns to France.
54. Gauguin describes in a letter of September, 1888, from Pont-Aven to Vincent that "Le dessin des yeux et du nez semblables aux fleurs dans les tapis persans resume au art abstrait et symbolique..." (Unpublished letter from Library of Ryksmuseum Vincent van Gogh, part of which appears in Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 22, #G10). Cf. also, Malingue, pp. 140-1, #71, letter from Quimperle, 8 Oct., 1888, to Schuffenecker.
55. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 490, letter #B6. Cf. also p. 55, letter #542 to Theo, September, 1888. Vincent writes: "I envy the Japanese, the extreme clearness which everything has in their work... Their work is as simple as breathing, and they do a figure in a few sure strokes with the same ease as if it were as simple as buttoning your coat."
56. It is both the influence of Martinique - its light and colour - and Vincent's ideas which together greatly affected Gauguin's style.
57. Malingue, p. 133, Letter #66.
58. In Salon de 1845, Baudelaire compared the great difference between a work that was complete and a work that was finished; what was highly finished need not be complete at all: "Ensuite - qu'il y a une grande difference entre un morceau fait et un morceau fini - qu'en general ce qui es fait n'est pas fini, et qu'une chose très finie peut n'être pas faite du tout..." Charles Baudelaire, Curiosités esthetiques L'Art romantiques (Paris: Editions Garnier Freres, 1962), p. 61.

59. Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et van Gogh, p. 21, letter #6, August, 1888. Only part of this letter appears in the catalogue; the rest is from an unpublished copy of the original handwritten one by Gauguin.
60. The same is true of the Jeunes baigneurs bretons (W#275), of numerous still-lives executed at this time, among them Nature morte à l'ami Jacob (W#291), and of portraits such as the self-portrait, Les Misérables (W#239), Madeleine Bernard (W#240) and Tête de bretonne (W#244).
 As early as 1886, a flattened, outlined silhouette of a Breton peasant woman appears in Gauguin's work on the lower right corner of an otherwise impressionistically rendered Vache au bord de la mer (W#206). In La Danse des quatre bretonnes (W#206) of the same year, the women have also been painted with contour lines and with little shading. The artist's lack of modelling and his use of outlines became more apparent in La Baignade (W#215) of 1887 where the foreground figures are painted against an abstract background of foliage and water. The girl in the fan-shaped Baignade II (W#216) is even more flatly rendered. The flattening of figures was associated with the flatness of the canvas itself. Space, too, remained related to the surface. The women dominating the composition in La Danse de quatre bretonnes (W#201), with a man and some geese providing only a bit of background activity indicate Gauguin's lack of interest in aerial perspective or atmospheric effects. The coloured, evenly textured and flattened surfaces of the Martinique paintings again demonstrate that he was not interested in objectively capturing tropical light effects but in the assertion of the picture plane. In La Danse des quatre bretonnes (W#201) and such Martinique works as Bord de Mer (I) (W#217) and Femmes et chevre dans le village (W#219), space is shown, as in Japanese prints, by overlapping planes, like stage drops (Merete Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 179: Bodelsen illustrates Bord de mer and Hokusai's Views of Fuji, No. 12, ca. 1823, drawing close parallels between the two, in terms of compositional arrangement and style. Empty spaces such as those found in Japanese prints appear in Femme et chevre dans le village. Note examples such as Hiroshige's Rain in Shono and Promontory in Tango, mentioned above.) The majority of his Breton works of 1888, such as La Vague (W#286) discussed above with its stylized waves and rocks painted like silhouettes or Au-Dessus de gouffre (W#282) with its successively superimposed rocks, reveals his preoccupation with the plane-like handling of space. Le Gardien des porcs (W#255), Enfants luttant (I) (W#273), Jeunes baigneurs bretons (W#275), and La Ronde des petites bretonnes (W#251) all indicate a similar structure. The absence of shadows cast by partially outlined figures in works such as Les Premières fleurs (W#249), La Ronde des petites bretonnes (W#251), La Femme à la cruche (W#254), Petit berger breton (I) (W#256) and Enfants luttant (I) (W#273) is yet another indication of Gauguin's indifference to atmospheric effects.
61. Malingue, p. 150, letter #75.
62. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 50. For a reproduction of Gauguin's Breton girl drawing, cf. p. 24, Fig. 10: "Breton girl, chalk and pastel, 1886, 41.3 x 31.1 cm." For a reproduction of the stoneware vase, 1886-87, cf. p. 21, Fig. 9: "Vase with Breton girls in glazed stonewear," signed P Co (in gold, cf. fig. 19), and marked on bottom

with Chaplet's rosary and No. 21. Decoration engraved on white slip and painted with blue, red and green glazes. Contours picked out in gold. The winter of 1886-87. Height: 29 cm." See also pp. 28, 29, 31, 36, 37 for other examples of transfers.

63. For reproduction of this stoneware vase cf. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 43: "Stoneware vase with Breton Girl, signed P. Gauguin 52. Decoration scratched on body and painted with slip. The winter of 1886-87. Height: 26 cm."
64. Malingue, p. 141, letter #71: written to Schuffenecker, from Quimperle, October 8, 1888.
65. See Weisberg, etc., Op. Cit., pp. 157-161, for example of Bracquemond's ceramic designs.
66. Malingue, pp. 45, 46: letter #11, to Schuffenecker, from Copenhagen, January 14, 1885.
67. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 2, p. 55, letter #542, Theodore Duret, "L'Art Japonais," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, August, 1882, p. 114: "En ce qui concerne spécialement les livres, l'art de l'impression est resté longtemps au Japon quelque chose d'assez primitif." p. 130: "Hokusai est, à mes yeux, le plus grand artiste que le Japon ait produit. Il est du petit nombre de ces hommes qui ont la puissance de marquer à leur coin tout ce qu'ils touchent... Hokusai a, comme paysagiste, la même supériorité que comme dessinateur de figures. Ses paysages mélangent d'observation réelle de la nature et de fantaisie, sont pleines de poésie, d'air et de profondeur." See Weisberg, etc., Op. Cit., pp. 250-1: Lucien Falize, writing under the pseudonym of M. Josse, in "L'Art Japonais," Revue des arts décoratifs, III (1882-83), pp. 330-31 asked: "Do you know what made the artisan of Kyoto give his vase the shape of a gourd or a bulbous root? Have you penetrated the symbol of the white deer? To what end do you copy these peach flowers or these quince branches? You write this language drawn by the Japanese as you have copied all the religious symbols of all people & without understanding them... And us, what are we to do? To copy still? No, but to be inspired by this art and likewise return to a healthy doctrine, to simple means, to the study of Nature." Ary Renan in "Hokusai's Man-gwa," Artistic Japan, II (1889), p. 103, wrote: "The Man-gwa is addressed beyond all to the hardworking artisans who maintain our industries. Why do they leave the country, the streams, the fields, the sea? Why do they not surround themselves with models from nature brightly coloured and lovely? Why do they not add seaweed, butterflies, a branch of clematis, to their limited designs."
68. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 46, letter #540.
69. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 443, letter #W7. See also letter #500, Vol. 2, pp. 589-90 to Theo, "... why not go to Japan, that is to the equivalent of Japan, the South?... I wish you could spend some time here, you would feel it after a while, one's sight changes: you see

things with an eye more Japanese, you feel colour differently. The Japanese draw quickly, like a lightning flash, because their nerves are finer, their feeling simpler. I am convinced that I shall set my individuality free simply by staying on here." See also letters, #487, 500, 506, 516, B18, for similar views about Japan. As an interesting juxtaposition, cf. #720, Theo's letter to Vincent, from Paris, November 16, 1889, in which he describes one of Gauguin's works: "It is obviously bizarre, and does not express a very sharply defined idea but it is like a piece of Japanese work, whose meaning, at least for a European, is equally difficult to grasp, but in which one cannot but admire the combination of the lines and the beautiful parts."

70. Malingue, pp. 100-1, letter #48.
71. Goldwater, p. 46.
72. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 98.
73. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 194, Fig. 140. In her article, "The Dating of Gauguin's Early Painting," The Burlington Magazine, No. 747, Vol. CVII, June, 1976, p. 309, she writes: "... one memento of the summer of 1873 Marie Heegaard (Mette's friend) perserved, viz. a sheet with water-colours on each side, which shows traces of having been kept folded among her things for many years. On one side the paper shows inter alia a design with a Peruvian motif..."
74. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 195, Fig. 141a.
75. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 41, Fig. 33. See Wichmann, ed., Op. Cit., p. 263, for illustration of a portrait vessel from Mochica. Note also the Gauguin rendered a self-portrait vessel in 1889, cf. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, pp. 115, 117, Figs. 80, 81.
76. Malingue, p. 116, letter #47.
77. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 483, #85.
78. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 77, Fig. 55. See Fig. 47, p. 51; Fig. 58, p. 83.
79. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, pp. 88-9, Figs. 60-2. "That Gauguin owned photographs of the Bârâboudour friezes even before he visited the World Exhibition of 1889 is evidenced by his letter to Bernard with its enthusiastic comments on the Javanese dancers (where he evidently confused Cambodia with Bârâboudour, or perhaps really believed that his photographs were from Cambodia (Angkor Vat): "Vous avez eu tort de ne pas venir l'autre jour. Dans le village de Java il y a des danses Hindous. Tout l'art de l'Inde se trouve là et les photographies qu j'ai du Combodge se retrouvent là textuellement."
80. Malingue, pp. 136-7, letter #68. In the same letter Gauguin wrote that if he has luck with Theo selling his work he shall return to Martinique

and if he could get enough money, he would set up a studio there where friends could stay (this obviously Vincent's Arles idea): "Si j'ai ce bonheur j'irai à la Martinique, je suis convaincu que maintenant j'y ferai de belles choses. Et même je trouverai une plus grosse somme que j'y achèterai une maison pour y fonder un atelier où les amis trouveraient la vie toute préparée avec presque rien." (p. 136)

81. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 431, letter #W3.
82. Malingue, p. 126, letter #61.
83. Malingue, p. 124, letter #61. When Gauguin had made plans to go to Brittany in 1886, he had suggested that his reason for going was purely an economic one; he had written to Mette from Paris on August 19, 1885, informing her that were he to sell some pictures, he would go next summer to live in an out of the way spot in Brittany to paint pictures and live economically, stating that Brittany was still the cheapest place for living: "Si je vends quelque tableaux j'vrai l'été prochain me mettre à l'auberge dans un trou de Bretagne faire des tableaux et vivre économiquement. C'est encore en Bretagne au'on vit le meilleur marché..." (Malingue, p. 66). Other letters confirm the economic reason for going: "Le plus raisonnable serait de filer en Bretagne en pension pour 60 Frs par mois..." (p. 88, letter #38). In early June (p. 89, letter #39, dated by Malingue), he reveals that he has to leave his premises on Thursday next, and wants to go to Brittany where he can live cheaply. By the end of June he has found the money for his journey and is living in Brittany on credit (p. 91, letter #41). In the same letter he tells Mette (p. 92) that one has to pay only 65 francs a month for board and lodging. Due to his never-ending financial difficulties, it is most likely that Gauguin was returning to Brittany in 1888 due at least partly for economic reasons again. But it must be realized, that when going back a second time, Gauguin was aware of what kind of environment awaited him. Thus his statement about wishing to penetrate the character of the people and the country and this being essential for good painting is highly significant.
84. Anatole le Braz, Land of Pardons (London: Methuen & Co., 1906), p. 84. For some biographical information regarding Anatole le Braz, cf. Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1959), Vol. 13, p. 855: "Le Braz, Anatole (1858-1926), Breton educated at the Lycee St. Louis, and at the Faculte des Lettres at Paris. He held posts as professor of philosophy at the college of Etampes (1884-86) and the Lycee of Quimper (1886-1900); as professor of French literature at the University of Rennes (1901-1924) and as lecturer at Harvard University (1960). His publications include Soniou Breiz-Izel (1890); La Chanson de la Bretagne (1892); Pagues d'Islande (1897); La Terre du Passe (1901); Au Pays des Pardons (1894); La Legende de la mort chez les Bretons-armoricains (1893, later ed. 1922); Vieilles Histoires du pays Breton (1897); Au Pays d'exil de Chateaubriand (1909); Ames d'Occident (1906).
85. George Wharton Edwards, Brittany and the Bretons (London: Herbert and Daniel, 1910), p. 1.

86. Ibid., p. 6.
87. Francis M. Gostling, The Bretons at Home (London: Methuen & Co., 1909), p. 136.
88. Henry Blackburn, Breton Folk (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington Crown Publishings, 1880), p. 179.
89. Ibid., p. 179.
90. Anatole le Braz, Au Pays des Pardons (Paris: Calman-Lévy, Éditeurs, 1901), pp. II-III: "Le Goffic a écrit à propos des pardons: "Ils sont les mêmes qu'ils étaient il y a deux cents ans, et vous ne trouverez rien de si délicieusement surrané. Ils ne ressemblent point aux autres fêtes. Ce ne sont point des pretextes à ripailles comme les kermesses flamandes, ni des rendez-vous de somnambules et d'hommes-troncs, comme les foires de Paris, L'attrait vient de plus haut: ces pardons sont restés des fêtes de l'âme. On y rit peu et on y prie beaucoup..." On ne saurait mieux dire. Une pensée religieuse, d'un caractère profond, préside à ces assemblées. Chacun y apporte un esprit grave, et la plus grande partie de la journée est consacrée à des partiques de dévotion. On passe de longues heures en oraison devant la grossière image du saint; on fait à genoux le tour de l'aûge en granit qui fut successivement sa barque, son lit, son tombeau; on va boire à sa fontaine que protège un édicule contemporain du sanctuaire et dont l'eau est réputée comme ayant des vertus curatives.
91. Edwards, Op. Cit., pp. 271-2.
92. Ibid., p. 123. Cf. also Findlay, Muirhead and Marcel Monmarché (ed), The Blue Guides Brittany (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1928), p. xxii: Calvaries dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries may be found in the church and chapel cemeteries, by roadsides and at cross-roads.
93. Edwards, Op. Cit., p. 126. The Blue Guides Brittany describes the ossuaries or reliquaries, the earliest of which date from the end of the fifteenth century, as "bone houses intended for the reverent preservation of the bones of the dead exhumed to make room for later arrivals. They are sometimes attached to churches, sometimes detached buildings in the cemeteries" (p. xxii).
94. Findlay Muirhead and Marcell Monmarché (eds), Op. Cit., p. xxi, cf. p. xxiii: The menhir, meaning "a high stone" in Breton tongue, is a single upright stone, often with carved Christian symbols. A "cromlech" ("curving stone"), formed by menhirs arranged in the shape of a circle, was thought to be "connected with the altar and the mysteries of ancestor worship". The "dolmen" ("table-stone") was formed by one or more flat stones laid horizontally on the tops of a number of upright stones. There exist a number of other variants: the "allée couverte," the "tumulus" and the "lech".
95. Edwards, Op. Cit., p. 188.

96. Findlay Muirhead and Marcel Monmarché (ed), Op. Cit., p. xxi.
97. F.M. Gostling, Op. Cit., p. 27. She writes about the beliefs and superstitions which have been gathered together in a book called "La Legende de la mort," and in her mind no part of the work is more strange and weird than that relating to Yeun-Elez, the "Stygia palus of Basse Bretagne"... As for stories of the place, they are endless, mostly relating to demons, which, having been exorcised from certain persons, have taken possession of the bodies of black dogs that are brought to the Yeun and thrown in by a properly qualified priest." (pp. 124-5) See also her account of the Legend of Comorre and Saint Tryphina, pp. 165-179. Anatole le Braz in Au Pays des Pardons writes about a woman of Plogonnec who, as she was praying, felt cold fingers tickling the back of her neck and, turning around, found herself face to face with her husband, whom she had buried the year before: "J'entends dire sous le ponche, à une fermière de Plogonnec, qu'a la dernière Troménie, comme elle était en oraison, elle se sentit chatouiller la nuque par des doigts glacés. S'étant retournée, elle faillit se pamer de stupeur en se trouvant face à face avec son mari qu'elle avait enterré l'année d'avant et pour qui justement elle récitait le De profundis. 'J'allais lui parler, mais il lut sans doute mon intention dans mes yeux, car aussi-tot il s'éclipsa...' (p. 312)
98. Regarding the existence of an artistic community in Pont-Aven, cf. Malingue, p. 94, letter #42: Malingue states that "(e)n cet été 1886 se trouvait a Pont-Aven, ou Gauguin se journaît pour la première fois, Charles Laval, Jourdan, H. Delavallé, puis Grauchi, Puygodeau, Grouchy-Taylor, Piccolo-Franchi, Sylvain Depeige, Dal Medico et parmi les Américains sympathisants, O'Connor." In March 1888, according to an unpublished manuscript by Dr. Léon Palaux (a physician of Breton extraction, who, devoted his spare time to writing the history of Clohars-Carnoët, in Finistère and also Concarneau, Le Pouldu, Loelan and Moelan and recording the movements of notable individuals by going through the registers of inns, hotels, pensions and the records of local mayors' offices where all visitors were officially required to register): "(Gauguin) and his inseparable companion, Charles Laval, once more settled in Pont-Aven at the inn of Mère Gloanec. The friends he made among the men staying there included Henry Moret, Ernest de Chamailard, Maxime Manfra, Jourdan, Loiseau, Delavallee, Granchi-Taylor, O'Connor and others..." (Jaworska, p. 43).
99. La Plume, March 1894, p. 85.
100. Claude Roger-Marx, "Lettres inédites de Vincent van Gogh et de Paul Gauguin," Europe, 15, February, 1939, p. 164. Gauguin did wear wooden shoes, a Breton custom, which he decorated himself. Cf. Gray, pp. 200, 201: Cat. #81, 82, 83 for illustrations of these shoes. "Morice states that Gauguin caused a sensation by wearing Breton sabots in Paris." (p. 200). No doubt, the primitive monuments - the dolmens and menhirs, contributed to the primitivizing of his ceramics as well, cf. Breiz-Izel, Op. Cit., p. 309, for a figure carved in relief with Celtic spiral patterns, extremely simplified and child-like in its rendering.

101. Malingue, p. 133, letter #66.
102. Malingue, p. 154, letter #78: "... je suis plutot porte a un etat primitif."
103. Harold Osborne, ed., The Oxford Companion to Art (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 925: "... From the middle of the nineteenth century it was applied to the art of western Europe during the period before the Renaissance, an art which was then considered 'primitive' because it pre-dated scientific perspective and anatomy."

To Emile in 1890 Gauguin had written while commenting about Bernard's drawings that he greatly preferred Giotto's style to Michelangelo's anatomical preoccupation: "J'ai reçu votre dessin, gravure sur bois, qui est bien curieux comme moyen. Comme dessin j'en ferai moins compliment, j'aime mieux vos dessins bretons plus abstraits de lignes. Il y a dans ceux-ci une grande préoccupation anatomique à la Michel-Ange qui entre peu dans mes cordes. Je ne blâme pas cette science, croyez-le bien, mais je préfère de beaucoup le grand amour de Giotto..." (Malingue, p. 201, letter #111).

Rewald, in Post-Impressionism, p. 190, writes that at the Pension Gloanec in Brittany, 1888, Gauguin decorated his walls with reproductions of Manet's Olympia, Botticelli's Triumph of Venus and Fra Angelico's Annunciation; Denys Sutton, "The Paul Gauguin Exhibition," The Burlington Magazine, October 1949, Volume XCI, p. 286, claims, Gauguin "is known to have owned photographs of Botticelli's Birth of Venus and Fra Angelico's Annunciation, two artists who were popular at that time. (Charles Chasse, Gauguin et le groupe de Pont Aven, Paris, 1921, p. 37 ... and J. Rotonchamp: "L'Esthétique de Gauguin," in Gauguin, Weimar and Paris (1925), pp. 234-35). Evidence of his interest in Botticelli was found by Charles Morice in the Contes Barbares. ("Les Gauguins de Petit-Palais et de la rue Laffitte," Mercure de France, February, 1904, p. 392). Note also that Botticelli's Birth of Venus was illustrated in an article "Sandro Botticelli" by J.A. Crowe, between pp. 186 and 187 in Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1886, II, as well as other illustrations in the two articles about Botticelli, pp. 177-187, and 466, 475.

In Avant et Après, p. 45: "dans ma case, il y a des choses bizarres, puisque non coutumières: des estampes japonaises, photographies de tableaux, Manet, Puvis de Chavannes, Degas, Rembrandt..." p. 97: "Croquis japonais, estampes d'Hokusai, lithographies de Daumier, cruelles observations de Forain, groupes en un album, non pas hasard, de par ma bonne volonté tout a fait intentionnée. J'y joins une photographie d'une peinture de Giotto."

It is conceivable that Pissarro first encouraged Gauguin to study the "primitives"; he had written to his son, Lucien in 1883 (March 15): "... do not give up drawing, draw often, always from nature, and whenever possible, consult the primitives," mentioning in the same letter that Gauguin came to spend a Sunday with them and to make two sketches (Rewald, ed., Camille Pissarro: Letters to his Son Lucien, pp. 24-5).

104. To Bernard Gauguin wrote from Arles, November 1888, that he sees Puvis subjects in their Japanese colourings about him, that women have a Greek beauty, that their shawls fall in folds like the primitives, like Greek friezes: "... je vois du Puvis coloré à faire mélangé de japon. Les femmes sont ici avec leur coiffure élégante, leur beauté grecque. Leurs châles formant plis comme les primitifs, sont dis-je des défilés grecs." (Malingue, p. 151, letter #75).
- In 1901, Gauguin included Puvis' Hope in the background of his still-life painting (W#604).
- In June, 1888, Vincent wrote to Bernard: "do you remember John the Baptist by Puvis? I myself think it amazing and as magical as Eugene Delacroix." (Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, letter #B8, p. 497).
105. Malingue, p. 293, letter #172.
Richard Wattenmaker makes this point in Puvis de Chavannes and the Modern Tradition (Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1975), p. 20.
106. Ibid., p. 21.
107. Ibid., p. 71: for illustration of Pleasant Land, 1882, oil on canvas, 10 1/8 x 18 5/8 in.
108. Rookmaaker, p. 162: "Puvis de Chavannes quoted by C. Chassé, Le Mouvement Symboliste dans l'art du XIX siècle, Paris, 1947".
109. "très peu exécuté": Malingue, p. 133, letter #66.
"sans exécution": unpublished letter to Vincent, Pont-Aven, August, 1888, part of which appears in Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, #G, 6, p. 21.
110. Malingue, p. 63, letter #22, to Schuffenecker, May 24, 1885.
111. Malingue, p. 63, letter #44.
112. Malingue, p. 62, letter #22.
Gauguin had requested in this letter that Schuffenecker send him a copy of Delacroix's Barque de Don Juan: "Je vous propose un échange. Prenez chez le Marsouin un tableau a moi et envoyez-moi un photo de la Barque de Don Juan, de Delacroix, si toute fois cela ne coûte pas trop cher. J'avoue qu'en ce moment, mes seuls moments, c'est quand je peux me renfermer dans la maison artistique..."
113. Theophile Silvestre, Les Artistes français: I Romantiques, Volume One (Paris: Bibliothèque Dionysienne les Edition G. Cres. & Cie., nd.), p. 61.
In the same chapter Silvestre gives an account of Delacroix's colour theory (p. 47). Charles Blanc, as well, dealt extensively with Delacroix and the theory of complimentary colours in both Les Artistes de mon Temps (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot et Renouard, Ed. 1876) and Grammaire des Arts du Dessin (Paris: Vé Jules Renouard, Librairie Ed., 1867).

That Gauguin was aware of these ideas is revealed in his Notes Synthétiques of 1884: "... Un vert à côté d'un rouge ne donne pas du brun rouge comme le mélange mais deux notes vibrantes. A côté de ce rouge, mettez-y du jaune de chrome, vous avez trois notes s'enrichissant l'une par l'autre et augmentant l'intensité du premier ton, le vert. A la place du jaune mettez un bleu, vous retrouvez trois tons différents, mais vibrants les uns par les autres. A la place du bleu mettez un violet vous retombez dans un ton unique, mais composé, entrant dans les rouges." (Paul Gauguin, Oviri, Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1974), p. 24.

114. Malingue, pp. 45-47, letter #11.
115. Blanc, Grammaire des Arts du Dessin, Op. Cit., pp. 24-5: "Les formes que le dessin est appelé à reproduire sont toutes engendrées par la ligne droite et les lignes courbes. Pythagore, un des plus grands esprits de l'antiquité, regardait la ligne droite comme représentant l'infini, parce qu'elle est toujours semblable à elle-même, et cette pensée a pris une forme admirable dans la bouche de Galilée, lorsqu'il a dit: "La ligne droite est la circonférence d'un cercle infini. "La courbe, au contraire, était regardée par Pythagore comme représentant le fini, parce qu'elle tend à revenir à son commencement. Le mariage bien assorti de ces deux lignes enfante la beauté, comme l'heureuse union de la nature et de l'homme produit l'art." See p. 35: (on p. 36 appear drawings of three facts) "La simple inspection des trois figures dessinées à la page qui suit éveille immédiatement trois idées différentes. L'image du centre, dont les lignes sont horizontales, caractérise le calme; celle de gauche, dont les lignes sont expansives, exprime un sentiment de gaieté; celle de droite, dont les lignes sont convergentes, répond à un sentiment de tristesse."
116. Malingue, p. 47, letter #11.
117. Malingue, p. 47, letter #11.
118. Malingue, p. 45, letter #11.
Gauguin might have been introduced to these ideas by Charles Henry who, in 1884, had given a series of lectures at the Sorbonne on the emotional values of colours and lines, and whose studies were first published in 1885 (Sven Loevgren, The Genesis of Modernism, Illinois: Indiana University Press, 1971).
119. Malingue, p. 141, letter #71.
120. Malingue, pp. 143-4, letter #72.
121. Malingue, p. 146, letter #73.
122. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 511, letter #15: the description here is of "half a dozen pictures of Sunflowers".
123. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 19, #526, from Arles, 1888 (ca. August): to Theo Vincent writes, "Gauguin said that Bernard has made an album of my sketches and has shown it to him."

124. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 44, letter #539. Baudelaire, in "Oeuvre et vie d'Eugène Delacroix," claimed that Delacroix was the most suggestive of all painters: "Delacroix est la plus suggestif de tous les peintres" (Op. Cit., p. 424).
125. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 2, letter #418, p. 401: "... a peasant woman by a Parisian who has learned his drawing at the Academy will always indicate the limits and the structure of the body in one selfsame way, sometimes charming - correct in proportion and anatomy. But when Israels, or when Daumier or L'hermitte, for instance, draws a figure, the shape of the figure will be felt much more, and yet... the proportions will sometimes be almost arbitrary, the anatomy and structure often quite wrong 'in the eyes of the academician'. But it will live. And especially Delacroix too". In letter #500, Vol. 2, end of June, 1888, to Theo (p. 590) Vincent writes: "What Pissarro says is true, you must boldly exaggerate the effects of either harmony or discord which colors produce. It is the same as in drawing - accurate drawing, accurate color, is perhaps not the essential thing to aim at, because the reflection of reality in a mirror, if it could be caught, color and all, would not be a picture at all, no more than a photograph."
126. Baudelaire, p. 432, wrote that neither line nor colour existed in nature, that it was man who created them; they were abstractions: "... il n'y a dans la nature ni ligne ni couleur. C'est l'homme qui crée la ligne et la couleur. Ce sont deux abstractions qui tirent leur égale noblesse d'une meme origine." Further, as a child, a draughtsman will see in nature a number of shapes which he records by lines or colour, exaggerating or reducing as the spirit moves him; nature has acted as a stimulus: "Un dessinateur-né (je le suppose enfant) observe dans la nature immobile ou mouvante de certaine sinuosités, d'où il tire une certaine volupté, et qu'il s'amuse à fixer par des lignes sur le papier, exagérant ou diminuant à plaisir leurs inflexions. Il apprend ainsi à créer le galbe, l'élégance, le caractère dans le dessin. Supposons un enfant destiné à perfectionner la partie de l'art qui s'appelle couleur: c'est du choc ou de l'accord heureux de deux tons et du plaisir qui en résulte pour lui, qu'il tirera la science infinie des combinaisons de tons. La nature a été, dans le deux cas, une pur excitation." (pp. 432-3) Both line and colour arouse thought and reverie: "La ligne et la couleur font penser et rêver toutes les deux; les plaisirs qui en derivent sont d'une nature différente du sujet du tableau." Later, from Le Pouldu at the end of November, 1889, Gauguin writes to Bernard, commenting on Bernard's paintings, that the disproportionate length of the figure is bold and adds to the movement, Bernard being right to exaggerate it: "La longueur démesurée de la figure en prière est très hardie et ajoute à son mouvement. Vous avez bien fait de l'exagérer, au moins on ne pense pas au modèle et à cette sacrée nature" (Malingue, p. 178, #95).
127. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 20, letter #527.

