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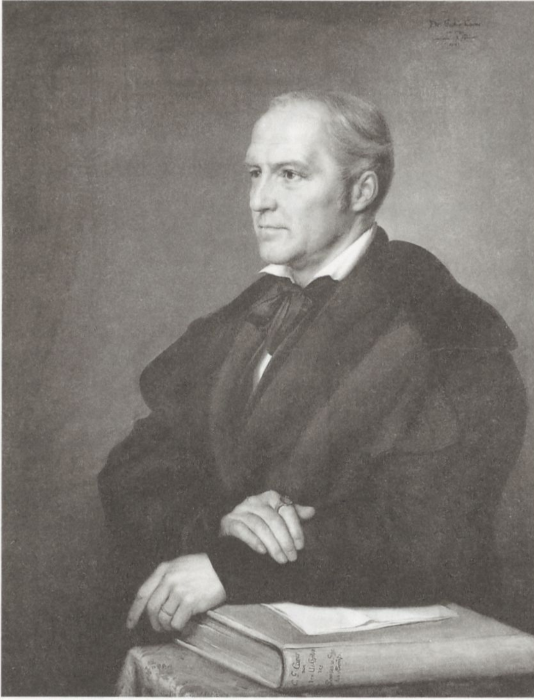


**Fig. 1. Rudolf Julius Benno Hübner (1806–82)**
*Carl Gustav Carus,* 1844, oil on canvas, 92 × 72 cm (36¼ × 28⅜ in.)
Frankfurt am Main, Goethe-Museum

**Fig. 2. Joseph Karl Stieler (1781–1858)**
*Friedrich Wilhelm von Schelling,* 1835, oil on canvas, 71.4 × 58 cm (28⅛ × 22⅞ in.)
Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen

# Carl Gustav Carus (1789–1869): Physician, Naturalist, Painter, and Theoretician of Landscape Painting

Oskar Bätschmann

### *A Scientist as Amateur Artist*

In his memoirs, composed late in life between 1846 and 1856, Carl Gustav Carus (fig. 1) remarked of his *Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei, geschrieben in den Jahren 1815–1824* (Letters on landscape painting, written in the years 1815–1824): "There appeared in these letters a curious blend of science and art, and it is this, if anything, that will give them a lasting place in literature. What Schelling was trying to express at that time through the concept of the *world soul* was precisely the cardinal point around which these thoughts revolved."[1]

Carus first discovered the teachings of Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling (1775–1854; fig. 2) while a medical student at the Universität Leipzig between 1806 and 1811. There he initially found himself exposed to a chaotic flood of isolated facts and disconnected materials; although he worked hard to absorb them, he was unable to grasp them in any coherent context until he discovered a "new, original, and meaningful principle": "This principle was that of a higher unity, which emerged in the light of the nature philosophy that was then first making its way."[2] For Carus, even the great binomial system of nomenclature of the Swedish botanist Carl von Linné (also known as Linnaeus, 1707–78) took on life and coherence only through nature philosophy, "when the thought, guessed at by many philosophers of antiquity, of the inner, necessary, and ineluctable connection of the cosmic edifice into a single, endless, organic whole—in a word, the idea of the world soul—first found its way back into science through the emergence of Schelling's great and luminous mind."[3]

After studying philosophy in Tübingen, Schelling turned his attention to the natural sciences while working as a tutor in Leipzig, and published his books *Ideen zu einer Philosophie der Natur* (Ideas toward a philosophy of nature) and *Von der Weltseele* (On the world soul) as early as 1797 and 1798, respectively.[4] In subsequent publications on nature philosophy he expounded the idea of a teleological evolution of nature into intelligence. In his lengthy treatise *Von der Weltseele,* with the subtitle *Eine Hypothese der höheren Physik zur Erklärung des allgemeinen Organismus* (A hypothesis of the higher physics directed toward the explanation of the universal organism), Schelling

defines two forces as the principles of nature. One is positive, corresponding to a constant motion forward; the other is negative, leading "all the world's phenomena back into eternal circulation." Schelling develops the idea of an eternal conflict between these two principles: "These two conflicting forces, represented simultaneously in unity and in conflict, lead to the idea of an organizing principle that shapes the world into a system. It is such a principle, perhaps, that the ancients adumbrated in their notion of the world soul."[5]

Schelling does not reject the mechanistic approach, or the inquiry into cause and effect, but he does assert that the "idea of nature as a whole" has abolished the opposition between "mechanism and organism," and that the succession of causes and effects should henceforth be regarded only as "infinitely small straight lines in the universal circular line of the organism."[6] Soon afterward, in a dialogue entitled "Bruno; oder, Über das göttliche und natürliche Princip der Dinge" (Bruno; or, on the divine and natural principle of things), Schelling explicitly took up the ideas of an animate universe put forward by the philosopher and cosmologist Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), who was burned as a heretic and apostate by the Catholic Church on the Campo de' Fiori in Rome on 17 February 1600.[7]

Carus likened the idea of the world soul to a political revolution. In its wake, many unqualified persons had thrust themselves forward with "all manner of undue haste and exaggeration." Whom he had in mind he did not say; perhaps one of them was Gotthilf Heinrich Schubert, who in Dresden in 1808 dedicated his book *Ansichten von der Nachtseite der Naturwissenschaft* (Views of the nightside of natural science) to "his friend and auditor, Mr. J. Gerhard von Kügelgen, the celebrated historical painter." If nothing else, this dedication reveals that one respected artist took an interest in a theory of the cosmic whole directed against the mechanistic approach.[8] In his voluminous work—which treats of the cosmic edifice, oracles, inorganic and organic nature, magnetism, and the shapes of mountain ranges—Schubert listed as his principal concerns: "The oldest relationship between man and nature, the living harmony of the individual with the whole, the coherence of a present existence with a future and higher one, and how the germ of new, future life gradually unfolds in the midst of present life."[9]

One writer whom Carus exempted from his strictures on unqualified interlopers was the nature philosopher and physician Lorenz Oken (1779–1851), a confessed adherent of Schelling's teaching, who had published his successful *Lehrbuch des Systems der Naturphilosophie* (Manual of the system of nature philosophy) in Jena in 1809–11. Together, Carus and Oken were to found the Gesellschaft deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte (Society of German naturalists and physicians) in 1822. Carus praised Oken's contribution to the evolutionary idea that was his own prime concern: "He it was who first dared, with vigorous strokes, to reduce the chaotic multiplicity of natural forms and natural facts to a single central point, a single new, animating principle; and that principle was the principle of genesis, of evolution."[10]

When Carus embarked on the writing of his *Letters on Landscape Painting*,

he was already a professor at the Königlich-sächsische Chirurgisch-medicinische Akademie (Royal Saxon surgical and medical academy) and director of the Dresden maternity hospital. He had entered the Universität Leipzig as a student of natural sciences in 1804, switching to medicine two years later. In 1811 he took doctorates in philosophy and medicine and became qualified to teach in the faculty of philosophy. On publication of his sizeable work *Versuch einer Darstellung des Nervensystems und insbesondere des Gehirns nach ihrer Bedeutung, Entwicklung und Vollendung im thierischen Organismus* (1814; Essay on the nervous system, and the brain in particular, with reference to its importance, development, and maturation within the animal organism) Carus received offers of professorships at the Deutsche Universität Dorpat (Tartu, Estonia) and at the Provisorische Lehranstalt für Medizin und Chirurgie (Provisional school of medicine and surgery) in Dresden, the latter to be held in conjunction with the superintendence of the city's maternity hospital. Carus accepted the offer from Dresden and moved there with his family in the winter of 1814 to 1815. In 1815 he was confirmed in office as professor at the newly founded Königlich-sächsische Chirurgisch-medicinische Akademie and delivered the inaugural address at its opening in August 1816. It was at this time that he began writing the *Letters on Landscape Painting,* which were to occupy him, with lengthy interruptions, until 1824.[11]

In his schooldays at the Thomasschule in Leipzig, between 1801 and 1804, Carus had already shown a keen interest in painting. On country walks in the environs of Leipzig with his drawing teacher, Julius Dietz (1770–1843), he had made studies of rocks, plants, and trees, and he had hiked to Dresden to see the famous paintings at the Gemäldegalerie. At the Universität Leipzig, Carus joined a student reading circle in which he became friendly with Johann Gottlob Regis (1791–1854), later the translator of Rabelais, Shakespeare, and Swift; the two men kept up a lifelong correspondence.[12] Also in Leipzig, Carus attended the drawing academy in Pleißenburg, which was run by Johann Friedrich August Tischbein (1750–1812), the "Leipzig Tischbein," and by Veit Hans Schnorr (1764–1841).[13] In Dresden he sought artistic and technical advice from the landscape painter Johann Christian Klengel (1751–1824), professor of landscape painting at the Dresdner Kunstakademie since 1800, although he learned nothing from him.[14] In 1816, for the first time, he sent in work (four paintings) to the exhibition of the Kunstakademie.[15] That seems to have been the year he first met Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840), who was already a famous artist. Carus subsequently won Friedrich's trust; for ten years or so, the two men remained close friends.[16] Years later, in 1840, writing Friedrich's obituary for *Kunst-Blatt,* Carus cited extracts from the artist's notes and described him as having "saved and uplifted" landscape painting from its previous state of insignificance: "In landscape it was Friedrich above all whose profound and vigorous mind, with total originality, laid hold of this tangle of banality, staleness, and tedium and—cutting through it with a mordant melancholy—raised from its midst a distinctively new and radiant poetic tendency."[17]

Carus described Friedrich (fig. 3) as "a markedly clear-cut, north German type, with fair hair and sideburns," noting the "distinctive expression of melancholy on his mostly pallid features." Carus admired Friedrich, while recognizing that his friend exemplified certain features of the artist's classic predicament: "Add to this a very exalted notion of art, an essentially gloomy nature, and—arising from both—a profound dissatisfaction with his own work, and it becomes understandable that on one occasion he was so misguided as to attempt suicide."[18] Carus went on to describe Friedrich's isolation from other artists and from society, his habit of taking long walks at twilight, and his tendency to retreat into work and cogitation: "In his dark, shadowy room, he brooded almost incessantly on his own work."[19]

In September 1820 Carus met an artist of a very different kind: an antique "hero of art." This was the celebrated Danish sculptor Berthel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844), who stopped off in Dresden on a journey from Warsaw to Vienna. Introduced by a mutual friend, Thorvaldsen visited Carus, who showed him his own painting *Marius on the Ruins of Carthage* and was heartened by his response: "Thorvaldsen saw it and sat for a long time before it, deep in thought. Clearly, the idea caught his imagination, and he mentally remedied the imperfections of the execution. Such interest could not fail to hearten me greatly.... Little did I think, then, that ten years later I would see that hero in Rome, surrounded by his own creations, and in such different circumstances! The impression that he left with me on that first occasion was a powerful and a lasting one."[20]

When Carus went to Italy in 1828, as companion to Crown Prince Friedrich August on his Grand Tour, the party called on Thorvaldsen in his studio in Rome. As was customary, the crown prince conferred a royal decoration on the famous sculptor, and Carus was moved to note: "This simple, capable man is extremely popular with his students, and a true protector and consoler to all the young German painters."[21]

