

Radical Alienation – Radical Involvement: a Brief History of Subjectivity and Landscape up to Impressionism

Place and path: landscape in abstract space and corporeal experience

Mankind has been faced with the limits of development ever since the 1960s. The new century has brought increasingly acute awareness that the dominant lifestyle and development model of industrialized nations is no longer capable of surviving its spread over the entire planet. And this limitation affects the immediate, not the long-term future. The way of life of rich countries and its export to the rest of the world violates the ethical principle of acting so that everyone can act in the same way.

Our now questionable lifestyle involves us in a conflictual relationship with nature. On the one hand, nature is what we need and what we expect to consume free of charge: air to breathe, water to drink and landscape for relaxation or sport. We do not perceive nature intellectually but experience it physically. On the other, we know that everything is interconnected in the biosphere of our planet. In a state of dynamic equilibrium, the consumption of energy causes the melting of the polar icecaps and increases global warming, leading to the disappearance of the countryside such as we know it and to wars to control the supply of water. The sociologist Bruno Latour has demonstrated that the hole in the ozone layer is actually an object made up of natural and cultural elements that are inextricably interwoven.¹ Regarded as the biosphere of our planet and the habitat of mankind and its fellow creatures, nature has become something similarly ominous, encountered not in trees, meadows, rivers and sea shores, but as a rift through which modern mankind flees from everything over which it has no power, including its own animal nature.² In all this interconnectedness, where what was formed by itself and what was modified by man constantly influence one another, an idea of culture as the totality of man made environments as opposed to nature as the embodiment of everything which is not under our con-

trol becomes problematic. The biologist, philosopher, and historian of science Hans-Jörg Rheinberger never tires of reminding us of the instability of the boundary between culture and a nature constructed as its “other.”³ Nature, including our own, appears simultaneously as mere material, as the basis of all cultivation, civilization and sublimation, and as the other that is becoming too powerful, the embodiment of everything over which we have no power.

This holds also for landscape as a habitat that is at the same time inhabited, experienced and recognized as endangered. While this recognition is initially intellectual and moreover transmitted by the media rather than immediate sensation, it soon becomes a physical sensation. What is given as natural is made up of objects that are nothing other than points of intersection in a series of relations. For this reason, the knowledge of the relations transmitted through the media also affects the sense of nature. The immediacy of the feeling is redoubled by the second and illusory immediacy of the “immedium,” of the images that have long since forgotten their links with the medium and taken over both the Internet and our opinions.⁴

This feeling of alienation caused by the “immedium” influences our experience of nature. The body always has a place that it cannot leave and to which it is attached. At the same time, however, it also goes beyond itself. When the body has what it needs, the senses wander afar and the mind rises above all boundaries. When all is not well, we are instead forced back into the body with a bursting head. As shown by the philosopher and historian Michel Foucault, the body is always at the same time a place, the *topos* of all places and a non-place, utopia, which aspires to truth and the universe through experience and knowledge. In terms of general understanding, finally, the body imagines itself as ideally beautiful, not the animal body but the expression of humanity as such, the visible incarnation of humanism.⁵

It is in connection with such observations that the psychologist and sociologist Michel de Certeau developed the modern analysis of space, in which he distinguishes “place” (*lieu*) from “space” (*espace*) and contrasts a cartographically defined space made up of places (*lieux*) with the space born out of the paths (*parcours*) of everyday life. The initial idea was provided by a survey carried out in New York, where the participants described their homes almost exclusively in the terms of the paths used to go from the kitchen to the living room and so on. Only a few described their homes in terms of a map, indicating first the hall and then the rooms to the right and left of it, for example. Our sense of the space of our lives is formed on the basis of paths, which we then organize into a total abstract space (the epitome of “lieu”) only at a later stage. Once acquired, however, the concept of total space leads us to forget the space made up out of temporal experience. The experience of the (world-)place taking concrete shape in paths – the way to the refrigerator, the path across a meadow, the secret path to the loved one – remains in any case a primary experience, even if it is re-interpreted within the abstract space of the world and its various historical formulations. Like suppressed residues, the plural spaces developed temporally are juxtaposed subversively also with the conceptions of homogeneous space. The private paths through the home or the city, for example, stand in contrast to official urban planning and architecture as indelible, anarchic praxis that cannot be absorbed by the unique space of the planner.⁶

A similar polarity exists in the experience of landscape. The landscape is a fragment of geography, a portion of the global biosphere projected or imagined from a certain viewpoint. At the same time, it is an environment composed of everyday visits made out of curiosity, as well as from feelings such as fear or peril. These two poles are interwoven in Impressionism. On the one hand, the observer is radically alienated from the landscape as habitat by virtue of the fact that he sees it as a tourist rather than as someone integrated into its poverty or richness and engaged with it in the daily struggle for survival. In addition, the painter-tourist no longer uses earth pigments and other natural colours but industrial paints instead, thus acting to a certain degree, like a worker in a factory, alienated from the material of his labour (and hence also

from his product). On the other, he is part of nature as a body experiencing physical sensations. Like no previous century, the 19th understood that perception is not due to an abstract eye, a rational sense functioning in a purely intellectual way. The physiology of the nervous system and nascent empirical psychology were beginning to understand how much our sight is physically codified. Painters were starting to address the phenomena of physiological optics, like coloured after-images and complementary contrasts.⁷ They also understood that sight is not isolated from the other senses but invisibly connected to them by deep links; in short, that we see with our bodies integrated into the environment, and that we experience the landscape as a manifestation of the biosphere as a unified whole. Through this juxtaposition of radical alienation and radical involvement, Impressionism opened up a conflict that can only be surmounted by means of optical illusion. When the ever so distant and extraneous landscape felicitously enfolds the tourist in such a way that he experiences bodily feelings in total harmony with what surrounds him, he abandons himself to the *Stimmung* – atmosphere or mood – of the landscape. *Stimmung* is a still comparatively recent metaphor that originally simply indicated harmony between musical instruments but has come increasingly since the middle of the 18th century to acquire the sense of a “vibration” of the nerves in harmony with natural stimuli.⁸

The polarity between the alienation of the tourist and the integration of physical sensation still characterizes our relationship with nature. *Stimmung* has, however, become a stereotype. When the price of a piece of real estate varies in relation to the view of the surrounding landscape, the picture turns into the picturesque, fiction into reality. According to Tom Mitchell, the transformation of the symbolic into merchandise marks the end of landscape: “In its double role as commodity and potent cultural symbol, landscape is the object of fetishistic practices involving the limitless repetition of identical photographs taken on identical spots by tourists with interchangeable emotions.”⁹ Atmospheric landscapes still circulate only in the “immedium,” to the point where every sunset looks like no more than a transfer of stereotypes and *Stimmung* can now be experienced only in an ironic sense. As something picturesque, even the real landscape is