128. Baudelaire, pp. 469-70, in "Le Peinture de la vie modern".
129. J.K. Huysmans, L'Art moderne (Paris, 1903), pp. 211-233.
Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 45; Denys Sutton, "The Paul Gauguin Exhibition," The Burlington Magazine, Vol. XCI, October 1949, p. 285.
130. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 45.
131. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 45; quoted also by Denys Sutton, Op. Cit., p. 285.
132. For a reproduction of the sketchbook page of geese drawings, cf. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 25, Fig. 12.
See Henry Blackburn, Randolph Caldecott: A Personal Memoir of his Early Career (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1886), p. 114 for one of Caldecott's drawings of a pair of geese. Blackburn writes: "One of the first drawings made in Brittany, both in colour and black and white (a scene of which Caldecott was always desirous of making a finished picture) was the buckwheat harvest with the women at work in the fields." (p. 172).
133. Cf. profuse illustrations in Henry Blackburn and Randolph Caldecott, Breton Folk: An Artistic Tour in Brittany, Op. Cit.
Cf. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 201 for pages from Gauguin's Brittany Sketchbook, 1886, pencil and crayon (Fig. 143). Cf. also Figs. 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30.
134. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, Fig. 3 (p. 12), Fig. 4 (p. 12), Fig. 19 (p. 29), Fig. 20 (p. 31), Fig. 35 (p. 43).
135. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 74, Fig. 53.
See Henry Blackburn, Randolph Caldecott, A Personal Memoir of His Early Career, Op. Cit., p. 114.
Japanese prints of geese, it should be noted, were also simple and abstract in their style as soon in a page by Kyosai, 1881.
136. Baudelaire, p. 466, in his article, "Le Peinture de la vie moderne".
137. In Avant et Après, Gauguin was to write that in the child, too, instinct rules reason, p. 228.
138. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 99, letter #559; in a later letter (#561, p. 103, 104) Vincent had informed Theo, "We are having wind and rain here, and I am very glad not to be alone." (p. 103) "I am going to set myself to work from memory often, and the canvases from memory are always less awkward, and have a more artistic look than studies from nature, especially when one works in mistral weather."
139. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, pp. 104-6, letter #562.
140. Lecoq de Boisbaudran, The Training of the Memory in Art (London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1911), p.v.: the translator names the artists who were influenced by Lecoq: "Cazin, Fantin-Latour, Legros, Lhermitte,

141. Lecoq, Op. Cit., p. vii.
142. Ibid, p. xxiv: "All teaching, that is real teaching, based upon reason and good sense, must make it its aim to keep the artist's individual feeling pure and unspoiled, to cultivate it and bring it to perfection.
143. Ibid., p. 21: "How much more productive then must the imagination be when nourished by cultivated memory, for it has at its service a store of material richer both in quantity and in variety, yet absolutely precise. We may be sure then that memory training is a great stimulus to artistic creation by ministering to and reinforcing the imagination."
144. Ibid., p. 31: "... I noticed that some of them, though not insensible to the beauty of the human figure, had yet subordinated it to the surrounding landscape, which clearly had made the most impression on them." p. 41: "Again, while I offer the students my ways of working, I never force them on them, in order to avoid interfering with their individual mental processes, and to allow them full liberty to follow their own natural procedure. My restraint in this matter of advice is largely due to the fear of my hints being taken as rules of thumb, and, if I may put it in this way, applied as a panacea indiscriminately to all temperaments alike..."
145. See Roskill, Appendix D: Gauguin claimed this was the work of the poet 'Vehbi-Zunbul-Zadi, the painter and giver of precepts,' who encouraged the artist to rely on memory in his work. Seurat, whom Gauguin had come to know during his stay in Paris 1885-6, also had a copy (although it is not known who gave who a copy of the extract) and had underlined the sentences or phrases which stressed that the artist ought to give his figures static poses, cultivate the use of silhouette and to rely on memory. Gauguin "included two passages from it in his Cahier pour Aline of 1893... He then copied these and further extracts into his Diverses Choses of 1896-7.... and also into his Avant et Après of Jan.-Feb. 1903..."
146. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, pp. 104-5, letter #562. Lecoq's methods appear a bit more disciplined than Gauguin's would have been. For example Lecoq states that "the meaning in which I use the word memory is that of stored observation; and that in my method of training there is no intention of letting unthinking memory work take the place of intelligence, for it is my object to cultivate the two side by side." (Lecoq, Op. Cit., p. 3). He lists guidelines and procedures to aid in memory training: "In observing a subject there are five principal points to be kept in view. They are: dimensions, position, form, modelling, and colour. To observe the dimensions or proportions, compare the different parts of the subjects one with another, and choose one as a unit of measure. To appreciate the respective position of the different parts, imagine horizontal and vertical lines passing through the most noticeable points. These lines and their points of intersection once established, will give the memory exact landmarks from which to make definite observations..." (p. 42). Gauguin, on the other hand, was not interested in detail but rather employing that which had given him the strongest impression in nature to his own purposes. Still,

Lecoq's philosophy of appealing to the student's imagination would have strongly appealed to Gauguin.

Baudelaire, as well, believed that painting for someone like Delacroix issued from the memory and spoke to the memory: "Pour E. Delacroix, la nature est un vaste dictionnaire dont il roule et consulte les feuillets avec un oeil sur et profond; et cette peinture, qui procede surtout du souvenir, parle surtout au souvenir." (p. 119). Detail is sacrificed for the whole: "... Sacrifiant sans cesse le detail a l'ensemble..." (p. 119).

147. Gray, pp. 120-1, Fig. 8: "L 51 1/2 cms. W 14-9 cms. H 22 cms. Signed on the back: 1884 Gauguin."
148. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 216, footnote #57.
149. Gauguin's relationships will be discussed in subsequent chapters.
150. See for example his portrait vases of 1887-8 of Jeanne and Madame Schuffenecker.
Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, pp. 58-9, Fig. 45, 46; p. 54, Fig. 43.
151. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 81, Fig. 57.
152. They both exhibited together at this exhibition (Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 166). See also Darzens quote below, Foot. 153). Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 135 writes: "In his book about Gauguin, Rotonchamp describes what Schuffenecker's home was like at that time as he remembered it (1890): on the walls there were paintings by Gauguin, Cezanne, and Van Gogh, and drawings by Odilon Redon. Gauguin was also represented by numerous ceramic pieces and his Japanese woodcuts were displayed in the studio, where his latest paintings were stacked on the floor with their faces to the wall."
(J. de Rotonchamp, Paul Gauguin, Weimar, 1906, Paris, 1925, p. 76ff.)
153. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 169.
Rewald quotes from Redon: "Le Salon de 1868," La Gironde, May 19, 1868, June 9, 1868. Redon wrote: "I have always felt the need to copy nature in small objects, particularly the casual or accidental. It is only after making an effort of will power to represent with minute care a blade, a stone, a branch, the face of an old wall, that I am overcome by an irresistible urge to create something imaginary. External nature, thus assimilated and measured, becomes, by transformation, my source, my ferment." (p. 29, quoted from Confidences d'Artiste, L'Art Moderne, August 23, 1895, reprinted in A Soi-Même). In La Pleiade, "Exposition des Impressionistes," 1886, Rodolphe Darzens (maintaining that "M. Gauguin a parmi ses envois rois études supérieures: 'Vaches au repos et dans l'eau, Coin de mare.' Un nature morte, des oranges est aussi à voir." p. 90) write about Redon: "Quant à M. Odilon Redon, je ne saurais, malgré l'enthousiasme de bon ton qu'il sied d'avoir pour ses dessins, lui reconnaître le talent profondément philosophique, qu'on lui attribue. Toutes ses compositions me semblent généralement grotesque et enfantines, cela volontairement, je veux bien le croire." (p. 91) Even Redon, it seems, was influenced in the creation of his imaginary beings, by Japanese prints. See Wichmann, Op. Cit., pp. 151, 153.

154. Gauguin, Avant et Après, pp. 182-3.
155. From unpublished letter to Vincent, September, 1888, from the library of the Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh, Amsterdam. To Schuffenecker (Malingue, Op. Cit., p. 141, #71) on October 8, 1888, from Quimperle Gauguin described the background in the following way: "Le tout sur un fond chrome parsemé de bouquets enfantins. Chambre de jeune fille pur."
156. Malingue, p. 141, letter #71.
157. Unpublished letter to Vincent, September, 1888, Op. Cit. (fott. 155, above).
158. Malingue, pp. 140-1, letter #71.
159. Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, colour illustrations of the piece: pp. 115, 117, Height: 19.3 cm., Figs. 0, 81.
160. Malingue, letter #71, p. 141: "Tous les rouges, les violets, rayés par les éclats de feu comme une fournaise rayonnant aux yeux..."
161. Colour-plate found in Jaworska, p. 69. Les Misérables by Gauguin is also produced in colour on p. 67. Gauguin also executed a double-portrait vase in 1889 of two boys, one with his eyes open, the other with his eyes closed. (Illustrated in colour by Bodensen, Gauguin's Ceramics, pp. 130-1, Figs. 88 (black and white), 89 (colour); "Portrait-vase of two boys in glazed stoneware with handle formed by the neck of a swan.")
162. Marsh Flower, ca. 1885, charcoal, is illustrated in Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 174. See also his oil painting of 1890, Closed Eyes, 236; in the London Art Council Exhibition Catalogue. Puvis, Moreau, Redon and their Followers; "Redon writes in his Journal in March 1888, that he has been to meditate before 'the closed eyes of the Slave (by Michelangelo)... He sleeps, and the worried dream that crosses the brow of this marble lifts our dreams into a pensive and moving world' (A Soi-Même, 1922, p. 92)".
163. Paul Gauguin, Oviri, p. 60.
164. Malingue, pp. 45, 46, letter #11, Copenhagen, January 14, 1885.
165. Malingue, p. 47, letter #11.
166. Quoted by Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 162, from C. Chassé, Le Mouvement Symboliste dans l'art du XIXe siècle, Paris, 1947, p. 36.
167. From A Soi-Même, translated by Elizabeth Holt, Op. Cit., 493.
168. From copy of unpublished letter, Library of the Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh, Amsterdam; partly reproduced in Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 21, letter #G6, to Vincent, Pont-Aven, August, 1888.
169. Baudelaire, p. 107.

170. Malingue, p. 135, letter #67.
171. See footnote #153 above, quoted from Redon: "Le Salon de 1867", La Gironde, May-June, 1868, Vincent had written to Bernard from Arles, April, 1888 (Vincent van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 478, letter #B3): "The imagination is certainly a faculty which we must develop, one which alone can lead us to the creation of a more exalting and consoling nature than the single brief glance at reality - which in our sight is ever changing passive like a flash of lightning - can let us perceive ... Working directly on the spot all the time, I try to grasp what is essential in the drawing - later I fill in the spaces which are bound by contours - either expressed or not, but in any case felt..." "... my great desire is to learn to make such errors, such deviation, revisions, transformations of reality, that they become, well, lies, if you will, but truer than literal truth." (Vol. 2, p. 401, letter #418, July, 1885).
172. See footnote #167 above, Puvis' words.
173. See Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 122, for this phrase.
174. Malingue, p. 134, letter #67.
175. Ary Renan, "Gustave Moreau," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1886, p. 44.
176. The drawing reproduced in Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 181, Fig. 133, from the Album Walter (Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre).
177. The same tree is reproduced by Gauguin in his zincograph of 1889, Human Miseries (*Misères humaines*), with a man's head peering through the branches. (Illustrated in Weisberg, etc., Op. Cit., p. 95, il. 127).
178. Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 22, letter G9, to Vincent, from Pont-Aven, September, 1888.
179. From a copy of the original unpublished, from the library of the Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh, Amsterdam. Gauguin has included in this sketch the cow, the tree trunk as it exists in the completed painting, Jacob and the Angel, the peasant women as they are situated in the final composition. The bonnet marked "blanc" is on the lower right corner of the sketch. The dresses noted with "noir" are on the central and the right corner figures in the foreground.
Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, pp. 484, 486, 489, and so on for illustrations of his drawings in letters with designated colours. Interesting is his assertion that: "Fromentin and Gerome see the soil of the South as colorless, and a lot of people see it like that. My God, yes, if you take some sand in your hand, if you look at it closely, and also water, and also air, they are all colorless, looked at in this way. There is no blue without yellow and without orange, and if you put in blue, then you must put in yellow, and orange too, musn't you?" (Letter #B6, p. 491) One cannot help but think of the colour arrangement of Jacob and the Angel in Vision après le sermon.

180. Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 25, letter G11, to Theo from Pont-Aven, October, 1888.
See also letter G9 in same catalogue, to Vincent, September, 1888: "Je viens de faire un tableau religieux très mal fait mais qui m'a intéresse à faire et qui me plaît. Je voulais le donner à l'église de Pont-Aven. Naturellement on n'en veut pas." To Schuffenecker, on October 8, 1888, he noted, "J'ai fait pour une église un tableau naturellement il a été refusé, assui je le renvoie à Van Gogh. Inutile de vous le décrire, vous le verrez." (Malingue, p. 140, letter #71).
181. Emile Bernard, Mercure de France, 2er semestre 1903, Decembre 1903. Vincent wrote to Theo at the end of June, 1888 (letter #500, Letters, Vol. 2, p. 590): "... there has been an article, it seems in the Revue Indépendants on Anquetin, which called him the leader of a new trend, in which the Japanese influence is even more apparent. I have not read it, but anyway the leader of the Petit Boulevard is undoubtedly Seurat, and young Bernard has perhaps gone further in the Japanese style than Anquetin." Cf. E. Dujardin, "Aux XX et aux Independants: Le Cloisonisme," La Revue Independante, March, 1888, pp. 489 f. Dujardin wrote that, "Au premier aspect, ces oeuvres donnent l'idée d'une peinture décorative, un tracé en dehors, une coloration violente et arrêtée, rappelant inévitablement l'imagerie et le japonisme; puis, sous le caractère général hiératique du dessin et de la couleur, on perçoit une vérité sensationnelle se dégageant du romantisme de la fougue; et, par dessus tout, peu à peu, c'est le voulu, le raisonné, la construction intellectuelle et systématique, qui requiert l'analyse. Le point de départ est une conception symbolique de l'art. Le peintre, négligeant toute photographie avec ou sans retouche, ne cherchera qu'à fixer, en le moindre nombre possible de lignes et de couleurs caractéristiques, la réalité intime, l'essence de l'objet qu'il s'impose. L'art primitif et l'art populaire qui est la continuité de l'art primitif dans le contemporain, sont symboliques de cette façon. L'imagerie d'Epinal procède par le tracé des contours. Dans leur perfection de métier, les peintres anciens avaient cette technique. Et tel est encore l'art japonais... Et le travail du peintre sera quelque chose comme une peinture par compartiments, analogue au cloisonné, et sa technique consistera en une sorte de cloisonisme." Thus he equated the style of Bernard and Anquetin with that of Japanese, primitive and popular art: the Epinal prints, which he felt to be the contemporary continuation of primitive art. The influence of these Epinal images are an important consideration in Gauguin's art as well, for the simplified forms outlined, with no shading would have appealed to him as would have the concept of a simple, unsophisticated art form. (Il. in Meyer Schapiro, "Courbet and Popular Imagery," Warburg and Courtauld Institute Journal, Vol. 4, 1941.)
In 1886, at the Pension Gloanec, Gauguin met Emile Bernard for the first time. Bernard, on his annual walking tour through Brittany, was passing through Concarneau, a seaport a little north-west of Pont-Aven, where he met Schuffenecker who recommended that he get in touch with Gauguin. See Emile Bernard, "Lettre Ouverte a M. Camille Mauclair," Mercure de France, June 1896, pp. 332-3: "Entré à l'atelier Cormon en 1885, j'en suis sorti en 1886. J'avais alors dix-sept ans. Je suis parti à pied et seul, avec toiles et pinceaux, sur les routes de Normandie et de

Bretagne, plus par un désir de m'isoler des vaines camaraderies et des tracasseries de la famille que pour le plaisir du voyage; élève très entremé au collège, j'aspirais à l'art pour respirer; or l'on voulait m'étouffer. J'ai donc fui... En 1886, en ce même voyage à pied dont j'ai parlé et qui fut mon premier, je rencontrai Paul Gauguin; il était à Pont-Aven, en Bretagne. J'étais descendu dans la même auberge qu'il (Pension Gloannec), avec une recommandation qu'un peintre rencontré à Concarneau (Schuffenecker) m'avait donnée avec force éloges." See also Emile Bernard, "Notes sur l'école dite Pont Aven," Mercure de France, December 1903, pp. 676-7: "Voyage à Pied (1886). Je pars à pied, seul. Je gagne le mont Saint-Michel, puis je suis la côte jusqu'à Brest. Toujours peignant, toujours dessinant, pauvre d'argent. Au mois de septembre, sur la plage de Concarneau, je regardais travailler un peintre: "La peinture vous intéresse," me dit-il, sans doute ennuyé de mon stage. - "Oui, quand elle est bonne. Nous parlons ensemble, il se nomme Emile Schuffenecker et me fait l'éloge de Paul Gauguin, Pont-Aven. Me voici à Pont-Aven, chez le mère Marie Jeanne Gloannec. Je me présente à Paul Gauguin avec la recommandation de M. Schuffenecker."

In contrast to the date noted by Bernard above regarding the meeting with Schuffenecker (September), Malingue (p. 94) offers "Venant de Concarneau, Emile Bernard arriva, le 15 août, muni d'une carte de Schuffenecker et ne quitta Pont Aven pour Paris que le 28 Septembre... "Il y a aussi (à l'auberge Gloanec), écrivit Bernard à ses parents le 19 août, un impressionniste nommé Gauguin, un garçon très fort, il a 36 ans et dessine et peint très bien."

Gauguin, however, did not appear too interested in developing a friendship at this time; cf. Emile Bernard, "Notes sur l'école dit Pont Aven," Op. Cit., p. 677: "Mauvaise reception." See also Emile Bernard, "Lettre ouverte à M. Camille Mauclair," Op. Cit., p. 333: "L'accueil que me fit M. Gauguin fut des plus glaces, et cette année-là il ne se manifesta entre nous que la plus étrange antipathie."

Their second meeting in early August 1888 was more cordial. See Douglas Lord (ed), Vincent van Gogh Letters to Emile Bernard (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1938), p. 68, letter #XIV: "I see that I have omitted to answer your question whether Gauguin is still at Pont-Aven. Yes, he is still there and if you were to write to him I'm sure he'd be pleased..." Lord dates this Arles, early August 1888 (p. 72), saying "The reference to the two portraits of Roulin, the postman (that Vincent makes in this letter, p. 71, "I have just done a portrait of a postman or rather two portraits even.") links this letter with letters to Theo, Nos. 516, 517, 518, which were written in the first days of August." See Van Gogh, Letters, letter #514, Vol. 2, p. 619, dated July 29, 1888; letter #525, Vol. 3, p. 17, is dated August 15, 1888. By the middle of August, Bernard had probably been with Gauguin for about a week. At mid-August Vincent again writes to Bernard on receipt of his letter: "I am very pleased you have gone to join Gauguin... I would love to be able to come and spend a few days at Pont-Aven: however, I seek consolation by looking at the sunflowers." (Lord, Op. Cit., pp. 74-5, letter #XV). Lord dates this letter Arles, mid-August, 1888: "The connections between this letter and Nos. 523 and 524 of the letters to Theo confirm this date." (Lord, Op. Cit., p. 76) #525 is dated August 15 (Vol. 3, p. 17) #523 (undated, Vol. 3, p. 12) notes

"I have just had a letter from Bernard, who went some days ago to join Gauguin, Laval and somebody else at Pont-Aven." It was largely due to Vincent's admiration of Gauguin that Bernard made an effort to go see him a second time and take his work along to show.

Emile Bernard, "Notes sur l'école dite Pont-Aven," Op.Cit., p. 679:

"En 1888, un voyage à pied me remena à Pont-Aven, j'y revis Gauguin, qui revenait de la Martinique avec Charles Laval. Vincent m'avait prié de me rapprocher de lui, je le fis..."

See also, Emile Bernard, "Lettre ouverte a M. Camille Mauclair,"

Op. Cit., p. 333: "en 1888, sur la recommandation de Vincent van Gogh ... je fus trouver Gauguin, selon que van Gogh me l'avait fait promettre, et je lui demandai bon accord (Gauguin avait quarante-deux ans, moi vingt); il accepta, nous devinmes amis."

On August 14, Gauguin wrote to Schuffenecker announcing that Bernard had brought some interesting works from Briac and that here was someone who was not afraid to try anything: "Le petit Bernard est ici et a rapporté de St. Briac des choses interessantes. En voilà un qui ne redoute rien." (Malingue, p. 134, letter #67). Van Gogh in correspondence with both of them confirms this: "They are enjoying themselves very much, painting, arguing and fighting with the worthy Englishmen. [Gauguin] speaks well of Bernard's work and Bernard speaks well of Gauguin's." (Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, #526, undated; letter #525 is August 15, 1888).

182. Van Gogh, Letters, Op. Cit., p. 508, Vol. 3, letter #B14.
183. Van Gogh, p. 495, letter #B8.
184. Jaworska, p. 14: Adoration of the Shepherds is reproduced here.
185. Bernard's painting is reproduced in Jaworska, p. 19, in colour. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 94, letter #557.
186. Jaworska, reproduced on p. 37 in colour.
187. Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 22, letter G9, to Vincent, from Pont-Aven, September, 1888.
188. It was even more appropriate that Gauguin chose the theme of Jacob Wrestling with the Angel for the subject of his Vision, as will be shown in Chapter Three.
189. Malingue, p. 140, letter #71.
190. Malingue, p. 147, letter #73, to Schuffenecker from Quimperle, October 16, 1888: Gauguin stressed that one should always follow one's temperament: "... il faut toujours suivre son tempérament."

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER THREE

1. The angel, in Gauguin's painting, reaches over Jacob's back, grips the right shoulder with his left hand while grasping the back of the neck with his right hand. Jacob leans over from the waist, knees bent, right foot extended back, left forward, his right arm not visible (perhaps tucked around the angel's back or waist, the curve of Jacob's back suggesting this).
2. Gen. 32, v. 25: "When the man saw that he did not prevail against Jacob, he touched the hollow of his thigh; and Jacob's thigh was put out of joint as he wrestled with him."
3. Francoise-Henry, Irish Art during the Viking Invasions (800-1020 AD) (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1967), p. 200.
4. For an investigation of the theme of the winged angel in art, see Gunnar Beresfelt, A Study on the Winged Angel (Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968), pp. 13-17. See also Fritz Saxl, "Continuity and Variation," Lectures (London: The Warburg Inst., 1957), pp. 7-8.
5. Illustrated in Marcel Aubert, Les Richesses d'art de la France: La Sculpture (Paris: Les Editions G. Van Oest, 1930), Plate 42.
6. Ziva Maisels notes that in early Spanish manuscript illuminations, Jacob is in fact sometimes shown grasping the angel's calf as in Gauguin's work (p. 26). She cites as an example: Leon, Ch. Isidore 2, Bible, fol. 8v., ca. 960 (p. 10 - footnotes). Other examples where the theme of Jacob wrestling with an angel occurs would include the Vienna Genesis, an eighth century fresco in Santa Maria Antica, Rome, an eleventh century fresco in the cathedral of Hagia Sophia, Kiev, the St. Louis Psalter and a painting by Raphael and Baldassore Peruzzi in the Stanza d'Elidoro in the Vatican. (See: Encyclopaedia Judaica, Vol. 9 (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1971), pp. 1204-5.) Herban (Op. Cit., pp. 416-7) cites and illustrates the seventh century tapestry by Bernard van Orley, a 1639 Dutch panel by B. Breenbergh (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Cat. 1939, No. 620) and B. Gozzoli's Pisan frescoes. Maisels (p. 26) mentions Leon Bonnat's versions (Musée Bonnat. Bayonne) studies "based on the Hercules-Anteus type with the angel being lifted up by Jacob," perhaps close to Rembrandt's depiction. Cf. Edward von Gebhardt's version (illustrated in S. Platt, Stories from the Old Testament (London: George G. Haarp and Co., 1903) p. 18) in which Jacob is painted sitting on the ground, his arms encircling the lower legs of the angel who towers above and who, with outstretched hands appears to be blessing him, just as the sun rises over the horizon (Gen. 32, v. 28). The Jabbok River is seen in the distance as in the upper right of Gauguin's painting.
7. Horst Gerson, Rembrandt (New York: Reynal and Co., 1968), p. 501 - illustrated.
See Gerhard von Rad, Genesis (Transl. by John H. Marks) (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1952) p. 316: Von Rad compares the story of Jacob wrestling with the angel to sagas "in which gods, spirits, or demons attack a man and in which then the man extorts something of their strength

and their secret..." He states, "Especially frequent in such sagas is the notion that the effectiveness of these beings is bound to the night-time; when morning breaks they must disappear." Von Rad notes that the "late Jewish Midrash understands the demand to be released as follows: I must sing in the morning choir before God's throne (Jac.). Now one must assume that Jacob has discovered something of the divine nature of his opponent, for in an odd contrast to his previous defense, he struggles to wrest a blessing from him, viz. divine virality."

Theodor H. Gaster, in Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament (New York: Harper & Row Publ., 1969), maintains: "the idea that demons, being 'princes of darkness', lose their power at daybreak and must then depart was widespread in the Ancient Near East... Later Greek magical texts make the same point." Demons are warned to "flee and run away quickly since the sun is rising," (T. Pradel, *Griech. und suditalienische Gebete* 1907, 12.24) or to "fly away before dawn" (Papyrus Parthey, i. 20, 60; Pap. Mag. Paris, 37); and the notion that evil spirits fear day-break turns up frequently in late Greek and Latin writers. (Lucian, *Philopseud.*, 15; Philostratus, *Vita Apollon.*, 4, 16; Prudentius, *Kathemerion*, hymn 1.378). In modern European folklore, water-spirits must be back in the water before dawn (Stith Thompson, *MI*; F.420.2.3.4; A. Schoppner, Sagenbuch der byaerischen Lande (1852-53), i.211, 227; P. Sebillot, Le folklore de France 1904-7), while fairies must depart, and ogres become powerless at cockcrow (Stith Thompson, Op. Cit., F383.4; G.636), p. 211.

8. "Then he [the angel] said, "Let me go for the day is breaking." But Jacob said, "I will not let you go, unless you bless me."
9. Marcel Röthlisberger, Clàude Lorrain, Vol. 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), cf. p. 427 for illustration.
10. On April 26, 1856, Delacroix wrote in his Journal: "Made a fresh start today on the picture of Jacob, at Saint-Sulpice. I got a great deal done today: I raised the tone of the whole group, etc. The lay-in was very good." Eugene Delacroix, Journal (trans. by Walter Pach) (New York: The Viking Press, 1972), p. 516. Cf. René Huyghe, Delacroix (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1963) p. 343, fig. 313 for illustration of the painting.
11. Musée G. Moreau, Paris.
12. Malingue, pp. 61-2, letter #22. Gauguin had lost his job as a stockbroker at the Maison Bertin firm in 1882 with the collapse of the Bourse (the Paris Stock Exchange) (Jaworska, p. 11, notes the researches of Charles Chassé). In 1884 Gauguin with Mette and their five children, left for Copenhagen where he worked as the Scandinavian representative of the French clothmakers firm of Dillies & Cie (Goldwater, p. 46; Malingue, p. 57).
13. Malingue, pp. 76-7, letter #31, about December 20, 1885.
14. Malingue, pp. 85-6, letter #36: "Pour se soulager elle crie partout sur les toits que je suis un misérable, que j'ai quitté Bertin pour la

peinture, que cette pauvre femme sans logis, sans meubles, sans soutien a été abandonnée pour cette atroce peinture."