Thorvaldsen impressed Carus deeply, but Friedrich interested him more as an artist, and Carus made efforts to learn from Friedrich's methods without ever losing sight of the contradiction between Friedrich's gloomy artistic temperament and his own "therapeutic" view of the practice of art and of science. The "therapeutic" effect of both art and authorship is a recurring topic in Carus's memoirs.[22] To free the spirit from a "mood of profound melancholy," such as frequently arises in youth, and to dispel "false gloom," Carus recommended that the mood should be "expounded and presented through the creation of a work of art: an utterance and a metaphor for the psychic state as a whole, which can truly hold a mirror up to the mind."[23]

An enduring source of mental anguish for Carus was the death of his firstborn son, Ernst Albert, in 1816. His memoirs give an account of the scarlet fever that struck Carus, his daughter Charlotte, and the three-year-old Ernst Albert in the spring of that year. Carus and his daughter soon recovered, but the boy died, to his father's intense grief. It was a blow from which he was slow to recover. He was to attribute his healing to the balm of nature and art:

**Fig. 3. Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840)**
*Self-Portrait,* ca. 1810, black chalk, 22.8 × 18.2 cm (9 × 7⅛ in.)
Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

**Fig. 4. Carl Gustav Carus (1789–1869)**
*Self-Portrait,* 1822, graphite pencil, 23.1 × 17.8 cm (9⅛ × 7 in.)
Dresden, Stadtmuseum

"There is something miraculous in art's power to show a man his own inner life as an objective reality in the outside world. Then, as in the spring of 1814, while smarting from the heavy blows of war and disease, I felt drawn to the easel in every hour of leisure. As the sore distress within me, my deep and solitary pain, took shape in some dark and brooding image and appeared as if reflected in a mysterious mirror, peace returned to me."[24]

**_The Writing of the_ Letters on Landscape Painting**

Among the activities that Carus took up or continued after the death of his beloved Ernst Albert (whose portrait he had painted in 1815) was the writing of what became *Letters on Landscape Painting.* He commemorated his son by calling the supposed writer of the letters "Albertus" and their addressee "Ernst."[25] The letters conform to the literary type of "letters from father to son," with Carus as writer assuming his dead son's second given name and addressing him by the first.

With extended interruptions, the writing of *Letters on Landscape Painting* occupied Carus until 1824, a period of eight or nine years. During this time, he produced a number of major scientific works. In 1818 he published his *Lehrbuch der Zootomie* (Manual of zootomy); two years later came the successful *Lehrbuch der Gynäkologie* (Manual of gynecology), and two years later he published *Zur Lehre von Schwangerschaft und Geburt* (On the theory of pregnancy and childbirth). In 1822 he and Oken founded the Gesellschaft deutscher Naturforscher und Ärzte, and the firm of Ernst Fleischer in Leipzig published Carus's inaugural address to the society: *Von den Anforderungen an eine künftige Bearbeitung der Naturwissenschaften* (On the requirements of the future practice of the natural sciences). Additionally, Carus investigated numerous other scientific topics, including the species of algae and mold. His paper *Von den äußern Lebensbedingungen der weiß- und kaltblütigen Thiere* (On the outward conditions of life for white-blooded and cold-blooded creatures) was awarded a prize by the Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab (Danish royal academy of sciences and letters) in Copenhagen and was published in Leipzig in 1824. As this intensive research and publishing activity—over and above Carus's many duties as a doctor and medical professor—clearly suggests, his *Letters on Landscape Painting* is not, and could never have been, any more than the product of the leisure hours of an extremely busy scientist and clinician (fig. 4).[26]

Carus frankly admits this in his preface, written in 1830 for the first edition, in which he describes *Letters on Landscape Painting* as "a true impression of the mind of one to whom, amid earnest endeavors and onerous duties of many kinds, art has been a true friend and a silent comforter."[27] During the long period of the letter's composition, Carus's views on landscape painting altered considerably. After all—as he makes abundantly clear in the preface—in the course of ten or even five years a person's mind may change: "We shall also find that in the meantime some of the flowers of our intellect have withered on the bough, while new blossom has burst forth in precisely the oppo-

site direction."[28] *Letters on Landscape Painting* bears witness to this change of direction: the letters start out from a viewpoint close to that of Caspar David Friedrich and ultimately reach a view of landscape painting in which science and art combine to produce an image that aims at nothing less than the all-embracing ensoulment of nature.

The break in the composition of *Letters on Landscape Painting* is generally located between letters V and VI. In 1963 Marianne Prause was the first to ask just how many of the letters Carus had by him in February 1822 to send to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832). Based on the correspondence between Carus and Regis, she reconstructed the following sequence of dates:

By 1820: letters I and II completed.
Fall 1820: letter III completed; letter IV set aside, unfinished.
In 1821: work starts on letter V, probably still in draft form in 1822.
Fall 1823: work resumes after a lengthy hiatus; letters IV and VI completed.
In 1824: letters VII, VIII, and IX written.

Accordingly, Goethe could have seen only letters I, II, III, and V.[29]

At the beginning of letter VI the fictitious writer, Albertus, mentions that his work has been interrupted for a number of years. He explains the delay in terms of the sheer difficulty of the undertaking: "I felt the weight of the responsibility that I assumed in promising to give you in a further letter my ideas on how a significant work of landscape painting might be produced, now and in the future, despite the multitude of artistic precedents that constantly mislead us and seek to draw us into their own ambit."[30]

This expression of Carus's desire to distance himself from the history of landscape painting, combined with an express rejection of traditional patterns and models and a declared intention of unfolding universally and permanently valid principles for the art, is perhaps the clearest statement of the author's dilettante status, both as an artist and as a theoretician. For this belief in the possibility of a permanently valid principle, not subject to future revision, is predicated on the idea that landscape painting can be established on the supposedly stable foundation of natural science or nature philosophy; and that, like these, it can progress by the accrual of knowledge.

In his dealings with the art and theory of landscape painting, Carus remained an amateur and a dilettante: one who practiced and pondered art in his leisure hours, for his own pleasure and recreation—not without ambition, certainly, but with none of the dangerous, brooding melancholy of an artist like Friedrich. Far from imperiling his psychic stability and his social relationships, art for Carus was a form of compensation, an antidote to the hard knocks of fate and to his own depression. At the same time, Carus remained a dilettante in the pejorative sense of the word, in that—on the strength of his scientific and medical training—he assumed the right to set landscape painting on the path that he considered the best.

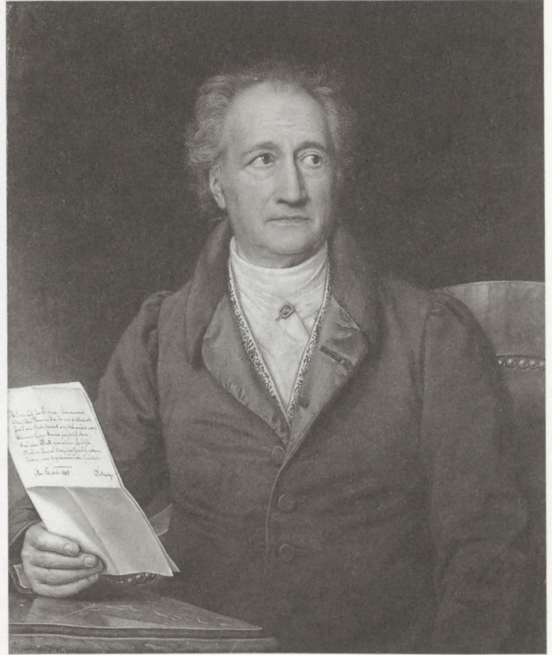
We must bear two facts in mind in describing Carus as an artistic dilettante.

One is that he also was and remained a scientific illustrator who used drawing as an aid to medical and scientific research and publication. In his memoirs he has this to say of Tischbein's and Schnorr's traditional practice of drawing from the antique: "At the same time, this art was almost devoid of any higher poetic element; it was the mere pleasure of directly depicting nature; and as such, as I have said, it was useful in many respects for my scientific and medical studies."[31] Carus drew his own illustrations for his 1814 treatise on the nervous system and the brain, and — with the assistance of Julius Dietz — most of the drawings and tables for his work on zootomy in 1818 (fig. 5).[32] For the alliance between science and art propounded in *Letters on Landscape Painting* Carus's work as a scientific illustrator is not without importance. This practical grounding has so far received little attention.

The second fact is that from 1815 or 1816 onward Carus was an active member of the Mineralogische Gesellschaft (Mineralogical society) founded by Abraham Gottlob Werner (1750–1817), then famous as the founder of geognosy (see p. 40 in this volume). In 1816 Carus visited Werner at his base, the Bergakademie (Academy of mines) at Freiberg in the Erzgebirge. Carus commented that Werner's "Neptunism" was obsolete, but that his services to *Oryktognosie* — or mineralogy — were not.[33]

For the young Carus, it was of extreme importance that his reverence and admiration for Goethe (fig. 6) received acknowledgment from the great man, who recognized his status as a scientist, a theoretician of landscape painting, and a painter. Carus managed to meet the world-famous poet only once, on 21 July 1820, as Carus passed through Weimar on his way to Switzerland.[34] He had sent his *Lehrbuch der Zootomie* to Goethe in 1818 and had been in correspondence with him ever since.[35] In 1822 he sent the first letters on landscape painting to Goethe, together with four of his scientific illustrations, and they were returned with a letter that encouraged him to place the letters ("as well conceived as they are beautifully written") before the public. At the same time, Goethe asked to receive the illustrations to *Von den Ur-Theilen des Knochen- und Schalengerüstes* (On the primitive portions of the bone and shell skeleton) as they were produced, and promised to send Carus the next fascicle of his own *Morphologie*. Carus used Goethe's letter of 20 April 1822 as an introduction to the first edition of *Letters on Landscape Painting*.[36]

In 1820, in his periodical *Über Kunst und Altertum,* Goethe reviewed the two "geognostische Landschaften" (geognostic landscapes) that Carus exhibited in Weimar in September of that year. These were the *Memory of the Sandstone Mountain Range* (1819) and *Geognostic Landscape: Katzenköpfe near Zittau* (1820). Remarking on the "grace and variety" to be found in the former, Goethe said of the latter: "The rock and its distinctive character is excellently rendered, with admirable veracity, both in regard to form and to handling and color."[37] In his memoirs, Carus describes the making of his drawing of the Katzenköpfe (fig. 7), one of the basalt groups on the ridge of the Riesengebirge, during a hike in August 1820.[38] Shortly before this, passing close to the Nollendorfer Höhe on his way from Dresden to Carlsbad, Carus