Fig. 1
Claude Lorrain,
*Ulysses Returns Chryseis
to her Father*, 1644
Musée du Louvre, Paris



now only a lingering echo of stereotyped images triggered by external stimuli in a consciousness codified by the mass media. It is the biosphere, the ecological niche and above all the danger that are real. The landscape, however, no longer exists despite having become omnipresent, like a cheap utopia. Multiplied in reproductions and calendars, Impressionism contributed greatly to the transformation of the landscape into a stereotype and a commodity. When in, and in front of the landscape, however, we still experience immediate physical sensations in the body as the inescapable *topos* of all places. And we know that our feeling is predetermined by stereotyped images of landscapes, even though the landscape is devastated and the biosphere in peril. All these images interwoven in the “immedium” do, however, resurface in physical feeling. More than ever before, we thus find ourselves between the conflicting polarities of radical alienation and radical involvement. The following pages will illustrate how this phenomenon took shape with Impressionism, at least in a number of paintings.

*The dominant gaze and abandonment in landscape:
from Arcadia to infinity*

The tourist's detached view of the landscape has a long history. The invention of landscape painting was in fact only made possible by a distancing that enabled the observer to view the landscape as habitat. The emotions are detached from the environment of sensation only when the link is no longer vital, when it is no longer a matter of life and death, or at least survival. It is only then that they can be projected as *Stimmung* into the space of experience and dissolved to form the

totality of a landscape, unified also in the aesthetic sense. Impressionism took a crucial step forward with respect to this transformation of the landscape into a mere habitat for the beholder. Since the invention of landscape painting as an artistic genre, the emotions have been transmitted above all through the fact that the viewer did not address the landscape directly but found substitute figures in the painting that are integrated into the landscape through their actions. The viewer perceived a correspondence between emotionality and musicality transmitted through the landscape. In Impressionism, he is able to take leave of those accessory figures appearing in the painting and orienting his perception of it at the same time, while still meeting his own kind in and in front of the landscape. This process can be reconstructed with great precision in the work of Monet. If this is to be fully appreciated, it will be necessary to give a brief outline of the history of landscape painting.

From the 16th century, landscapes either provided a setting for mythological and religious scenes or were populated by peasants, fishermen, shepherds and hunters. While these accessory figures served initially to give an idea of the size of valleys, mountains, trees, rocks and so on, they were also and above all required to adapt to the emotional resonance of the landscape. This proves particularly clear in the case of history painting. Let us take, as an example, a view of a sea-port painted by Claude Lorrain around 1640, when he switched from pastoral to heroic and sublime subjects (fig. 1).¹⁰ Lorrain always used these harbours, opening onto the sea or vast shorelines, as settings for great departures (e.g. the Queen of Sheba, Saint Paul, Saint Ursula, Ulysses and Europa) or arrivals (e.g. Aeneas in Carthage or on the Italian coast). Let us consider the painting with the Homeric episode of the return of Chryseis to her father Chryses, the priest of Apollo. Agamemnon had taken the Trojan prisoner as a concubine and refused to give her back to her father despite all his entreaties. For this reason Apollo inflicted a plague on the Greek camp. Rebuked by Achilles in a bitter dispute for his greed and arrogance, Agamemnon was forced to agree to give up his fair captive but in return forced his rival to yield to him possession of his own beloved Briseis. Lorrain's painting shows Ulysses taking Chryseis back to her father on the left in front of the temple of Apollo. The scene



is, however, dominated by the great ship in the middle ground with the setting sun behind it, an allusion to Agamemnon's words about launching a black ship on agreeing to release Chryseis.¹¹ In transparent darkness, the ship slips in front of the setting sun, symbolizing not only the sorrow of Agamemnon but also the state of deep melancholy into which Achilles fell after losing Briseis. It is not the figures but the dominant motif of the landscape that conveys the conflict between love and possession, between rivalry and resigned acceptance of fate. From the sea and harbour to the palaces and temple, everything acquires meaning in the telling of the story. The drama of the landscape is the drama of the figures.

A landscape of such lofty overtones is only possible with heroic subjects. If the scene features peasants, fishermen or hunters, the pitch is lowered. The figures then appear in landscapes bearing the imprint of the activities of their fellows from generation to generation. It should not be thought, however, that these landscapes are painted by peasants or fishermen or designed to embellish their homes. The first autonomous landscapes were produced not for the people inhabiting them but for those wishing to share their feelings, albeit only in the aesthetic sense, of course. A river scene with castle and bridge painted in Rome around 1600 by Annibale Carracci, probably for Cardinal Farnese, shows the Tiber with the Tiber Island and the bridge called the Pons Fabricius (fig. 2).¹² The architectural motifs were certainly well known to the person who commissioned the work and his acquaintances. Interest attaches here not so much to the scene, produced as decoration for the Palazzo Farnese and comparatively low-key with respect to the dominant standards, but to the three groups of accessory figures. In the centre are three fishermen crossing the river in a boat, one rowing vigorously, one pointing the way and the third in the middle drinking from a

flask. On the right, two boatmen are ferrying passengers sheltered beneath a canopy. On the left, a figure, perhaps a soldier, is playing the lute in the company of an attractively dressed shepherdess. Alongside the accessory figures that inhabit the scene quite unconsciously, the painter introduces others that recognize their melody as figures of reflection. One group experiences feelings to which the others are impervious.

Carracci's painting refers to a primal scene of landscape painting, namely the *Pastoral Concert* painted by Giorgione or Titian in the year 1510 (fig. 3). This shows a dark and elegantly dressed figure playing the lute and looking at a simple shepherd sitting beside him with his face in shadow, who returns the gaze with a direct and in no way melancholy expression. It is not the shepherd that holds the flute – an instrument of rustic simplicity, unlike the lute – but a naked nymph sitting in front of him. She may represent a dream shared by the two very different men, like the other nymph depicted in the act of drawing water from a fountain. Hans Belting suggests a connection between this painting and *Arcadia*, an idyll composed in a mixture of prose and verse by the Neapolitan Jacopo Sannazaro around 1480 but printed in Venice no earlier than 1504. Referring to the models of antiquity, the poet presents Arcadia as the land of nostalgia felt by sophisticated city dwellers for a world of shepherds naturally devoted to music and living in harmony with nature. The shepherd may represent the Arcadian hero Ergasto, whose ultimately rewarded love for a nymph is contrasted by Sannazaro with the boundless nos-