15. Malingue, pp. 123-5, letters #60-1.
16. Malingue, pp. 158-9, letter #82. Gauguin also discusses the lack of financial and emotional support he receives from Mette and her family at his proposal to come to visit his children. For them only money reasons matter, not those of the heart; "... le coeur sur lâ main, les yeux de face et je combats poitrine découverte ... mon affaire c'est l'art."
17. Malingue, pp. 63-4, letter #24. See letter #82 (p. 160) of 1889, where Gauguin remarks that success and fame in the artistic field take a long time (he is exhibiting his works at Goupils in Paris where they are creating a great sensation yet not selling).
18. Malingue, p. 100, letter #48: "Mon nom d'artiste grandit tous les jours mais en attendant je reste quelquefois des trois jours sans manger ce qui détruit non seulement ma santé mais mon énergie." In April, 1886, Gauguin, for lack of money, works as a bill-poster at five francs a day (pp. 83-4, letter #35).
19. Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 21, letter #G6, with excerpts from unpublished portion received from Van Gogh Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
20. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 12, #523; pp. 11-17, #524. Vincent continues, "... Let's leave him this illusion [of a lasting success], but let's realize that what he will always need is his daily bread and shelter and paints. That is the crack in his armor, and it is because he is getting into debt now that he will be knocked out in advance.
If we too come to his aid, we are in fact making his victory in Paris possible.
If I had the same ambitions as he, we probably should not agree. But I neither care about success for myself nor about happiness...
I can already see that Gauguin is hoping for success, he cannot do without Paris, he does not realize the eternity of poverty. You understand that under the circumstances it is all the same to me whether I stay or go. We must let him fight his battle, he is sure to win. He would feel that he was doing nothing if he were too far from Paris, but for our own part let's keep our utter indifference to success or failure."
21. Emile Zola, L'Oeuvre (Paris: Francois Bernouard, nd.), p. 267: Vincent (Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 16, #524) writes: "What touches me most deeply in Zola's L'Oeuvre is the figure of Bongrand-Jundt. What he says is so true. 'You think, you poor souls, that when an artist has established his talent and his reputation, he is safe. On the contrary, henceforth he is denied producing anything which is not perfect. His reputation itself forces him to take more pains over his work, as the chances of selling grow fewer. At the least sign of weakness, the whole jealous pack will fall on him and destroy that very reputation and the faith that the changeable and treacherous public has temporarily had in him.' "

Vincent is to write later at the end of October, 1888, from Arles to Bernard (#B19a) after Gauguin has joined him: "We have worked a lot these days, and in the meantime I read *Le Rêve* by Zola, and because of this I had hardly any time to write. Gauguin interests me very much as a man - very much."

22. Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 22, #G9. See also Malingue, #92 - Gauguin claiming that he has been groping within himself for a more elevated sensibility and he seems almost to have grasped it in the past year. From Arles, later in November, 1888, Gauguin writes to Schuffenecker, admitting that he is optimistic, that he is preparing for the great struggle: "...Puis, je suis optimiste, mais vous vous trompez si cet optimiste est d'argent, je ne m'en servirai pas pour jouir et me reposer, mais au contraire pour préparer la grande lutte, car maintenant c'est pour moi la petite lutte artistique..." (Malingue, p. 149, letter #74).
23. Malingue, p. 165, letter #86.
24. Malingue, p. 166, letter #87: "Je vois, lisant votre lettre, que nous sommes tous un peu logés à la même enseigne. Les moments de doute, les résultats toujours en-dessous de ce que nous rêvons; et le peu d'encouragement des autres, tout cela contribue à nous écorcher aux ronces. Eh bien, après qu'y faire, si ce n'est rager, se battre avec toutes ces difficultés; même terrassé, dire encore. Toujours et toujours. "
25. Malingue, p. 166, letter #87: And later, prior to his departure for Tahiti, on March 24, 1891, Gauguin writes to Mette about the banquet given in his honour; he maintains that in three years he will have won a battle which would enable he and Mette to live at their ease (Malingue, p. 213, letter #123).
26. Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 22, #G10.
27. Malingue, pp. 140-1, letter #71: "J'ai fait un portrait de moi pour Vincent qui me l'avait demandé. C'est je crois une de mes meilleures choses: absolument incompréhensible (par exemple) tellement il est abstrait. Tête de bandit au premier abord, un Jean Valjean (*Les Misérables*), personifiant aussi un peintre impressionniste déconsidéré et portant toujours une chaîne pour le monde. Le dessin en est tout à fait spécial, abstraction complète. Les yeux, la bouche, le nez, sont comme des fleurs de tapis persan personifiant aussi le côté symbolique. La couleur est une couleur loin de la nature; figurez-vous un vague souvenir de la poterie tordue par le grand feu! Tous les rouges, les violets, rayés par les éclats de feu comme une fournaise rayonnant aux yeux, siège des luttes de la pensée du peintre. Le tout sur un fond chrome parsemé de bouquets enfantins. Chambre de jeune fille pure, L'impressionniste est un pur, non souillé encore par le baiser putride des Beaux-Arts (École).
28. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 2, p. 12, #277.

29. Victor Hugo, Les Misérables (transl. by Charles E. Wilbour) (New York: Dutton, Everyman's Library, 1958, Vol. 1), p. 87: "Jean Valjean was not ... of an evil nature. His heart was still right when he arrived at the galleys. While there he condemned society, and felt that he became wicked; he condemned Providence, and felt that he became impious."

30. Ibid., p. 87.

31. Ibid., p. 109: "Excess of misfortune, we have remarked, had made him, in some sort, a visionary. This then was like a vision. He veritably saw this Jean Valjean, this ominous face before him. He was on the point of asking himself who that man was, and he was horror stricken by it.

His brain was in one of those violent, and yet frightfully calm conditions where reverie is so profound that it swallows up reality. We no longer see the objects that are before us, but we see, as if outside ourselves, the forms that we have in our minds.

He beheld himself then, so to speak, face to face, and at the same time, across that hallucination, he saw at a mysterious distance, a sort of light which he took at first to be a torch. Examining more attentively this light which dawned upon his conscience, he recognized that it had a human form and that this torch was the bishop and Jean Valjean..." After he becomes Mayor - there is still one Inspector Javert, who endeavours to track Valjean down for the theft of silver: "To [Javert] Jean Valjean was a sort of mysterious and intangible antagonist, a shadowy wrestler with whom he had been struggling for five years, without being able to throw him..." (p. 280). Valjean escapes again, eventually to find a small girl, Cosette, whom he adopts: "This was the second white vision he had seen. The bishop had caused the dawn of virtue on his horizon; Cosette evoked the dawn of love." (p. 420). Just as in Gauguin's painting, Vision après le sermon, the themes of visions and wrestling occur in Hugo's Les Misérables.

32. Malingue, p. 150, letter #75: "... Je considère l'impressionisme comme un recherche tout à fait nouvelle, s'éloignant forcément de tout ce qui est mécanique tel que la photographie, etc..." For record of his participation in the impressionist exhibitions, cf. Goldwater, p. 46 (also Rewald - appendix); also Malingue, p. 78, letter #32, for his participation in the eighth and last impressionist group exhibition ("Société Anonyme des Artistes Peintres, Sculpteurs, Graveurs" from May 15 to June 15, 1886), which included works by Odilon Redon, Degas, Seurat, etc. Although Gauguin's paintings did show the influence of Pissarro, Monet, Cézanne and Degas, especially at the beginning (cf. Chapter Two), he did not follow any single impressionist artist's style. As was demonstrated in Chapter Two, Gauguin's artistic pursuits took a definite turn away from the representation of transitory or atmospheric effects of nature, qualities found in works by Pissarro, Monet and others. As well, impressionism itself is a difficult movement to define, with each artist classified as an impressionist, yet each developing independent styles. The resultant confusion manifested itself, for example, in the choice made for the title of the Volpini exhibition of 1889 in which Gauguin took part: "Groupe Impressionniste et

Synthetiste" (cf. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 281, for illustration of poster for the Volpini Exhibition; cf. Malingue, letter #77). See Vincent's letter #539 (Letters, Vol. 3, pp. 44-5) to Theo from Arles: "It is true that in impressionism I see the resurrection of Eugene Delacroix but the interpretations of it are so divergent and in a way so irreconcilable that it will not be impressionism which will give us the final doctrine.

That is why I myself remain among the impressionists, because it professes nothing and binds you to nothing, and as one of the comrades, I need not declare my formula." When Gauguin had joined Vincent in Arles, the latter wrote to Theo in December, 1888: "You will see that some people will soon be reproaching Gauguin with no longer being an impressionist." (Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 107, letter #563). Gauguin, in November, 1889, from Pouldu, in a letter to Bernard, was to write that as for painting for the market, even impressionist pictures - no; he confesses that he has been groping within himself for a more elevated sensibility which he seems almost to have grasped in the past year: "Quant à faire de la peinture de commerce même impressionniste: Non. J'entre vois dans tout le fond de moi-même un sens plus élevé, que j'ai tâtonné cette année" (Malingue, p. 166, letter #92).

33. Gauguin, Avant et Après, p. 227: "Quand l'homme me dit: 'Il faut,' je me révolte. Quand la nature (ma nature) me dit, je ne transige que vaincu."
34. Malingue, p. 119, letter #58. In 1883, from Drenthe, Vincent had written: "I read a very beautiful little book of Carlyle's Hero and Hero Worship, nice sayings, as, for instance, we have the duty to be brave. (Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 2, p. 170, #332). In June, 1889, Gauguin reiterates that art is his duty, his business, the future of his children, the honour of the name he has given them, he claims that a famous father may prove a valuable asset. He suggests that Millet, in acting according to his duty, bequeathed a future to his children (Malingue, pp. 159-60, letter #82)..
35. Malingue, p. 120, letter #59.
36. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 59, letter #544.
37. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 62, letter #544.
38. Malingue, pp. 141-2, letter #72: "... Je dois vous dire que même pendant le travail je ne cesse de songer à cette entreprise de fonder un atelier ayant vous-même et moi pour habitants fixes mais dont nous désirons tous le deux faire un abri et un asile pour les copains au moment où ils se trouvant acculés dans leur lutte."
39. Malingue, pp. 143-4, letter #72: "J'ai un portrait de moi tout cendré. La couleur cendrée qui résulte du mélange du véronèse avec la mine orange sur (fond) véronèse pâle tout uni, a vêtement brun rouge. Mais exagérant moi aussi ma personnalité, j'avais cherché plutôt le caractère d'un bonze simple adorateur du Bouddha éternel..."

40. Malingue, p. 144, letter #72. Gauguin, receiving this letter from Vincent, sends it to Schuffenecker: "Je vous envoie une lettre de Vincent, pour vous faire voir où j'en suis avec lui."
41. Malingue, p. 141, letter #71; in his next letter to Schuffenecker, from Quimperle, October 16, 1888 (letter #73), Gauguin requests that Vincent's letter be returned to him (Gauguin), this indicating Vincent's opinions mattered to Gauguin: "Renvoyez-moi la lettre de Vincent." (Malingue, p. 146).
42. Gauguin, Avant et Après, pp. 18-9.
43. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 49, letter #541, after September 17/88.
44. John Rewald, ed., Camille Pissarro, Letters to his Son Lucien (New York: Paul P. Appel, 1972), p. 97.
45. Ibid., p. 122.
46. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 40, letter #538. (#537 was written on September 17, 1888).
47. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 43, #539.
48. Maurice Denis, Paul Sérusier, ABC de la peinture (Paris, France: Librairie Floury, 1942), p. 42.
49. Jaworska, p. 33; quoting from Maurice Denis, Mercure de France, January 1904, p. 286.
50. Malingue, p. 94, letter #42; see also #41 (p. 92): "Ma peinture soulève beaucoup de discussion, et je dois le dire trouve un accueil assez favorable chez les Américains."
51. Malingue, p. 130, letter #64.
52. Malingue, p. 134, letter #67.
53. Witness, for example, Malingue, p. 46, letter #11: Gauguin, convinced of his theory, writes to Schuffenecker on January 14, 1885 from Copenhagen: "Plus je vais plus j'abonde dans ce sens de traductions de la pensée pour tout autre chose qu'une littérature, nous verrons qui a raison. Si j'ai tort, pourquoi toute votre Academie qui sait tous les moyens employées par les anciens maîtres, ne fait-elle pas une nature, une intelligence et un coeur, parce que Raphael jeune en avait l'intuition et dans ses tableaux il y a des accords de lignes dont on ne se rend pas compte, car c'est la partie la plus intime de l'homme qui se retrouve tout voilée. Voyez dans les accessoires mêmes, le paysage d'un tableau de Raphael, vous trouverez le même sentiment que dans un tête. On est pur en tout. Un paysage de Carolus Durand est aussi bordel qu'un portrait (Je ne puis l'expliquer mais j'ai ce sentiment)."

54. Malingue, p. 226, letter #128.
55. Malingue, p. 125, letter #61.
56. Malingue, p. 134, letter #67.
57. Malingue, p. 135, letter #67.
58. Malingue, p. 147, letter #73.
59. Malingue, pp. 45-6, letter #11.
60. Malingue, pp. 144-5, letter #72. Vincent writes of the country around Arles: "Ces pays-ci ont déjà vu le culte de Vénus - essentiellement artistique en Grèce - puis les poètes et les artistes de la Renaissance..."
61. See Van Gogh, Letters: for example on July 29, 1887 (letter #514, p. 619, Vol. 2) when he writes to Theo: "The more I am spent, ill, a broken pitcher, by so much more am I an artist - a creative artist - in this great renaissance of art of which we speak"; to Bernard (#B6, Arles Second half of June 1888): "More and more it seems to me that the pictures ... must be made so that painting should be wholly itself and should raise itself to a height equivalent to the serene summits which the Greek sculptors, the Greek musicians ... reached ... the thing itself - the existence of a renaissance - this fact is certainly no banality..." (Vol. 3, pp. 485, 490); to Theo (29th July, 1888) (Vol. 2, #514, p. 620) Vincent writes the "great renaissance of art" and their, Theo's and his own, part in it: "... this eternally living art, and this renaissance, this green shoot springing from the roots of the old felled trunk, these are such abstract things that a kind of melancholy remains within us when we think that one could have created life at less cost than creating art..." Again to Theo, after Sept. 17, 1888 (#539, Vol. pp. 43): "Some time ago I read an article on Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Giotto and Botticelli. Good Lord! it did make an impression on me reading the letters of those men.
And Petrarch lived quite near here in Avignon, and I am seeing the same cypresses and oleanders." At the end of October, 1888 (letter #558b, Vol. 3, p. 99) Vincent informs Theo: "What Gauguin tells of the tropics seems marvellous to me. Surely the future of a great renaissance in painting lies there. Just ask your new Dutch friends whether they have ever thought of how interesting it would be if some Dutch painters were to found a colorist school in Java. If they heard Gauguin describe the tropical countries, it would certainly make them desire to do it directly." It will be remembered that Gauguin went to Tahiti in 1891 with the intention of founding a studio of the South, endeavouring to persuade his friends (his disciples, Bernard and Laval) to go with him.
62. Gauguin, Avant et Après, p. 227.
63. Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, pp. 21-2, letter #G8. "A Vincent, Pont-Aven, septembre 1888"; this letter was written prior to the

letter with the description of Vision après le sermon (letter #G9, p. 22). The idea of associating and comparing painting with poetry was not new. In treatises on art and literature from the middle of the 16th and middle of the 18th century poetry and painting were generally called the sister arts and regarded "almost identical in fundamental nature, in content, and in purpose": "The saying attributed by Plutarch to Simonides that painting is mute poetry, poetry a speaking picture, was quoted frequently and with enthusiasm; and Horace's famous simile ut pictura poesis - as is painting so is poetry - ... was invoked more and more as final sanction for a much closer relationship between the sister arts than Horace himself would probably have approved..." Rensselaer W. Lee, Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting (New York: W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1967), p. 3.

64. Baudelaire, p. 424.
65. Malingue, pp. 62-3, letter #22.
66. Baudelaire, pp. 430-1: "L'imagination de Delacroix! Celle-là n'a jamais craint d'escalader les hauteurs difficiles de la religion; le ciel lui appartient, comme l'enfer, comme la guerre, comme l'Olympe, comme la volupté. Voilà bien le type peintre-poète! Il est bien un des rares élus, et l'étendue de son esprit comprend la religion dans son domaine. Son imagination, ardentes, brille de toutes les flammes et de toutes les pourpres. Tout ce qu'il y a de douleur dans la passion le passionne; tout ce qu'il y a de splendeur dans l'Eglise l'illumine. Il verse tour à tour sur ses toiles inspirées le sang, la lumière et les ténèbres. Je crois qu'il ajouterait volontiers, comme surcroît, son faste naturel aux majestés de l'Evangile.
67. Baudelaire, p. 431: "Jamais ... Delacroix n'a étalé un coloriste plus splendidement et plus savamment surnaturel; jamais un dessin plus volontairement épique. Je sais bien que quelques personnes, des maçons sans doute, des architectes peut-être, ont, à propos de cette dernière oeuvre, prononcé le mot décadence. C'est ici le lieu de rappeler que les grands maîtres, poètes ou peintres, Hugo ou Delacroix, sont toujours en avance de plusieurs années sur leurs timides admirateurs." Baudelaire is well aware that some people, stonemasons, no doubt, architects perhaps, have pronounced the word decadence with reference to these works. Then he says, this is the place for him to recall that the great masters, poets or painters, Hugo or Delacroix, are always several years ahead of their timid admirers.
68. Malingue, p. 147, letter #73. Earlier in May, 1888, Vincent had written to Bernard: "You are damned right to think of Gauguin. That is high poetry, those Negresses, and everything his hands make has a gentle, pitiful, astonishing character. People don't understand him yet, and it pains him so much that he does not sell anything, just like other true poets." (Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 483, letter #B5).
69. Baudelaire, p. 219.

70. David Paul, Poison and Vision, Poems and Prose of Baudelaire, Mallarmé and Rimbaud (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), p. xii.
71. Ibid., pp. xi-xii. "All the forms of love, suffering, madness, he personally seeks out and exhausts in himself all the poisons, to save and keep only their quintessences. An unspeakable torture under which he needs all of a superhuman faith and force, and he becomes above all others the great sick one, the great criminal, the above all accused - and the supreme sage! For he attains the unknown! Seeing he has cultivated his already abundant personality more than anyone! He attains the unknown and even if, driven mad, he loses the meaning, of his visions, he has seen them!
So, the poet is truly a stealer of fire."
72. Baudelaire, p. 584. (from Illustration, 17 April, 1852).
73. Edgar Allan Poe, "The Poetic Principle," Poe's Works, Vol. IX, Essays (ed. James A. Harrison) (New York: Thomas Y. Cowell & Co.), p. 266. The Poetic Principle was first published in the Sartain's Union Magazine, October, 1850.
74. Ibid., p. 290.
75. Edgar Allan Poe, The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe, ed. James A. Harrison (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1902), p. 289.
76. Edgar Allan Poe, The Works of Edgar Allan Poe with an intro. by R.H. Stoddard, Vol. 5 (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1896), p. 146.
77. Ibid., p. 150.
78. Thomas Carlyle, Sartor Resartus (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1896), pp. 95-96.
79. Ibid., p. 178.
80. Thomas Carlyle, On Heroes and Hero Worship (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1908), p. 258. It will be remembered that Vincent was thoroughly familiar with this work by Carlyle (letter #322, from 1883).
81. Ibid., p. 258.
82. Rookmaaker, p. 195; see footnote #118 below.
83. Jack Lindsay, Gustave Courbet His Life and Art (London: Adams & Dart, 1973), p. 119. Lindsay cites as sources: Saint-Simon, Dialogue entre l'artiste, le savant et l'industriel, 1825, Herbert James Hunt, Le Socialisme et le romantisme en France. Étude de la presse socialiste de 1830 à 1848, Oxford, 1935. See also il. #63, p. 125, Courbet's La Voyante (or La Somnambule) of 1864. Lindsay writes, "... When Baudelaire reacting against 1848, jeered in 1855 at Realism as 'Courbet saving the world', he was correct enough in recognizing the messianic impulse or

rather the revolutionary fervour which saw in Realism a way of changing the world by accepting it - ... In the same year Courbet, writing to Bruzas, called Realism 'a holy and sacred cause, which is the cause of Liberty and Independence'." Maclair, in "L'Art en Silence," Esthétique de Stéphane Mallarmé, wrote about the poet and artist being priests (A.G. Lehmann, The Symbolist Aesthetic in France 1885-1895, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1950, p. 87).

84. Baudelaire, p. 705; Baudelaire speaks of how Wagner's music affected him, how he closed his eyes, feeling as though transported from the earth (p. 696): "M'est il permis à moi-même de raconter; de rendre avec des paroles la traduction inévitable que mon imagination fit du même morceau lorsque je l'entendis pour la première fois, les yeux fermes, et que je me sentis pour ainsi dire enlevé de terre?"; he claims to have undergone a spiritual revelation after the first concert (p. 698): A partir de ce moment, c'est-à-dire du premier concert, je fus possédé du désir d'entrer plus avant dans l'intelligence de ces oeuvres singulières. J'avais subi (du moins cela m'apparaissait ainsi) une opération spirituelle, une révélation. Ma volupté avait été si forte et si terrible, que je ne pouvais m'empêcher d'y vouloir retourner sans cesse..."
85. Cited by Michaud, Message poétique, p. 57, from Paradis artificiels III (cf. Rookmaaker, p. 189).
86. Jirat-Wasiutynski, p. 39. Wasiutynski quotes from Baudelaire's Salon de 1859. See also, Rookmaaker: Notes to Chapter II, footnote #ar, p. 9.
87. Lehmann, Op. Cit., p. 85.
88. Ibid., p. 85: "L'imitation exacte gâte le souvenir" (Cur. Esth. 138). Yet elsewhere he praises Delacroix for attempting to 'traduire très nettement le rêve' (Art. Rom., p. 10)..."
89. Ibid., p. 85: "Qu'est-ce que l'art pur suivant la conception moderne? C'est créer une magie suggestive contenant à la fois l'objet et le sujet, le monde extérieur et l'artiste lui-même" (Art. Rom. L'art philosophique, p. 113)."
90. Ibid., p. 85: "See Paradis artificiels, ed. Calmann, p. 159."
91. Ibid., p. 85: "Le rêve absurde, imprévu, sans rapport ni connexion avec le caractère, la vie, et les passions du dormeur! ce rêve, que j'appellerai hiéroglyphique, représente le côté surnaturel de la vie (Fusées, 136)."
92. Baudelaire, p. 424.
93. Lehmann, Op. Cit., p. 104.
94. Edgar Allan Poe, The Works of Edgar Allan Poe with an introduction by R.H. Stoddard, vol. V (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd.,

1896), p. 1: this being part of the original title.

95. Ibid., p. 1.
96. Teodor de Wyzewa, "Mallarmé," La Vogue, July 5-12, 1886, pp. 370-1:
"La Philosophie de M. Mallarmé est celle que lui commandaient ses qualités natives. Il admit la réalité du monde, mais il l'admit comme une réalité de Fiction. La nature, avec ses chatoyantes féeries, le spectacle rapide et coloré des nuages, et les sociétés humaines effarées, ils sont rêves de l'Âme; reels: mais tous rêves ne sont'ils point réels? Notre âme est un atelier d'incessantes fictions, souverainement joyeuses lorsque nous les connaissons notre créature. Inondante joie de la création, delice du poète arraché aux intérêts qui aveuglent, orgueil dernier d'être un oeil librement voyant, et voyant les rêves qu'il projette: c'est le sujet des poèmes que nous a offerts M. Mallarmé.
97. Paul Adam, "Le Symbolisme," La Vogue, October 11, 1886, p. 400.
98. Thomas Carlyle, Sartor Resartus (London: Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1896), pp. 41-3. This passage also includes the question: "D'où-venons-nous? Que sommes-nous? Où allons-nous?"
99. Thomas Carlyle, On Heroes and Hero Worship (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1908), pp. 272-3.
100. J.K. Huysmans, "L'Exposition des indépendentes en 1881," reprinted in L'Art moderne (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, et Cie., 1883), pp. 212-3). See Gauguin's Cahier pour Aline (Paris, 1963) which shows how he kept all of the reviews of himself; he pasted these on the inside covers as well as throughout the notebook.
101. J.K. Huysmans, A Rebours, Oeuvres Complètes VII (Paris: Les Éditions G. Cres et Cie, 1928), pp. 33-4.
102. Ibid., pp. 34-5. Des Esseintes, the main character, selects suggestive works of art, which induce visions, dreams and phantasies (pp. 79-8). It is Gustave Moreau's work which brings him the most pleasure; having purchased Salomé and L'Apparition, he stands dreaming in front of both. Lost in meditation, he wonders about the origins of the great artist, the mystic pagan (p. 78). In the same manner he admires pictures decorating the room by Odilon Redon, some of which he compares to certain Proverbs by Goya and stories by Poe. He meditates for hours in front of Redon's Melancholia (p. 97).
103. J.K. Huysmans, L'Art moderne (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie, 1883), pp. 262-3: "L'an dernier, M. Gauguin a exposé pour la première fois; c'était une série de paysages, un dilution des oeuvres encore incertaines de Pissarro; cette année, M. Gauguin ce présente avec une toile bien à lui, une toile qui révèle un incontestable tempérament de peintre moderne. Elle porte ce titre: Étude de nu; c'est au premier plan, une femme, vue de profil, assise sur un divan, en train de raccommoder sa chemise; derrière elle, le parquet fuit, tendu d'un tapis violacé

jusqu'au dernier plan qu'arrête le pas entre vu d'un rideau d'algérienne." For his references to Redon, cf. Rookmaaker, p. 83: "In L'Art moderne, 1883, cited by Jules Destrée: L'Oeuvre lithographie de Odilon Redon (Brussels, 1891), p. 8."

104. Arts Council of Great Britain, French Symbolist Painters, London, 1972, p. 127, #272. In 1882, Redon had executed a volume of six lithographs (in an edition of fifty copies) dedicated "A Edgar Poe" (Ibid., pp. 127-8, #273), which were also subsequently advertised and printed in the Revue Wagnerienne (1886-8). Later, in 1890, Redon made a set of nine engravings illustrating Baudelaire's Fleurs du mal for the Brussels publisher, Deman (Ibid., p. 127), #272).
105. Odilon Redon, A Soi-Même Journal (1867-1915) (Paris: H. Floury, 1922), p. 27.
106. Rookmaaker, p. 51.
107. Ibid., p. 51: A. Renan: "La Mangua de Hokusai," Le Japon Artistique. Documents d'Art de d'Industrie reunies par S. Bing (Paris, 1888), p. 109: "N'est-ce pas une chose remarquable que de trouver chez un artiste de l'Extrême-Orient la réalisation plastique, de ces rêves d'au-delà, de ces songes nostalgiques que l'école la plus avancée de la littérature anglaise et française a cru être à entrevoir?"
108. Bodelsen, p. 186: Bodelsen quotes from Le Moderniste, June 4, 1889.
109. Cf. Rookmaaker, p. 149. Quoted from H. Mahaut, "Notes synthétiques de Paul Gauguin," Vers et Prose (VI, 1910), p. 51 ff.
110. Gauguin, Avant et Après, p. 112.
111. Gauguin, Lettres à Daniel de Monfried (Paris: Georges Falaize, 1950), p. 102.
112. Malingue, pp. 287-8, letter #152.
113. Cf. Chapter Two, footnote #164.
114. Cf. Chapter Two, footnote #174.
115. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, pp. 495-6, letter #B8 [11].
116. Charles Morice, Gauguin (Paris: H. Floury, ed., 1919), pp. 25-9. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 451 and n. 25.
117. Charles Morice, La Littérature de tout a l'heure (Paris: Perrin et Cie, Libraires - Editeurs, 1889), pp. 14-5: "C'est d'abord pour cette nécessité glorieuse d'accomplir leur destinée que les Poètes écrivent, pour obéir a l'universelle loi de l'expansion naturelle - aussi pour mériter le Vie Eternelle. Émanations de Dieu, étincelles, échappées du Foyer de la Toute-Lumière, ils y retournent. C'est, dis-je, l'universelle loi de la vie: Dieu s'épand de soi par la création pour se

résorber en soi par la destruction et de nouveau s'épandre et se résorber de nouveau, et ainsi de toujours à toujours; c'est la révolution des globules du sang de nos veines et des globes des l'Infini, - c'est la révolution des âmes. Elles sont les manifestations extérieures de Dieu qui émet avec la mission de coopérer, toutes et diversement, à la lumineuse harmonie mondiale; l'impulsion divine, si elle est obéie, les ramène par un fatalité heureuse à la commune patrie - les chasse de son orbe, si elle est transgressé, et la nuit s'en accroît. En produisant son oeuvre, une âme de poète ne fait point autre chose que décrire son essentielle courbe radieuse et retourner à Dieu, comme, d'ailleurs, toute autre âme qui donne les conclusions effectives dont elle porte en soi les prémisses. - Et puis, selon la vieille et véritable parole, rien ne périt; nul ne peut que ce qui fut n'ait pas été et rien n'a été qui ne soit éternel par son influence perpétuée dans la grand vibration totale. Les Poètes créent, donc, pour informer d'éternité leurs rêves."