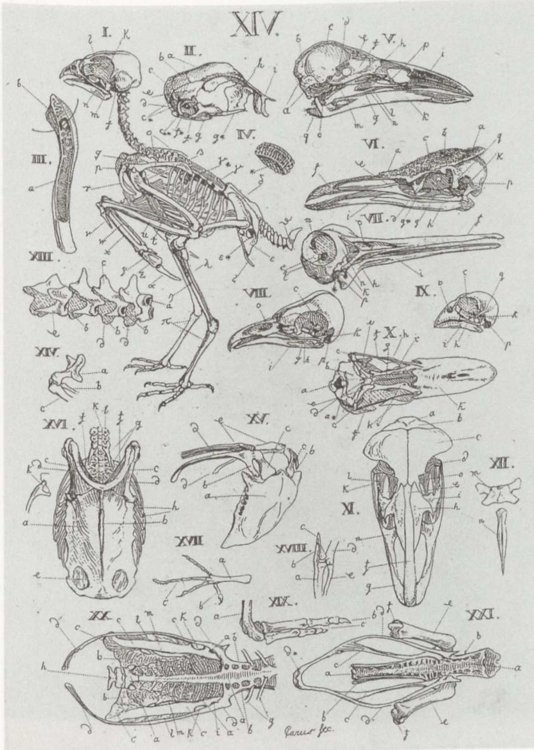
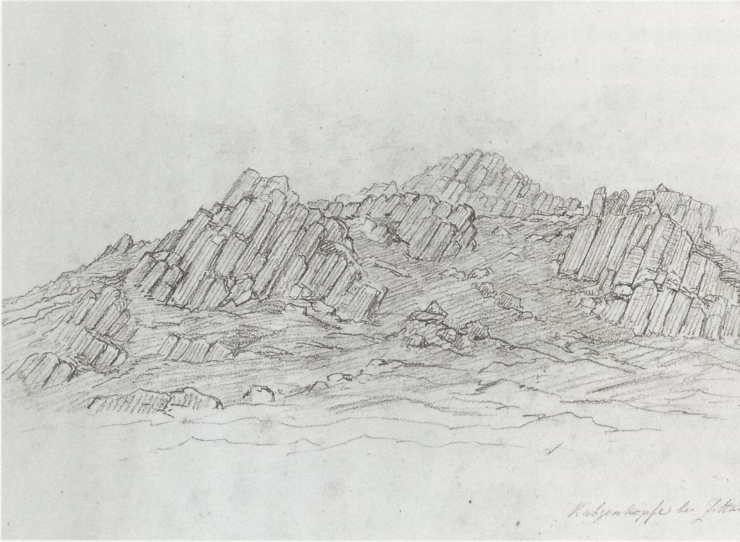


**Fig. 5. Carl Gustav Carus (1789–1869)**
The class Aves
From Carl Gustav Carus, *Lehrbuch der Zootomie* (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1818), pl. XIV

**Fig. 6. Joseph Karl Stieler (1781–1858)**
*Johann Wolfgang von Goethe,* 1828, oil on canvas, 78.2 × 63.8 cm (30¾ × 25⅛ in.)
Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek



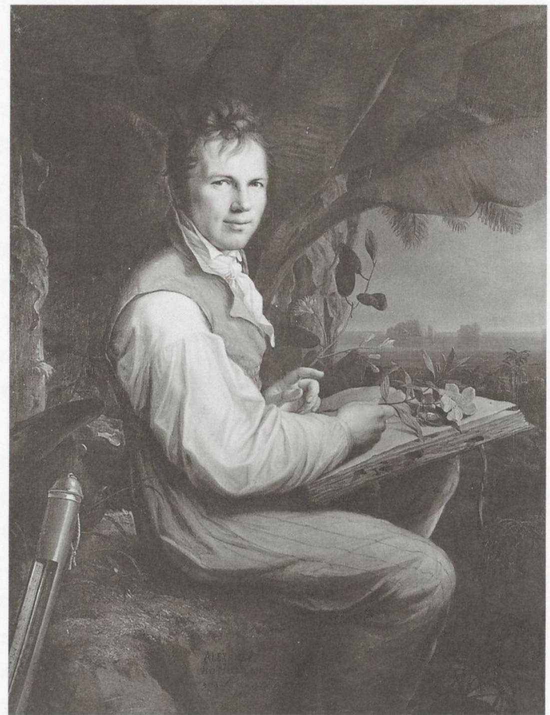



**Fig. 7. Carl Gustav Carus (1789–1869)**
*Geognostic Landscape: Katzenköpfe near Zittau,* 1820, graphite pencil, 18.7 × 26.8 cm (7⅜ × 10½ in.)
Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett

**Fig. 8. Friedrich Georg Weitsch (1723–1803)**
*Alexander von Humboldt,* 1806, oil on canvas, 92.5 × 63.5 cm (36⅜ × 25 in.)
Berlin, Nationalgalerie

had been struck by the contrast between the "Plutonic elevations" of the Böhmische Mittelgebirge and the "great, tranquil lines of the granite Erzgebirge." It was this perception of the contrast between different mountain forms that first gave Carus the idea of a "physiognomy of mountain ranges," as discussed in *Letters on Landscape Painting.*[39]

Both as a naturalist and as a theoretician of landscape painting, Carus attached great importance to his close acquaintanceship with the eminent explorer and geographer Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859; fig. 8). After studying at the universities of Frankfurt an der Oder and Göttingen, Humboldt published his first geological paper in 1790. In 1791 he went to Werner's Bergakademie in Freiberg, and he subsequently worked for the Prussian Mining Department until 1797. In 1799 he set out on a five-year expedition to Venezuela, Ecuador, Colombia, Peru, and Mexico. Humboldt published the scientific results of his extensive studies in a vast work containing several albums of plates (Paris, 1814–32, and Stuttgart, 1815–32). Carus was particularly fascinated by Humboldt's volume of essays *Ansichten der Natur* (Views of nature), published in Tübingen and Stuttgart in 1808. Humboldt first called on Carus in 1826, as he passed through Dresden while accompanying King Friedrich Wilhelm III from Berlin to take the waters at Bad Teplitz in Bohemia. Carus admired Humboldt's "vitality of mind," and was surprised to find the "perfect refinement of the courtier combined with such depth of knowledge and wealth of experience."[40] He especially valued Humboldt's ability to make science comprehensible to the general public. Carus counted himself among the many scholars whom Humboldt had helped and encouraged: "I, too, was to receive much help of this kind from him in the years that followed, notably during a later stay in Paris. In those early years I was elated and encouraged to find that a man so experienced and so deservedly famous repeatedly took a genuine interest in my work."[41]

### *Landscape Painting Revalued*

In 1770 the poet Salomon Gessner (1730–88), famous for his bucolic *Idyllen* (1756), published a letter on landscape painting in which he undertook to give younger artists the benefit of his experience. In this text Gessner — a self-taught artist who had taken up landscape painting in the 1760s — described how he began by drawing, naively, from nature, but that the results were so unsatisfactory that he then turned to engravings of landscapes in order to study such details as leaves and trees. Realizing that he did not know how to form his parts into a whole, he set out to study and imitate landscape compositions by Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), Gaspard Dughet (1615–75), and Claude Lorrain (1600–1682). Eventually, he dispensed with all these prototypes in order to make his own way and create inventions of his own.[42] Gessner expressly warned younger artists against the drawing manual by Johann Daniel Preissler, director of the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Nuremberg, first published in 1740, which contained specimen drawings of trees and landscape compositions for copying (fig. 9).[43]

In his letter on landscape painting Gessner took up the problems of the imitation of nature and of art, or harmonious composition, and of the invention of landscapes, which were central to landscape painting and its theoretical discussion in the second half of the eighteenth century. To these were added two further issues: the aesthetic problem of the effect on the viewers (which featured in the theoretical debate concerning the beautiful and the sublime) and the moral problem of the comparative value of landscape painting within the hierarchy of genres.

In his *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (General theory of the fine arts) Johann Georg Sulzer (1720–79) postulated that the contemplation of "inanimate nature" was man's first step toward reason and order in his mental life. Daniel Chodowiecki's frontispiece for the first edition of Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie* (fig. 10) shows the allegorical personifications of the arts ranged behind the seated figure of Pallas Athena and bathed in the radiance of the Sun of Enlightenment; this group contrasts with a huddle of primitive humans who crouch, naked, on the ground before their primitive hut. This wretched state is improved, according to Sulzer, by advances in morality, technology, and science; the arts promote development and increase happiness, insofar as they are led by reason. Landscape painting, says Sulzer, turns to advantage the beneficial effect of nature on human emotion and understanding. It intensifies that moral benefit by including narrative action: "In inanimate nature, painting thus finds an inexhaustible store of material with which to improve men's minds; and the landscape painter has many useful ways of pleasing us: most of all, when he enlists the higher powers of his art to combine moral and passionate subjects with the scenes of inanimate nature."[44]

In this way, landscape painting might aspire to the level of history painting, thus ascending from the lowest or second-lowest rank in the hierarchy of genres to the highest. Sulzer cites one exemplary instance of this alliance between landscape and moral content: the celebrated painting *Et in Arcadia ego* (1638–40) by Poussin. To elevate the status of landscape in this way, the painter must not content himself with the multiplicity of colors and forms, but must understand the language of nature: "If he has sufficient intelligence and sensibility to feel the spirit and soul of the matter that lies before him, he will have no difficulty in bringing us to feel it more intensely, by introducing moral subjects of his own invention."[45]

Sulzer took his cue from the attempts that had already been made to overthrow the French system of the classification of pictorial genres, in which landscape painting appeared near the bottom. André Félibien, in the preface to his published *Conférences de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture* (Lectures at the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture; 1669), had formulated this doctrinaire hierarchy of genres by analogy with the continuum that runs from inanimate to animate nature, and thence to mind and spirit. The lowest rank is that of the still-life painters; above them are the landscapists, then the animaliers and portrait painters. History painters occupy the second-highest rank; above them are the inventors of allegorical compositions.[46] This

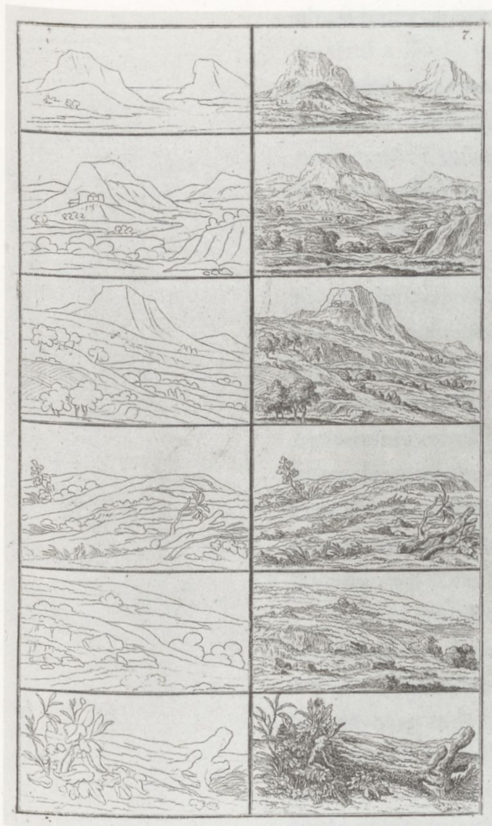


**Fig. 9. Johann Daniel Preissler (1666–1737)**
Outlines and shadings of various landscapes
From Johann Daniel Preissler, *Gründliche Anleitung, welcher man sich im Nachzeichnen schöner Landschaften oder Prospecten bedienen kann...*, 5th ed. (Nuremberg: Preissler, 1759), pl. 7

**Fig. 10. Daniel Nikolaus Chodowiecki (1726–1801)**
Pallas Athena, art, and the primordial state of humanity
From Johann Georg Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in einzeln,...* (Leipzig: Weidmann & Reich, 1771–74), vol. 1, frontispiece

hierarchy is defined both by the relative status of the subject matter and by the distinction between imitation and invention.