Fig. 2
Annibale Carracci,
View of the Tiber with Bridge,
ca. 1593
Staatliche Museen,
Gemäldegalerie, Berlin

Fig. 3
Giorgione or Titian,
Pastoral Concert, ca. 1510
Musée du Louvre, Paris

talgia of the first-person narrator Sincero. Actius Sincerus was the name that Sannazaro took as a member of the Accademia Pontana in Naples. As Sincero, he went to Arcadia in search of comfort for an unrequited love only to return home sadder than before.¹³ In Giorgione's painting, the handsome but melancholy youth and his nostalgia are contrasted with the shepherd, who is one with the landscape. While the former devotes himself to aesthetically sophisticated music, the actions of the shepherd seem to flow, like the music of Pan, from the age of gold, when men could still communicate with the gods and animals.¹⁴ The nymphs no longer inhabit the landscape but are rather embodiments of dreams. Perhaps they are wholly present only for the shepherd and mere illusions for the decadent youth. Giorgione and his circle may have experienced similar feelings, especially after the wars against the League of Cambrai that resulted in Venice losing the mainland territory conquered just a century before. The seafaring people had then idealized that conquest with bucolic overtones. The transition from urban mercantile capitalism to a new form of feudal landowning found a humanistic interpretation.¹⁵ One of the first landscape paintings is therefore marked by the form of estrangement that always accompanies nostalgia for a distant homeland. The landscape represents the unattainable desire to return to the pure waters of the original spring, where innocent mankind was still one with nature.

The Dutch landscapes of the 17th century strike a different chord. The burghers of the Hague, Delft, Leiden and Amsterdam felt closer to the peasants than the Italian aristocrats of the Renaissance. They certainly identified more with paintings that represented local landscapes. In the Netherlands, when a traveller, rider or wayfarer appeared in the ancestral landscape, the city dwellers regarded him with a natural form of empathy. The Calvinist burghers still shared feelings even of peasants and fishermen. Was it not perhaps necessary to enjoy wealth and deny it at the same time, to exhibit it but show that one was not a slave to it, that it was possessed only as the sign of a life of industrious virtue blessed by God?¹⁶ Like the other middle-class trades, landscape painting had its specialists. Confining ourselves to painters specializing in local subjects and excluding Italian scenes or faraway mountains, we have Salomon van Ruysdael

(river scenes), Esaias van de Velde and Hercules Seghers (mountains), Pieter de Molijn and Jan van Goyen (coasts and dunes), Philips Koninck (panoramic views of flat landscapes), Jacob van Ruisdael and Jan van Kessel (windmills).¹⁷ In Van Goyen's paintings and the views of Haarlem by Jacob van Ruisdael, the broad, flat landscape comes to resemble geography and the map, its paramount form of expression. As Svetlana Alpers has shown, where the activities of land surveyor do not come into conflict with the boundaries of feudal domains but proceed side by side with capitalist agriculture, the techniques of perspective projection and topographical surveying overflow into painting.¹⁸ As a result, the accessory figures also perform a different function with respect to Italian paintings. Carel van Mander distinguishes the figures of Italian pastoral idylls from the peasants depicted in his native land.¹⁹ There is an element of identification here, in which connection it is hardly surprising that in some landscapes, such as those of Ruisdael, the accessory figures can even be absent, so that the viewer is directly confronted with the natural scene, above all stormy atmospheres and cloudy skies. In any case, beyond this sense of identification, the city-dwelling burghers unquestionably maintained a certain distance with respect to peasants, fishermen and wayfarers, just as they contemplated the forces of nature from an aesthetic distance.

If the epic-heroic narrative style of the landscapes of Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorrain was still a rhetorical form,²⁰ the 18th-century discourse on the sublime introduced a new element into the relationship between civilized mankind and nature that is also expressed in landscape. Through self-observation, Edmund Burke drew a distinction between the idea of the beautiful, in which we see nature as pleasant, and the idea of the sublime, in which nature overwhelms us with its majesty and its enormous power.²¹ As a result, late 18th-century painting discovered the power of nature in the eruptions of Vesuvius and the awesome Swiss mountains. The metaphor of *Stimmung* bridges the gap between the power of nature and the impression it makes on mankind. Internal nature, and above all, the nervous energy then becoming recognized as a variant of the recently discovered phenomenon of electricity, "vibrates" in response to the energies that dominate external nature. In the beau-

tiful we experience the world in harmony with itself and with ourselves; in the sublime, incomparable power and majesty. Immanuel Kant replaced *Stimmung* with a philosophy of “as if.” Beyond the abyss separating consciousness from a nature that persists “in itself,” in its self-sufficiency, the beautiful is defined as what at least appears to be such, as if nature itself were created in accordance with the laws of our thought. It is only in our representation that the external world triggers a perception in which we experience it either – in the beautiful – as if it coincided entirely with the constitution of our intellect or – in the sublime – as if we were nothing in comparison with the power of nature. The intellect then believes itself capable also of perceiving what is invisible, like the infinite, an abstract idea that cannot be seen. In both the beautiful and the sublime, however, the inner world and the outer world do not unite. It is rather that the cognitive faculty ultimately encounters itself on beholding nature and glimpses in this – as a promise or perhaps a hope – the possibility of correspondence with what presents itself as the world beyond thought.²² Friedrich Schiller considered the sublime also in the practical realm: both in real action, which is subject to ethical appraisal, and in what is represented by a work of art such as a tragedy, which is meant not only to be evaluated ethically but also contemplated artistically.²³ As a force superior to any rational aim, sacrifice thus appears just as sublime as the infinite or the incommensurably powerful.

The beautiful, conceived by philosophers from Kant to Hegel as the aspect of the ideal perceptible through the senses, and the sublime, in all its manifestations, both accentuate the distance between the observer and nature. The contemplation of nature as landscape constitutes the first step towards rapture, through which cognitive experience becomes possible. Jacob Burckhardt recognized the significance of the letter that Petrarch wrote to Dionigi of Borgo San Sepolcro on 26 April 1336 describing an ascent of Mont Ventoux. In this perhaps invented and allegorical episode, the poet recalls Saint Augustine’s *Confessions* in seeking closeness to God in renouncing sensuality, the exact opposite of enjoyment of nature in which the observer is lost in the spectacle he sees from the mountain peaks. On the summit, the eye looks down towards Marseilles and the faraway shores of the Côte