Maisels (p. 69) includes part of this passage, claiming it is "pure Plotinus" (p. 30 of footnotes, #13). Jirat-Wasiutynski (p. 62) does the same.

The concept of the Idea, of course, originates from Plato. See Erwin Panofsky, Idea: A Concept in Art Theory (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968), pp. 34: "As Plato distinguished between genuine and false, legitimate and illegitimate practices in every area of life - especially in the field of philosophy itself - he occasionally contrasted, when speaking of the representational arts, the much-maligned practitioners of ... imitative representation.... who know how to render only the sensory appearances of the material world, with those artists who, insofar as possible in activities limited to empirical reality, try to do justice to Idea in their works and whose labors may even serve as a paradigm for those of the lawgiver. Of these "poetic" or "heuristic" painters, to use Platonic terms, he says: "When they finally commence the execution of their work that is, after having carefully prepared the panel and sketched the principal lines, they let the eye, frequently alternating, dwell now on this, now on that side, once on that which is truly beautiful, just, rational, and otherwise pertinent for this context, and then again on that which merely passes for all this among men; and by blending and mixing they produce from their materials that human image in the conception of which they let themselves be guided by what Homer described as divine and godlike when met with among mankind." (from Plato's Republic, VI, 501). See also pp. 4, 5, 6.

118. Morice, Op. Cit., pp. 34-5. Rookmaaker (p. 195) quotes V.E. Michelet's definition of a poet in 1891 as being one of the incarnations in which is manifested the Revealer, the Hero, the messenger sent by the impenetrable Infinite with tidings for us. This conception of the Hero is the consequence of another conception which was formulated by Novalis and is universally admitted by occultists and mystics: "Every created being is a revelation": "Qu'est-ce que le Poète? C'est une des incarnations sous lesquelles se manifeste le Révélateur, le Héros, l'homme que Carlyle appelle 'un messenger envoyé de l'impénétrable Infini avec des nouvelles pour nous.' Cette conception du Héros, exprimé par un visionnaire de génie, est la directe conséquence d'une autre conception universellement admise par les occultistes et les mystiques, et formulé ainsi par Novalis: "Tout être crée est une révélation..." V.E. Michelet, De l'Esotérisme dans l'art (1891), p. 9, cited by Michaud Message

poetique, III, p. 468.

119. Morice, Op. Cit., p. 63.
Gustave Kahn, in "Chronique Livres sur le moi," La Vogue, 1889 (Nouvelle serie. Tome I-III, 1971, p. 98), wrote about Morice's La Littérature de tout a l'heure, agreeing with Morice's opinions about art being a mysticism: "J'admets avec lui que l'art est un mysticisme, quoique ce mysticisme ait vraiment peu de chose à faire avec l'idée de Dieu, et soit simplement le résultat d'une hypéresthésie commune à différents degrés à tous les lettres, surtout aux poètes.
L'Art est religieux, oui, mais il est religieux par l'accent seul de l'artiste, libre de transporter cette religion, c'est-à-dire la gravité même de son être, sur telle gamme de mysticité qu'il lui plaît de délimiter en lui, ou qui s'impose à lui fatalement..."
120. Both Rookmaaker (pp. 144-147) and Maisels (p. 69 of text and p. 30 in footnote section) point this out.
121. Encyclopaedia of Occult, p. 291: "For Plotinus, in order to know God one had to escape from the finite, to withdraw into one's inmost self, into one's own essence, which alone is susceptible of blending with the Divine Essence. Therefore the inmost is the highest, and as with all systems of mysticism introversion is ascension; God is found within." (p. 292) Violet MacDermot, The Cult of the Seer in the Ancient Middle East (London: Wellcore Institute of the History of Medicine, 1971). p. 10, notes: "Plotinus described how the seer was able to create a mental picture of a unified universe, and then to imagine that there existed another universe, without any attributes derived from sense perception. Of this second universe, God was the creator but man was able to identify himself with the divine creative power. In union with the divine, man lost the consciousness of himself as a separate individual, and the identity of the seer and the seen was experienced in the soul. That this was the goal for the few and was only rarely attained, is clear from the writings of his pupil, Porphyry: 'And this goal he attained four times, I believe, while I was living with him - not potentially, but actually, though by an actuality which is beyond the power of language to describe ... His writings are the record of these researches and revelations given him by the gods.' " (Ibid., pp. 10-11)
122. Rookmaaker, p. 41 of footnotes.
123. Rookmaaker, p. 76; cf. Panofsky, Op. Cit., pp. 26-7: "The Idea beheld by the artist's mind became the living 'vision' of the artist... Plotinus ... considered the artist's mind to share the nature and, if we may say so, the fate of the creative NOÛS, that likewise constitutes an actualized form of the Unfathomable One, the Absolute... Just as Plotinus considers the beauty of nature to be a radiance of the Idea shining through matter formed after its image but never completely formable, so does he consider the beauty of a work of art to depend upon the 'injection' of an ideal form into matter, covering the latter's natural inertia and inspiring, spiritualizing, enlivening it - or at least attempting to do so.
Thus art is fighting the same battle as NOÛS."

124. Albert Aurier, "Le Symbolisme en peinture - Paul Gauguin," Mercure de France, March, 1891, pp. 162-5.
 Teodor de Wyzewa also wrote about the expression of ideas in art: "Le monde que nous croyons réel ... qu'il soit, ou non, hors de nous ... est; pour nous, une série d'idées... La vie est la création incessante par l'esprit, seule réalité véritable la création continue des idées... Or ces idées que, dans l'existence habituelle gèniés par les soucis méchants et illusoirs d'intérêts égoïstes, nous créons falôtes et instables, nous pouvons, par l'Art, les créer plus intenses, donc plus joyeuses. Faire une oeuvre d'art c'est, avec les éléments habituels (tous autres nous sont interdits), restituer des idées plus intenses, plus joyeuses. Et le plaisir suprême de l'Art est à se sentir créateur de telles idées, dans une liberté consciente et desintéressée." (T. de Wyzewa, "Une Critique," La Revue Indépendante, I, N°: 1, Nov. 1886, pp. 67-8, quoted by Jirat-Wasiutynski, p. 60)
125. Thomas Carlyle, Sartor Resartus (London: Chapman & Hall Ltd., 1896), p. 52: "The thing visible, nay the thing Imagined, the thing in any way conceived as Visible, what is it but a Garment, a Clothing of the higher, celestial Invisible, unimaginable, formless, dark with excess of bright?... All visible things are emblems; what thou seest is not there on its own account; strictly taken, is not there at all. Matter exists only spiritually, and to represent some Idea, and body it forth (Ibid., p. 57). So spiritual (geistig) is our whole daily Life: all that we do springs out of Mystery, Spirit, invisible Force... (Ibid., p. 137). But it is with man's soul as it was with Nature: the beginning of Creation is - Light. Till the eye have vision, the whole members are in bonds. Divine moment, when offer the tempest-tost Soul as once over the wild-weltering Chaos, it is spoken: Let there be Light!... (Ibid., pp. 156-7)
 Of kin to the so incalculable influences of Concealment, and connected with still greater things is the wondrous agency of Symbols. In a Symbol there is concealment and yet revelation: here therefore, by Silence and by Speech acting together comes a double significance... For it is here that Fantasy with her mystic wonderland plays into the small prose domain of Sense, and becomes incorporated therewith. In the Symbol proper, what we can call a Symbol, there is ever, more or less distinctly and directly, some embodiment and revelation of the Infinite; the Infinite is made to blend itself with the Finite, to stand visible, and as it were, attainable there. By Symbols, accordingly, is man guided and commanded, made happy, made wretched. He everywhere finds himself encompassed with Symbols recognized as such or not recognized. (Ibid., p. 175)
 ... It is in and through Symbols that man, consciously or unconsciously, lives, works, and has his being: those ages, moreover, are accounted the noblest which can the best recognize symbolical worth, and prize it the highest. For is not a Symbol ever, to him who has eyes for it, some dimmer or clearer revelation of the Godlike? (Ibid., p. 177)
 ... when your Symbol has intrinsic meaning, and is of itself fit that men should unite round it. Let but the Godlike manifest itself to Sense: let but Eternity look, more or less visibly through the Time-Figure (Zeitbild)! Then is it fit that men unite there; and worship together before such Symbol; and so from day to day, and from age to age, superadd

to it new divineness.

Of this latter sort are all true Works of Art: in them (if thou know a Work of Art from a Daub of Artifice) wilt thou discern Eternity looking through Time; the Godlike rendered visible... (*Ibid.*, p. 178).

126. Rookmaaker, p. 33, quoted from The Opal, 1845, Virginia, ed., XIV, p. 187.
127. Baudelaire, pp. 103-4.
128. Baudelaire, p. 425.
129. Baudelaire, p. 433.
130. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 151, quoted from Mallarmé in La Vogue, No. 2, 1886.
131. Tédor Wyzewa, "Le Religion de Richard Wagner et la religion du compte Leon Tolstoï," Revue Wagnerienne, October 8, 1886.
132. A.G. Lehmann, The Symbolist Aesthetic in France 1885-1895 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1950), p. 248.
133. *Ibid.*, p. 105, cf. Lehmann's footnote #1: "Le mur de séparation entre fable et vérité, entre passé et présent, est tombé; et c'est la foi, l'imagination, la poésie, qui nous dévoilent l'essence du monde" (Novalis, quoted by Thorel, 'Les Romantiques allemands et le symbolisme français,' Entretiens politiques et littéraires, ix/1891, Nov. 18, p. 163)..."
134. *Ibid.*, p. 106, Lehmann's footnote #2: "'Cette théorie (du symbole) fait de l'art une manifestation mystique. Une des conséquences de l'hégélianisme est de relier l'esthétique à la religion. L'étude des formes au point de vue de la beauté est en effet, suivant Fichte, l'étude des formes visibles de Dieu. La ligne et la couleur sont des éléments abstraits, imposés à la matière et distincts d'elle, car ils sont immatériels. Ce sont les traces du divin dans le monde. Le poète et l'artiste sont donc en quelque sorte, des prêtres. Ils apprennent aux hommes à voir Dieu sous les symboles. C'est assui l'opinion de Emerson. Pour s'en tenir à la poésie, cette théorie est conforme à ses origines mêmes, qui furent religieuses. La gènèse du Langage poétiques appartient aux prêtres qui prononçaient les prières et les oracles en langage rythmé et chanté, ou accompagné par des instruments.... la poésie est donc un chant exprimant musicalement et par symboles une idée religieuse' (Mauclair, "L'art en silence," Esthétique de Stephané Mallarmé, p. 87)."
135. *Ibid.*, p. 105, Lehmann's footnote #3.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 106, Lehmann's footnote #1: "Quoted by Mondor, Vie de Mallarmé, 1941, p. 520. See too Divagations, "Magie," p. 324, and article in the National Observer 28/1/1893, on the same topic..."
- 137.. *Ibid.*, p. 106, Lehmann's footnote #24.

138. Ibid., p. 106, Lehmann's footnote #3.
139. Ibid., p. 107.
140. Rookmaaker (pp. 96-7), cited Rewald, Cézanne et Zola, p. 286.
141. Rewald, ed., Camille Pissarro, Letters to his Son Lucien, p. 31.
142. Malingue, p. 128, letter #63: "Avez-vous L'Art Moderne de Huysmans".
143. Rewald, ed., Camille Pissarro, Letters to his Son Lucien, p. 49.
144. Cf. Gauguin, Avant et Après, p. 126; Arts Council of Great Britain, French Symbolist Painters (London, 1972), p. 54, #76; Portrait of Stéphane Mallarmé, 1891, Etching, 2nd State; Mallarmé also attended Gauguin's farewell banquet prior to his departure for Tahiti (cf. Malingue, p. 212, #122).
145. Gauguin, Avant et Après, p. 266: "Ces nymphes, je les veux perpétuer ... et il les a perpétuées, cet adorable Mallarmé..."
146. Rewald, Pissarro, Letters to his Son Lucien, p. 73.
147. Ibid., p. 29.
148. Ibid., p. 29.
149. Ibid., p. 84.
150. Ibid., p. 84, see Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 149.
151. Ibid., p. 55.
152. Ibid., p. 84; see Rewald, Post-Impressionism, pp. 147-9.
153. Jaworska, p. 49.
154. Jaworska, p. 50.
155. Jaworska, p. 50.
156. Loevgren, p. 8.
157. Loevgren, p. 9. See footnote #12, p. 207: "Published in H. Graber, Edgar Degas nach eigenen und fremden Zeugnissen (Basel), 1942, pp. 80-7.
158. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 2, p. 609, letter #508.
159. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 2, letter #518.
160. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 492, letter #B7.
161. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 2, p. 170, letter #332, which refers to Carlyle's Heroes and Hero Worship.

162. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 372, #R30: "... Among the 'old clothes' he includes all kinds of forms and in the matter of religion all dogmas; it is beautiful - and faithful to reality - and humane... I find ... that he raises man to a high position in the universe... I find in him a love of humanity besides - a great love."
163. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 2, p. 511, illustrated.
164. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 52, letter #542.
165. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 103, letter #561.
166. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 2, p. 293, letter #370; pp. 364-6, letter #401.
167. Wasiutynski, p. 12; Rookmaaker, p. 109.
168. Rookmaaker, p. 109.
169. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 150.
170. Loevgren, p. 48; cf. Haskell M. Block, Mallarmé and the Symbolist Drama (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1963), p. 59: Block writes about the "organization of the Revue Wagnerienne in 1884, under the aegis of Edouard Dujardin, and with Villiers and Mallarmé among the announced contributors... The Revue Wagnerienne began publication in February 1885 and continued through July 1888..."
171. Loevgren, p. 133: "[L]etters written by Vincent during the latter part of April relate that Bernard had arrived at Saint Briac, and there met the poet Albert Aurier ..." and that Bernard began writing poetry. See also Jaworska, pp. 17-18; Rewald, Post-Impressionism, pp. 191-2. Vincent writes (Letters, Vol. 2, #477, p. 546): "I have had a letter from Bernard with some sonnets he has concocted and some of them really come off quite well. He'll manage to write a good sonnet yet: a thing I could very nearly envy him." (#468 is dated March 10, 1888).
172. Jaworska, p. 32, p. 81, p. 249; also Loevgren, p. 133, p. 137; Rookmaaker, p. 153 for Aurier's background; Rewald, Post-Impressionism, pp. 191-2.
173. Malingue, letters #84, 88, 94, 95, 97.
174. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 448. Reminding him of an article he had promised to write on Gauguin, Bernard implied that if an article could be published in the next Mercure de France or Revue Indépendante, it would have great influence on the projected sale of Gauguin's works and indirectly provide the means by which to leave Europe.
175. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, pp. 365-6. It was Bernard who acquainted Aurier with all the recent trends in art. As a consequence of Bernard's encouragement, Aurier decided to write a series on "isolated" artists; his article on Vincent was the first in this series of "Les Isoles". Articles on Pissarro and Raffaelli

followed (p. 448).

176. See Paul Gauguin, "Notes sur l'art a l'Exposition Universelle," Le Moderniste, No. 11, July 4, 1889, and No. 12, July 13, 1889; also: Paul Gauguin, "Qui trompe-t-on ici?" Le Moderniste, No. 22, September 21, 1889; Emile Bernard, "Au Palais des Beaux-Arts, Notes sur la peinture," Le Moderniste, No. 14, July 17, 1889. Aurier wrote about the Volpini Exhibition in "Concurrence," Le Moderniste, No. 10, June 27, 1887: "Heureusement, j'apprends que l'initiative individuelle vient d'essayer ce que l'imbécillité administrative, à jamais incurable, n'aurait jamais consent, à accomplir. Un petit groupe d'artistes indépendants ont réussi à forcer les portes, non point du palais des Beaux-Arts, mais de l'Exposition, et à créer une miniscule concurrence à l'exhibition officielle. Oh! l'installation est un peu primitive, fort bizarre et, ainsi qu'on dira sans doute, bohème! ... Mais que voulez-vous? si ces braves diables avaient eu, à leur disposition, un palais, ils n'auraient certes point accroché leurs toiles aux murs d'un café." Illustrations from the Volpini Exhibition catalogue also appeared in Le Moderniste, No. 15, August 3, 1889; No. 16, August 10, 1889; No. 17, August 17, 1889.
177. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 366.
178. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, pp. 471-4.
Both Pissarro and Mallarmé wrote, on Gauguin's behalf, to Mirbeau, to request that an article be written. Octave Mirbeau's article appears on February 16, 1891, one week before the auction, in Echo de Paris. Pissarro wrote to his son on May 13, 1891: "We are fighting against terribly ambitious 'men of genius' who are trying to crush everyone who stands in their way. It is sickening. If you knew how shamelessly Gauguin behaved in order to get himself elected (that is the word) a man of genius, and how skillfully he went about it! One couldn't do anything but help him to climb. Anyone else would have been ashamed! Knowing that he was in such difficulties, I myself could not refuse to write to Mirbeau in his favour. He was in such despair." Mallarmé, who had been introduced to Gauguin by Charles Morice, wrote to Mirbeau: "One of my young colleagues, a man of great talent and heart, a friend of the painter, sculptor, and potter Gauguin - you know who he is - has begged me to appeal to you as the only person who can do something. This rare artist who, I believe, has been spared few afflictions in Paris, feels the need to withdraw into isolation and almost into savagery... What he needs, however, is an article ..." (Mallarmé to Mirbeau, January 15, 1891; see H. Mondor; Vie de Mallarmé, Paris, 1951, pp. 589-590. Roger Marx wrote an article also, which appeared in Les Voltaire, on February 20, 1891, on Gauguin.
179. Wildenstein, p. 91, "Vent Gauguin, 23 fevrier, 1891, no. 25 du. p.v., no. 6, du catalogue (900 f) a Henry Meilheurat des Pruraux..."; Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 475.
180. Albert Aurier, "Le Symbolisme en Peinture - Paul Gauguin," Mercure de France. March, 1891, pp. 155-165 - written on "9 fevrier, 1891" (p. 165), but appeared in March issue.

181. G-Albert Aurier, "Le Symbolisme en peinture - Paul Gauguin," Mercure de France, March, 1891, p. 155.
182. Ibid., p. 155.
183. Ibid., p. 156.
184. Ibid., p. 156.
185. Ibid., p. 158.
186. Ibid., p. 158.
187. Ibid., p. 159.
188. Ibid., p. 159
189. Ibid., pp. 159-160.
190. Ibid., p. 160.
191. Ibid., pp. 160-161.
192. Ibid., p. 161.
193. Ibid., p. 162.
194. Ibid., pp. 162-163: Donc, pour enfin se résumer et conclure, l'oeuvre d'art telle qu'il m'a plu la logiquement évoquer sera:
 1. Idéiste, puisque son idéal unique sera l'expression de l'Idée;
 2. Symboliste, puisqu'elle exprimera cette Idée par des formes;
 3. Synthétique, puisqu'elle écrira ces formes, ces signes, selon un mode de compréhension générale;
 4. Subjective, puisque l'objet n'y sera jamais considéré en tant qu'objet, mais en tant que signe d'idée perçu par le sujet;
 5. (C'est une conséquence) décorative - car la peinture décorative proprement dite, telle que l'ont comprise les Egyptiens, très probablement les Grecs et les Primitifs, n'est rien autre chose qu'une manifestation d'art à la fois subjectif, synthétique, symboliste et idéiste."
195. Ibid., p. 163.
196. Ibid., p. 163: "Cet art, que nous avons essayé de légitimer et de caractériser par toutes les déductions antécédents, cet art qui a pu paraître compliqué et que tels chroniqueurs traiteraient volontiers d'art déliquescant, se trouve donc, en dernière analyse, ramené à la formule de l'art simple, spontané et primordial. C'est là le criterium de la justesse des raisonnements esthétiques employés. L'art idéiste, qu'il fallait justifier par d'abstraites et compliquées argumentations, tant il semble paradoxal à nos civilisations décadentes et oublieuses de toute initiale révélation, est donc, sans nul conteste, l'art véritable et absolu, puisque, légitime au point de vue théorique, il se trouve, de plus, au fond, identique à l'art primitif, à l'art tel qu'il fut

devine par les génies instinctifs des premiers temps de l'humanité."

197. Ibid., pp. 163-164.
198. Ibid., p. 164.
199. Ibid., p. 164-165.
200. Ibid., p. 165.
201. Albert Aurier, "Les Isolés - Vincent van Gogh," Mercure de France, January 1890, pp. 24-29.
202. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, #W20. Vincent had mixed feelings about the article (See letters #626, 627).
203. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 374.
204. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 150, p. 156.
205. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 150.
206. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 156.
207. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, pp. 154-5; cf. foot. #19, p. 184: Anonymous [F. Fénéon]: "L'exposition Pissarro", L'Art moderne, Jan. 20, 1889."
208. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 155.
209. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 155; "Pissarro, who had studied Marx as well as Kropotkin, reasoned that 'the movement of ideas in present society tends with extraordinary energy towards the elaboration of new philosophical and scientific systems destined to become law in societies of the future.'" (Cf. p. 184: foot. #21: "C. Pissarro, undated letter to his nephew; unpublished document, courtesy of the late Mrs. Esther L. Pissarro, London.") "Signac, for instance, listed among the reasons for his convictions: 'the sufferings of many; logic, kindness, honesty; physiological laws (the rights of the stomach, of the brain, of the eyes, etc.); the need to feel happiness around oneself.'" (Cf. Rewald, foot. #22: "Signac, excerpts from a reply to a questionnaire, see F. Dubois, Le Péril anarchiste, Paris, 1894, pp. 233 and 240.")
210. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 154: "As Marcel Aymé had expressed it so excellently: '... An obscure poem, a violent image, a beautiful verse full of shadows and vagueness, a dim harmony, a rare sound, the mystery of a sumptuous and insignificant word, all produce an effect like alcohol and introduce into the organism itself habits of feeling and of thinking which could not have entered into it through the path of reason. To accept a revolution in the art of poetry and to enjoy its novelty is to familiarize oneself with the idea of revolution per se and frequently also with the rudiment of its vocabulary' (cf. p. 184, foot. #18a: M. Aymé: Le confort intellectuel, Paris, 1949, p. 13; cf. also Rewald's foot. #20: "On the anarchist movement see: A. Zévaès: Histoire de la

3e Republique, Paris, 1930; F. Dubois: Le Péril anarchiste, Paris, 1894. Of the unsigned reproductions in this last book, those on pp. 3, 31, 47, 67, 116, 123, 163, 195, 211, 229, 243 and 277 were drawn by Camille Pissarro's sons Lucien, Georges, Félix and Rodo; those on pp. 13, 17, 37, 85, 87, 161, 175, 187, 197, 205, 217, 237, 271 and 279 are by Luce; the one on p. 93 is by Ibels. Information courtesy of the late Rodo Pissarro, Paris."

211. Benat Danielsson, Gauguin in the South Seas, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966, pp. 19-20.
212. G.N. Clark, et al (ed), The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI (Cambridge, 1962), p. 307: "... There occurred one of the worst and longest crises that the French economic system has ever had to endure. This crisis was linked with the depression that affected many countries, especially in Europe, from 1873 to 1896, but it had its individual characteristics. For one thing, the international crash in 1873 only slightly affected the French economy: in France the prosperity of the Second Empire lasted until 1882. But that year did not merely introduce a procession of difficult years; stagnation, and in many areas regression, began which lasted until 1895 at least. This was a handicap compared to other leading nations which some would say that France did not overcome until recent years. To give only one example, France was alone among the great industrial countries in having fewer exports in 1895 than in 1875 and 1883." See pp. 307-9 for causes of crisis: agricultural, industrial, economic, political, etc.
213. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 540.
214. D.W. Brogan, France under the Republic (New York and London: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1940), pp. 192-207.
215. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 540.
216. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 540. See also G.N. Clark et al (ed), Op. Cit., pp. 310-11; also D.W. Brogan, Op. Cit., pp. 179-213: cf. Rewald, p. 154: "When during the electoral campaign of 1889, somebody conceived the hoax of printing a leaflet announcing Boulanger's sudden death, accompanied by his "last will," Signac was on hand to supply a picture of the rabble-rousing general on his fictitious death bed."
217. D.W. Brogan, Op. Cit., pp. 211-2; Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 540.
218. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 540.
219. G.N. Clark, et al (ed), Op. Cit., p. 313.
220. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 540, 156.
221. G.N. Clark, et al (ed), Op. Cit., p. 318: "... The years 1893 and 1894 were exceptionally disturbed because of a series of anarchist outrages, which culminated in the murder of Sadi Carnot, President of the Republic ...

various governments passed repressive measures against them which provoked much lively opposition from the socialists and the extreme Radicals: they called them 'les lois scélérates' (Miscreant laws).

222. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, pp. 540 and 517.
 223. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 537.
 224. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 517, p. 537: See C. Simond: Paris de 1800 à 1900, Vol. III, 1870-1900, Paris, 1901, p. 434.
 225. G.N. Clark, Op. Cit., pp. 317-8; Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 517.
 226. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, pp. 517-8. Albert Aurier died, at the age of twenty seven from typhoid fever, in October 1892. (Mercure de France, Vol. 6, p. 193.) Mercure de France published a commemorative issue in December. Aurier was succeeded at the Mercure by Camille Mauclair, who was not nearly so sympathetic to Gauguin, Lautrec, Pissarro, Cézanne and took a hostile view of their endeavours (Rewald, p. 530).
 227. Yet, in Pissarro's opinion, Gauguin himself, had bourgeois values. On October 31, 1883, from Rouen, Pissarro wrote to his son, Lucien, "[Gauguin] is naive enough to think that since the people in Rouen are very wealthy, they can easily be induced to buy some paintings... Gauguin disturbs me very much, he is so deeply commercial, at least he gives that impression. I haven't the heart to point out to him how false and unpromising is his attitude; true, his needs are great, his family being used to luxury, just the same his attitude can only hurt him. Not that I think he ought not try to sell, but I regard it a waste of time to think only of selling, one forgets one's art and exaggerates one's value." (Rewald, ed., Camille Pissarro, Letters to his Son Lucien, pp. 44-5). On April 20, 1891, from Paris, he writes about Aurier's article on Gauguin: "You will observe how tenuous is the logic of this littérateur. According to him what in the last instance can be dispensed with in a work of art is drawing or painting; only ideas are essential, and these can be indicated by a few symbols - Now I will grant that art is as he says, except that "the few symbols" have to be drawn after all; moreover it is also necessary to express ideas in terms of color, hence you have to have sensations in order to have ideas... This gentleman seems to think we are imbeciles!
- The Japanese practised this art as did the Chinese, and their symbols are wonderfully natural, but then they were not Catholics, and Gauguin is a Catholic - I do not criticize Gauguin for having painted a rose background nor do I object to the two struggling fighters and the Breton peasants in the foreground [Vision après le sermon], what I dislike is that he copied these elements from the Japanese, the Byzantine painters and others. I criticize him for not applying his synthesis to our modern philosophy which is absolutely social, anti-authoritarian and anti-mystical. - There is where the problem becomes serious. This is a step backwards; Gauguin is not a seer, he is a schemer who has sensed that the bourgeoisie are moving to the right, recoiling before the great idea of solidarity which sprouts among the

people - an instinctive idea, but fecund, the only idea that is permissible! - The symbolists also take this line! What do you think? They must be fought like the pest!" (Ibid., pp. 163-4). Yet, in the estimation of another reactionary, Felix Fénéon, Gauguin was certainly no schemer but a very accomplished artist. Reviewing Gauguin's first show at Boussod and Valadon's (arranged by Theo van Gogh) in January, 1888, he speaks of Gauguin's ceramics, of "faces hagardès, aux larges glabelles, aux minimes yeux bridés au nez camard: deux vases; un troisième: tête de royale macrobe, quelque Atahualpa, qu'on dépossède, la bouche déchirée en gouffre; deux autres d'une géométrie anormale et gobine." (Bodelsen, Gauguin's Ceramics, p. 156).