Sulzer's argument, and his analogy, derived from the treatise on landscape painting published in 1762 by Christian Ludwig von Hagedorn (1712–80), director of the Gemäldegalerie and Kunstakademie in Dresden.[47] Hagedorn, in turn, based himself on the work of Gérard de Lairesse in *Het groot schilderboek* (1707), published in German translation as *Großes Mahler-Buch* (Nuremberg, 1728–30).[48] Lairesse followed in the wake of Carel van Mander (1604) and Joachim von Sandrart (1675) to produce the longest treatise on landscape painting to date; this occupies book 7 of part 1 of his work.[49] From the French side, this proposed enhancement of the status of landscape enjoyed the support of Roger de Piles, who in his *Cours de peinture par principes* (1708) devoted separate chapters to only two genres: portrait and landscape. In the latter he drew the distinction between the heroic and pastoral styles, later adopted by Hagedorn.[50] In France the attempt to enhance the status of landscape as a genre lasted only until the 1750s, when the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture reinstated the hierarchy of genres and, with governmental support, promoted the practice of history painting.[51]

A new explanation of the pleasure derived from landscape painting came from Denis Diderot (1713–84), who, in his review of the Salon of 1767, put forward his theory of compensation. Diderot maintained that gardens and landscape paintings alike exist to compensate us for the loss of nature. His experience of art, and his specific thesis, reflect the influential social criticism of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78). In 1750 Rousseau's denunciation of the sciences and arts as products of luxury—a legacy of Geneva Calvinism—and his theory of social degeneration had (surprisingly) won the first prize in a competition held by the Académie de Dijon, and had subsequently made a lasting impression all over Europe.[52] However, Diderot's conclusions as to the estrangement of humanity from nature were different from those of Rousseau.

Diderot's account of the landscape paintings of Claude-Joseph Vernet (1714–89) takes an unexpected turn. Diderot asks his readers to suppose that he has several times stopped work on his review of the Salon of 1767 to take walks in the real countryside. These excursions inspire in him an unprecedented sense of delight in nature; he turns away in contempt from society and its hollow amusements. Waking in the morning to a moment of intense clarity, Diderot suddenly understands why people make gardens and parks, and why they cover the walls of their rich but depressing homes with paintings of landscapes and animals. They are using their wealth to transplant the forest close to their own houses; there, for a moment, they "enact the pantomime of natural man." Landscape and animal paintings testify to the long-lost bliss of our ancestors. Instead of actually returning to the land, people compensate for the loss of nature through painted surrogates, and through artificial parks in which nature is alienated from itself: "There, for a moment, we will play the savage; for a moment, we, the slaves of our customs and our passions, will enact the pantomime of natural man. Unable to apply ourselves to the

employments and amusements of rustic life—to roam through a rural scene, to tend a flock, to dwell in a thatched cottage—we pay out gold and silver and enlist the brush of the Wouwermans, of Berghem, or of Vernet to retrace for us the manners and the history of our distant ancestors. And the walls of our sumptuous, dismal dwellings are decked with the images of a happiness for which we pine."[53]

On reaching the sixth of these experiences with nature, Diderot finally confesses, with feigned embarrassment, that his country walks have been entirely imaginary, and that he has derived his taste of nature and of felicity solely from the landscape paintings by Claude-Joseph Vernet that he has seen in the Salon.[54]

The article "Erhaben" (Sublime) in Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie* is by Johann Heinrich Füssli (Henry Fuseli), who writes: "In nature and in art, the merely beautiful and good pleases us; it is agreeable or delightful; it makes a gentle impression that we enjoy in tranquility. But the sublime deals massive blows, sweeps us away, and seizes the mind irresistibly." Fuseli concludes that the sublime is "the highest thing in art."[55]

This lengthy article by Fuseli harks back to the revival, a century earlier, of the debate launched by the treatise Περὶ ὕψους (On the sublime), then attributed to the rhetorician Cassius Longinus. According to this, the sublime is the supreme quality of poetry; it stands for the effect of ecstatic enthusiasm. In 1757 Edmund Burke associated the sensations of the sublime and the beautiful with two categories of passion, those connected with self-preservation and those connected with society. According to Burke, we receive the sensation of the sublime when something vast, infinite, or powerful makes us fear for our own safety and stirs the fibers of our being, although we simultaneously recognize the danger as imaginary. The sensation of the sublime stirs the emotions of astonishment, admiration, reverence, and respect. The sensation of the beautiful, prompted by an object that possesses smallness, smoothness, and gradual variation, provokes enjoyment and sympathy.[56]

Burke's publication revived the debate on the sublime and the beautiful and led to an increased demand for paintings containing sublime motifs: that is to say, storms at sea with shipwrecked mariners, thunderous waterfalls, horrific chasms, awe-inspiring mountain ranges, fathomless caves, and volcanoes belching fire. This market was supplied by specialists. Claude-Joseph Vernet and Philippe-Jacques de Loutherbourg painted coastal thunderstorms, with shipwrecks to match (fig. 11). Caspar Wolf depicted Alpine scenes for tourists in the Bernese Oberland, who could select an image from the specimens on display and have it reproduced at any desired size. James Mallord William Turner (1775–1851), visiting Switzerland in 1802, recorded the motifs that he would need in order to paint the corresponding pictures at home in England.[57]

In Switzerland in 1791, and again in the summer of 1793 or 1794, Joseph Anton Koch (1768–1839) drew and painted scenes of the sublime, which he then combined with the theme of political liberty. Koch, who dropped out of

**Fig. 11. Claude-Joseph Vernet (1714–89)**
*Stormy Sea with Shipwrecks*, 1780, oil on canvas, 49.5 × 65 cm (19½ × 25⅝ in.)
Basel, Kunstmuseum

**Fig. 12. Joseph Anton Koch (1768–1839)**
*The Schmadribach Waterfall*, 1794, watercolor over graphite pencil and pen, with white highlights, 48.8 × 40.5 cm (19¼ × 16 in.)
Basel, Kupferstichkabinett

the Hohe Carlsschule art academy in Stuttgart in 1791, first went briefly to Strasbourg, where he joined the Jacobins, before making his way to Switzerland. There, he interpreted the Schaffhausen waterfall on the Rhine as nature's chaotic call to revolt against despotism.[58] In all probability, Koch associated his motifs of the sublime in the Bernese Oberland—the great waterfalls in particular—with the libertarian sentiments expressed by such writers as Albrecht von Haller and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (fig. 12).

In 1771, in the fourth of his *Discourses on Art,* the first president of the Royal Academy of Arts in London, Sir Joshua Reynolds, discussed the issue of composition and imitation in relation to the hierarchy of styles. Reynolds drew a contrast between Lorrain and the Dutch school. Whereas the Dutch painters imitated an individual and imperfect landscape, Lorrains's paintings were "a composition of the various draughts which he had previously made from various beautiful scenes and prospects"[59] (fig. 13). Reynolds insisted that landscape painting should follow the same principles of selection and invention as history painting, although only the latter could achieve the "grand style." For Reynolds, as for most of his contemporaries, the problem of imitation versus invention was inseparable from the distinction between the study of nature, through sketches and drawings, and the creation of paintings. Drawing is confined to imitation, whereas painting must conform to artistic prototypes in order to fulfill its historic mission of improving on nature. The classical academic doctrine, which Reynolds proclaimed, regards nature as decadent and contingent: in painting, it is incumbent on art to use study and invention to bring nature to the perfection of which it is capable.[60]

The turning point in the revival of the composed, harmoniously ordered landscape was the successful publication by John Boydell (1777) of the complete engraved version of Lorrain's *Liber Veritatis* (circa 1648) made by Richard Earlom (1775–77).[61] Boydell's three sumptuous volumes contributed to the immense popularity of the classical landscape in England, France, Germany, and Italy around the turn of the nineteenth century: a popularity that was also fueled by a plentiful supply of reproductive engravings of paintings by Lorrain and Poussin.[62] At that time, Lorrain's landscapes were identified with "nature"—as may be seen from a passage in which Friedrich Schlegel (1772–1829) warns that in landscape painting "the impression of nature may largely and very easily outweigh and suppress the true artistic sense." Schlegel prefers Jacob Isaackszoon van Ruisdael to Lorrain, because Ruisdael produces a beautiful work of art through an artistic treatment of ordinary nature: "Here, the painting affords us a genuine artistic vision; whereas in that other, all-embracing, seemingly far superior genre in which Claude Lorrain excels, and in which he remains supreme—in which the painter aspires to compete with nature herself in the reproduction of her most exalted spectacles—the admiration of nature sweeps away all other feelings and drowns the voice of pure artistic sensibility. Besides, no art can ever attain the magnificence of nature."[63]

In Dresden in 1792 an aristocratic amateur artist, Joseph Friedrich, Freiherr

**Fig. 13. Richard Earlom (1743–1822), after Claude Lorrain (1604–82)**
Pastoral landscape
From Richard Earlom, *Liber Veritatis; or, A Collection of Prints, after the Original Designs of Claude le Lorrain; in the Collection of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire* (London: Boydell, 1777–1819), vol. 2, no. 105

zu Racknitz, a court chamberlain and a member of the Königlich-Preußische Akademie der Künste (Royal Prussian academy of the arts), published his *Briefe über die Kunst an eine Freundinn* (Letters on art to a female friend). In his introduction Racknitz described himself as a "mere dilettante," who had chosen the epistolary form in order to avoid the impression that he intended "to write a learned and complete work on the fine arts"; by his own admission he had not consulted the writings of Leonardo da Vinci, Roger de Piles, Claude-Henri Watelet, or Christian Ludwig von Hagedorn but had relied solely on his own observation of works of art and on Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie.*[64] For Racknitz, painting is "the art of imitating visible objects on a flat surface by means of drawing and colors"; it may be divided into two "classes" (imitation of animate nature and of inanimate nature) and a number of "orders," made up in turn of "divisions" and "subdivisions."[65] This bureaucratic scheme of classification, proposed to amateurs of painting by a dilettante, is set out in his "Entwurf einer Classification der Werke der Mahlerey" (Outline of a classification of works of painting; fig. 14).[66]

Toward the close of the eighteenth century, the issues involved in landscape painting had thus been aired in theoretical debate and in practice. Its position within the hierarchy of genres remained to be redefined, as did its relationship with nature. The question of imitation or invention was an open one: imitation was widely associated with the technique of drawing or sketching, whereas invention was associated with the labor of composition in front of the painting in the studio. As for effect, the beautiful was identified with harmonious compositions, and the sublime with imposing or awe-inspiring subjects.