d’Azur: landscape as the revelation of vastness forms first in the subjective consciousness. Since its discovery in Western art, landscape has not been an empty spectacle in which, as Augustine never tired of stressing, the subject ultimately finds only self-enjoyment. On the contrary, it invites reflection on the position of the observing subject. As Joachim Ritter put it, “Nature as landscape is the fruit and product of the theoretical spirit. Landscape therefore becomes nature only for those who ‘come out of themselves’ (*transcensus*) in order to participate ‘outside’ in nature and in the ‘whole’ that is present in nature and as nature, in contemplation that is free enjoyment.”²⁴ In the experience of *Stimmung*, distance is presupposed as the divide beyond which the only conceivable thing is being in harmony with – or overwhelmed by – the power of nature. The aesthetic boundary takes on a fundamental character, in that attempts to cross it only strengthen it.²⁵ In the sublime, as introduced by Kant into the discourse, the rapture of the person contemplating nature is instead doubled, with the fundamental, theoretical abstract principle appearing alongside the concretely empirical aspect. In order to recognize a landscape as sublime, the observer must on the one hand be enraptured on beholding the sources of danger. We can experience the thrill generated by the immensity of nature only when we are not at the mercy of its immeasurable power. The climber scaling a face of sheer rock finds as little sublimity in this as a sailor in a stormy sea. Both can, however, speak of the sublime in the rapture of contemplation. On the other, the observer recognizes in the sublime the paradox of the power and the paucity of his reason. With emotional self-empowerment, he realizes that his mind allows him to contemplate the infinite, that it can detach itself from the stronghold of the body to scale the highest peaks. At the same time, he realizes that in the shell of his body and the limitedness of his sensory perception, he is powerless against the universe.

Corresponding to the rapture of the subject who contemplates nature and its constantly renewed presentation of the sublime is another and more concrete form of distance, namely scientific vision. If phenomena of the landscape like geology and meteorology are investigated scientifically, they become objects of experimental observation. The scientific approach

Fig. 4
Caspar David Friedrich,
The Monk by the Sea, 1808
Staatliche Museen
Preußischer Kulturbesitz,
Nationalgalerie, Berlin



does not break the spell of emotive identification with landscape but returns it to its proper sphere of aesthetic vision, which in turn becomes an object of scientific observation, as in the psychological introspection of English empiricism and the later physiology of the sensory organs born out of it.²⁶ Despite objective observation, clouds and mountains thus remain sources of strong emotions and places of dreams, which are in turn the object of psychological study. Meteorological and geological observations became increasingly precise and sophisticated in the late 18th and early 19th century, and combined with the experience of the sublime in the work of Caspar David Friedrich. While undertaking precise observation of cloud formations and mist in the various hours of the day and night, Friedrich also carried out a painstaking examination of the physiological phenomena of the vision of colours, as did Goethe in his *Theory of Colours* (1810). In *The Monk by the Sea*, there is no contradiction between all this and the overwhelming experience of a gleaming dune that stretches away into darkness and nothingness (fig. 4).²⁷ As though to underscore the short distance between the sublime and the ridiculous, a flock of screaming seagulls mock the figure rapt in deep contemplation.

The Enlightenment saw a marked return of the classical motif of nostalgia for a “primitive” natural state in the experience of the landscape connected with an aversion for urban civilization as a place of alienation from oneself and nature. Jean-Jacques Rousseau combined the two elements. He presented a negative answer to the question of whether the development of science and the arts had been morally beneficial, set as the subject for an essay prize by the Dijon Academy in 1750, and was the first to see luxury, sophisticated civilization and life based on the division of

labour as indissolubly bound up with the decay of human nature and morality. In the words of Oskar Bätschmann, nature was for Rousseau the “lost original good”.²⁸ In his novel *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse*, published in 1761, the hero Saint-Preux finds access to nature as seen by his beloved Julie d’Etanges in the form of a garden. In the harmony between wild nature and cultivated landscape, Julie’s idyll anticipates a utopian society of harmony between mankind and nature. Glimpses of the lost ideal already emerge in the description of the Swiss Alps inhabited by simple peasants. Idyllic nostalgia for a utopian state of nature combining primitiveness and a revolutionary future already appeared problematic to his contemporaries. It was in 1767 that Rousseau’s great antagonist Diderot first poured scorn on the hanging of landscape paintings in the sitting rooms of city dwellers to compensate for the loss of nature.²⁸

The painters who withdrew in the 1830s to the village of Barbizon near Fontainebleau, where the railway arrived shortly afterwards, painted the simple life of the peasants and the apparently intact forest of Fontainebleau with its renowned sculpture-like rock formations, age-old trees and solitary ponds.²⁹ Taking the Dutch landscape painting of the 17th century as their point of reference, the painters of the Barbizon school also looked in the local landscape for ways to express patriotic feelings, not least in order to legitimize their attack on the academic canon of idealizing classicism.³⁰ The Barbizon landscapes are, however, characterized by a wholly modern tension derived from Rousseau between the lost state of nature and urban alienation, between nostalgia and anxiety.³¹ Primitivist visions of the struggles of archaic peasants against the forces of nature are accompanied by sublime natural phenomena dwarfing the solitary observer. Towering over a woman gathering firewood in the painting as over the painter and the viewer are smooth rocks like gigantic pebbles, the dolmen-like remains of ancient mountains and immemorial oak trees. Primal culture and the sublime are allegorically linked by the bonds of isolation from the mandatory enthusiasm and progress of the urban-bourgeois world. Rocks and trees join in circular time. The hours and seasons meld with the cycles of birth, maternity, work and death. The seeds of what is to come are contained in every phase that passes, and aeons of geological time



Claude Monet between 1865 and 1867 at Sainte-Adresse in the suburban area north of Le Havre (figg. 5-9). The paintings of the young artist, whose seascapes had already been drawn attention to by critics as admittedly imperfect but sincere and unsophisticated, mark the birth of Impressionist landscape painting.³³ The growth of detachment from the landscape is easy to observe in the accessory figures depicted in these views of the fishing village, then undergoing transformation into a fashionable seaside resort. While the previously predominant figures of the fishermen become marginal, picturesque elements, the palette acquires the Impressionistic lightness and transforms the canvas into a spectacle of light. An early painting shows a turquoise sea with the black sail of a fishing boat coming towards the viewer (fig. 5). The crests of the waves echo the rhythm of the clouds swollen with rain advancing from the horizon towards the steep and rocky coast. Wheel ruts lead into the depths of the painting as two fishermen in a one-horse carriage follow the line of the surf on the left and a bow-legged man walks with a stick, perhaps towards the pair of white horses standing in the centre of the painting. Nature thrusts itself forward, as the vistas duplicate the movement of the fishermen in the depth of the painting. In a composition of two years later, Monet groups the fishermen, including a sort of “holy family” with a small child, between dark, heavy boats beneath a overcast sky (fig. 6).³⁴ In a later painting, the fishermen are joined by two holidaymakers sitting on the beach and scanning the horizon with binoculars (fig. 7). The new arrivals are certainly staying in the multi-storey hotel appearing on the left side of the painting. The composition of the painting has also undergone a change in terms of its “scopic regime.” The grey sky is suffused with light and echoes the white gleam of the beach, contrapuntally framing the blue expanse of water and a sea-blue boat. The threatening atmosphere that rose from the depth of the painting or weighed down the grey tonalities has disappeared. In another painting, the black sails of fishing boats give way to the white sails of a regatta (fig. 8). Tourists with straw hats and parasols are gathered on the beach. The rhythm of the sails is picked up by a series of fluffy clouds scudding across the painting and the pattern of small green waves on the