228. Danielsson, Op. Cit., pp. 226-7.
229. Ibid., pp. 226-7.
230. Ibid., p. 228.
231. Ibid., pp. 232-3.
232. Ibid., p. 239-40. While attacking the policies and actions of the ruling Protestant Party, he was also defending those of the Catholic Party. This is ironic, when one considers his essay (d. 1897-98), L'Esprit moderne et le Catholicisme. The "irreconcilable right" was "in defence of all that was Catholic" (G.N. Clark et al, ed., Op. Cit., p. 314) and it was this group which Gauguin attacked when he contended: "The divorce between modern society and true Christianity rests entirely on a misunderstanding due to the falsification and blatant fraud of the Catholic Church, a fact which it is important to make clear, especially since the true doctrine of Christ is so much akin to and in harmony with the principles and aspirations of modern society." (Danielsson, Op. Cit., p. 210).
233. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, pp. 472-3.
234. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 155.
235. Rookmaaker cites Aurier (from Oeuvres, p. 31) as saying that "While believing that we are inventing the most fabulous chimeras we do nothing but call up the visions we remember unconsciously of the times when our souls relaxed in the marvellous garden of the Eden of the pure Idea" (Rookmaaker, p. 75): "Le présent n'est blessant et laid que par sa matérialité... Ne faisons-nous autre chose, en croyant inventer les plus fabuleuses chimères, que d'évoquer les visions.... laissaient dans le merveilleux Eden des Idées pures?" See pp. 76-7 for further discussion.
236. Rookmaaker, p. 194; Rookmaaker is quoting from Aurier's Oeuvres, p. 301. Plato claimed that his own life work, as philosopher, had been the result of commands given to him through dreams and oracles: "I have been commanded to do this by the God through oracles and dreams and in every way in which any man was ever commanded by divine power to do

anything whatsoever." (Violet MacDermot, The Cult of the Seer in the Ancient Middle East. London: Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine, 1971, p. 7.) Plato maintained that poets did not speak out of their own wisdom, but because they were inspired, like prophets and givers of oracles (Ibid., pp. 6-7).

237. Aurier, Op. Cit., p. 158.
238. Gauguin, Cahier pour Aline (Paris, 1963).
Encyclopaedia of the Occult, p. 424.
239. Encyclopaedia of the Occult, pp. 392-3.
240. Aurier, Op. Cit., p. 161; Baudelaire's Correspondances found in David Paul, Poison and Vision (New York: Random House, Inc., 1974), p. 8.
241. Rookmaaker, p. 26: quoting from Baudelaire's "Correspondances, I, 130, publ. Gautier et le Dantec, commented on by M. Gilman: Baudelaire the Critic (New York, 1943), p. 121."
J. Wasiutynski, p. 38: Baudelaire in Salon de 1859 quotes Catherine Grove: "By imagination, I do not simply mean to convey the common notion implied by that much abused word, which is only fancy, but the constructive imagination, which is a much higher function and which, in as much as man is made in the likeness of God, bears a distinct relation to that Sublime power by which the Creator projects, creates, and upholds his universe."
See pp. 34-30 for Jirat-Wasiutynski's discussion of the Correspondences theory: "Baudelaire's essential originality in the use of the concept [of Correspondences] was to have secularized the doctrine of correspondances; the imagination replaced religious revelation and thereby made the doctrine serviceable in a modern subjective universe." (p. 65)
242. Rookmaaker, p. 30: Baudelaire says that everything both in the spiritual realm and in that of nature has a signifying function, is "correspondant," we must attain to "cette vérité que tout est hiéroglyphique, et nous savons que les symboles ne sont obscurs que d'une manière relative, c'est-à-dire selon la pureté, la bonne volonté ou la clairvoyance nature des âmes. Or, qu'est-ce qu'un poète - je prend le mot dans son acception la plus large -, si ce n'est un traducteur, un déchiffreur? Chez les excellents poètes il n'y a pas de métaphore de comparaison ou d'épithète qui ne soit d'une adaptation mathématiquement exacte dans la circonstance actuelle, parce que ces comparaisons, ces métaphores et ces épithètes sont puisées dans l'inépuisable fonds de l'universelle analogie, et qu'elles ne peuvent être puisées ailleurs." (from Baudelaire's Art Romantique)
243. Rookmaaker, pp. 30-4. Rookmaaker claims that Baudelaire's poem, Correspondances, contains an elaboration of an image taken from Balzac's Les Lys dans la Vallée (p. 30, Footnote #47, p. 261: "R. Michaud: Baudelaire, Balzac et les correspondances. Romantic Review, October 1938, XXIX, p. 257.") Baudelaire had acquired knowledge of Swedenborg's work "through Balzac and others" (p. 26). "Swedenborg had made a deep

impression on the romantics by means of his strange theories which deviated so very much from the tendencies in the philosophy of the eighteenth century. They had been in very close contact with mysticistic movements (foot. #30, p. 261: A. Viatti: Les Sources occultes du romantisme 1770-1820, Paris, 1928 and R. Michaud: Baudelaire, Balzac et les correspondances, Romantic Review, Oct. 1938, XXIX, 3, p. 254) which drew their inspiration from similar sources as Swedenborg did, whose views however succeeded in fascinating people most." (p. 26) Balzac was to draw Swedenborgian conclusions in his Louis Lambert (H. Evans: Louis Lambert et la philosophie de Balzac (Paris, 1951, p. 248) "and they were to be worked out in full detail by Baudelaire. The latter made these theoretical ideas of art fruitful for the remainder of the nineteenth century. But maybe this reconstruction of the course of events is too bold and we should consider the possibility that Baudelaire had some personal acquaintance with the work of Plotinus and with that of other Neoplatonists, like Prophyry, or that of the mystics. (Margaret Gilman: Baudelaire the Critic (New York, 1943, p. 16). On the other hand, it should be borne in mind that Swedenborg was much more accessible to these 19th century people than the old philosophers and mystics. For not only had his work been published in a French translation about 1820 by Moët and Hindnarsch, but Swedenborg struggled with the same problems as they did themselves and used these old theories for the same kind of purpose..." (cf. pp. 27-8 for discussion of neo-platonic ideas); "It is, of course, simply conceivable that Baudelaire got acquainted with such theories via Balzac, so after their purification of Christian and 'supernatural' admixtures. For it is well known that Balzac had a great influence on Baudelaire especially in the latter's early years. The very search for a synthesis testifies to their spiritual affinity. This also explains why later on, at the end of the century, people again turned to Balzac, i.e. the Balzac of Seraphita and of Louis Lambert."

244. Baudelaire "thought this so essential and natural that it would be astonishing 'que le son ne pût pas suggérer la couleur, que les couleurs ne pussent pas donner l'idée d'une mélodie, et que le son et la couleur fussent impropres à traduire des idées; des choses n'étant toujours exprimées par une analogie réciproque (another word for 'correspondance'), depuis le jour où Dieu a proféré le monde comme une complexe et indivisible totalité." (Baudelaire, Art Romantique, article on Wagner.)

Baudelaire, in "Oeuvre et Vie d'Eugène Delacroix," maintains that Delacroix has communicated the invisible, the impalpable, the dream, with the perfection of a consummate painter, with the rigour of a subtle writer, the eloquence of a passionate musician. It is one element in the diagnosis of the spiritual climate of the age, that the arts strive, if not to substitute for one another, at least to lend to each other new power and strength: "C'est l'invisible, c'est l'impalpable, c'est le rêve, c'est les nerfs, c'est l'âme, et il a fait cela, - observez-le bien, monsieur, - sans autres moyens que le contour et la couleur; il a fait mieux que pas un; il l'a fait avec la perfection d'un peintre consommé, avec la rigueur d'un littérateur subtil, avec l'éloquence d'un musicien passionné. C'est, du reste, un des diagnostics

d l'état spirituel de notre siècle que les arts asoient, sinon à se suppléer l'un l'autre, du moins à se prêter réciproquement des forces nouvelles." (Baudelaire, p. 424). Further on in the same article he notes that the art of the colorist is evidently connected, in some respects, with mathematics and music: Il y a évidemment un ton particulier attribué à une partie quelconque du tableau qui devient clef et qui gouverne les autres. Tout le monde sait que la jaune, l'orange, le rouge, inspirent et représentent des idées de joie, de richesse, de gloire et d'amour; mais il y a des milliers d'atmosphères jaunes ou rouges, et toutes les autres couleurs seront affectées logiquement dans une quantité proportionnelle par l'atmosphère dominante. L'art du coloriste tient tout évidemment par de certains côtés aux mathématiques et à la musique."

245. Encyclopaedia of the Occult, Op. Cit., p. 393.
246. Rookmaaker, Op. Cit., p. 27: "Omnia enim Divina sunt exemplaria, intellectualia, moralia et civilia sunt typi et imagines naturalia vero et physica sunt simulacra" (M. Lamm: Swedenborg, Ein Studie über seine Entwicklung zum Mystiker und Geisterseher, transl. Leipzig, 1922) p. 108, a quotation from Swedenborg's Clavis Hiérophypica)" Rookmaaker adds that "this was in itself the consequence of a Platonic or rather a Plotinian thought, saying that all things in the different spheres are reflections, depictions of the ideas in the intelligible world." (p. 27) See further for the Plotinian influences on Swedenborg (pp. 27-8). "According to Swedenborg it is in an effect of the fall into sin that man has to rely on sensory experience in order to acquire knowledge. Things were originally different when man had a direct insight into the deeper relationships by means of a kind of radiation of the divine Light. To an increasing degree Swedenborg also tried to acquire knowledge by means of the anima - about which he theorized in a way that is strongly suggestive of Plotinus (M. Lamm, Swedenborg, Ein Studie über seine Entwicklung zum Mystiker und Geisterseher, transl. Leipzig, 1922, p. 89) (also E. Bréhier, La Philosophie de Plotin, Paris, 1928, pp. 47 ff.) and he more and more wanted to give up the unreliable knowledge gained by means of the senses. In this way he drew up his theory of the 'Entsprechungen' or 'Correspondences'" (p. 27).
247. Jirat-Wasiutynski, p. 64: "The Ideist artist is a visionary in the manner in which Swedenborg understood the term, i.e. a man who perceives and understands the bases of the celestial harmonies of the world, the great chain of being as the basis of spiritual reality. The corollary of this idea is the notion of 'correspondances'".
248. Rewald, Gauguin, Op. Cit., p. 161 (Rewald's translation of Gauguin's Notes Synthétiques): Gauguin, however, said that "in painting, a unity is obtained which is not possible in music, where the accords follow one another, and the judgment experiences a continuous fatigue if it wants to reunite the end with the beginning. In the main, the ear is an inferior sense to the eye. The hearing can only grasp a single sound at one time, whereas the sight takes in everything and at the same time simplifies at its will.
Like literature, the art of painting tells whatever it wants, with

the advantage of letting the reader immediately know the prelude, the direction and the denouement. Literature and music ask for an effort of memory to appreciate the whole. This last art is most incomplete and the least powerful. You may dream freely when you listen to music as well as when you look at painting. When you read a book you are the slave of the author's mind. Sight alone produces an instantaneous impulse." Hence although he makes analogies, Gauguin believes painting to be the superior art.

To Monfried, from Tahiti, in 1892, Gauguin writes that the simple stained glass window attracts the eye by its divisions of colours and of forms - in some sort of music. Gauguin speaks of suggestive colour, of a passage between the yellow orange and green completing the musical chord.

(Malingue). Many other allusions to music in his writings suggest Gauguin's knowledge and use of the theory of Correspondances. In an interview with Eugene Tardieu for L'Echo de Paris, May 13, 1895, Gauguin maintains: "... tout dans mon oeuvre est calculé, médité, longuement. C'est de la musique, si vous voulez! J'obtiens par des arrangements de lignes et de couleurs, avec le prétexte d'un sujet quelconque emprunté à la vie ou à la nature, des symphonies, des harmonies ne représentant rien d'absolument réel au sens vulgaire du mot, n'exprimant directement aucune idée, mais qui doivent faire penser comme la musique fait penser, sans le secours des idées ou des images, simplement par des affinités mystérieuses qui sont entre nos cerveaux et tels arrangements de couleurs et de lignes." (Gauguin, Oviri, Op. Cit., p. 138)

Gauguin played the guitar, mandoline and piano; he was familiar with Beethoven's music and Oriental chants.

249. See Roskill (p. 94), who claims that "Rather similar ideas about colour practice are found in the letter which Gauguin wrote to Pissarro in the spring of 1885, and one which he sent to Schuffenecker from Copenhagen in January, 1885, contained a very similar mystical interpretation of the properties of numbers and geometric figures ... the text.... [Notes Synthétiques] was presumably written either in Rouen in 1884 or in Copenhagen in the winter of 1884-5. The critics in question would then be those, notably J.K. Huysmans, who had responded unfavorably to the Gauguin included in the impressionist exhibition of 1882." In Oviri one finds the following: "La date de ces Notes est controversée. Les uns la situent 'vers 1890,' les autres des 1884, lors du séjour de Gauguin à Rouen, au cours de l'hiver 1885, durant son voyage au Danemark. Il semble que ces dernières dates soient les plus vraisemblables, car l'écrit figure en tête d'un carnet que Gauguin avait acheté à Rouen en 1884. D'autre part l'artiste se réclamera publiquement du 'synthétisme' des 1886. Ces 'Notes' ont été publiées pour la première fois, en 1910, par Henri Mauchaut, dans la revue Vers et Prose du poète Paul Fort." (pp. 22-3).
250. Gauguin, Oviri, pp. 24-5.
251. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 2, p. 298, #371: "... in Dupré's color there is something of a splendid symphony, complete, studied, manly. I imagine Beethoven must be something like that..."
Vol. 2, #435b, 1885, p. 442, Dr. Gestel reminiscences: "Toon Hers Anton Kerssemakers and Van de Wakker had already told me how conscientiously

Vincent studied the theory of colors in books by Delacroix and others, who also tried to demonstrate a connection between colors and music. I was told that Vincent attached much importance to this, and that he wanted to convince himself personally of the connection there might exist between colours and musical tones, for which reason he went and took piano lessons from Van de Sande..." Reprinted from Eindhovens Dagblad (Eindhoven Daily Newspaper) of October 10, 1930." See also #471, #543 (1888) for more analogies between music and painting. #542, Vol. 3, September, 1888, pp. 54-5: "I have read another article on Wagner - 'Love in Music' - I think by the same author who wrote the book on Wagner. How one needs the same thing in painting... In the end we shall have had enough of cynicism and skepticism and humbug, and we shall want to live more musically."

252. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 431, #W3.

253. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 44, #88. In planning his series of sunflower paintings during this time, Vincent referred to the whole thing as a "symphony in blue and yellow" (Vol. 3, p. 19, #526). He claimed: "... in a picture I want to say something comforting as music is comforting... (Vol. 3, p. 25, #531). To his sister, from Arles, (second half of November, 1888), he writes: "... I don't know whether you can understand that one may make a poem only by arranging colors, in the same way one can say comforting things in music." (Vol. 3, p. 448, #9)

254. Cf. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 150: "Wyzewa, in Revue Wagnerienne related every creative effort to Wagner and even spoke of "Wagnerian painting," into which category he grouped the work of Redon and Puvis de Chavannes as well as that of Degas, Cézanne, Monet". Rene Ghil, in an article entitled "Wagnerisme" in the August 1885 issue of La Pléiade (p. 162) called Wagner "un Poète" and wrote: "Ta poétique divination, hors de la phrase aux lurdes lueurs et, pour secouer la vaine nuit, d'orages s'emplissant, vit la Musique logique et claire qui dans mes 'legendes' sera. Légitime reine des dons, et de toute la vie et de tout le désistement s'amplifiant, que de mon être consciencieux elle exigera: car, ainsi qu'un prêtre vers les vertus levant ses mains, je l'ai promis à notre dieu, l'Art inénu. ...

Pour une oeuvre une et que ne sent d'immortelle beauté l'omnivoyant Génie qu'autant qu'elle symbolisme, unir et ordonner magistralement soumises et épurées toutes les artisitques expressions: c'est de Wagner sonnée par les Victoires l'atlastique entreprise.

Pour une oeuvre une et de symboles grosse, en une Poésie instrumentale, où sont des mots les notes, unir et perdre les Poésies éloquente, plastique, picturale et musicale toutes encore au hasard: c'est mon rêve.

Oh! du rêve nul plus que moi, vénérateur des Talents, ne sent la gracilité de soupir parmi son impéature haleine, à lui, emplie du Tout: mais un vertige ne t'égara, et de la juste joie du Trouveur si mes yeux s'aurorent, la sainte Humilité ne s'indigne pas: car, passe par l'entendement littéraire, ce rêve est wagnérien..."

255. Aurier, Op. Cit., p. 162.

256. Ibid., p. 162.

257. Ibid., p. 162.
258. Malingue, p. 168, letter #67.
259. Jirat-Wasiutynski (p. 53) offers: "The term was clearly used as the opposite of realist analysis; it derived as a philosophic concept from Charles Morice's demand, in La Littérature de tout à l'heure that the new art must suggest "tout l'homme par tout l'art (Charles Morice, La Littérature de tout à l'heure, Paris, Perren, 1889, p. 358 and *passim*); Jirat-Wasiutynski suggests that Aurier "must have read the book in proofs before publication". Morice's book, which was published on 25 April, 1889, was excerpted in Le Moderniste illustré, I, No. 4, 27 April 1889, pp. 27-8-30.
260. Rookmaaker, p. 55 (at back): "This term is used at a very early date by Mallarmé - in a letter of the 5th of August, 1867... (Michaud, Message poétique, p. 178)".
261. Rookmaaker, p. 185 (text), p. 58 (at back), foot. #ag., quoting Plotinus (Windelband-Heimsoeth, p. 195).
262. Roskill, p. 95, from La Vie moderne, 9, 9 April, 1887, p. 229.
263. Quoted by Jirat-Wasiutynski, p. 54.
264. Roskill, p. 95.
265. Jirat-Wasiutynski, p. 51: "... the artists and critics of the 1880s redefined the concept of the 'sensation' which had served as the basis for Impressionist aesthetics, sensation conceived as a simple physiological response to visual stimuli was replaced by sensation as a complex psychological process incorporating personal vision." (p. 50)
266. Jirat-Wasiutynski, p. 51.
267. Jirat-Wasiutynski, p. 51 - quoting from A. d'Escorailles, "Sensationnisme," Le Décadent, 13 Nov., 1886.
268. Jirat-Wasiutynski, p. 61, from L'Art Moderne, Brussels, 1 mars 1887 (in Oeuvres plus que complètes, I, p. 74).
269. Jirat-Wasiutynski, p. 5. Jirat-Wasiutynski makes an important distinction: "The basis for such an aesthetic could be found either in psychological theories like those developed by Charles Henry and used by Seurat in his later paintings, or in mystical beliefs derived from the tradition of Neo-Platonism, represented most clearly by the writings of Paul Sérusier (ABC de la Peinture, Paris 1950, especially 7-11)" (pp. 49-50)
270. The author of this paper has been unable to find the original French text in full. English translation excerpts are from Rewald, Gauguin, Op. Cit., p. 161; French, from Gauguin, Oviri, Op. Cit., p. 23.
271. Malingue, pp. 44-5, letter #11 from Copenhagen, Jan. 14, 1885.

272. Aurier, Op. Cit., p. 163.
273. Ibid., p. 163.
274. Charles Morice, Gauguin, Op. Cit., p. 26. Quoted by Richard S. Field, Paul Gauguin, The Paintings of the First Voyage to Tahiti (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), p. 212.
275. Charles Morice, La Littérature de tout a l'heure. Paris, 1889, p. 356: "... la synthèse va rendre l'Art à la primitive et centrale Unité "; quoted by Field, Op. Cit., p. 212.
276. Later from Tahiti, in August 1899, Gauguin was to write to Andre Fontainas that he (Gauguin) acts a bit like the Bible of which the doctrine (especially that concerning the Christ) announces itself under a symbolic form, presenting a double aspect, a form which first materializes the pure Idea in order to render it more understandable, this being the literal, superficial, figurative, mysterious meaning of a parable; and then the second aspect giving the Spirit of the former sense. It is the sense no longer figurative, but the formed, explicit one of the parable: "... j'agis un peu comme la Bible dont la doctrine (surtout concernant le Christ) s'énonce sous une forme symbolique présentant un double aspect; une forme qui d'abord matérialise l'Idée pure pour la rendre plus sensible, affectant l'allure du surnaturalisme; c'est le sens littéral, superficiel, figuratif, mystérieux d'une parabole; et puis le second aspect donnant l'Esprit de celle-ci. C'est le sens non plus figuratif mais figuré, explicite de cette parabole." (Malingue, p. 293, letter #172.)
277. Rookmaaker, p. 156.
278. Charles Morice, Gauguin, Op. Cit., p. 37: "Quand Rodin expose sa statue de Balzac, refusée par la Société des Gens de lettres, Gauguin étudia longement l'oeuvre.
Une belle chose d'art, conclut-il. Mais que m'importe de savoir si les traits de ce visage sont ou ne sont pas ceux de Balzac? Rodin s'est donné beaucoup de mal pour rester réaliste dans une circonstance où il lui était impossible de l'être réellement, puisque, tout de même, il n'a pas connu Balzac: son oeuvre est belle malgré lui, malgré son parti pris réaliste, par l'expression massive du bloc, par une sorte d'affirmation symbolique de la force. Alors, à quoi bon s'exténuer à la recherche d'une vérité objective qui est hors de nos prises? Moi, d'aurais fait un géant, et, dans les deux mains du géant j'aurais mis deux petits monstres: Seraphitus et Seraphita."
By 1895 Gauguin's writings contained explicit allusions to Swedenborg. In an article on Armand Seguin ("Armand Seguin," Mercur de France, Vol. 13-14, 1895, pp. 222-224), Gauguin maintains (p. 222) "Je fais, ce geste, j'écris cette préface parce que Seguin est, à mon avis, un artiste. Ce mot me dispense de tous les superlatifs en usage, car je l'emploie dans l'acception haute et comme sacrée où l'entendait Swedenborg, quand il disait: 'Il y a quelque part dans le monde un livre mystérieux où sont écrites les lois éternelles du Beau. Seuls les artistes peuvent en déchiffrer le sens, et par cela même que Dieu les a

choisis pour le comprendre, je les nommerai des Elus.
Et Swedenborg etait un savant!..."

279. Field, Op. Cit., p. 183, footnote #39, pp. 289-90, cites this information.
280. Field, Op. Cit., p. 290, footnote #39: "now in the Louvre Cabinet des Dessins (R.F. 28.844)".
281. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 2, p. 609, letter #508, 1888 to Theo (letter #480 is dated May 1888): "I am in the middle of reading Balzac, César Birotteau. I will send it to you when I have finished it - I think I shall read the whole of Balzac again."
282. Honoré de Balzac, The Works of Honoré de Balzac, Vol. 2 (London and New York: The Chesterfield Society, 1), p. 51: "I, sir, have read Swedenborg from beginning to end," the pastor went on, with an emphatic gesture. "I may say it with pride since I have preserved my reason: As you read you must either lose your wits or become a seer."
283. Ibid., pp. 55-6.
284. Ibid., p. 172.
285. Ibid., p. 252.
286. Ibid., pp. 173, 256, 257.
287. Ibid., pp. 257.
288. Malingue, p. 45, letter #11.
289. Lehmann, Op. Cit., p. 52, Revue Indépendent, ii/1887, Vol. 2, p. 201.
290. Jaworska, p. 163.
291. Maisels, pp. 4-5.
292. Mathew Herban claims that "(t)he "Jacob" painting was not the first religious painting that Gauguin considered suitable for a church; a previous one was done in Martinique, A Miraculous Draught of Fishes (now lost, but recorded in church records), that was also based on a real event - a spectacularly large catch of fish, analogous with the New Testament story for those in Martinique" ("Letters to the Editor," The Art Bulletin, June 1978, Vol. LX, No. 2, p. 398), yet he offers no proof for these claims.
293. Jaworska, p. 129.
294. Jaworska, p. 129.
295. Jaworska, p. 129.

296. Jaworska, p. 155 and 245: "With George Desvallieres Denis founded in Paris in 1919 the Ateliers d'Art Sacre, in the rue Furstenberg. The teaching was based on the painting of the Quattrocento."
297. Jaworska, p. 163; see her footnote #124: "The Rose-Croix of which group La Rochefoucauld was the 'archon', organized exhibitions of religious art during the 1890s." This fact was responsible for his meeting La Rochefoucauld and also Sâr Peladen, "... both of whom were fond of taking part in the spiritualist séances that were a part of Parisian high society... In time, La Rochefoucauld became Filier's protector and patron and collected his pictures..." (Jaworska, p. 163). Gauguin comments about this from Tahiti, March 25, 1892 - Sérusier, ABC de la peinture, p. 60.
298. Jaworska, p. 170: "Verkade wrote, 'Through Sérusier I too became a disciple of Gauguin...' Verkade, after his ordination as a monk [ca. 1894], went to Germany, where the monastery at Beuron had become an important centre in the movement for regenerating sacred art, a regeneration based on modern principles and led by Father Desiderius, a Bavarian, whose secular name was Didier Lenz. Desiderius was a sculptor who had studied at the Munich Academy ... he wanted to introduce a new aesthetic into ecclesiastical art, on the basis of the Egyptian canons 'vivified by Christian mysticism.' His theories concerning the 'sacred proportions' - purporting to be justified by geometrical procedures and by numbers - were brought together in his book Zur Asthetik der Beuroner Schule..."
299. Jaworska, p. 175: "Armed with a letter of recommendation to the master from Mette Gauguin, who was his French teacher, he presented himself at the farewell banquet held in honour of Gauguin in March 1891. There he met Verkade... See Jaworska's footnote #158: "In his book Étapes d'un moine peintre, Verkade devotes several pages to Ballin, at the time when the latter was moving towards Catholicism; he describes the rarified mystical atmosphere in which the process of his friend's conversion unfolded in Italy. Verkade, Le Tourment de Dieu, 1926, p. 194."
300. Maisels, p. 11.
301. Maisels, p. 10.
302. Gauguin, Avant et Après, p. 154; Maisels, p. 10.
303. Maisels, p. 10. See Maisels' footnote #2: "He attended the Petit Séminaire at Orléans, where, among other things the Bishop gave a course in Biblical literature (see Marks-Vandenbroucke, 'Gauguin, ses origines et la formation artistique,' Gauguin, sa vie, son oeuvre, Paris: Gazette des Beaux Arts, 1958, p. 30) Gauguin mentions these 'certain theological studies of my youth' as one of the things that later drew him to writing on 'a parallel between the gospel and the modern scientific spirit' in Avant et Après, p. 177-94)."
304. Maisels, p. 11. - See her footnote #11: "Marks-Vandenbrouche, p. 52. See also Pola Gauguin, p. 41 "from where she obtains these facts."

305. Malingue, p. 61, letter #22.
306. Gauguin's writings in Le Sourire in Tahiti (1899) were largely an attack on the Catholic Party and was political in tone. Cf. Bengt Danielsson, Gauguin in the South Seas (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1966), pp. 228-236. In 1897 he wrote L'Esprit moderne et le Catholicisme, a long religious essay (Ibid., pp. 209-211) and an attack on the Catholic Church: "The divorce between modern society and true Christianity rests entirely on a misunderstanding due to the falsification and blatant fraud of the Catholic Church, especially since the true doctrine of Christ is so much akin to and in harmony with the principles and aspirations of modern society that the former is bound to fuse ultimately with the latter to form a higher organism..." At the beginning he maintains, "... Confronted with the problem that is posed by the questions Where do we come from? What are we? Where are we going? we must ask ourselves what is our ideal, natural, and rational destiny. In order to neglect nothing which is involved in this problem of nature and ourselves, we must consider seriously (if only summarily) this doctrine of Christ in its natural and rational sense, which, freed from the veils that have concealed and distorted it, thus appears in its true simplicity but full of splendour, throwing a bright light on the problem of our nature and our destiny... the Jesus of the Gospels is none other than the Jesus Christ of the myth, the Jesus Christ of the astrologers." p. 306: "The manuscript was bought after Gauguin's death by M. Alexandre Drollet. It is now in the City Art Museum of St. Louis, USA.
307. An exception must be made in Bernard's case, whose repertoire included religious themes, as was seen in Chapter Two.
308. Malingue, p. 124, letter #61.
309. Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 22, letter #G9, from Gauguin to Vincent, from Pont-Aven, September, 1888: "Collections du Musée National Vincent van Gogh, Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 22, letter #G9, from Gauguin to Vincent from Pont-Aven, September, 1888: "... Des bretonnes groupées prient costumes noir très intense. Les bonnets blancs jaunes très lumineux. Les deux bonnets à droite sont comme des casques monstrueux, un pommier traverse la toile violet sombre et le feuillage dessiné par masses comme des nuages vert émeraude avec les intestins vert jaune de soleil. Le terrain (vermillon pur). A l'église il descend et devient brun rouge. L'ange est habillé de bleu outremer violent et Jacob vert bouteille. Les ailes de l'ange jaune de chrome 1 pur. Les cheveux de l'ange chrome 2 et les pieds chair orange. Je crois avoir atteint les figures une grande simplicité rustique et superstitieuse. Le tout très sévère..."
310. Claude Roger-Marx, "Lettres inédites de Vincent van Gogh et de Paul Gauguin," Europe, 15 Feb. 1939, p. 164: "J'aime la Bretagne.... j'y trouve le sauvage, le primitif: Quand mes sabots résonnent sur le sol de granit, j'entends le ton sourd, met et puissant que je cherche en peinture" (see Chapter Two).