### *Reflections on Landscape Painting around 1800*

In 1800 the French painter Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes (1750–1819) published his voluminous manual *Élémens de perspective pratique, à l'usage des artistes* (Elements of practical perspective, for use by artists); it appeared in German translation three years later. In his part 1, which occupies more than half of the book, Valenciennes deals with linear and aerial perspective (fig. 15).[67] Part 2 consists of "Réflexions et conseils à un élève sur la peinture et particulièrement sur le genre du paysage" (Reflections and advice to a student on painting, and on the landscape genre in particular). It begins with a description of idealized nature according to the inspired inventions of Lorrain, Poussin, and Gaspard Dughet. For this kind of landscape painting that combines a historical or mythological scene with the ideal beauty of nature Valenciennes coined the term *paysage historique* (historical landscape), as distinct from the imitative reproduction of landscape in the "prospect" or *veduta.*[68]

However, both types of landscape painting have a common basis in "études d'après nature" (studies from nature). This is where the student must begin (but only after first spending several months in drawing under supervision and making copies from the best masters). For these studies from nature,

Erste Classe.

Nachahmungen der belebten Natur.

Erste Ordnung.

Gemählde, wo der Mensch, als das vorzüglichste Geschöpf in der Natur, den Hauptgegenstand ausmacht.

Erste Abtheilung.

Erhabene oder historische Gegenstände, die für jeden unterrichteten Mann, der mit der heiligen und Profan-Geschichte bekannt ist, interessant und fähig sind, uns zu guten Handlungen aufzumuntern, oder von bösen abzuschrecken.

1) Gegenstände der christlichen Religion,
2) Gegenstände aus der Geschichte,
5) Gegenstände aus der heydnischen Religion, Götterlehre und Fabeln,
4) Allegorie.

Zweyte Abtheilung.

Gemählde, die nur einer bestimmten Anzahl von Menschen interessant sind.

1) Portraits,
2) Conversationsstücke,
3) Bataillenstücke,
4) Bambochades, oder niedrige Natur, als holländische Bauerntänze und dergleichen.

Zweyte Ordnung.

Gemählde aus der belebten Natur, wo der Mensch nicht den wichtigsten Gegenstand ausmacht, oder auch gar keinen Antheil hat.

Erste Abtheilung.

Gemählde, wo man den Menschen zwar nicht vermissen darf, selbiger aber dennoch nicht den wichtigsten Gegenstand ausmacht.

Landschaften.

1) heroische Landschaften,
2) gewöhnliche Landschaften und Aussichten,
3) Seestücken.

Zweyte Abtheilung.

Gemählde aus der belebten Natur, wo der Mensch keinen Antheil hat.

1) Stücken, wo die Gegenstände des Ausdrucks einer Leidenschaft und der Bewegung fähig sind.

Thierstücke.

2) Stücken, wo die Gegenstände des Ausdrucks einer Leidenschaft nicht fähig sind.

Blumenstücke.

Zweyte

**Fig. 14. Joseph Friedrich, Freiherr zu Racknitz (1744–1818)**
Part of an outline of a classification of works of painting
From Joseph Friedrich, Freiherr zu Racknitz, *Briefe über die Kunst an eine Freundinn* (Dresden: gedruckt by Carl Christian Meinhold, 1792), after p. iv

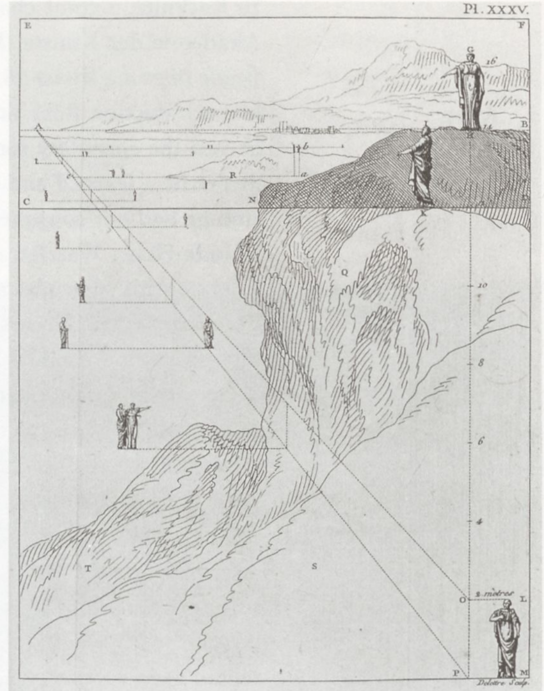



**Fig. 15. Delettre, after Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes (1750–1819)**
Schematic representation of the perspectival diminution of figures at varying distances
In Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes, *Élémens de perspective pratique à l'usage des artistes* (Paris: Valenciennes, 1800), pl. XXXV

Valenciennes provides important guidance. In particular, he offers a way of dealing with the constantly shifting nature of light and atmospheric conditions by making rapid color sketches on the spot:

> We have already observed that the effects of nature are almost never the same at the same moments or the same time of day. These variations depend on a multitude of circumstances, such as the greater or lesser purity of the light, the quantity of vapors in the atmosphere, the wind, the rain, the altitude, the varying reflections created by clouds of differing color, luminosity, or density—in short, by an infinite number of causes that would be impossible to enumerate, especially in a work as brief as the present one. But we have said enough to show that it is absurd for an artist to spend a whole day copying from nature one single view.... In consequence, those students who desire to profit by the study of nature must go about it differently. First of all, copy, as accurately as possible, only the principal tones of nature, within the chosen effect; begin with the sky, which sets the tone of the backgrounds; proceed to the backgrounds, and work from there, one level of depth at a time, to finish with the foreground—which is consequently always in agreement with the sky that serves to establish the local tone. It will be perceived that, with this method, it is impossible to include any detail, since any study from nature must be completed without fail within two hours at most; if it is an effect of sunrise or sunset, give it no longer than half an hour.[69]

The first artists to attempt painted studies from nature had been Lorrain and Joachim von Sandrart, in Rome after 1630—as the latter tells us in his *L'Academia Todesca*.[70] Valenciennes formulated precise guidelines for this procedure, and these were probably followed by his nineteenth-century successors, Camille Corot, the Barbizon school, and the impressionists. The practice of painting in oils from nature became a great deal easier and more popular when metal tubes for oil colors were invented and perfected by Winsor and Newton, around 1842.[71]

Valenciennes regarded the painted study from nature as no more than a preparatory exercise for the grand landscape that the artist would then invent and compose in his studio, and into which he would insert figures engaged in suitable actions. Valenciennes explicitly took issue with those who say that one can make a good painting simply by copying nature. He confined the imitation of nature to the painted sketch and required the landscape painting as such to reflect the artistic skills of invention and composition. Furthermore, by dividing the genre into subcategories—"paysage historique/héroïque" (historical/heroic landscape), "paysage pastoral" (pastoral landscape), "paysage portrait" (portrait landscape), "la marine" (seascape), "les chasses et les batailles" (hunting and battle pieces)—Valenciennes sought to advance the status of landscape within the École des Beaux-Arts. However, efforts to institute a Rome Prize for landscape painting, first proposed by Antoine-Chrysosthôme Quatremère de Quincy (1755–1849) back in 1791, achieved partial success only in 1816. A Rome Prize for landscape was introduced, but—unlike the

annual Rome Prize for history painting—it was to be awarded only once in four years, and for a *paysage historique* at that.[72]

In Dresden, toward the end of the eighteenth century, the librarian and writer on art Christian August Semler (1767–1825) was working on a theory of his own, which would be published in Leipzig in 1800 in the lengthy *Untersuchungen über die höchste Vollkommenheit in den Werken der Landschaftsmalerei* (Studies of the highest perfection in works of landscape painting), part of which appeared in the magazine *Der Kosmopolit* in 1797. Immanuel Kant's *Kritik der Urtheilskraft* (Critique of judgment; 1790) was his most important precedent. Semler discusses the antithesis between the beauty of the particular and the beauty of the whole, which goes to form the total impression or total effect. Accordingly, he concerns himself above all with the psychological effect of landscape painting on the viewer.[73]

The landscape painters who belonged to the German artistic colony in Rome found an advocate in Carl Ludwig Fernow (1763–1808), whose long essay on landscape painting was first published in *Der Neue Teutsche Merkur* in 1803 and, in expanded form, in the second volume of his *Römische Studien* in 1806. On the current state of landscape painting, and the difficulties attendant on any theoretical discussion of the subject, Fernow had this to say in his prologue: "This branch of painting, which modern art has brought to such a pitch of perfection that it leaves something to be desired only, perhaps, in the poetic aspect of invention, presents particular difficulties for theoretical treatment, since the underlying idea of the genre remains undefined; in this respect very little has yet been done that would satisfy the philosophical inquirer."[74]

Fernow's chosen point of departure was the revival of the classical landscape by German painters in Rome, to one of whom, his friend Johann Christian Reinhart (1761–1847), he dedicated his long essay.[75] Fernow divided landscape painting into two categories: the representation of a "real and existing scene," to which he gave the name of "prospect"—synonymous with *veduta*—and the "image of an ideal natural scene on land or water."[76] He defined the true task of painting as the poetic invention of ideal natural scenes based on reality:

> Every representation of nature in landscape, if it is not a depiction of a real view, must be a poem; for even the painter is a true artist only to the extent that he is a poet. But whether his poem is a scene from reality, or from the past, or from the world of literature, can be recognized only from the *staffage* and the accessories; for landscape painting can never compose its ideal scenes except in the character and style of real nature, since in nature neither the particular nor the whole permits of an ideal: that is to say, an elevation above reality to which nature with all the perfection of its productions cannot attain.[77]

In his essay "Ruysdael als Dichter" (Ruisdael as poet; 1816) Goethe admired this quality of poetic invention in three paintings by Jacob van

Ruisdael in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden, and particularly in *The Jewish Cemetery near Ouderkerk* (fig. 16).[78]

Fernow rated "dramatic painting"—namely, history painting—more highly than landscape, while pointing out that the two genres differed in their relationship to viewers: an action is for onlookers only, but in landscape painting no such limitation exists; viewers find themselves inside the natural scene depicted, because the painting puts them into an "aesthetic mood." Fernow ascribed this effect not to the content or the specific objects in the picture but entirely to the "total impression on the mind." Herein lies the affinity between landscape painting and music: "A beautiful landscape is steeped in a harmony of colors that affects the mind in much the same way as melody and harmony in the art of music."[79] The term "total impression" was taken up by Humboldt and used by Carus, who also referred to the affinity between landscape painting and music, though without mentioning Fernow's name.[80]