Fig. 5
Claude Monet,
Pointe de la Hève at Low Tide, 1865
Kimbell Art Museum,
Fort Worth

extend over everything. At the same time, the subject's brushstroke comes to form part of the landscape. The broad outlines of roads, edges of forests, valleys and hills now flow agitatedly into one another until they find peace in the horizon, as in the work of Charles-François Daubigny. Vigorous strokes interweave to form thick woodland pierced by the calm of a pond or a patch of sky, above all in the late work of Théodore Rousseau.³² It is, however, always a modern, abstract handling of the surface that filters the fantasies of a primitive *France profonde* where modernity has not yet burst in to disrupt the eternal cycle of time. While little notice is taken of peasants, who seldom appear as accessory figures in this landscape, the painters invite the viewer to identify and feel solidarity with them still more insistently than their Dutch colleagues. The subject romantically lost in society finds himself again only far away from the throbbing heart of nascent capitalism, only in out-of-the-way corners unconnected with the networks of roads, canals and railways, whose melancholy beauty was captured by Gérard de Nerval. The countryside is not simply presented as the area outside the city, as in 17th-century Dutch landscape painting, but contrasted rather with Paris, the 19th century's place of perdition—Babylon. The temporal and spatial dimension of the French landscapes painted between the 1830s and '60s takes up a subversive position with respect to the world of railways and progress, according to the insight developed by Michel de Certeau. It opposes the space of knowledge structured by maps and modern means of transport.

The tourist's gaze and the physiology of vision

Integration and alienation with respect to the landscape can be seen in a series of works painted by

Fig. 6
Claude Monet,
Fishing Boats on the Beach,
1867
National Gallery of Art,
Washington, D.C.



Fig. 7
Claude Monet,
The Beach at Sainte-Adresse,
1867
The Art Institute of Chicago



Fig. 8
Claude Monet,
Regatta at Sainte-Adresse, 1867
The Metropolitan Museum
of Art, New York



blue of the sea. The fishermen in their small blue boat have become props for the attractive rhythm of charming colours and holidaymaking motifs crowding the surface.

Monet then tried to confront city dwellers directly with a natural scenario traversed by modern means of transport (fig. 9). A garden terrace opens up like a sitting room on the English Channel at the entrance of the harbour of Le Havre. The horizon is lined with

ships, large and small sailing vessels and steamboats, including the ferry for England with its red stripes, familiar to all contemporary observers. The deep blue of the sky and the bright colours fluttering against it, the dark glints of the sea and finally the garden flooded with light that stands out between the heavy colours and is further illuminated by the white accents of a gravel path, the ladies' dresses and a parasol: all these elements are laid out in bands parallel to the plane of the painting. The garden is a stage and, as Robert L. Herbert observes, "predicts the boulevard that later supplanted the old shoreline."³⁵ Four chairs are arranged in a semicircle around a parterre. The eye follows the perspective of the edges of the path into depth and reads all the bands making up the painting line by line in the same direction as the wind. The alignment collapses on the surface and no atmosphere is created in the light of late summer steeped in colour. The world of these townsfolk – who are incidentally members of the artist's family: his father with Madame Lecadre and his cousins behind them – shines richly upon them.³⁶ Unable to draw the formal language of a painting thus conceived from the Western tradition, Monet adopted the Japanese models that had reached Paris a few years earlier,³⁷ and especially a woodcut by Hokusai (fig. 10) showing a heterogeneous group of men and women looking at an inlet with Mount Fuji rising above it. The figures are on a wooden platform that, like the garden in Sainte-Adresse, prepares the construction of the image in bands like a stage parallel to the plane. Monet found no expressive formula suitable for the modern contemplation of nature by city dwellers entranced by the spectacle in the western tradition and therefore turned to the Far East. It was only a wholly exotic method that enabled him to portray the ecstatic relationship with nature of the new bourgeoisie, to which he himself belonged. It was by appropriating the exotic that the telescopically enhanced vision of the European bourgeoisie found itself: a paradox of the imperialistic landscape illustrated by Tom Mitchell.³⁸

The paintings of Sainte-Adresse unquestionably constitute a peak in the process of alienation from the landscape as regards both tourists, present from now on in all the scenarios reached by modern means of transport, and the viewer, who no longer em-



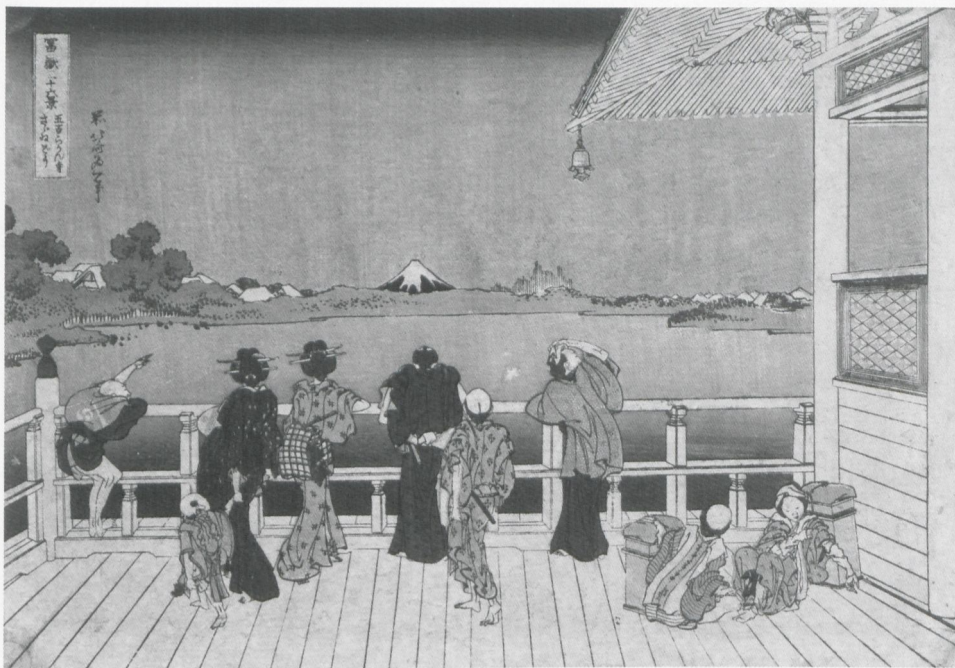
Fig. 9
Claude Monet,
Terrace at Sainte-Adresse,
1867
The Metropolitan Museum
of Art, New York