311. Gauguin owes much to Jean Jacques Rousseau in the formation of his primitive philosophy. Maisels truthfully notes, "The Rousseauian idea that the primitive is pure, as opposed to the decadence of European culture, was part of Gauguin's cultural heritage ... Gauguin's association of Brittany, primitiveness and savagery is not new, although it was no doubt sincere. Pierre Loti, to mention only one writer, had stressed this aspect of Brittany in Mon Frère Yves, which had gone into a twentieth printing by 1887, and with which Gauguin may well have been acquainted." Maisels' footnote #31: Mon Frère Yves is an account of a Breton sailor's life; Maisels draws comparisons between Gauguin and this Breton sailor, comparing Gauguin's comment of the sound of wooden shoes on the pavement to Loti's (p. 28), despite the fact that the latter describes it as the music of a nightmare" (Maisels, p. 16). Rather fascinating is Vincent's observation to Theo, upon Gauguin's arrival to Arles at the end of October, 1888: "I knew well that Gauguin had made sea voyages, but I did not know that he was a regular mariner. He has passed through all the difficulties, and has been a real able seaman and a true sailor. This gives me an awful respect for him and a still more absolute confidence in his personality. He has, if one must compare him with anything, an affinity with that Pêcheur d'Islande by Loti. I think this will make the same impression on you as on me." Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 97, letter #558b. Vincent sent this book to his sister (letter #T1a, Vol. 3, p. 550).
312. Ironically, Gauguin always ended up going to live in the most "civilized" areas of these primitive countries. Pont-Aven was inhabited more by artists from Paris than Bretons. Papeete, in Tahiti, being the capital of the colony, was thoroughly settled and Europeanized (cf. Danielsson, Gauguin in the South Seas, pp. 60-74). Hence, what Gauguin painted and wrote (eg. Noa, Noa) was a fabrication, what he himself wished to see before him.
313. In addition to all his travels while in the Merchant Marine, his visit to Martinique, his stays in Brittany and his departure to Tahiti in 1891, Gauguin never lost the opportunity to expose himself to primitive cultures in Paris: during the World Exhibition in 1889, Gauguin writes enthusiastically to Bernard about the Java Village: "Vous avez eu tort de ne pas venir l'autre jour. Dans le village de Java il y a des danses Hindous. Tout l'art de l'Inde se trouve là et les photographies que j'ai du Cambodge se retrouvent là textuellement" (letter #81, Malingue, p. 157).
314. Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 22, #G9.
315. Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 25, #G11.
316. Perhaps, because Gauguin was not a Breton but an artist from Paris, the curé was wary, even if the style would indeed have been conducive and similar in its "primitive" style to Breton monuments and sculpture. Rewald, Post-Impressionism, p. 202, writes that Gauguin (with Bernard an Laval, who had helped him to carry the canvas to the church of Nizon, not far from Pont-Aven) "failed to convince the curé who apparently feared some artistic hoax; the gift was refused after the priest explained

that his parish would not understand the painting..."

317. Maisels points out as well, that despite Gauguin's "proximity to a group of young men who had a fervently religious side, remained aloof from conversion and developed a completely different and intensely personal interest in religion." (p. 5) Gauguin is more similar to Delacroix in his personal approach to religion. Of the Church of Saint Sulpice where his Jacob Wrestling with the Angel is found, Delacroix wrote: "My heart beats faster when I find myself in the presence of great walls to paint" (Delacroix, Op. Cit., p. 394, June 30, 1854). On August 30, 1855, he notes in his Journal the effect that music has on him whilst painting: "This morning I did a good deal of work at the church, inspired by the music and the chanting. There was an extra service at eight o'clock. That music puts me into a state of exaltation that is favorable to painting." (p. 482)

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER FOUR

1. Jacob's struggle to secure for himself the birthright which belonged to his twin-brother Esau had a prenatal origin (Gen. XXV, v. 2-26):

"And Isaac prayed to the Lord for his wife,
because she was barren; and the Lord granted
his prayer, and Rebekah his wife conceived.
The children struggled within her, and she said,
"If it is thus why do I live?" So she went to inquire
of the Lord.

"Two nations are in your womb, and two peoples,
born of you, shall be divided;
the one shall be stronger than the other,
the elder shall serve the younger."

When her days to be delivered were fulfilled,
behold, there were twins in her womb.

The first came forth ... Esau. Afterward his
brother came forth, and his hand had taken hold of
Esau's heel; so his name was called Jacob..."

(The name Jacob means: "one who holds the heel" or
"one who treads on the heel" Schaff-Herzog Encyclo-
paedia, p. 74.)

After Jacob had transferred his abode to Haran, he worked for Laban, his uncle, and asked to marry his daughter Rachel. Jacob had to work seven years, but at the end of this time her sister was substituted and Jacob was forced to serve another seven years. (Gen. XXIX, v. 21-30): Regarding his struggle with the Angel, The Cyclopaedia notes (pp. 730-1): "In the earnest conflict, he maintained his ground, till the heavenly combatant touched the hollow of his thigh and put it out of joint, in token of the supernatural might which this mysterious antagonist had at his command, and showing how easy it had been for him (if he had so pleased) to gain the mastery. But even then Jacob would not quit his hold; nay, all the more he would retain it, since now he could do nothing more, and since, also it was plain he had to do with one who had the power of life and death in his hand; he would, therefore, not let him go till he obtained a blessing. Faith thus wrought mightily out of human weakness - strong by reason of its clinging affection, and its beseeching importunity for the favor of heaven, as expressed in Hos. xii, v. 4: "By his strength he had power with God; yea, he had power over the angel, and prevailed..."

2. The name Jacob, meaning one who supplants, "one who holds the heel" (Gen. XXV, v. 26) is also explained as "one who overreaches" (Jer. IX, v. 4) by means of his practiced cunning" (Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia, Op. Cit., p. 74); cf. Gen. XXV, v. 29-34: "Once when Jacob was boiling pottage, Esau came in from the field, and he was famished. And Esau said to Jacob, "Let me eat some of that red pottage, for I am famished!" ... Jacob said, "First sell me your birthright." Esau said, "I am about to die; of what use is a birthright to me?" Jacob said, "Swear to me first." So he swore to him, and sold his birthright to Jacob. Then Jacob gave Esau bread and pottage of lentils, and he ate and drank, and rose and went his own way. Thus Esau despised his birthright," cf. Schaff-Herzog

Encyclopaedia, p. 75: "He is called Jacob because of his dexterity and cunning, which always gave him the advantage over the physically stronger Esau and over the shrewd Laban." After Jacob had served his uncle for over fourteen years, he became desirous of returning home. At the urgent request of Laban, however, he is induced to remain for an additional term of six years. This Jacob consents to do, but he strikes a bargain with Laban, whereby he (Jacob) profits: Gen XXX, v. 31-43, possessing "large flocks, maidservants and menservants and camels and asses" (having settled with Laban that he would take all the "brindled and spotted goats," Jacob devised a way whereby only spotted and brindled flock were bred.) "On account of his subordinate position Jacob accommodates himself to the will of the stronger, yet always succeeds in attaining his end by courage and tenacity. However much dissimulation there was in his conduct, Jacob did not employ it for sordid gain. As Israel he strives for the blessing of God because he was recognized therein the highest good. He devotes his whole energy to obtaining the blessings of the covenant (Hos. xii, v. 4-5). It is true that Jacob's character does not show the comparative straightforwardness of Abraham and therefore he cannot be regarded as a model for all time. He is not an ideal, even according to the standard of Israelite ethics, but a man whose sinful nature struggles against his better half; but he was purified by the suffering which made his life a sadder one than that of his forefathers (Gen. xlvii, v. 9) (Schaff-Herzog Encyclopaedia, p. 75).

3. Rewald, ed. Camille Pissarro, Letters to his Son Lucien, p. 97.
4. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, pp. 40-1, letter #538, undated (#537 is dated sometime after 17 September).
5. Malingue, p. 86, letter #36: "Je crois en effet que la foule à toujours raison, que vous êtes des anges et que je suis un atroce gredin..."
6. Malingue, p. 123, letter #60:
Ibid., p. 123, letter #60: "Je t'en prie ne jette pas le marche après la cognée et fais tous tes efforts pour attendre encore un an... Nous sommes invités à Bruxelles probablement aussi à Glasgow. Il serait donc d'un grand intérêt pour nous d'avoir plusieurs exposition l'année 88. Tu dois comprendre que mon intérêt est le tien et il ne faut pas se mettre dans la tête que la peinture est métier seulement pour l'École des Beaux-Arts. Je sais bien que vous ne croirez en moi que lorsque je vendrai couramment mais c'est une opinion qu'il faut tenir secrète vis à vis du public. Je sais bien que cette maudite peinture fait ton tourment mais puisque le mal est fait il faut en prendre ton parti et chercher a en tirer profit pour l'avenir."
7. Malingue, p. 193, letter #106: "Il faut en faire le sacrifice en art, périodes essais ambiants, une pensée flottante sans expression directe et définitive. Mais bah! une minute où on touche le ciel qui fuis après; en revanche ce rêve entrevu est quelque chose de plus puissant que tout matière. Oui, nous sommes destinées (artistes chercheurs et epnseurs) à périr sous les coups du monde, mais perir en tant que matière. La pierre périra, la parole restera. Nous sommes en pleine mélasse mais nous ne sommes pas encore morts. Quant à moi ils n'auront pas encore ma peau."

8. Francis Gostling, The Bretons at Home (London: Methuen & Co., 1909), pp. 136-7.
9. Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, pp. 60-61, letter #544 (#543 is dated September, 1888).
10. See Wildenstein, W#239 (pp. 88-89): Autoportrait dit "les Misérables"; W323 (p. 123): Portrait Charge de Gauguin; W#324 (p. 123): Autoportrait au Christ Jaune; W#235 (p. 124): Autoportrait à la Mandoline; W#326 (pp. 124-5): Le Christ au Jardin des Oliviers; W#327 (pp. 125-6): Le Christ Jaune, W#287 (p. 126) Le Christ Vert ou Calvaire Breton, see also Avant et Après, for the etching of the same theme, with Tahitian motifs in foreground and Gauguin's features blatantly indicated in Christ's face. See also photographs of Gauguin, drawings, such as the double portrait of Gauguin and Pissarro (reproduced in Rewald, Pissarro's Letters to his Son Lucien, fig. #5), the self-portrait sketch (reproduced in Bodelsen, Fig. 163) with thumb in mouth, the self-portrait in stoneware (cf. Bodelsen, Figs. 80, 81), the sketch of Gauguin carving by Camille Pissarro (circa 1880-83) (Gray, Fig. 1, p. 2), the later self-portrait relief and drawing illustrated in Morice, Gauguin. See also Rewald, Gauguin. p. 39: "Portrait of the Artist: To His Friend Daniel" (Self-Portrait, 1895).
11. For an illustration of this work by Daumier, cf.: Schneider, Pierre and the Editors of Time-Life Books, The World of Manet 1832-1883 (New York: Time-Life Books, 1968), p. 49 for colour reproduction. Since Gauguin knew and admired Daumier's work, it is conceivable that he may have seen this particular painting, as it is so very similar to Vision après le sermon in its composition. (For Gauguin's awareness and admiration of Daumier cf. Merete Bodelsen, "Gauguin the Collector," The Burlington Magazine, September 1970, No. 810, Vol. 112, pp. 601-2, where Bodelsen points out that Gauguin collected Daumier's works.) In Daumier's work, the stage (note its bottom edge) is also placed at a diagonal running (although not as sharply) along the same direction as the tree in Vision après le sermon, with the action occurring on the stage below, to the right of and above (in pictorial terms) the foreground figures. The audience to the left in Daumier's example is on the same plane as the viewer of the painting, in contrast to Vision après le sermon, and there are members of the audience depicted seated in front, below the stage. As in Gauguin's painting, the viewer of Daumier's work is situated directly behind the foreground spectators. Of these foreground figures, just the silhouette of the head, shoulders and upper back is visible as is the case with the foreground figures in Vision après le sermon. Daumier's audience on the left side of the painting is depicted in profile just as Gauguin's lower left corner figure. Just as Daumier's group along the left edge of the composition surround and bracket the action in semi-circular fashion, the same holds true in Vision après le sermon although, as noted, with figures spaced differently. Looking more closely at the two works, most striking is the position of the three foreground figures. When one compares the two figures to the right their backs toward us, with Gauguin's two white bonnetted women, one sees from the similar overlapping of shoulders (the right figure appearing behind the left one) the same short necks and rounded shoulders that Gauguin might indeed have

seen Daumier's work. Moreover, Daumier's third figure placed immediately to the left of and higher than these two can be compared to Gauguin's open-eyed woman placed as well to the left of and higher than the other two just referred to. Both are turned in just the same way with the shoulders and upper body sloping along the same diagonal, with the left shoulder appearing higher than the right. Interestingly, there has been just the same allotment of compositional space for the backs in both works. In Gauguin's version, this second figure from the left - the open-eyed figure - has been placed in front of the two figures to its right as opposed to behind the two in Daumier's, perhaps intentionally to bring it closer to the action taking place "on stage" - and hence suggesting (in addition to her open gaze) a closeness, a familiarity, a tie between this woman (more so than with any other) and the ongoing struggle. Then, turning to the figure to the extreme left in both works we see the similarity once more in the placement and if one draws a line along the tops of the heads of these four figures in both paintings one will notice that the lines would run almost parallel, with the open-eyed woman in Gauguin's work placed slightly higher than the others, again, for added emphasis, in order to draw attention to her. It is certainly probable that Gauguin may have seen Daumier's painting for he was familiar with the artist's oeuvre and owned a couple of his works. Oddly enough, in Vision après le sermon, the third figure to the right, who has her back to the viewer, is wearing a bonnet, which if one studies the edge with the two circular forms, these appear to be in the shape of opera glasses, as abstracted and hidden as possible. One other example shows just the audience and not the performance, a study by M.S. Kroyer, "Fragment d'une soirée musicale," which appeared in the 1887 Gazette des Beaux-Arts (cf. "Salon de 1887" article). The grouping is in a semi-circular fashion as in Vision après le sermon, with the closest figure in front turned to the right, in a three-quarter back view, like the second figure to the left in Gauguin's painting and at the side in profile view like the lower left corner figure in Vision après le sermon. Others further away, higher up the picture plane, are turned in more towards the viewer. Again the viewer is made to feel part of the audience due to the closeness of the foreground figures. Some are shown with eyes closed, others open looking, either at the entertainment or up or away. Gauguin's performance-like structure may also be compared to an arena: Vincent writes to Bernard (Arles, April, 1888) (Van Gogh, Letters, Vol. 3, p. 478): "By the way, I have seen bullfights in the arena or rather sham fights, seeing that the bulls were numerous but there was nobody to fight them. However, the crowd was magnificent, those great colourful multitudes piled up one above the other on two or three galleries, with the effect of sun and shade and the shadow cast by the enormous ring." (Cf. also #474, Vol. 2, p. 541, to Theo).

12. Roger Shattuck, Banquet Years. The Origins of the Avant-Garde in France 1885 to World War I (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1969), pp. 5-7
13. Cf. Chapter Two, footnote #100.
14. Ingrid Langaard, Edvard Munch (Oslo, Norway: Gyldendal, 1960), from

the English Summary: Vuillard made the poster for Ibsen's Rosmerholm (reproduced p. 63) and Toulouse-Lautrec that for Bjørnson's A Bankrupt (reproduced p. 65). Later Edvard Munch was commissioned to design the programmes for Ibsen's Peer Gynt and John Gabriel Borkmann.

15. Gauguin wrote to Bernard from Arles, November, 1888, commenting on Bernard's experiments in technique; Gauguin advised him to use a simple material like thick paper on cloth, which grips and absorbs the colour, drawing a comparison with theatre scenery which was made like that and which was very durable. (Malingue, p. 149, letter #75) Gauguin wrote in February, 1891, to a Madame Rachilde about her drama: "la lecture de votre drame, Madame la mort, j'ai été vraiment perplexe. Comment exprimer votre pensée avec un simple crayon, tandis que vous l'avez conçue possible pour la scène avec des moyens autrement puissants - l'actrice, la parole et les gestes... Soyez assez bonne Madame pour considérer mes deux mauvais dessins comme un simple désir de bien faire" (Malingue, p. 209, letter #118).
16. Rewald, Gauguin, p. 162: "With whatever talent you may tell me how Othello comes, with his heart devoured by jealousy, to kill Desdemona, my soul will never be as much impressed as when I have seen Othello with my eyes entering the room, his forehead presaging the storm. Therefore you need the theatre to compliment your work.
An allusion to theatre occurs in Carlyle's Sartor Resartus: "... the curtains of Yesterday drop down, the curtains of Tomorrow roll up." (Carlyle, Sartor Resartus, Op. Cit., p. 208) From what has been noted about Wagner, the theory of correspondances, and synthetic theories of the arts, about the interchange and exchange of ideas between writers, painters and musicians, it would not have seemed illogical for artists like Gauguin to become involved with the theatre.
17. Gauguin, Avant et Après, pp. 123-4: "Mon théâtre, à moi, c'est la vie: j'y trouve tout, l'acteur et le décor, le noble et le trivial, les pleurs et le rire. En émotion souvent, d'auditeur je deviens acteur. On ne saurait, croire comme dans la vie sauvage on change d'opinion et combien le théâtre s'agrandit. Rien ne trouble mon jugement, pas même le jugement des autres. Je regarde la scène à mon heure à moi, à moi seul, sans contrainte, sans même une paire de gants."
18. Haskell M. Block, Mallarmé and the Symbolist Drama (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1963), p. 60; see also pp. 61-69, 75-106; also note Stéphane Mallarmé: "Richard Wagner - Reverie d'un poète français," Revue Wagnerienne, August VII, 1885, pp. 197-200.
19. Baudelaire, p. 702-3.
20. It seems inconceivable that Gauguin would not have been familiar with the much publicized views of Wagner and Baudelaire, due to his contacts with Vincent, Bernard, Morice, Redon, Mallarmé, and others, who, as noted, were acutely aware of the writings of these two men. (Cf. Rookmaaker, p. 119.)
21. One may compare the tree paralleling Jacob's position in Gauguin's work

work with the trees in Delacroix's Jacob Wrestling with the Angel. Here the group of trees in the middleground occupies a predominant one third of the picture space and dwarfs the wrestling figures. The movement and energy suggested by their animated pose, the dynamic force with which Jacob pushes against the Angel, is echoed in the twisted branches growing up and out of the gnarled trunks, branches contorted from struggling against odds in nature. Just as the tree is rooted to the ground but reaching up into space, so Jacob, though human and physically bound to the earth, struggles with a supernatural force. The tree had a definite significance for Delacroix: prior to the execution of the painting, he sees an oak tree: "At the distance necessary for the eye to seize it as a whole, it seems to be of ordinary size; if I place myself under its branches the impression changes completely; perceiving only the trunk which I almost touch and the springing point of the thick branches which spread out over my head like the immense arms of the giant of the forest, I am astonished at the grandeur of its depths; in a word I see it as big, and even terrifying in its bigness." (Delacroix, Op. Cit., p. 307, May 9, 1853. See also p. 306.) In 1857 Delacroix gives a definition of the sublime: "The Sublime: Is most often due curiously enough to disproportion. In a notebook (1853, May 9), I cite the fact that the Antin oak, seen from a distance, seemed mediocre....When I get under the branches themselves, and see only parts, unrelated to the ensemble, I experience the sensation of the sublime. Nov. 20, 1857." (Ibid., p. 554) In Jacob Wrestling with the Angel, by depicting the "Immense arms of the giant(s) of the forest," Delacroix has wished to create, in effect, a sensation of the sublime.

22. Oeuvres écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh, p. 22, letter #69. The tree could be interpreted as a bridge over the water seen behind the foliage at the upper right. Arnold Os informs us (Religious Visions, Amsterdam; 1932), pp. 21-2: "A typical way of sifting the sinners from the guiltless, and to fix the measure of the former's sinfulness is the test-bridge across the river or flood which is found in almost every vision... Tundalus himself tries to cross the bridge on the back of a cow, stolen from a relation some time ago. When he stops the cow falls, when the cow stops, he falls. It is only by the help of his guardian angel that he succeeds in reaching the opposite bank." Although it is not certain that Gauguin would have been aware of these ideas - it is interesting that both the image of the cow and the angel appear in Vision après le sermon. Recall, in Chapter Two, the Japanese prints of bridges which might have been possible prototypes for Vision après le sermon.
23. Geneviève Lacambre, "La symbolisme en Europe - notes d'histoire," Le Symbolisme en Europe (Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1976), p. 21.
Eliphas Levi Zahed was a pseudonym used by Alphonse Louis Constant in his occult writings. Born about 1810, he died in 1895. Educated at Saint-Sulpice, he became a deacon and was also appointed a professor at the Petit Séminaire in Paris, but was expelled soon after for teaching doctrines contrary to those of the Roman Catholic Church. About 1839 he came under the influence of a political and socialistic prophet named Ganneau and wrote The Gospel of Liberty for which he received six months

imprisonment. Between 1846 and 1847 pamphlets were issued by Constant, showing his inclinations towards socialism. It is with the publication of the Dogme de la Haute Magie (Doctrine of Transcendental Magic) in 1855 that he turns to occult writing. After Dogme came Rituel in 1856, then Histoire de la Magie in 1860, La Clef des Grands Mystères in 1861, a second edition of the Dogme et Rituel, 1861, Fables et Symboles, 1862, Le Sorcier de Mendon and La Sciences des Esprits, 1865. See the biographical preface of Transcendental Magic by A.E. Waite (New York: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1974, pp. xix-xxiii).

It was the 1862 edition of Fables et symboles avec leur explication that Moreau possessed (Paris, Musée Gustave Moreau) (cf. Le Symbolisme en Europe, Op. Cit., p. 21).

24. Eliphas Levi, Transcendental Magic (New York: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1974) pp. 34-35: "Cain and Abel represent the flesh and the spirit, force and intelligence, violence and harmony..." (p. 34); "Jacob and Esau are again the two types of Cain and Abel; but here Abel avenges himself: the emancipated intelligence triumphs by cunning. The whole of the genius of the Jews is in the character of Jacob, the patient and laborious supplanter who yields to the wrath of Esau, becomes rich, and buys his brother's forgiveness..." (p. 35).
 p. 39: "What is man? He who initiates, who toils, who furrows, who sows. What is woman? She who forms, unites, irrigates and harvests. Man wages war, woman brings peace about; man destroys to create, woman builds up to preserve; man is revolution, woman is conciliation; man is the father of Cain, woman the mother of Abel. What also is wisdom? It is the agreement and union of two principles, the mildness of Abel directing the activity of Cain."
 p. 40-1: "... the universe is balanced by two forces which maintain it an equilibrium, being the force which attracts and that which repels. They exist alike in physics, in philosophy and in religion, in physics they produce equilibrium, in philosophy criticism, in religion progressive revelation. The ancients represented this mystery by the conflict between Eros and Anteros, the struggle between Jacob and the Angel, and by the equilibrium of the golden mountain, which gods on the one side and demons on the other encircle with the symbolic serpent of India. It is typified also by the caduceus of Hermanubis, by the two cherubim of the ark, by the twofold sphinx of the chariot of Osiris and by the two seraphim - respectively black and white. Its scientific purity is demonstrated by the phenomena of polarity, as also by the universal law of sympathies and antipathies... Revelation is the duad; every word is double, and supposes two. The ethic which results from revelation is founded on antagonism, and this results from the duad. Spirit and form attract and repel one another, like sign and idea, fiction and truth..."
 Cf. Helen Adolf, "Wrestling with the Angel: Rilke's 'Gazing Eye'," Yearbook of Comparative Criticism, Vol. One (ed. Joseph Strelka) (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1968), p. 34: Adolf calls the struggle between Jacob and the Angel: "The archetypal conflict of opposities".
25. Paul Gauguin, Noa, Noa, pp. 108-112: "It is above all the clearness with which the two only and universal principles of life are designated and

ultimately resolved into a supreme unity. The one, soul and intelligence, Taaroa, is the male; the other in a certain way master and body of the same god, is the female, that is Hina. To her belongs all the love of men, to him their respect..."

Gray (p. 49) maintains that Gauguin "based his ideas about matter and spirit on the book of J.A. Moerenhout, Voyages aux Iles du Grand Ocean, which he quotes almost verbatim." Field (Op. Cit.), maintains the same, as does B. Danielsson, Gauguin in the South Seas. Cf. Gray's footnote #61, p. 49: "In the manuscript copy of Noa-Noa in the Louvre, Gauguin says "Je complète la leçon de Tehura à l'aide de couments trouvés dans un recueil de Morenout (sic) l'ancien consul. Je dois à l'obligeance de Monsieur Guopil colon de Tahiti la lecture de cette édition" (p. 131). René Huyghe ("Présentation de l'ancien Culte mahorie," in Paul Gauguin, Ancien Culte mahorie (Paris, 1951), p. 25 ff.) points out that Gauguin has drawn heavily on Moerenhout not only in the Ancient Culte mahorie, but also in Noa, Noa.

26. Gray, p. 49: "The idea expressed by Moerenhout concerning the duality of matter and spirit was essentially an old one in European culture, which one suspects had more or less influenced Moerenhout's interpretation of the Polynesian religion." Gray's footnote #62: "Perhaps the clearest ancient source is to be found in Plutarch's De Osiridae. It is also found in other essays by Plutarch in which he dealt with the cosmology that Plato set forth in his Timaeus. With the development of the interest in mythology and the history of religion in the beginning of the 19th century, the ideas of Plutarch were revived and expanded. Richard Payne Knight in his book, The Symbolical Nature of Ancient Art and Mythology (1818), quotes the ideas of Plutarch. At about the same time, the French writer, Charles Dupuis, one of the first writers on the history of religion, used this cosmic dichotomy as the basis of his interpretation of ancient religions throughout the world in his book L'Origine de tous les cultes (1794)." Gray speculates that "It may have been from Dupuis that Moerenhout got his ideas." "This interpretation of ancient religion had gained a wide currency by the middle of the century and was probably known to Gauguin before he read Moerenhout." ("The same interpretation appears, for example, in Flaubert's Salammbô.")
27. The cow may be regarded, in Vision après le sermon, as both a symbol for the earth and also as a symbol for the androgynous: J.E. Cirlot, in A Dictionary of Symbols (New York: Philosophical Library, 1962), p. 63: "Associated with the earth and with the moon. A great many lunar goddesses wear the horns of a cow on their head. When linked with the primigenial goddess Neith, the cow is a mother-symbol, representing the primal principle of humidity and endowed with certain androgynous characteristics. In Egypt it was linked with the idea of vital heat. Vac, the feminine aspect of Brahma, is known as the 'melodious cow' and as the 'Cow of abundance,' the first description stemming from the idea of the world's creation out of sound, while the second - ... comes from his function of nourishing the world with its milk... In this we can see also the idea of heaven as fecundating bull and the cow represent the active and passive aspects of the generating forces of the universe." Gauguin, with some knowledge of Hinduism, Buddhist philosophy, might well have been aware of these ideas. Hence it is highly appropriate that

the cow would be depicted on the left side of the painting - opposite the male wrestlers (in a similar pose) and that the cow would be in close proximity to the women and most of all, the open-eyed - androgynous figure.