In 1800 Reinhart had painted *Stormy Landscape with Two Horsemen* and dedicated a large engraving of the work (fig. 17) to the celebrated poet Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805). In composition and effect, the painting derives from the tragic landscapes of Poussin. Reinhart's choice of artistic prototype, the historical costumes worn by his figures, and the identity of his dedicatee show that he aspired to combine poetic invention with harmonious composition and sublimity of effect.[81] In his cover letter to Schiller, Reinhart referred to the old friendship between the two of them: "As I like to etch occasionally, I have engraved one of my paintings in copper and dedicated it to you, so that my image may be in your memory as yours stands fresh and firm in mine."[82]

A particular problem for Fernow was the status of the paintings of Jacob Philipp Hackert (1737–1807), which he discussed only in the expanded version of his essay (1806). Fernow had become professor of aesthetics at Jena in 1803; one year later Goethe interceded to secure him an appointment as librarian to Duchess Anna Amalia in Weimar. Goethe admired Hackert, who had given him drawing lessons in Italy, followed his growing fame, and continued to rate him highly even when his reputation went into decline. In 1804 Goethe published a brief article on two landscape paintings by Hackert, in which he explicitly applied Fernow's distinction: "It would be a grave injustice to paintings like these two works by Hackert, which represent views faithfully painted from nature, if one were to attempt to judge them in terms of the most elevated conception of landscape painting." However, when seen strictly as *vedute* of the environs of Rome and Florence, these two paintings should in Goethe's view be regarded "almost as the acme of art," rather than assigned to the "subordinate category" of landscape painting.[83]

Such a verdict, from his own mentor, obliged Fernow to make amends for his neglect of Hackert. In the second published version of his essay he continued to exclude Hackert from the category of "inventive" landscape painters but followed Goethe in giving him a leading position among painters of "prospects," both for his selection of views (fig. 18) and for his distinctive characterization of the Italian countryside.[84]

**Fig. 16. Jacob Isaackszoon van Ruisdael (ca. 1628–82)**
*The Jewish Cemetery near Ouderkerk*, 1653–55, oil on canvas, 84 × 95 cm (33⅛ × 37⅜ in.)
Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Alter Meister

**Fig. 17. Johann Christian Reinhart (1761–1847)**
*Stormy Landscape with Two Horsemen,* 1800, etching, 35.8 × 50.2 cm (14⅛ × 19¾ in.)
Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum

**Fig. 18. Jacob Philipp Hackert (1737–1807)**
*View of Vicovaro,* from the series *Ten Views from Horace's Villa,* 1780, gouache, 33 × 44 cm (13 × 17⅜ in.)
Düsseldorf, Goethe-Museum

Issues of the same kind constantly recur in the numerous theoretical discussions of landscape painting that appeared around and after the turn of the nineteenth century. With minimal variations, these analyses bear consistent witness to a conflict that was impossible to resolve. In the hierarchy of genres, landscape painting was now expected to occupy a higher rank than before. To this end, its relationship to the imitation of nature and of previous art needed to be clarified, since a superior artistic purpose had nothing to do with the imitation of nature, or indeed with that of artistic prototypes. For the pursuit of that superior purpose, the imitation of the forms of nature was necessary but not in itself sufficient. The imitation of nature was acceptable for purposes of study or sketching, or for the *veduta:* it was therefore limited in its application. The nub of the question was this: where is the superior aspiration in landscape painting? This had to be found and identified in order to raise the status of landscape painting and distinguish it from mere imitation. One obvious way out of the problem was to appeal to the landscape painting of the seventeenth century, as practiced by Poussin, Lorrain, Ruisdael, and Dughet: artists whose work was elevated to the rank of the ideal. However, the introduction of a normative or archetypal ideal led to a direct conflict with the historical relativization of artistic creativity, and with the prohibition against the imitation of artistic prototypes.

In Dresden, Philipp Otto Runge (1777–1810) paved the way for a resolution of this difficulty. After studying in Copenhagen, Runge arrived in Dresden in 1801 to continue his training. He set out to resolve the intractable conflict by setting painting on an entirely new foundation. He had read *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen* by Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853) immediately after its publication in 1798, and he remarked to a correspondent that nothing had ever moved him to his "innermost being" as this book had done.[85] A conversation with Tieck taught Runge, to his surprise, that there was an association between the end of an age and the flowering of art. This filled him with hope. Art could enjoy a new start, he said, but only by combining intimations of divinity with the sensibility of the artist, in relation to the single whole that was art and religion.[86] There could be a revival of art and beauty only after the elimination of "pernicious recent works of art": a category in which Runge included the attempts by Goethe and Heinrich Meyer to revive "historical art" in Weimar. "I cannot well believe," Runge wrote, "that anything as beautiful as the supreme achievement of historical art will ever again be done until all the pernicious recent works of art have perished—unless this were to come about in an entirely new way. What is more, that way is already fairly clear; and perhaps it might soon be time for an art of true beauty to emerge once more: that is, in landscape."[87]

When Runge wrote these words, in 1802, it was not clear how this painting of the future was to be defined; it was, however, clear to him that there was no point in carrying on with traditional landscape painting, and with the dispute between imitation and invention. In April 1803 Runge wrote to Tieck with what he called an "Erste Figur der Schöpfung" (First figure of creation),

a compass-drawn, ornamental configuration consisting of six equal circles arranged around a seventh, central circle. Runge assigned these circles to the days of Creation. First come six days marked by the separation of three antithetical pairs: I and Thou, Good and Evil, Light and Darkness. On the seventh day of Creation, which is still to come, all things revert to the Light from whence they came. Analogies have been found between this system and the mystic structures of correspondences devised by the Silesian shoemaker and "Philosophus Teutonicus," Jacob Böhme or Behmen (1575–1624), in whose writings mysticism mingles with nature philosophy. Tieck may have introduced Runge not only to Böhme but also to Indian mythology; among its earliest students in Germany were Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) and his disciple and friend Friedrich Majer (1772–1818).[88]

*Four Times* occupied Runge from late 1802 onward. Initially conceived as a cycle on the times of the day intended to decorate a room, it became for its creator the long path to a new art. The painting *The "Small" Morning* (1808; fig. 19) brings before our eyes, according to Runge, the "limitless illumination of the universe":[89] Aurora appears as the harbinger of light before the rising sun. From her, angels go forth, symbolizing the music of the spheres; children dance out over the endless landscape or hail the newborn child that lies in a natural paradise beneath the light of Aurora. On the frame, below and above, a solar eclipse and a celestial radiance stand for the polarity of darkness and light; to right and left, genies and flowers illustrate the ascent into light through the three primary colors.[90] *Four Times* is an embodiment of Runge's new art, which no longer depicts "landscape" but is obliged to present to the eye mystic parables that evoke comprehensive analogies between cosmic and historical events.

Runge's interest in color theory led him to devise the color sphere, a globe with black and white at the poles, primary and secondary colors at the equator, and a gradation of light and dark between equator and poles. At the core of the globe is a neutral gray, in which "all diametrically opposed colors and mixtures" resolve themselves.[91] In his publication of 1810 Runge outlined his views on the harmony of colors and included a long essay by the Norwegian-born naturalist and philosopher Henrich (Henrik) Steffens (1773–1845), "Über die Bedeutung der Farben in der Natur" (On the significance of colors in nature).[92] That same year Goethe published his own massive work *Zur Farbenlehre* (On color theory).[93] Runge had developed his ideas on color in contact with Goethe—who hailed him as a kindred spirit on learning that he rejected Isaac Newton—and had devised the color sphere with the aid of Steffens, who was probably also responsible for introducing him to Schelling's concept of the world soul.[94]

Steffens was one of numerous savants who practiced a philosophical science of nature inspired by Schelling. He attended Schelling's lectures in Jena and later studied geology under Abraham Gottlob Werner in Freiberg. After publishing an article on the oxidation and deoxidation process of the earth in Schelling's *Zeitschrift für die speculative Physik*, Steffens brought out his

**Fig. 19. Philipp Otto Runge (1777–1810)**
*The "Small" Morning*, 1808, oil on canvas, 109 × 85.5 cm (42⅞ × 33⅝ in.)
Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle

*Beyträge zur innern Naturgeschichte der Erde* (Studies in the internal natural history of the earth) in 1801. In that work he undertook to deal with the immense variety of natural processes and phenomena (from South Sea coral reefs, by way of snake venom, rock formations, and much else, to light and heat) by means of a simple theory of polarities. Following Schelling, whom he credited with having explained electricity, Steffens undertook to incorporate magnetism and electricity in a single system. He outlined a dual system of polarities, in which hydrogen and oxygen occupy the positive pole of electricity, and carbon and nitrogen the negative pole of magnetism. On the basis of this speculation, which he described as a proof, Steffens promised himself and his readers a future comprehensive explanation of the universe: "Through this proof, electricity becomes the principle of a meteorology; just as, through the proof conducted in this part of the work, magnetism became the principle of a geology. These two will lay the empirical foundation for a theory of nature." This twofold duality, said Steffens, would enable us "to construct the dynamic process of the earth."[95]

By these means, Steffens intended to counter the mechanistic natural sciences and their purely "analytic art"—which he regarded as incapable of reaching "the infinite depth of the formative force"—with a "true" theory.[96] This would be based on doctrines of the correspondence between macrocosm and microcosm, of polarities, of metamorphoses, and of the earth as a living organism—to which Steffens added the thesis of the continual emergence of life from primal matter, which he deduced from the presence of fungal spores on a mineral substance.[97] Steffens's "philosophical science of nature" reveals an attempt to deal with the immense multiplicity of observed phenomena by applying simple concepts largely derived from alchemy (which was the source of the notions of transmutation, microcosm and macrocosm, generation of life, and primal matter).[98] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Saxon court in Dresden had been one of the major centers of alchemy.[99]

Sending a copy of his little book *Farbenkugel* (Color sphere) to Schelling on 1 February 1810, Runge acknowledged the currently enfeebled state of art and expressed the hope that "scientific results in the practice of art" might be attached more to "general scientific ideas." Art might reconnect with the world, if only science would do its part by turning away from dissection and analysis and becoming receptive to connections.[100] Runge also offered to communicate to Schelling his thoughts on the mighty works that might arise from collaboration between architects, sculptors, and painters—in the full knowledge, of course, that since 1806 his correspondent had been secretary general of the Akademie der bildenden Künste (Academy of the fine arts) in Munich.