Fig. 10
Katsushika Hokusai,
Mount Fuji from the Turban-Shell Hall of the Five-Hundred-Rakan Temple, Edo,
from *36 Views of Mount Fuji*,
1829-33, Musée Guimet –
Musée national des Arts
asiatiques, Paris

pathizes with the accessory figures in the landscape. This marks the end of the logical framework in which the painted figures inhabit the landscape as their habitat quite *unconsciously*, their participant perception being reflected only in the *consciousness* of the viewer. The unity between landscape and accessory figures, between nature and observer, has dissolved in the new parataxis of colours and figures. And *Stimmung* is expelled from the landscape along with it.

The painter's relationship with his materials also corresponds to this ecstatic rapture. As frequently observed, Impressionism used tubes of paint, industrially ground pigments already mixed with oil and ready for use. Companies such as Lefranc & Cie and Bourgeois aîné began to produce these paints around 1850, but the use of industrial pigments came to prevail gradually only in the last third of the century. Products of this type obviously distance the painter from the material of his activity in the same way as, according to Marx, the worker is alienated from the product of his

work in industrial production based on the division of labour. This vision does not, however, correspond to the actual reality. The painters tried to immerse themselves in nature also through their colours. Anthea Callen has shown that the Impressionists composed their highly personal palettes with paints that they either ground themselves or bought from small retailers like "Père" Julien Tanguy. For the Impressionists, the industrially ground pigments were too fine and hence inexpressive. They used pigments with different degrees of coarseness in order to vary the consistency and texture of the material, and different types of oil – linseed, walnut and, above all, poppy – as a binder. This enabled them to vary the drying times of the different layers and above all the viscosity of the paints. As Callen demonstrates, the painters with an academic background adopted industrial paints far more quickly than the Naturalists and the Impressionists. The latter attached greater importance to material and to the technical side of pictorial procedures, which was no longer hidden. As Matthias Krüger has



shown, critics understood that the artists accepted the physical side both of nature and of the materials of painting. Painters were seen as strong characters and closer to nature by virtue of their temperament.³⁹

In any case, industrial products were also taken up by the Impressionists. Particularly bright chemical pigments became available in the 1840s and tubes of paint were also widely used. As customers of small retailers – the old grocery and hardware stores or travelling salesmen like Tanguy – the Impressionists were involved in a system of division of labour that had existed since the 18th century.⁴⁰ To summarize, we can say that the Impressionists did not simply stick to traditional procedures but reacted intelligently to the industrialization of paint production and were able to create highly personal palettes from economical and readily available products. The once dominant hues of earth pigments gave way to a range or “tonal scale” of colours corresponding to the colour spectrum.⁴¹ Paint was transformed from clay to an element of an abstract system; it was “grammaticalized.” With the abandonment of the earth pigments, which create a direct link with the landscape through their argillaceous nature, the “grammaticalization” of colour became a further element of distance from the physicality of the landscape.

The greater the subject’s detachment from integration in the landscape, the more it becomes available to him. This availability involves, however, a distance or alien-

ation that gradually becomes more radical. All contemplation of nature as landscape essentially presupposes a reflected vision in which what is seen manifests itself first of all as aesthetic unity. The viewer is above nature and yet feels himself to be one with the accessory figures within it. Landscape painting has been defined by this relationship between *lieu* and *parcours* since the Dutch art of the 17th century. In the sublime landscape from the late Enlightenment on, the dialectic of proximity and distance not only forms part of the landscape but also becomes a further structuring vision of the power of nature. It is precisely those not directly affected by the forces represented that feel a thrill on beholding the painting. The distance from a danger that is in any case indirectly experienced is the first element of the reflection. The second is the sublimation of the body that perceives. In nature, while vision is linked to physicality, perception soars into the infinite: departing from the concrete substance of integration in contemplation is a cosmic space that is superior to everything and encompasses everything at the same time and that, as known, is itself included in the contemplation.

The tourist ultimately loses his place in nature completely, being able to travel anywhere. He may compensate his lack of a relationship with the landscape as environment through idealizing it as patriotic landscape, reconstructing his relationship with the landscape through the fiction of the epic community of the nation. In the end, however, the railway has deprived him of his integration. It is now possible for his vision of the landscape of his country to move on to the exotic, to appropriate other countries both aesthetically and practically. Imperial distance is the other face of local proximity.

The gaze of the tourist that paints and the tourist that observes is instead radically integrated in nature at another level. The newborn physiology of the sense organs had taught him that sight is located in the body. A philosophy of vision as the rational sense was substituted in the 19th century by a physiology that not only explained the structure of the retina but also studied the phenomena of the vision of complementary colours and after-images. Unitary Euclidean space governed by perspective was relativized in a projection that makes possible spatial exploration of the object seen by means of binocular vision and saccadic movements.⁴²

The emotions aroused by landscape were also subjected to psycho-physiological investigation. What was once melancholy was interpreted as a lowering of physical tone in the “inhibitory” habitus. Joy was seen as an increase in the body’s readiness for action, the “dynamogenic” perception of the body understood as a thermodynamic machine.⁴³ The “perspectivity” of the body was to be subjected to in-depth theoretical ex-

amination by philosophers like Henri Bergson and Claude Merleau-Ponty. In principle, however, seeing with the body is a discovery of the 19th century. In this sense, the perception of the Impressionists is relativized in its physical constitution. The “corners of nature” in Zola’s aesthetic of temperament are at the same time maladies of perceptual subjectivity and its expression, both radical alienation and radical involvement.

¹ Bruno Latour, *Nous n’avons jamais été modernes. Essai d’anthropologie symétrique* (Paris: La Découverte, 1991); German edition: *Wir sind nie modern gewesen. Versuch einer symmetrischen Anthropologie* (Frankfurt on Main: Suhrkamp, 2008, pp. 70-76). See also Michel Serres, *Le contrat naturel* (Paris: Bourin, 1990; *Der Naturvertrag*, Frankfurt on Main: Suhrkamp 1994, esp. pp. 49-87); *Éclaircissements*, (Paris: Bourin, 1992; *Aufklärungen. Fünf Gespräche mit Bruno Latour*, Berlin: Merve, 2008, e.g. pp. 144-155).