28. Jirat-Wasiutynski (p. 206) writes: "In general, the image stands for an unattainable ideal of perfection, a union of opposites. (On this particular aspect of the coincidentia oppositorum see Eliade, The Two and the One, passim. The locus classicus is, of course, Plato's Symposium)..." J-Wasiutynski comments that Albert Aurier "chose the image of androgynous being so dear to the fin-de-siecle" (p. 68) to describe a work of art, the "work of art as an (active) agent and the spectator as a (passive) receptor" (Rookmaaker, p. 157). Other works dealing with the androgynous subject included Latouche's Fragoletta (1809) and Gautier's Mademoiselle de Maupin. Cf. Mario Praz, The Romantic Agony (London: Oxford University Press, 1951), pp. 318-411: see these pages for the elaboration of the androgynous theme in 19th century literature. Cf. Cirlot, Op. Cit., pp. 138-140 for definition of the androgynous.
29. Balzac, Op. Cit., p. 54, pp. 115-6, "Minna, indeed you are under a mistake; the siren round whom my desires have so often hovered, who allows me to admire her as she reclines on her couch, so graceful, fragile, and suffering, is not a man." "Nay," replied Minna, in some agitation, "he whose powerful hand guided me over the Falbert to the soeter under the shelter of the Ice-cap up there" and she pointed to the peak - "is certainly not a mere, weak girl..." (When Seraphita-Seraphitus dies (during the assumption) Wilfrid and Minna understand "some of the mysterious world of the being who on earth had appeared to them under the form which was intelligible to each - Seraphitus to one, Seraphita to the other - seeing that here all was homogenous. Light gave birth to melody, and melody to light; colors were both light and melody; motion was number endowed by the Word; in short, everything was at once sonorous, diaphonous, and mobile...") "L'union que se fait d'un esprit de sagesse met la créature a l'état divin pendant lequel son âme est FEMME, et son corps est HOMME, dernière expression humaine où l'esprit l'emporte sur la forme où la forme se débat encore contre l'esprit divin; car la forme, la chair, ignore, se révolte, et veut rester grossière. Cette epreuve suprême engendre des souffrances inouies que les cieux voient seuls, et que le Christ a connues dans le jardin des Oliviers." (Honoré de Balzac, Seraphita, Paris, editions Calmann-Levy, 1950, pp. 66-67); cf. Field, Op. Cit., pp. 183-4.
30. Bodelsen, p. 149: "The preoccupation of the symbolists with the hermaphrodite is exemplified by Sar Peladan who in 1888 founded the Ordre Kabbalistique de la Rose-Croix. His book "Curieuse" has much in common with Balzac's Séraphitus-Séraphita and he later on devoted a whole volume to the subject with his "L'Androgyne"."
31. Jirat-Wasiutynski, p. 207.
32. Jirat-Wasiutynski, p. 207.
33. Jirat-Wasiutynski, pp. 207-8.

34. Bodelsen, p. 149.
35. See Bodelsen, p. 149, also p. 147, fig. 99 for colour illustration of stoneware painted with ironcolour and glazes; executed between 1893-5. See also Gray (Op. Cit., pp. 169-70; Field, Op. Cit., p. 185).
36. Bodelsen, p. 149.
37. Bodelsen, p. 149.
38. Bodelsen, p. 149.
 See Noa, Noa (English) pp. 42-50: "With the suppleness of an animal and the graceful lithness of an androgyne he walked a few paces in advance of me. And it seemed to me that I saw incarnated in him, palpitating and living, all the magnificent plant-life which surrounded us. From it in him, through him there became disengaged and emanated a powerful perfume of beauty.
 Was it really a human being walking there ahead of me? Was it the naive friend by whose combined simplicity and complexity I had been so attracted? Was it not rather the Forest itself, the living Forest, without sex - and yet alluring?"
39. In the Doctrine of Transcendental Magic, Eliphas Levi wrote: "Primitive man is androgynous" (p. 39). Cf. Cirlot, Op. Cit., p. 140: The androgynous "is clearly a symbol of an intellectual activity which is not in itself connected with the problem of the sexes. Blavatsky says that all peoples regarded their first god as androgynous; because Primitive humanity knew that he had sprung from the mind..." Cf. H.P. Blavatsky, The Secret Doctrine (California: Theosophical University Press, 1970), p. 197 for elaboration of these ideas. It is this kind of androgynism which Gauguin is expressing in Vision après le sermon and in his letter to Madeleine, not to be confused with the more physical and overtly sexual aspects of androgynism Sar Peladan was advocating.
40. Malingue, p. 138, letter #60.
 Cf. Maisels, foot. #91, p. 13 out back: "J'avais passé avec ma soeur et ma mère mes vacances à Pont-Aven (août-septembre) venant de Saint Briac, où ma soeur, seule, était alors avec moi. Nous trouvâmes Gauguin à Pont-Aven... Gauguin voulut voir ma peinture, l'apprécia et se lia avec moi. Nous fûmes bientôt de grands amis. Il fit le portrait de ma soeur ... et s'attacha à elle comme à moi." (Lettres de Gauguin à Bernard, p. 57). This version of the meeting helps to explain why Gauguin's reception of Bernard was much warmer than it had been the last time, and why they became, all three, such good friends, as Bernard constantly stresses that Gauguin was very attracted to Madeleine."
41. Malingue, p. 138, letter #69. Interesting to offer by comparison is Balzac's Seraphita who says to Wilfrid, "Does not a girl who allows a man to take her hand make a promise, and ought she not to keep it? You know full well that I can never be yours. Two feelings rule the love that attracts the women of this earth: either they devote themselves so suffering creatures, degraded and guilty, whom they desire to comfort, to raise, to redeem; or they give themselves wholly to superior beings

sublime and strong, whom they are fain to worship and understand - by whom they are too often crushed... I am too religious to humble myself to any power but that of the Most High..." (Op. Cit. p. 26)

42. Malingue, p. 138.

43. Malingue, p. 124, letter #61 (Paris, Feb. 1888): "Je dois partir jeudi pour Pont-Aven et j'aime mieux répondre à ta lettre maintenant que je suis tranquille... A ce propos je vois dans ta lettre qu'il y a chez toi un mur toujours debout; tout bonnement comme la première bourgeoise venue..." See also letter #60 when Gauguin writes to Mette that he knows quite well that she does not believe in him unless he is selling pictures: "Je sais bien que vous ne croirez en moi que lorsque je vendrai couramment..." (Malingue, p. 123).

44. Malingue, p. 138.

Later Gauguin was to write to her not ever to be afraid of asking for his help in times of need, misfortune, or sadness; that he wanted to sign a contract of brotherhood (November, 1889, from Pouldu, Malingue, p. 180, #96): "Mon horizon est noir et je ne vois pas d'embellie. Sinon je pourrais vous offrir mon concours dans la vie. En tous cas, soyez certains que tout ce que je pourrai je le ferai. Malgré toutes les conventions sociales qui éloignent une jeune fille de tout ami, ne craignez pas de me demander avis au jour de malheur, ou de tristesse. En ce moment je voudrais vous faire plaisir et signer notre contrat de fraternité." Gauguin sends her a pot as a gift (see Bodelsen for illustration, p. 137) and for discussion (Bodelsen, p. 129) Gauguin wrote, "il représente vaguement une tête de Gauguin le sauvage" (Malingue, p. 194, letter #106). (Malingue, p. 116, letter #78). From Le Pouldu, August 1890, Gauguin also sends regards to her via Bernard (end of letter #111, p. 200): "Mes amitiés à Madeleine la petite soeur..." In letter #106 Gauguin writes to Bernard: "J'ai souri à la vue de votre soeur devant mon pot. Entre nous je l'ai fait un peu exprès de tâter ainsi les forces de son admiration en pareille matière; je voulais ensuite lui donner une de mes meilleures chose quique pas très réussie (comme cuisson)." See Bodelsen (pp. 71-72) for a discussion of the drawing executed on the back side of Gauguin's letter to Madeleine, #69, pertaining to the androgynous (this sketch was referred to in Chapter Two of the thesis, in connection with Gauguin's similarity to the children's book illustrator, Caldecott and the concept of drawing like children). Bodelsen claims it was "a sketch for a ceramic decoration ... not only did he send Madeleine this drawing of geese in October, but later in the year, in December 1888, when he wanted to give her a present, he suggests to her brother that he should go to Theo van Gogh and there fetch for her "un petit pot mat avec une décoration d'oiseau et fond bleu vert. Prenez-le de ma part en montrant ma lettre à Van Gogh il vous le donnera. Je le legus à Madeleine." "C'est une chose bien sauvage," he goes on to say, "mais qui est plus l'expression de moi..." (Cf. Bodelsen, p. 215, her foot. #46). From Gauguin's words and gifts to Madeleine, one sees how much Gauguin cared for her and also that he wished her to regard him as "un sauvage."

45. See illustration of this sketch in Bodelsen, p. 175, Fig. 122.
46. Jirat-Wasiutynski quite convincingly argues that the painting Gauguin painted of Joan of Arc in 1889 has Madeleine's features (p. 208). He astutely draws parallels between passages from Gauguin's letter to Madeleine and Péladan's Curieuse. He maintains that "Gauguin's knowledge of the androgynous ideal must have come directly or indirectly through Bernard or Serusier from Joseph Péladan's Curieuse, published in 1886 (p. 207). "Addressing Madeleine as sister, Gauguin asked her to consider her moral development in terms much like those Nebo used in speaking to Paule. In the list of genius no woman appears, but the list of active heroes consists entirely of two women, Judith and Joan of Arc." (p. 208) "Gauguin painted a Joan of Arc with Madeleine Bernard's features in 1889 ... this becomes quite obvious if we compare her face in the wall painting to Emile Bernard's half-length portrait..."
47. Aurier, Op. Cit., pp. 158-9, 164.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abrams, M.H. The Mirror and the Lamp, Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition. New York: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- Adam, Antoine. The Art of Paul Verlaine. (Translated by Carl Morse). New York: New York University Press, 1963.
- Adam, Paul. "Le Symbolisme." La Vogue (October 11, 1886).
- Anderson, Wayne. Gauguin's Paradise Lost. New York: The Viking Press, 1971.
- Arguelles, Jose. Charles Henry and the Formation of a Psychophysical Aesthetic. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972.
- Arts Council of Great Britain. French Symbolist Painters. London, 1972.
- Aurier, Albert. "Le Symbolisme en peinture. Paul Gauguin." Mercure de France (March, 1891): 155-165.
- Balzac, Honoré de. "Seraphita." The Works of Honoré de Balzac Volume Two. New York: The Chesterfield Society, n.d.
- Baudelaire, Charles. Critique d'art. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1965.
- Baudelaire, Charles. Curiosités esthétiques. L'Art romantique. Paris: Editions Garnier Frères, 1962.
- Baudelaire, Charles. Les Fleurs du mal. Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1961.
- Baudelaire, Charles. The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays (Translated and edited by Jonathan Mayne). London: Phaidon Press, 1964.
- Baudelaire, Charles. Selected Writings on Art and Artists (Translated with an introduction by P.E. Charvet). England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1972.
- Beguín, Albert. L'Âme romantique et le rêve. Paris: Librairie José Corti, 1939.
- Berefelt, Gunnar. A Study on the Winged Angel. The Origin of a Motif. Stockholm, Sweden: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1968.
- Berger, Klaus. Odilon Redon. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965.
- Bernard, Emile. "Lettre ouverte a M. Camille Mauclair." Mercure de France (June, 1895).
- Bernard, Emile. "Notes sur l'école dite Pont-Aven." Mercure de France (December, 1903).

- Blackburn, Henry and Randolph Caldecott. Breton Folk. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1880.
- Blackburn, Henry. Randolph Caldecott: A Personal Memoir of His Early Career. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1886.
- Blanc, Charles. Artistes de mon temps. Paris: Librairie de Firmin Didot et Cie., 1876.
- Blanc, Charles, Grammaire des Arts du Dessin. Paris: Jules Renouard, 1867.
- Blavatsky, H.P. The Secret Doctrine. California: Theosophical University Press, 1970.
- Block, Haskell M. Mallarmé and the Symbolist Drama. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1963.
- Bodelsen, Merete. "Gauguin's Cézannes." Burlington Magazine. Vol. 114, No. 710 (May, 1962): 204-214.
- Bodelsen, Merete. "Gauguin, the Collector." The Burlington Magazine. Vol. 112, No. 810 (September, 1970): 590-615.
- Bodelsen, Merete. Gauguin's Ceramics. A Study in the Development of his Art. London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1964.
- Boime, Arthur. The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century. New York: Phaidon Publishers Inc., 1971.
- Boisbaudran, Lecoq de. The Training of the Memory in Art. (Translated by L.D. Luard). London: MacMillan and Co., Ltd., 1911.
- Bouët, Alexandre and Oliver Perrin, ed. Breiz-Izel ou Vie des Bretons de l'Armorique. Paris: Tchou, 1970.
- Le Braz, Anatole. The Land of Pardons. (Translated by Francis M. Gostling). London: Methuen & Co., 1906.
- Le Braz, Anatole. "La Littérature bretonne." La Plume No. 117 (March 1, 1894): 78-84.
- Le Braz, Anatole. Au Pays des Pardons. Paris: Calmann-Levy, Editeurs, 1901.
- Brekilieu, Yann. La Vie quotidienne des paysans en Bretagne aux XIX siècle. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1966.
- Brogan, D.E., ed. France Under the Republic. The Development of Modern France (1870-1939). London: Harper and Brothers, 1940.
- Burlingame, Edward L. Art Life and Theories of Richard Wagner. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1909.

Carlyle, Thomas. Sartor Resartus on Heroes and Hero Worship. London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1908.

Carlyle, Thomas. The Hero as Man of Letters. London: George Bell and Sons and Bombay, 1897.

Carlyle, Thomas. Sartor Resartus. The Life and Opinions of Herr Teufelsdröckh. London: Chapman & Hall Ltd., 1896.

Cate, P.D., M. Eidelberg, W.R. Johnston, G. Needham and G.P. Weisberg. Japonisme: Japanese Influence on French Art 1854-1910. Ohio: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1975.

Chadwick, Nora K. Early Brittany. England: University of Wales Press, 1969.

Chassé, Charles. Gauguin et son temps. Paris: La Bibliothèque des Arts, 1955.

Chassé, Charles. Le mouvement symboliste dans l'art du XIX^e siècle. Paris: Librairie Floury, 1947.

Chiari, Joseph. Symbolism from Poe to Mallarmé. The Growth of a Myth. England: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co., Ltd., 1956.

Clark, G.N., et al (ed). The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol. XI. Cambridge, 1962.

Danielsson, Bengt. Gauguin in the South Seas. (Translated by Reginald Spinr). New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1966.

Delacroix, Eugène. The Journal of Eugène Delacroix. (Translated by Walter Pach). New York: The Viking Press, Inc., 1972.

Delacroix, Eugène. Sa Vie et ses oeuvres. Paris: Imprimerie de Jules Claye, 1865.

Denis, Maurice. Paul Sérusier, ABC de la peinture. Paris: Librairie Floury, 1942.

Denis, Maurice. Théories. Paris: Bibliothèque de l'occident, 1913.

Dujardin, Édouard. Les premiers poètes du vers libre. Paris: Mercure de France, 1922.

Dujardin, E. "Aux XX et aux Indépendants: Le Cloisonisme." La Revue Indépendante (March, 1888).

Edwards, George Wharton. Brittany and the Bretons. London: Herbert & Daniel, 1911.

De la Faille, J.-B. The Works of Vincent van Gogh. New York: William Morrow & Co., Inc., 1970.

- Field, Richard S. Paul Gauguin. The Paintings of the First Voyage to Tahiti. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1973.
- Gaster, Theodor H. Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament. New York: Harper and Row, Pub., 1969.
- Gauguin, Paul. "Armand Seguin." Mercure de France (February, 1895): 222-4.
- Gauguin, Paul. Avant et Après. Paris: Les Éditions G. Crès et Cie., 1923.
- Gauguin, Paul. Lettres à Monfried. Paris: Georges Falaize, 1950.
- Gauguin, Paul. Lettres à sa femme et à ses amis. - ed. Maurice Malingue. Paris: Bernard Grasset, 1949.
- Gauguin, Paul. Noa, Noa. Voyage à Tahiti. Stockholm: Jan Förlag, 1947.
- Gauguin, Paul. "Notes sur l'art à L'Exposition Universelle." Le Moderniste (June 4-13, 1889).
- Gauguin, Paul. Oviri. Écrits d'un sauvage. Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1974.
- Gauguin, Paul. "Qui trompe-t-on ici?" Le Moderniste (Sept. 21, 1889).
- Goldwater, Robert. Paul Gauguin. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1928.
- Gonse, Louis. L'Art japonais. Vol. 1-2. Paris: A. Quantin, 1883.
- Gostling, Francis. The Bretons at Home. London: Methuen & Co., 1909.
- Gourévitch, Doris-Jeanne, ed. Paul Verlaine. Selected Verse. Mass.: Blaisdell Publishing Co., 1970.
- Gray, Christopher. Sculpture and Ceramics of Paul Gauguin. Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1963.
- Les Guides Noirs. Guide de Bretagne mystérieuse. Paris: Tchou, 1966.
- Hackett, C.A. Anthology of Modern French Poetry. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964.
- Hélias, Pierre. Coiffes de Bretagne. Châteaulin, France: Éditions Jos Le Doaré, 1954.
- Herban, Matthew. "The Origin of Paul Gauguin's Vision After the Sermon: Jacob Wrestling with the Angel (1888)." The Art Bulletin Vol. 59, No. 3 (September, 1977): 415-20.
- Herpin, E. Noces et Baptêmes en Bretagne. Rennes: J. Plihon et L. Hommay, 1904.

- Herpin, E. Au Pays des légendes. Rennes: Hyacinthe Caillièrre, 1901.
- Homer, William Inness. Seurat and the Science of Painting. Cambridge, Mass: The M.I.T. Press, 1964.
- Hugo, Victor. Les Misérables. (Translated by Charles E. Wilbour). London: J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1958.
- Huyghe, Rene. Le Carnet de Paul Gauguin. Paris: Quatre Chemins Editart, 1952.
- Huysmans, J.K. L'Art moderne. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1883.
- Huysmans, J.K. Certains. Paris: P.V. Stock, Éditeur, 1898.
- Huysmans, J.K. A Rebours. Oeuvres Complètes de J.K. Huysmans Vol. 7. Paris: Les Éditions G. Crès et Cie, 1928.
- Ives, Colta Feller. The Great Wave: The Influence of Japanese Woodcuts on French Prints. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974.
- Jackson, Samuel Macauley, ed. The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge. New York: Funk and Wagnolls Company, 1910.
- Jaworska, Wladyslawa. Gauguin and the Pont-Aven School. London: Thames and Hudson, 1972.
- Jirat-Wasiutynski, Wojtech. Gauguin in the Context of Symbolism. Princeton University, Ph.D., 1975. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Xerox University Microfilms.
- Jirat-Wasiutynski, Wojtech. "Letters to the Editor." The Art Bulletin Vol. LX, No. 2 (June 1978): 397-8.
- Jourdain, Francis. "Notes sur le peintre Emile Bernard." La Plume (September 15, 1893): 390-397.
- Jullien, Adolphe. Richard Wagner: Sa Vie et ses oeuvres. Paris: Librairie de l'Art L'Allison et Cie., n.d.
- Lacambre, Geneviève. "La Symbolisme en Europe - Notes d'histoire." Le Symbolisme en Europe. Paris: Editions des Musées Nationaux, 1976, pp. 21-25.
- Langaard, Ingrid. Eduard Munch. Oslo, Norway: Gyldenal, 1960.
- Lee, Rensselaer W. Ut Pictura Poesis. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1967.
- Lehmann, A.G. The Symbolist Aesthetic in France 1885-1895. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell & Mott, Ltd., 1950.

- Letheve, Jacques. Impressionnistes et Symbolistes devant la presse. Paris: Armand Colin, 1959.
- Lévi, Eliphas. Doctrine of Transcendental Magic. (Translated by A.E. Waite). New York: Samuel Weiser, 1974.
- Lévi, Eliphas. The History of Magic. (Translator by A.E. Waite). New York: Samuel Weiser, 1973.
- Lindsay, Jack. Gustave Courbet. His Life and Art. England: Adams and Dart, 1973.
- Loevgren, Sven. The Genesis of Modernism. Seurat, Gauguin, Van Gogh and French Symbolism in the 1880's. U.S.A.: Indiana University Press, 1971.
- Lord, Douglas, ed. Vincent van Gogh. Letters to Emile Bernard. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1938.
- Loti, Pierre. Mon Frère Yves. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, Éditeurs, n.d.
- Loti, Pierre. Madame Chrysanthème. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1893.
- Loti, Pierre. Pêcheur d'islande. Paris: Calmann-Lévy, n.d.
- Lovejoy, Arthur O. The Great Chain of Being. A Study of the History of an Idea. Cambridge, Mass: The Harvard University Press, 1961.
- Lucie-Smith, Edward. Symbolist Art. London: Thames & Hudson, 1972.
- Macquoid, K.S. "The Fair of St. Nicodème." Temple Bar Vol. 46 (January-April, 1876): 386-99.
- Maisels, Ziva. Gauguin's Religious Themes. Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel, Ph.D., 1970.
- Mallarmé, Stéphane. Oeuvres Complètes. Paris: Gallimard, 1956.
- Mallarmé, Stéphane. "Richard Wagner - reverie d'un poète français." Revue Wagnerienne (August, 1885): 197-200.
- Mantz, Paul. "Exposition rétrospective de l'art japonais." Gazette des Beaux-Arts (May, 1883): 400-10.
- McClintock, John and James Strong, ed. The Cyclopaedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature Vol. 4. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House.
- Michaud, Guy. Mallarmé. New York: New York University Press, 1965.
- Monmarché, Marcel. Les Guides Bleues. Bretagne. Paris: Librairie Hachette Saint-Germain, 1920.

- Monmarché, Marcel and Findlay Muirhead, ed. The Blue Guides. Brittany. London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1928.
- Morice, Charles. La Littérature de tout à l'heure. Paris: Perrin et Cie., 1889.
- Morice, Charles. Paul Gauguin. Paris: H. Floury, 1919.
- Mras, George P. Eugène Delacroix's Theory of Art. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966.
- Musée National Vincent van Gogh. Oeuvres Écrites de Gauguin et Van Gogh. Amsterdam, 1975.
- Os, Arnold. Religious Visions. Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1932.
- Paul, David, ed. Poison and Vision. Poems and Prose of Baudelaire, Mallarmé and Rimbaud. New York: Vintage Books, 1974.
- Panofsky, Erwin. Idea: A Concept in Art Theory. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968.
- Perruchot, Henri. Gauguin. (Translated by Jean Ellsmoor). London: Perpetua Ltd., 1963.
- Poe, Edgar Allan. The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe. ed. James A. Harrison. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1902.
- Poe, Edgar Allan. The Works of Edgar Allan Poe, Vol. 5. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1896.
- Praz, Mario. The Romantic Agony. London: Oxford University Press, 1951.
- Von Rad, Gerhard. Genesis. A Commentary. (Translated by John H. Marks). Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1952.
- Redon, Odilon. À Soi-Même (1867-1915). Paris: H. Fleury, 1922.
- Rewald, John. The History of Impressionism. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1961.
- Rewald, John. Camille Pissarro. Letters to his Son, Lucien. New York: Pantheon Books, Inc., 1943.
- Rewald, John. Post-Impressionism. From Van Gogh to Gauguin. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1962.
- Roger-Marx, Claude. "Lettres inédites de Vincent van Gogh et de Paul Gauguin." Europe (February 15, 1939): 163-174.
- Rookmaaker, H.R. Modern Art and the Death of a Culture. London: Inter-Varsity Press, 1973.

- Rookmaaker, H.R. Synthetist Art Theories. Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, 1959.
- Roskill, Mark. Van Gogh, Gauguin and the Impressionist Circle. Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, Ltd., 1970.
- Selz, Jean. Odilon Redon. Italy: Ufficipress, 1971..
- Shattuck, Roger. The Banquet Years. London: Jonathan Ceape Ltd., 1969.
- Signac, Paul. D'Eugene Delacroix au Néo-Impressionisme. Paris: H. Floury, 1911.
- Silvestre, Theophile. Les Artistes francais. 2 vols. Paris: G. Crès and Cie., n.d.
- Spence, Lewis. An Encyclopaedia of Occultism. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1920.
- Tabarant, A. La Vie artistique au temps de Baudelaire. Paris: Mercure de France, 1942.
- Van Gogh, Vincent. The Complete Letters of Vincent van Gogh. 3 vols. Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1959.
- Verlaine, Paul. Lettres inédites à Charles Morice. Paris: Librairie Minard, 1964.
- Wagner, Richard. Opera and Drama. London: M. Reeves, n.d.
- Wattenmaker, Richard J. Puvis de Chavannes and the Modern Tradition. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1975.
- Welsh-Ovcharov, Bogomila. Vincent van Gogh. His Paris Period 1886-1888. Netherlands: Editions Victorine, Utrecht-Den Haag, 1976.
- Wichmann, Siegfried, ed. World Cultures and Modern Art. Munich: Bruckmann Publishers, 1972.
- Wildenstein, Georges and Raymond Cognait. Paul Gauguin. Catalogue, Vol. 1. Paris: Editions d'Études et de Documents, 1964.
- Williams, Thomas A. Mallarmé and the Language of Mysticism. U.S.A.: The University of Georgia Press, 1970.
- Wyzewa, Teodor de. "Mallarmé." La Vogue (July 5-12, 1886).
- Wyzewa, Teodor de. "Peinture Wagnerienne - Le Salon de 1885." Revue Wagnerienne (July 8, 1885).
- Wyzewa, Teodor de. "Le Suggestion et le spiritualisme." La Revue Independante (January-March 1887): 200-223.

Zola, Émile. L'Oeuvre. Paris: Francois Bernouard, 1927.

Zola, Émile. Le Rêve. Paris: Bibliothèque Charpentier, 1952.

I: WOMEN IN BRETON COSTUME

Wildenstein Cat. #	Title	Date	Place	Description
#197 (pp. 72-3)	<u>L'Allée dans la forêt</u>	1886	Brittany	Woman seated at left, in middleground, profile view, looking down at ravine or wooded area to right; small child stands close left of her; both far from and below viewer's vantage point (almost a bird's-eye view).
#199 (p. 73)	<u>Le Champ derout- Lollichon (I)</u>	1886	Brittany	Woman seems rather incidental to composition; standing in central middleground, house behind her, cows around her.
#201 (p. 74)	<u>La Danse des quatre bretonnes</u>	1886	Brittany	Four woman; three in a row in immediate foreground, close to picture plane, standing in front of wall, fourth woman standing behind wall, facing almost frontally, with head inclined down towards her right; she stands third in line. Woman to far left is in profile, facing right, woman next to her shows back-view, hands on waist; woman to far right in profile view, facing in, to left, head inclined; she holds show in left hand. Man ploughs(?) in upper right corner. Four geese stand in a group to left.
#202 (p. 75)	<u>Bretonnes assises</u>	Unsigned not dated	Brittany	Fan-shaped; three woman under a single tree, sitting, similar to #201, with man ploughing, geese, head of cow to left? Woman on right, seated, looking up, leaning on one arm behind her, with legs stretched out in front.
#203 (p. 75)	<u>La Bergère bretonne</u>	1886	Brittany	Single shepherdess, to right, far foreground, seated like woman on right of #202 (see above), head inclined down, in profile, looking down at sheep, to left of painting.
#249 (p. 92)	<u>Les Premières fleurs</u>	1888	Brittany	Two women situated in far foreground on clearing, wooded area behind; woman to right seated in similar position as women of #202, 203 (executed two years earlier!); but here back-view, she looks to right; other woman stands at left, three-quarter view, facing front, but head looking down towards other figure at right.
#250 (p. 93)	<u>Conversation Bretagne</u>	1888	Brittany	One woman, back-view, talking to man, both in near middleground; two cows lying in centre, foreground, wooded surrounding.
#251 (p. 93)	<u>La Ronde des petites bretonnes</u>	1888	Brittany	Three breton girls in foreground, hands joined, in semi-circle, but facing out from each other; girl to left faces out, frontally, middle figure furthest away, back-view, head in profile, looking to right; figure to right in three-quarter view, towards viewer head in profile to right. All are taking one step out; small dog at right.
#252 (p. 94)	<u>Bretonnes et veau</u>	1888	Brittany	Two women standing at lower left edge of painting; back views with heads in profile looking to right; one woman stands with hands on waist like second woman from left in #201 from 1886. Other woman's head visible only; her profile very similar to women standing at far left in #201. Above them, in upper middleground, in centre, is a cow, stepping down like J.W.A., facing towards right. Dog to right.
#253 (pp. 94-5)	<u>La Femme a la cruche</u>	1888	Brittany	Woman standing, profile view, at lower right corner, facing left; head inclined, looking down into ravine with houses. Very similar to #201, figure at extreme right, in position, arch of back and head, except #201 woman holds shoe, #254 woman holds jug.
#256 (pp. 95-6)	<u>Petit berger breton</u>	1888	Brittany	Man and woman stand at lower right corner, man three-quarter view, facing left, woman, frontal view, stooping, from waist, with right arm extended.