It was with a similar call for a landscape painting based on science that Carus entered the debate. In Ludwig Schorn's *Kunst-Blatt*, in June and July of 1826, he published letter VIII of *Letters on Landscape Painting* with the following note: "Over the past decade, numerous reflections on this art, which has as its true task the great object of representing individual scenes, individual moods, of the universal life of nature—and which I would therefore prefer

to call *nature's history painting,* or *earth-life painting*—have given rise to a series of nine letters, which I have previously shown only to a few friends. At the wish of several of those friends, I here tentatively set a link from this chain before a wider public."[101]

Carus chose for publication the letter in which he had to his own satisfaction directed landscape painting to a new purpose, marked by the coining of the new term *Erdleben-Bildkunst* (earth-life painting). He dealt both with the academies and with the training necessary for the young landscape painters who were to be led to practice "earth-life painting." First, the artist's eye must become capable of perceiving "the true and wondrous life of nature," and the hand must be trained "to do the soul's bidding quickly, easily, and beautifully." Young artists must learn to understand the connection between the forms of mountains and their structure, the causal relationship between the locality and its flora, the laws that govern plant growth, and the laws of atmospheric phenomena. Once initiated into the first three elements, the student must be introduced to the mysteries of the fourth element, light, and its operations in the genesis of color.[102] Carus marveled that, hitherto, "the need for a scientific element has been so completely overlooked in the teaching of landscape painting; especially since elsewhere in the fine arts scientific studies have been so readily accepted as indispensable."[103]

To pursue their exploration of "earth-life," Carus would wish artists to converse with naturalists, and to read such books as the *Ansichten der Natur* (Views of nature) by Humboldt; he would also wish to see the publication of a book that would make the various aspects of "earth-life" known to young artists. At the very time when Carus published his text in the *Kunst-Blatt,* he himself started to write such a book. He worked on it through the 1830s and published it in 1841 under the title *Zwölf Briefe über das Erdleben* (Twelve letters on earth-life).[104]

For the time being, however, he had no better advice to offer than to school the eye and the hand by "the frequent, careful copying and independent construction of basic geometric figures"; this served both to counter "the temptations of carelessness" (*Lüderlichkeit*) and to teach "the first principles of all organic forms."[105] Other preliminary exercises proposed by Carus are perspective and shading. These done, and once the student has mastered the representation of solids on a plane, he can go on to represent life. In this way, Carus undertakes to lead young artists to their goal, which is "to learn to speak the language of nature."[106]

In conclusion, and in all innocence, Carus formulated the purpose of "earth-life painting" as follows:

> When the soul is saturated with the inner meaning of all these different forms; when it has clear intimations of the mysterious, divine life of nature; when the hand has taught itself to represent securely, and the eye to see purely and acutely; and when the artist's heart is purely and entirely a consecrated, joyous vessel in which to receive the light from above: then there will infallibly be earth-life paintings, of a

> new and higher kind, which will uplift the viewer into a higher contemplation of nature. These works will truly deserve to be named mystic and orphic; and earth-life painting will have attained its culmination.[107]

This peroration is artless and naive by comparison with a very similarly worded passage in the short story "Die Jesuiterkirche in G." (The Jesuit Church in G—), by Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann (1776–1822), published in 1816 in part 1 of his *Nachtstücke.* After a variety of employments Hoffmann had moved to Dresden in 1813 as musical director of the Joseph Seconda theater company, only to leave in 1814 for Berlin, where he became a counsel to the high court in 1816. "Die Jesuiterkirche in G." is an account, supposedly written by an enthusiastic dilettante, of the tragic fate of a young German painter, Berthold; it is also the most acute contemporary analysis of the problems of landscape painting.

Berthold makes his way to Rome, where he learns that his own primary concern, the imitation of nature, counts for nothing by comparison with the superior genre of history painting. Not until he travels to Naples to become a pupil of Jakob Philipp Hackert does he receive any encouragement in the imitation of nature; he shows a landscape painting in one of his master's exhibitions, with some success. But from the crowd of visitors to the exhibition there emerges an evil spirit, a rich Greek from Malta, who takes on the role of demonic tempter, destroys the young man's faith in the *veduta,* and holds out to him a more elevated conception of art:

> The understanding of nature in the deepest interpretation of its highest meaning, which sets all beings afire with aspiration toward the higher life: such is the sacred purpose of all art. Can this be achieved by merely copying nature?... From tree, bush, flower, mountain and water, the voice of nature speaks to the adept of an impenetrable mystery; its wondrous tones form intimations of the divine within his breast. Then, like the spirit of God himself, there comes upon him the gift of conveying those intimations in visible form through his work.... Study nature, therefore, even in the mechanical sense, with care and application, in order to acquire the practical skill of representation; but do not mistake practical skill for art itself. When you have plumbed the deeper meaning of nature, its images will appear within you, in all their sublimity and splendor.[108]

The temptations of genius, thus laid before Berthold by the demonic Greek, lure him on to his downfall. He can see what he wants to paint only in his dreams; he can no longer produce any works at all. In this state of artistic paralysis, he retires to a cave, only to be tormented by fantastic dreams of art. There he enjoys a vision of his ideal; he is able to work again, but all his works are mere reproductions, and he lapses into paralysis once more. The dilettante narrator meets Berthold in the village of G—, where the artist is engaged in transferring a squared-off design to the church wall, and is struck by Berthold's eccentric mien, his noble bearing, his eccentric garb, and his

evident state of deep distress. The narrator's interest in the artist, and his naive remarks on the subject of art, reveal him as an honest but limited Everyman. He ventures some disparaging remarks on the subject of mural painting; he expects an artist to give him ideas of genius rather than mere technical perfection. In his naïveté, he thus repeats the demonic blandishments of the Greek from Malta. Berthold knows that such talk is pernicious and attempts to refute it by describing painting as normal work, no different in essence from the building of sawmills or the making of spinning machinery. As the story proceeds, this argument is revealed in its turn as specious. The artist finishes his painting, but then he disappears, leaving his hat and stick on the riverbank.

Hoffmann's tale, with its theme of irresolvable inner conflict, demolishes all naive assumptions concerning the nature of the artist's work. The mere *veduta* is seen as a betrayal of the artist's true task; but to assume a higher calling, which leads from the imitation of nature to a deeper knowledge of its inward reality—as Runge attempted to do, and as Carus wanted "earth-life painting" to do—leads to artistic paralysis. In Hoffmann's tale, that higher calling is a satanic temptation; to yield is the Fall of Man, and the end of the artist. Carus, for his part, places his faith in the natural sciences as a basis for deeper artistic insights into nature—and for the representation of such insights.

His advice on the training of youthful artists is, however, both extremely general and appallingly inept. It does not depart from the content of the numerous contemporary manuals of the geometrical elements of drawing.[109] Unlike the manuals, however, Carus agrees with Runge in surmising that elementary geometric forms enshrine the secret mysteries and laws of nature.[110]

Carus's reasons for publishing his ideas on "earth-life painting" in 1826 are interesting. One year earlier, he had published in the *Kunst-Blatt* a short piece on the representation of eyes by a number of old masters, taking as his point of departure Fra Angelico's *Coronation of the Virgin* in Paris.[111] This had established his connection with the *Kunst-Blatt,* which under the editorship of the art historian Ludwig Schorn (1793–1842) was an important journal. In 1826 Peter von Cornelius (1783–1867), who had moved from Düsseldorf to Munich in 1825 to become director of the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Munich, pensioned off the professor of landscape painting, Wilhelm von Kobell (1766–1855), who had occupied the post since 1814, and abolished the chair, because he disapproved of all "genre" painting.[112] Instead, Cornelius appointed a professor of aesthetics and art history, who was none other than Schorn, editor of the *Kunst-Blatt.*[113]

It is likely that in June and July of 1826 Carus submitted his letter on "earth-life painting"—which also deals with the training of young artists and criticizes the traditional teaching of the academies—to the *Kunst-Blatt* in order to intervene in the topical debate that was taking place in Munich. In the pages of the *Kunst-Blatt* the controversy over imitation and the ideal in landscape painting ran on until 1831. However, none of the contributors took

any notice of Carus's essay; none adopted his new name for landscape painting or any of his proposals.[114]

### *Science and Landscape Painting*

In his memoirs Carus wrote that he had found a "great limpness" in art in Dresden in 1815 or so, but that he had detected signs of "a future evolution," related to the painter Caspar David Friedrich:

> Friedrich, with his somewhat stiff and diffuse but highly poetic manner, was the first artist—in painting as a whole, but more especially in landscape painting—who ever assailed and shook up the philistines of Dresden. There had been a great stir when one of his paintings, a crucifix on a rock beneath dark fir trees and against the dying glow of an evening sky, had given rise to a literary controversy conducted on Friedrich's behalf by his friend Gerhard von Kügelchen [Kügelgen] and on the opposing side by a prosaic dilettante, a certain Herr von Ramdohr—to the latter's eventual discomfiture.[115]

Carus refers here to the celebrated artistic dispute that arose in Dresden when Friedrich exhibited his painting *The Cross in the Mountains* (fig. 20). At the end of 1808 the artist put his newly completed work on public view for a few days in his own Dresden apartment. In order to reproduce the dim light of a chapel, a cloth was hung over the window of the room. The painting in its heavy gilt frame stood on a table draped with a black cloth. This image of a crucifix on a dark mountain peak in the crimson evening twilight came under severe criticism from Friedrich Basilius von Ramdohr. He enumerated the faults in the depiction of landscape, condemned the artist for trying to arouse a "pathological emotion" in its viewers, and went on to denounce the religiosity and mysticism that he perceived to be at work on every side, both in art and in science.[116]

Friedrich, for his part, angrily rejected the criticisms of this "heartless critic of art" and replied: "If a painting has a soulful effect on the viewer, if it puts his mind into a soulful mood, then it has fulfilled the first requirement of a work of art. However bad it might be in drawing, color, handling, etc."[117]

In his memoirs Carus set out his own views on Friedrich's mode of working and reiterated his own statement of principle: "A picture must not be invented but felt."[118] Additionally, in 1840 Carus had published an essay, and in 1841 a pamphlet, on Friedrich, with a selection from the artist's notes.[119]

Carus was thus still standing up for Friedrich in the 1840s; and yet it is only the first part of his *Letters on Landscape Painting* that reflects a view close to Friedrich's own. In letter III, Carus seeks to define "the principal task of landscape painting" as the creation of a correspondence of mood between humanity and nature: "The representation of a certain mood of mental life (meaning) through reproduction of a corresponding mood of natural life (truth)."[120]

As in this formulation, so in his own painting, Carus in the 1820s and

**Fig. 20. Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840)**
*The Cross in the Mountains*, 1808, oil on canvas, canvas: 115 × 110.5 cm (45¼ × 43½ in.); frame by Karl Gottlob Kühn
Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Neue Meister

**Fig. 21. Carl Gustav Carus (1789–1869)**
*Cemetery near Inning*, ca. 1822, oil on canvas, 21.5 × 28.8 cm (8½ × 11⅜ in.)
Schweinfurt, Museum Georg Schäfer

1830s remained as close to Friedrich as an imitator ever can be to any artist. Carus chose the same motifs as Friedrich, reproduced the same moods of twilight and moonlight, and never denied, as a painter, his dependence on his great mentor. A small painting such as *Cemetery near Inning* (fig. 21), a scene of studied melancholy in which crosses in a Bavarian graveyard are seen against the sunset, touchingly confirms the devotion of the dilettante to his mentor, circa 1822.[121]

There is a marked contrast between this lasting discipleship and the message of letters IV to IX, in which Carus prescribed for landscape painting objectives and tasks that are incompatible with the ideas of Friedrich. On the grounds of the gap of almost two years in Carus's work on the *Letters on Landscape Painting* between 1822 and 1824, most commentators have located the fault line between letters I to IV and VI to IX, and have defined the difference between the two groups as that between a "romantic" and a "scientific" approach.[122] In 1995, however, Jutta Müller-Tamm proposed a tripartite division: she assigned letters I to III to the category of "early romanticism" but excluded letter VI, which is about the stylistic ideal, and letter V, which is about the history of landscape painting.[123] Letters VI to IX, which attempt to establish a landscape painting of the future, based on science, under the new name of "earth-life painting," are a response to Goethe's and Humboldt's calls for a landscape painting that would restore the lost unity between the scientific knowledge of nature and the artistic rendering of nature.