² On the contrast between connection with place and abstraction in reflection on landscape, see Michel Serres, *Les cinq sens. Philosophie des corps mêlés* (Paris: Grasset et Fasquelle, 1985); German edition: *Die fünf Sinne. Eine Philosophie der Gemenge und Gemische* (Frankfurt on Main: Suhrkamp, 1998), pp. 317-343 [“Landschaft (lokal)”. On natural corporeity, see Jacques Derrida, *L’animal que donc je suis* (Paris: Galilée, 2006).

³ Hans-Jörg Rheinberger, *Iterationen* (Berlin: Merve, 2005), esp. ch. 2, “Natur, NATUR”, pp. 30-51.

⁴ The concept of the “immedi-um” is emphasized with reference to Jacques Derrida and Gilles Deleuze by Régis Michel, whom I thank for stimulating discussions. See for example Régis Michel, *Strategies of the New Image: Medium and Immedi-um*, pa-

per delivered at the XXVIII Deutschen Kunsthistorikertag, 16-20 April 2005. Various debates have since been launched on this subject on the Internet.

⁵ Michel Foucault, *Les hétérotopies. Le corps utopique*.

⁶ Michel de Certeau, *L’invention du quotidien*, vol. 1, *Arts de faire*, (Paris: Gallimard, [1980, in: *Arts de faire*] 1990), esp. pp. 139-191, “Pratiques de l’espace.” See also: Jeremy Ahearne, *Michel de Certeau. Interpretation and its Other* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 1995); François Dosse, *Michel de Certeau. Le marcheur blessé* (Paris: La Découverte, 2002); Kirsten Wagner, “Wanderung” und “Karte” als epistemologische Begriffe der Aneignung und Repräsentation von Räumen’, in Hartmut Böhme (ed.), *Topographien der Literatur* (Stuttgart and Weimar, Metzler, 2005), pp. 177-206. On De Certeau and urban planning, see Francesco Careri, *Walkscapes. Walking as an aesthetic practice* (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 2002). An exemplary analysis of filmic space is to be found in Giuliana Bruno, *Streetwalking on a ruined map: cultural theory and the city films of Elvira Notari* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

⁷ Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer. On vision and modernity in the nineteenth century* (Cambridge, MA, and London, MIT Press, 1990); Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception. Attention, spectacle, and modern*

culture (Cambridge, MA, and London: MIT Press, 1999); Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes. The denigration of vision in twentieth-century French thought* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: California University Press, 1993), esp. chap. 3: “The crisis of the ancient scopic regime: from the Impressionists to Bergson,” pp. 149-210.

⁸ Hans-Georg von Arburg is the director of a nationally funded Swiss research project on *Stimmung* (*Stimmung. Geschichte und Kritik ästhetischer Empfindung zwischen Literatur, Kunst und Musik in der Moderne*). This extremely interesting work on a historically effective paradigm of metaphorology is personally known to me through conversations. A particularly convincing discussion of *Stimmung* in terms of landscape is provided by Alois Riegl: ‘Die Stimmung als Inhalt der modernen Kunst,’ in *Graphische Künste*, XII, 1899, p. 47 ff; *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Augsburg-Vienna: Benno Filser, 1929), pp. 28-39.

⁹ W. J. T. Mitchell, ‘Imperial Landscape,’ in Mitchell (ed.), *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 5-34, cit. p. 5.

¹⁰ Helen Langdon, *Claude Lorrain* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1989), pp. 92-97.

¹¹ Homer, *Iliad*, book I, 141-143, cit. in Helen Diane Russel, *Claude Lorrain, 1600-1682*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., October 1982

– January 1983 (New York: Braziller, 1982), pp. 148-149. For the associated drawing in the *Liber veritatis*, see Marcel Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain. The Drawings. Catalog* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), vol. I, cat. no. 554, pp. 223-224.

¹² Norbert Schneider, *Geschichte der Landschaftsmalerei vom Spätmittelalter bis zur Romantik*, (Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft/PrimusVerlag, 1999), p. 117; Donald Posner, *Annibale Carracci. A study in the reform of Italian painting around 1590*, 2 vols. (London: 1971); A. W. A. Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna. Visible reality in art after the council of Trent*, (Maarssen: Gary Schwartz, 1974), vol. I, pp. 35-38.

¹³ G. Velli, *Tra lettura e creazione* (Padua: 1983), pp. 1-56 (‘Sannazaro e le partheniae myricae: forma e significato dell’Arcadia’); Winfried Wehle, ‘Diaphora – Barock: eine Reflexionsfigur von Renaissance. Wandlungen Arkadiens bei Sannazaro, Tasso und Marino,’ in Küpper & Wolfzettel (eds.), *Diskurse des Barock* (Munich: Fink, 2000), pp. 95-145; Hans Belting, ‘Esilio in Arcadia: una nuova lettura della Tempesta di Giorgione,’ in Gennaro Toscano and Francesco Vaccanover (eds.), *Da Bellini a Veronese. Temi di arte veneta* (Venice: Istituto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2004), pp. 369-393. A classic study on Arcadia as a lost realm of art is to be found in

Wolfgang Iser, *Das Fiktive und das Imaginäre. Perspektiven literarischer Anthropologie* (Frankfurt on Main: Suhrkamp, 1991), part II, *Renaissancebukolik als Paradigma literarischer Fiktionalität*, pp. 60-157.

¹⁴ Gabriele Frings, *Giorgiones Ländliches Konzert: Darstellung der Musik als künstlerisches Programm in der venezianischen Malerei der Renaissance* (Berlin: Mann, 1999).

¹⁵ Bernhard Rupprecht, 'Villa: zur Geschichte eines Ideals,' in *Probleme der Kunstwissenschaft*, 2, 1966, pp. 210-250; James Ackerman, 'La villa: forma e ideologia,' in Guido Beltrami and Howard Burns (eds.), *Andrea Palladio e la villa veneta da Petrarca a Carlo Scarpa* (Venice: Marsilio, 2005), pp. 2-11.

¹⁶ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (London: Collins 1987).

¹⁷ Schneider 1999, pp. 137-155.

¹⁸ Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing. Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 119-168 ("The Mapping Impulse in Dutch Art").

¹⁹ Sabine Strahl-Grosse, *Staffage. Begriffsgeschichte und Erscheinungsform*, (Munich: tuduv-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1991), pp. 118-148.

²⁰ The question of how far the visual rhetoric of the 17th century corresponds to the sublime described by Pseudo-Longinus as a rhetorical form is examined in Reinhard Brandt (ed.), *Pseudo-Longinos, Vom Erhabenen* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgemeinschaft, 1966); English translation by James A. Arieti and John M. Crossett, *Longinus, On the Sublime* (Lewiston/NY: Mellen, 1985).