II: WOMEN IN GROUPS: BEFORE BRITTANY

Wildenstein Cat. #	Title	Date	Place	Description
#166 (p. 62)	<u>La Plage a Dieppe</u>	1885	Environs de Paris-Dieppe	Four women sitting on beach, far foreground, three with backs to us, one turned to face viewer.
#167 (p. 62)	<u>Baigneuses a Dieppe</u>	1885	Environs de Paris-Dieppe	Group of four women, holding hands, in far foreground going into the water, three in backview, one (second from left) facing out.
WOMEN IN MARTINIQUE				
#219 (p. 81)	<u>Femme et chèvre dans le village</u>	[1887]	Martinique	Four women in distant middleground, one lying, one sitting, one leaning on elbow, one standing with something on head. Boat to right, beside at tree growing in foreground.
#220 (p. 81)	<u>Dans le village</u>	[1887]	Martinique	One woman standing in middleground, incidental to composition.
#221 (pp. 81-2)	<u>Autour des huttes</u>	1887	Martinique	To left, far foreground, woman seated, engaged in activity of some sort. Boy standing to the right, leaning on tree, looking to left.
#222 (p. 82)	<u>Au bord de l'Étang</u>	1887	Martinique	Same tree as above (#221), but inverted (this Wildenstein's observation, p. 82). Two people: man to left, standing, facing seated woman, to his right, who is facing him. To their right, one tree. Cow behind man, in water.
#223 (p. 82)	<u>Scène Martiniquaise</u>	1887	Martinique	Fan-shaped; same tree as above (#222) to right; same two people as above (#222). Cow in middle.
#224 (p. 83)	<u>Aux Mangos ou la recolte des fruits</u>	1887	Martinique	Group of negro women, dogs or goats. One woman to left, in close foreground, backview with basket on top of head; woman beside her, seated, in profile, facing left; another woman in middle-ground, stooping to pick something, man behind her standing.
#227 (p. 84)	<u>Conversation tropiques ou neg- resses causant (I)</u>	1887	Martinique	Two women to left talking, one facing front, the other in back-view; in front of them a bush; tree in middle; two men to right, one facing right, goat hidden in bush, further back, other man, back-view, seated facing water.
#228 (p. 84)	<u>Conversations tropiques ou neg- resses causant (II)</u>	[1887]	Martinique	Fan-shaped, same motifs as above.
#229 (pp. 84-5)	<u>Chemin sous les palmiers</u>	[1887]	Martinique	Two-three figures to the right, under tall trees, one standing, facing front, very minimal in size.
#230 (p. 85)	<u>Huttes sous les arbres</u>	1887	Martinique	Under huge trees, figures hard to make out, two standing, one with something on head, two perhaps seated.

III: WOMEN IN ATTITUDES OF PRAYER OR MEDITATION

Wildenstein Cat. #	Title	Date	Place	Description
#201 (p. 74)	<u>La Danse des quatre bretonnes</u>	1886	Brittany	Women not praying obviously but heads of two women on the right inclined down, as if listening or contemplating.
#202 (pp. 74-5)	<u>Bretonnes assises</u>	unsigned no date	Brittany	Fan-shaped, three women sitting, each in a separate space, no communication going on, no contact with one another, each by herself, each meditating.
#203 (p. 75)	<u>Le Bergère</u>	1886	Brittany	Shepherdess to right, although looking down at sheep, appears to strike a contemplative pose, thoughtful, or solitary.
#327 (p. 125)	<u>Le Christ jaune</u>	1889	Brittany	Three women, in prayer around cross; woman at lower left, in three-quarter view especially like woman at upper left in <u>J.W.A.</u> , in placement, costume (apron) and manner in which hands are folded in lap.
#328 (p. 126)	<u>Le Christ vert ou calvaire breton</u>	1889	Brittany	Three women standing frontally, eyes closed.

IV: COWS

Wildenstein Cat. #	Title	Date	Place	Description
#105 (p. 42)	<u>Les Deux vaches</u>	[1884]	[Rouen]	Two cows in distant foreground, one facing right, other left, one large tree to right, no people.
#106 (pp. 42-3)	<u>Les Trois vaches</u>	1884	Rouen	Three cows: two left and right repeated from above; one in middle added, no people.
#107 (p. 43)	<u>Vache dans un pré</u>	1884	Rouen	One cow in wooded area, distant foreground, standing at right, no people.
#118 (p. 46)	<u>Environs de Rouen</u>	1884	Rouen	Three cows in foreground, landscape, church in middleground.
#154 (p. 58)	<u>Le Ruisseau II</u>	1885	Environs de Paris	Two cows in middleground, at right edge.
#157 (p. 59)	<u>Cheval et vache dans un pré</u>	1885	Environs de Paris	Tree in middle, cow to right in field.
#158 (p. 59)	<u>Coin de Mare</u>	1885	Environs de Paris	Four cows in wooded area, with trees in middle.
#159 (p. 60)	<u>L'Abreuvoir (I)</u>	1885	Environs de Paris	One cow in middle, one man to left, house in back, water in front.
#160 (p. 60)	<u>Vaches au repos</u>	1885	Environs de Paris	Three cows to left, one on right drinking.
#165 (p. 62)	<u>Saint-cloud ou Chaville</u>	1885	Environs de Paris- Dieppe	One cow in landscape with buildings in back.
#191 (p. 71)	<u>L'Abreuvoir II</u>	1886	Environs de Paris- Bretagne	Two cows in pasture, see #159; same except for additional cow in upper left middleground.
#192 (p. 71)	<u>Environs de Pont- Aven</u>	[1886]	Brittany	Two cows middleground at left, no people.
#199	<u>Le Champ Derout- Lollichou (I)</u>	1886	Brittany	(known by name, <u>L'Eglise de Pont-Aven</u>) Woman with three cows around.
#206 (P. 76)	<u>Vaches au bord de la mer</u>	1886	Brittany	Two cows, one figure in right foreground with rocks and sea around.
#222 (p. 82)	<u>Au bord de l'Étang</u>	1887	Martinique	Cow to left, two figures beside it, to the right.
#223 p. 82)	<u>Scène Martinique</u>	1887	[Martinique]	Fan-shaped, cow in middle, two figures to right.
#226 (p. 83)	<u>La Mare</u>	1887	Martinique	Cows under trees, small, indistinct.
#250 (p. 93)	<u>Conversation Bretagne</u>	1888	Brittany	Two people in distant foreground in discussion. Two cows in foreground.
#258 (p. 96)	<u>Hiver ou petit Breton arrangeant son sabot</u>	1888	Brittany	Boy and cow (calf?) in right foreground.
#260 (p. 97)	<u>La Prairie au bord de l'Aven</u>	1888	Brittany	One cow in middleground.
#271 (pp. 100-1)	<u>Le Champ derout- Lollichou (III)</u>	1888	Brittany	Village in back, two cows to left.
#279 (p. 104)	<u>Vache accroupie</u>	[1888]	[Brittany]	One cow seated to right; only half visible, rest cut by picture's edge.
#279 bis (p. 104)	<u>La Vache et son veau</u>	[1888]	[Brittany]	Two cows, water or blurred area around.
#282 (P. 105)	<u>Au-dessus du gouffre</u>	1885	Brittany	One cow in immediate foreground, middle of painting, cut-off at bottom view from above.
#329 (pp. 126-7)	<u>Jeanne d'Arc</u>	1889	Brittany	Cow on upper right.

V: SINGLE ANIMAL WITH OR WITHOUT FIGURE(S)

Wildenstein Cat. #	Title	Date	Place	Description
#107 (p. 43)	<u>Vache dans un pré</u>	1884	Rouen	One cow in landscape standing to right.
#151 (p. 57)	<u>La Lisière de la forêt (II)</u>	1885	Environs de Paris	One horse standing to left, side view, facing right, figure of one man in middleground.
#152 (p. 57)	<u>La Lisière de la forêt (III)</u>	1885	Environs de Paris	Horse standing to left same as above, even closer to picture plane (perhaps a woman further away to centre; difficult to see).
#165 (p. 62)	<u>La Plage a Dieppe</u>	1885	Environs de Paris-Dieppe	One cow, back view, standing to left; distant foreground
#219 (p. 81)	<u>Femme et chèvre dans le village</u>	[1887]	[Martinique]	Four women in distant middleground, goat to right beside tree in foreground.
#222 (p. 82)	<u>Au Bord de l'étang</u>	1887	[Martinique]	Two people (one man standing, woman seated), to left, far foreground, cow behind man, in water.
#223 (p. 82)	<u>Scène Martiniquaise</u>	[1887]	[Martinique]	Fan-shaped, cow standing sideways, facing to left, cow in middle, two figures lower right.
#258 (p. 96)	<u>Hiver ou Petit Breton arrangeant son sabot</u>	1888	Brittany	One small cow or calf at lower right, with boy sitting to right of him.
#260 (p. 97)	<u>La Prairie au bord de l'Aven</u>	1888	Brittany	One cow in middleground, standing sideways, facing left; one figure at lower right, washing in rivulet.
#268 (p. 99-100)	<u>Petite Crique devant le Port de Pont-Aven</u>	1888	Brittany	One goat at lower right hand corner. One figure in middleground.
#282 (p. 105)	<u>Au-dessus du Gouffre</u>	1888	Brittany	One cow in centre foreground, with rocks, water around, view from above.
#303 (p. 112)	<u>La Lavandières a Arles (II)</u>	1888	Arles	One goat cut off at lower right. Figures washing.
#329 (p. 126-7)	<u>Jeanne d'Arc</u>	1889	Brittany	One cow at upper right; Joan of Arc standing in centre; one dog lower left.

VI: ISOLATED TREE

Wildenstein Cat. #	Title	Date	Place	Description
#57 (p. 25)	<u>Un Coin de mer, effet de nuit</u>	1881	Paris et Environs	Single upright tree to left, one figure standing to right, branches overlap in curious way to form small enclosed space, a little like J.W.A.
#104 (p. 42)	<u>Fillette couchée dans une prairie</u>	1884	Rouen	One upright tree, bit of foliage on top. Couple of other trees scattered.
#105 (p. 42)	<u>Les Deux vaches</u>	[1884]	[Rouen]	Wildenstein (p. 42) claims it is same tree as in #104, except different view; reaches from bottom to top. Straight and tall.
#148 (p. 56)	<u>Patineurs a Frederiks- berg Park</u>	[1885]	[Copenhagen- Rouen]	One prominent tree, growing from central foreground towards the right corner, past top of picture frame; people skating behind; other trees, less distinct at back; trunk bare (due to season).
#157 (p. 59)	<u>Cheval et vache dans un pré</u>	1885	Environs de Paris	Tree centrally located, bare trunk, leaves at top, cut off by picture edge at top.
#158 (p. 59)	<u>Coin de mare</u>	1885	Environs de Paris	Group of three trees in middle of canvas, growing up past top picture edge. Trunks bare.
#163 (p. 61)	<u>Chaumière en Normandie (II)</u>	[1885]	[Environs de Paris]	House with trees on left; tree at a diagonal, growing from right middleground towards upper left.
#170 (pp. 63-64)	<u>Paysage d'hiver</u>	1885	Dieppe	Two thin trees growing from middleground in parallel direction towards upper right, thin bare trunks.
#172 (p. 64)	<u>Les Arbres dénudés</u>	1885	Environs de Paris	Isolated trees scattered; some trunks curved.
#193 (p. 71)	<u>Paysans autour d'un feu</u>	1886	Environs de Paris- Bretagne	People in foreground, tree a bit to right of centre, growing from middleground up to top, branches overlapping, a small bit like J.W.A.
#215 (p. 79)	<u>La Baignade (I)</u>	1887	Bretagne	Isolated tree to left, extending from bottom edge to top, cut off at bottom and top by picture edge.
#217 (p. 80)	<u>Bord de mer (I)</u>	[1887]	[Martinique]	Isolated trees; second and third one from left criss-cross each other at centre; second tree grows at a diagonal from lower left to upper right; third tree extends from lower right to upper left. Bare trunks, reaching past picture edge at top.
#218 (p. 80-1)	<u>Bord de mer (II)</u>	1887	Martinique	Three trunks to left, cut-off by top edge of picture; two grow straight; third one on right bent quite a bit towards right at a diagonal.
#219 (p. 81)	<u>Femmes et chèvre dans le village</u>	[1887]	[Martinique]	Bare trunk to right, grows upright past top edge.
#220 (p. 81)	<u>Dans le village</u>	[1887]	[Martinique]	One large tree extending diagonally from lower right to upper centre and past top.
#222 (p. 82)	<u>Au bord de l'étang</u>	1887	Martinique	Two figures to lower left; from middle tree extends up past frame foliage at top; tree with foliage up top.
#226 (p. 83)	<u>La Mare</u>	1887	Martinique	Wooded area, one in middle distinct, top cut by picture edge.
#275 (p. 102)	<u>Jeunes baigneurs Bretons</u>	1888	Brittany	Two figures at lower left; one tree upper right middleground; top extends past upper edge.
#279 (p. 104)	<u>Vache accroupie</u>	[1887]	[Brittany]	Tree to left, in immediate foreground.
#280 (p. 104)	<u>Le Sabotier</u>	[1888]	[Brittany]	Shoemaker to left; close view; tree at right picture edge; cut off at top and bottom by picture edge.
#311 (p. 116)	<u>Les Arbres bleus</u>	1888	Brittany	Four separate trunks, growing from distant foreground, cut off by picture edge at top.
#326 (p. 124)	<u>Le Christ au jardin des Oliviers</u>	1889	Brittany	Christ at lower left, beside him, to centre grows one tree, no foliage, with one branch twisted and bent over other, a bit like J.W.A. tree.
#329	<u>Jeanne d'Arc</u>	1889	Brittany	Tree directly behind and to the right of Joan. Top trunk divides into two branches, extending past picture edge.

VII: TREATMENT OF WATER

Wildenstein Cat. #	Title	Date	Place	Description
#205 (pp. 75-6)	<u>Rochers au bord de la mer</u>	1886	Brittany	Rocks to right, ocean to left, waves crashing to shore and onto rocks; delineated; tops of waves (foam) white, curved.
#286 (p. 106)	<u>La Vague</u>	1888	Brittany	View down: white caps of waves defined by dark outline, curved.
#336 (p. 129)	<u>Ondine</u> (I)	1889	Brittany	Figure falling into waves, waves very pronounced; white caps delineated.
#338 (p. 130)	<u>Ondine</u> (III)	[1889]	[Brittany]	Same as above (#336)
#362 (pp. 138-9)	<u>La Plage au Pouldu</u>	1889	Brittany	Beach in front, small rocks on left; caps of waves white again. Defined sharply, curled.

WRESTLING FIGURES

#273 (pp. 101-2)	<u>Enfants luttant</u> (I)	1888	Brittany	Two boys to left, take up prominent space; both are standing upright, arms around one another. Struggle not very rigorous or intense; rather playful.
#274 (p. 102)	<u>Enfants luttant</u> (II)	1888	Brittany	Same pose as above (#273)

VIII: DIAGONAL COMPOSITIONAL DEVICE: LINE FROM LOWER LEFT TO UPPER RIGHT

Wildenstein Cat. #	Title	Date	Place	Description
#180 (p. 79)	<u>L'Enfant a la mandoline</u>	1885	Paris et Copenhagen	Diagonal division from lower left to upper right separates water at top from water below in this fan-shaped work. Profile view of woman's head, looking to the left, at lower right
#215 (p. 80)	<u>La Baignade I</u>	1887	Brittany	Two figures with tree in middle; figure to right about to step into water difficult to decipher, but a sharp division, by way of diagonal, lower left to upper right in upper half of work, between land and rock - water area exists.
#216 (p. 80)	<u>La Baignade II</u>	1887	Martinique	Fan-shaped; in upper portion similar separation as above (#215), definitely between land and water.
#218 (p. 80)	<u>Bord de mer II</u>	1887	Martinique	Diagonal division between land, below, and water, above, again, from lower left to upper right with equal amount of space for each mass.
#227 (p. 84)	<u>Conversation tropique ou négresses causant</u>	1887	Martinique	Dividing line for water above, land below extends from upper left to higher upper right.
#251 (p. 93)	<u>La Ronde des petites bretonnes</u>	1888	Brittany	A diagonal line from lower right (beginning in far foreground) extends to upper right (middle-ground) defining flatter land mass from rest of land, houses, etc., in background.
#263 (pp. 97-8)	<u>La Rivière blanche</u>	[1888]	[Brittany]	Land line from left, mid-way up, extends diagonally to upper right, separating water at top from land, trees, bushes at bottom.
#273 (pp. 101-2)	<u>Enfants luttant (I)</u>	1888	Brittany	Sharp separation of land and water with diagonal from upper left (three quarters up) to upper right corner, land appears to be at a sharp decline to water, as evidenced by emerging figure to upper right, water seems like a waterfall
#274 (p. 102)	<u>Enfants luttant (II)</u>	1888	Brittany	Faint diagonal running from upper right (three quarters up) to higher upper left; but here all in front and behind line seems to be a land form.
#275 (p. 102)	<u>Jeunes baigneurs bretons</u>	1888	Brittany	Dividing line from left mid-way up (obscured by rock in front) to right edge a little higher than mid-way, separates grassy, flat area with two boys, from ravine with house below, in upper portion of painting.
#288 (pp. 106-7)	<u>Nature morte aux fruits</u>	1888	Brittany	Same diagonal, from left (two-thirds up) extends to the right, reaching upper edge of painting; here it is the table's edge creating the separation between girl's head (upper left) and fruit dishes below.
#302 (p. 112)	<u>Les Lavandières a Arles (I)</u>	1888	Arles	Diagonal running from lower right (half-way up) to upper left (two-thirds up) separating water below (where women are washing) from land above, land at bottom left too, separated from water above, by parallel diagonal line.
#317 (pp. 119-20)	<u>Meyer de Haan</u>	1889	Brittany	Same line as above, only sharper, from lower left (one third up) to upper right corner, de Haan's head to upper left, peering at table below.
#320 (p. 121)	<u>Nirvana. Portrait de Meyer de Haan</u>	1889	Brittany	Not a very distinct line from lower left (one-third up) to upper right (three-quarters up), with bush to left and girl's upper arm and elbow creating line. Here does not really function to separate anything.
#325 (p. 124)	<u>Autoportrait a la mandoline</u>	1889	Brittany	Crossing diagonals, land lines: one from lower left (two-thirds up) to right hand corner (echoing line of mandoline below); other line, from lower right (half-way up) to upper left edge, water in background.

IX: FIGURES: CLOSE-UP AND CUT-OFF

Wildenstein Cat. #	Title	Date	Place	Description
#80 (p. 33)	<u>La Neige rue Carcel II</u>	1883	Paris	Two figures lower left; left figure facing viewer, figure to right, back-view, cut-off partially below hips.
#81	<u>Clovis Gauguin</u>	[1883]	[Paris]	Child leaning head on table, asleep, at lower left corner, close view, upper body visible only; right arm bent at elbow, partially cut.
#180 (p. 67)	<u>L'Enfant a la mandoline</u>	1885	Brittany	Fan-shaped; profile of head of girl to right, looking left, side view, cut-off below shoulders.
#201 (p. 74)	<u>La Danse des quatre bretonnes</u>	1886	Brittany	Figures stand in immediate foreground, close to picture plane, cut-off at knees, figure to left partially cut-off by frame (not as much as <u>J.W.A.</u> figure in same place; note similarity in collars).
#207 (p. 76)	<u>Nature morte au profil de Laval</u>	1885	Brittany	Head in profile, peering in from right, at still-life to left. Only half of head visible, very similar to priest (in <u>J.W.A.</u>) regarding profile position and amount of head depicted.
#215 (p. 79)	<u>La Baignade</u>	1887	Brittany	Two women bathing, woman to left, lower corner, back-view, cut-off just below hips. (Other woman shown standing in middle about to step in water, left leg extended.)
#216 (p. 80)	<u>Baignade II</u>	1887	Brittany	Same motifs as above (#215) except in fan-shape; only one woman, central one, stepping into water, but only upper half showing.
#239 (p. 88)	<u>Auto-Portrait dit "Les Misérables"</u>	1888	Brittany	Gauguin's self-portrait on lower-left corner, head partially cut on left, right shoulder not visible, view from shoulder (left one) up. Bernard's portrait to upper right; upper and right sides clipped.
#241 (pp. 89-90)	<u>Baigneur (Le Capitaine Jacob)</u>	1888	Brittany	Back-view, head in profile to left; close-up view; upper back and shoulders only visible.
#252 (p. 94)	<u>Bretonnes et veau</u>	1888	Brittany	Two women stand one behind the other at lower left corner; cut-off from side and above knee.
#280	<u>Le Sabotier</u>	[1888]	[Brittany]	A shoe maker to the left foreground, facing front, with right arm and shoulder cut by left side of painting.
#288 (pp. 106-7)	<u>Nature morte aux fruits</u>	1888	Brittany	Head of girl at upper left edge, chin resting on fists, looking down to centre and right over table's edge at fruit. Top and left side of head cut by frame as well as rest of body below face by diagonal of table.
#296 (pp. 109 -110)	<u>Van Gogh peignant des Tourne-sols</u>	1888	Arles	Vincent pushed to right of canvas, partially cut by frame's right edge.

X: VIEW FROM ABOVE

Wildenstein Cat. #	Title	Date	Place	Description
#197 (pp. 72-3)	<u>L'Allée dans la forêt</u>	1886	Brittany	Viewer looks down at two figures to left, who in turn, are looking further down into ravine-wooded area to right.
#282 (p. 105)	<u>Au-dessus du gouffre</u>	1888	Brittany	Bird's eye view of rocks, sea, boat; cow in lower middle foreground - partly cut off at bottom; seen from above.
#286 (p. 106)	<u>La Vague</u>	1888	Brittany	Viewer looking down from high altitude onto rocks and water, with two miniscule figures, barely visible, upper right, emerging from water.
#213 (p. 78)	<u>Tambourin décoré de fruits</u>	[1886]	[Brittany]	Looking directly down on plate - tambourin with fruit.
#254 (pp. 94-5)	<u>La Femme a la cruche</u>	1888	Brittany	Viewer looks down only a bit onto woman at right carrying jug, and, with her, further down into ravine with houses.
#288 (pp. 106-7)	<u>Nature morte aux fruits</u>	1888	Brittany	Looking down onto table with bowls and dishes filled with fruits; viewing girl's head on upper left from high angle.
#289 (p. 107)	<u>Nature morte a la céramique</u>	1888	Brittany	Viewing dish and Gauguin's ceramic bowl filled with fruit on table, from diagonal angle, above.
#290 (p. 107)	<u>Nature morte fête Gloanec</u>	1888	Brittany	Front edge of table in foreground, with flowers, pears, fruit upon it, view diagonal, above.
#293 (p. 108)	<u>Les Trois petits chiens</u>	1888	Brittany	View from above onto table with three puppies eating from a bowl, three goblets arranged in a row, with assortment of fruits below. Round table edge visible bottom canvas edge.
#294 (p. 109)	<u>Le Petit chat aux trois pommes</u>	[1888]	[Brittany]	View from above onto three gigantic apples and one small cat.
#300 (p. 111)	<u>Dans le jardin de l'hôpital d'Arles</u>	1888	Arles	View from higher angle onto two women behind bush in foreground and road behind them.

XI: "PEERING OVER THE SHOULDER" VIEWS

Wildenstein Cat. #	Title	Date	Place	Description
#58 (pp. 25-6)	<u>Jardin quai de Ponthius, a Pontoise</u>	1881	Pontoise	Standing figure with umbrella to lower right, cut-off just umbrella showing and bit of left shoulder; back-view; umbrella cut-off by frame at right and bottom, viewer looks down on umbrella and over to scene of bushes and house in front of figure.
#100 (p. 40)	<u>Rouen, Les toits bleues</u>	1884	Rouen	Back-view of man on lower left; cut-off a bit by lower edge and left edge of canvas. Viewer peers over his shoulder at view of Rouen.
#127 (p. 48)	<u>Rue de Banlieue</u>	[1884]	[Rouen]	Street scene with woman at lower right corner, cut-off below waist; three-quarter view; we look down street with her.
#145 (p. 55)	<u>Au Jardin</u>	[1885]	[Copenhagen]	Two figures sitting on bench at lower left, back view; bench cut off woman to extreme left, right shoulder and head visible, little boy to her right. We view the garden.
#252 (p. 94)	<u>Bretonnes et veau</u>	1888	Brittany	Two figures standing in three-quarter view at lower left; viewer looks in same direction as they, to the right along pathway, towards houses, upper right.
#263 (pp. 97-8)	<u>La Rivière Blanche</u>	[1888]	[Brittany]	Boy sitting at lower right on hill, hands on knees, head three-quarter view looking down toward middle where two figures are preoccupied with a boat.



PLATE 1



PLATE 2

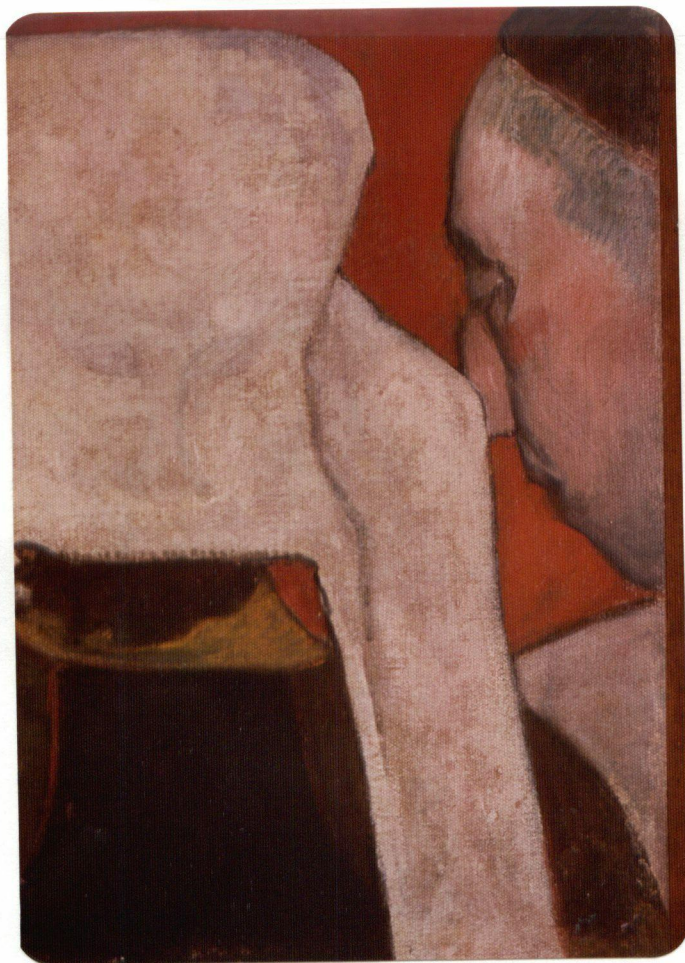


PLATE 3

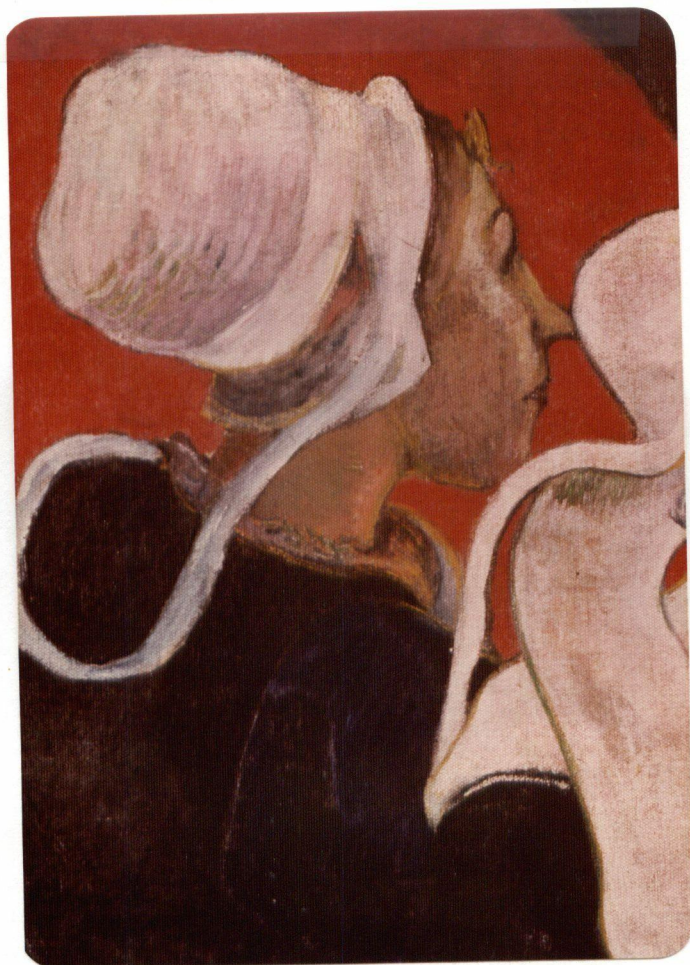


PLATE 4