²¹ Edmund Burke, *A philosophical inquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful*, 1756.

²² Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgement*, pp. 23-29 ("Observations on the beautiful and the sublime"). Cf. Brigit Recki, 'Kein Gefühl fürs Erhabene. Kritische Anmerkungen zu einer Kantischen Metapher bei J. F. Lyotard,' in *Spuren*, 30/31 (1989), pp. 36-

39; Christine Pries (ed.), *Das Erhabene. Zwischen Grenzerfahrung und Größenwahn* (Weheim: VCH-Acta Humaniora, 1989); Christine Pries, *Übergänge ohne Brücken. Kants Erhabenes zwischen Kritik und Metaphysik* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1995).

²³ Friedrich Schiller, *Über das Schöne und die Kunst* (Munich 1984), pp. 93-115 ("Über das Erhabene").

²⁴ Joachim Ritter, *Landschaft. Zur Funktion des Ästhetischen in der modernen Gesellschaft* (Münster: Aschendorf, 1978), pp. 7-9, cit. p. 13. Cf. also Karlheinz Stierle, 'Paesaggi poetici del Petrarca,' in Renzo Zorzi (ed.), *Il paesaggio. Dalla percezione alla descrizione*, (Venice: Marsilio, 1999), pp. 121-137.

²⁵ Victor Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image. An insight into early modern meta-painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

²⁶ Werner Busch, *Das sentimentale Bild. Die Krise der Kunst im 18. Jahrhundert und die Geburt der Moderne* (Munich: Beck, 1993), chap. III ('Landschaft'), pp. 329-380.

²⁷ Cf. Hartmut Böhme, 'Rückenfigur bei Caspar David Friedrich,' in Gisela Greve (ed.), *Caspar David Friedrich. Deutungen im Dialog* (Tübingen: Diskord, 2006), pp. 49-94. Among the innumerable writings on Friedrich and the sublime, attention is drawn to Hilmar Frank, *Aussichten ins Unermessliche: Perspektivität und Sinnoffenheit bei Caspar David Friedrich* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2004). For a skeptical view influenced by Schleiermacher's views, see also Werner Busch, *Caspar David Friedrich: Ästhetik und Religion* (Munich: Beck, 2003).

²⁸ Oskar Bätschmann, *Entfernung der Natur. Landschaftsmalerei 1750-1920* (Cologne: DuMont, 1989), pp. 7-8, 26-27.

²⁹ Chantal Georgel, *La forêt de Fontainebleau. Un atelier grandeur nature*, exh. cat. Paris, Musée d'Orsay, 6 March – 13 May 2007 (Paris: RMN, 2007).

³⁰ Petra Ten Doesschate Chu, *French Realism and the Dutch Masters. The influence of Dutch seventeenth-century painting on*

the development of French painting between 1830 and 1870 (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1974), pp. 2-31; Véronique Chagnan-Burke, *The Politicization of Nature: the Critical Reception of Barbizon Painting during the July Monarchy*, Ph.D. thesis (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI 2000), pp. 201-404 (see pp. 18-153 for a useful overview of studies on the Barbizon school).

³¹ A fundamental work in this connection is Robert L. Herbert, *From Millet to Léger. Essays in Social Art History* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 23-48 ('City vs. Country: the rural image in French painting from Millet to Gauguin' [1970]) and pp. 49-66 ('Peasants and "Primitivism"' [1995-96]). For an initial study influenced by Foucault on urban projections between the spectacle of nature, the commerce of landscape painting and constructed subjectivity, see Nicholas Green, *The Spectacle of Nature. Landscape and bourgeois culture in nineteenth-century France* (Manchester-New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 98-134.

³² Michael F. Zimmermann, 'Painting of Nature – Nature of Painting. An Essay on Landscape and the Historical Position of "Barbizon",' in Andreas Burmester, Christoph Heilmann and Michael F. Zimmermann (eds.), *Barbizon. Malerei der Natur – Natur der Malerei*, (Munich: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1999), pp. 18-55.

³³ Stephen Z. Levine, *Monet and his Critics*, Ph.D. thesis (New York-London: Garland, 1976), pp. 1-13.

³⁴ For the "holy family" motif, see Albrecht Koschorke, *Die Heilige Familie und ihre Folgen. Ein Versuch* (Frankfurt-on Main: Fischer, 2000).

³⁵ Robert L. Herbert, *Monet on the Normandy Coast. Tourism and Painting, 1867-1886* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1994), pp. 9-21 (ch. I, 'From Sainte-Adresse to Trouville, 1867-79'), cit. p. 12.

³⁶ Carla Rachman, *Monet* (London: Phaidon 1997), p. 72.

³⁷ For Monet's interest both in Japanese woodcuts and in pop-

ular prints, see John House, *Monet. Nature into Art* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1986), pp. 47-51. For the model of Hokusai and other sources, see Virginia Spate and David Bromfield, 'A New and Strange Beauty. Monet and Japanese Art,' and Shigemi Inaga, 'Claude Monet. Between "Impressionism" and "Japonism",' in *Monet & Japan*, exh. cat. Canberra, National Gallery of Australia, 9 March – 11 June 2001; Perth, Art Gallery of Western Australia, 7 July – 16 September 2001 (London: Thames and Hudson, 2001), pp. 1-63, esp. p. 16 and pp. 64-76.

³⁸ W. J. T. Mitchell, 'Imperial Landscape,' in Mitchell (ed.) *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 5-34.

³⁹ For the critical debate on artistic procedures, see also Matthias Krüger, *Das Relief der Farbe. Pastose Malerei in der französischen Kunstkritik, 1850-1890* (Munich-Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2007), esp. pp. 29-66.

⁴⁰ Anthea Callen, *The Art of Impressionism. Painting technique and the making of modernity* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 2000), chap. 7, 'The Matter of Impressionism,' pp. 98-110.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, chap. 9: 'The Palette, from Tonal to Spectral,' pp. 136-155.

⁴² Cf. Crary 1990 and Jay 1993. For Helmholtz, see Gary Hatfield, *The Natural and the Normative. Theories of spatial perception from Kant to Helmholtz* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1990). A reading of Impressionism in terms of physiological psychology is to be found in Jules Laforgue, *Mélanges posthumes* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1903), pp. 133-145 ('L'Impressionnisme').

⁴³ Cf. Michael F. Zimmermann, *Seurat. Sein Werk und die kunsttheoretische Debatte seiner Zeit*, (Weinheim: VCH-Acta Humanior; and Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1991).