The gulf between Friedrich's views and this new project of Carus's may be gauged by the artist's response to Goethe's suggestion that he should study Luke Howard's classification of clouds. Though interested in the rendering of clouds, Friedrich dismissed the idea—when it reached him through an intermediary—with the remark that to allow himself to be coerced into such categorizations would entirely undermine the art of landscape painting.[124] Friedrich's reaction must have caused Carus some perplexity. The second enclosure of letter III, devoted to the elements, describes the sky as "the true image of infinity" and ascribes to cumulus and cirrus clouds an influence on the human mind: "When our view of this infinity is narrowed down, constrained, and obscured by clouds or by tall accumulations of other objects, the mind is proportionately constrained and oppressed; but let the veil of cloud break into silvery cloudlets, or disperse in the steady glow of the rising moon or of the sun, and our inner gloom is dispelled; we are uplifted by the thought that the infinite has prevailed over the finite."[125]

This passage bears reading in association with the cloud studies of Friedrich.[126] In letter VI, however, Carus turns his back on any such metaphysical view of clouds by referring to Goethe's published account of Howard's cloud classification and describing it as a liberating and illuminating lesson.[127]

Carus begins letters I to IV and letter IX with "romantic" mood paintings of the seasons. In letter I the writer sits in a cozy room, in the "pleasing halflight" of a lamp, with snow running down the window. In letter II it is still winter; in letter III it is late summer, and we look back on spring and "the

pretty, late-flowering elders." Letter IV moves on to autumn: "the chill, damp, misty air, and the bare branches" provoke a seasonal melancholy that the writer strives in vain to shake off. In letter IX winter has come; and thus, as Carus says, the cycle of the year is complete.[128] Perhaps these literary mood paintings can be described as "romantic" in a loose sense of that word, but a more accurate description would be "Biedermeier"; for this bourgeois version of "sensibility" implies a combination of nonthreatening emotion, domestic harmony, quiet sociability, modest aspirations (both material and intellectual), and a mellow, rather middle-aged sense of being at peace with oneself and with the world.[129] What is more, Carus's *Letters on Landscape Painting* are not in the least audacious, provocative, or opinionated: they thus offer no justification for the facile attribution to "early romanticism." Nor are these contemplative word paintings of the seasons the only typically Biedermeier feature of the book: so too are the apostrophe to the addressee at the beginning of letter IV and the disquisition on the artist in letter IX.

In letter IV, Carus turns from his evocation of the melancholy mood of late fall to write of the inner harmony and happiness to which he aspires: "So let me recover, in an exchange of thoughts with you, my old and well-tried friend, the inner equanimity and tranquillity that you and I have always believed to be the only true source of happiness."[130]

In letter IX, Carus quotes a disgruntled artist as saying that artists have become an anachronism, devoid of political, statistical, or mercantile significance and reduced to the role of "servants of luxury."[131] This verdict echoes Hegel's celebrated dictum that, as a consequence of the evolution of mind and spirit, art has lost its role as the supreme means of "being conscious of the Absolute."[132] Carus tries to deal with the loss of art's central relevance to life by simply asserting its imperishability: "This is not to say that the age of true art and true artists is past, just because the world at large seems to ignore them: the time for true art can never be past, if only because it transcends time: it is *eternal.*"[133]

What is more, Carus expects the artist, "whose heart is in landscape painting, in the higher sense of the term,"[134] to renounce such mundane needs as housing, food, and clothing as a proof that his mind is on higher things. This self-abnegation will have its own reward, says Carus, especially if the artist also has scientific interests. He goes on to suggest, however, that the artist earn his living "by some entirely ordinary activity," and practice his art on the side, lest he be corrupted:

> The artist aspires to a goal that the vulgar world ignores; why then should he not gain the ordinary necessities of life by some entirely ordinary activity? Indeed, I would say that even this struggle with ordinary life—in which it will be open and indeed natural to him to see the most ordinary things in a magnificent and noble light—will give him inner strength and complete his education as a human being; just as a healthy body appears truly healthy only if all its organs and faculties, both lower and higher, are active and vigorous.

> Sad to say, I have watched all too many artists, and scholars too, treating their own art or science as a mere milk cow, and asking, like artisans, only "What pleases the crowd? What flatters the follies of the day?" As they became more and more embroiled in such concerns, their brief flush of youthful enthusiasm gave way to a philistine dullness in which the brush or pen was ruled no longer by the head and heart but by the stomach.[135]

Despite his friendship with Friedrich, Carus was only superficially aware of the problems that confronted his artistic contemporaries. Instead of attempting any thorough analysis, he advised them to retreat to the status of part-time artists; this, of course, was the way in which he himself practiced art.[136]

After their Biedermeier mood paintings, the first three letters cast up important questions of a general nature. These include: the justification of a systematic investigation of art and beauty; the relationship between science and art; the purpose of landscape painting; and the correspondences between "within" and "without." Carus rejects the widespread belief that any systematic investigation of the nature of art and beauty belittles or profanes both. On the contrary, reflection alone can procure a "full and genuine poetic enjoyment."[137] His chosen metaphor is that of looking down from a mountain at a landscape: the overall impression of the view repeats and reinforces the observer's past enjoyment of individual localities within it. But the analysis of art, like "any true investigation of natural history," must lead humanity "to the threshold of higher mysteries." Here lies the justification of his statement in letter II that art is "the messenger of religion."[138]

Carus draws a contrast between natural science, which kills what it analyzes, and art, which creates something with the appearance of life. He goes on to say, however, that the contrast is merely apparent. He postulates "an eternal, supreme, infinite unity," which underlies all feeling and all thought, and which manifests itself inwardly in reason and outwardly in nature. Science and art are antithetical: the one, through knowledge, leads multiplicity back to divine unity; and the other, through the quasi-divine activity of creation, generates multiplicity. Both, however, have the same goal, which is the manifestation of the divine. "From awareness comes *knowledge*, or science; and from skill comes *art*. In science, man feels himself in God; in art, he feels God in himself."[139]

Carus goes on to say that science and art build on each other: science requires art for its exposition, and art must have a scientific basis.[140] Such an assertion directly reflects Carus's own activity as a scientific illustrator (see fig. 5). He repeatedly evokes a mysterious harmony that unites the kingdoms of nature; the fundamental forms of thought; the arts of poetry, music, and architecture; the physiological organization of man; the primary colors; and the notes of a musical triad—all of which he regards as manifestations of the "eternal, supreme, infinite unity." In the third enclosure of letter III, Carus defines beauty, in a musical metaphor, as "the triad [Dreiklang] of God, nature, and man."[141]

Plainly, by invoking mystical notions of this kind, derived however remotely from Schelling's concept of the world soul, Carus was steering his treatise into dangerous waters. Such ideas offered no conclusions, applications, or new perspectives for landscape painting. In the following letters, IV and V, which are concerned with style and with the history of landscape painting, respectively, Carus adopted a completely different approach, based largely on the writings of Fernow.[142] Just why Goethe, to whom Carus sent letters I to III and V in 1822, responded by saying that they were "as well conceived as they are beautifully written," is not easy to explain. In view of Goethe's unremitting opposition to everything romantic, these first three letters were bound to annoy him; only the content of letter V might have engaged his interest.[143] Perhaps he leafed through Carus's first three letters only cursorily, before responding with his customary courtesy to his admirer's offering. It was Carus's historical-anatomical studies that really interested him.[144]

In letter V, Carus sketches a brief history of landscape painting. He is puzzled by the sudden emergence of landscape as an autonomous pictorial genre in the seventeenth century. To explain this, he resorts to a fragmentary outline of the development of humanity, based on a parallel between the development of nations and of the human individual. Carus views Greek mythology as a projection of humanity onto the phenomena of nature. Sculpture, which is about the human image, appears as the "true art of the heroic age." This was the first art form in history; the second was painting, which is "the more ideal art" of the two. As for landscape painting, Carus conjectures that it requires "a degree of superior education and experience." As he explains, "There is an element of abstraction and abnegation involved in treating the external world no longer simply as the element in which we live and act but as something with a beauty and sublimity of its own."[145]

Landscape painting, Carus tells us, appeared only after the human race had learned to abandon its purely selfish relationship to nature, had comprehended nature as the revelation of divinity, and had become capable of taking the beauty of the universe as an artistic goal: "Man had first to recognize the divinity of nature as the true bodily revelation or—in human terms—language of God."[146] There is no place here for the *veduta* or "painting of prospects" (*Prospectmalerei*), which is relegated to a lowly status. Carus also rejects the "sentimental" painting of nature, which neglects its truth in favor of symbols or hieroglyphs and uses objects to convey symbolic meaning. As an example of this, Carus cites a landscape described in Tieck's *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen* (1798); at the same time, he distances himself from the views of Friedrich.[147]

Letter V left Carus with no idea where to go next. Nor did the subsequent insertion of letter IV, on the style and character of landscape painting, do anything to relieve the gloomy future prospect with which letter V closes. This perplexity lasted more than a year. Then Carus was overtaken by a sudden revelation of the future of landscape painting, inspired by Goethe's interest in Howard's classification of clouds; this formed the subject of letter VI.[148] For

Carus, the task of landscape painting had suddenly widened to encompass the "mysteries of nature," which lie concealed in the laws that govern the motion of clouds, the forms of mountain ranges, the outlines of trees, and the waves of the sea. The artist can engage with all this on the strength of his "knowledge of the wonderful reciprocities of earth and fire and sea and air."[149] Carus fantasizes over the future art of nature: paintings that will show the history of the mountains, of the plant world, and of atmospheric phenomena. But what examples can he show? He tackles this rhetorical question in the following letter by citing the poetic descriptions of nature in the works of Goethe and Humboldt, and he inserts as supporting evidence an extract from a botanical work by Christian Gottfried Daniel Nees von Esenbeck (1776–1858).[150]

Carus has given us no examples from painting, although a number of painters had long since taken an interest in geology: he would have had every right to count such a painting as Johan Christian Clausen Dahl's *Gorge in Saxon Switzerland* (fig. 22) of 1820 as a representation of "earth-life"; he himself drew the same gorge, possibly in the 1820s.[151] However, it was only after the publication of *Letters on Landscape Painting* that Carus identified his first example of an "earth-life painting": this was a work by the young artist Georg Heinrich Crola (1804–79), a Dresden protégé of both Friedrich and Dahl, who evolved in Munich into a specialist in trees and woodland subjects.[152]

By publishing letter VIII separately in the *Kunst-Blatt* in 1826, Carus hoped to give effect to his idea of "earth life painting" and encourage young artists to take an interest in the laws of "earth-life." At the same time, he embarked on his project that was to become the *Zwölf Briefe über das Erdleben,* on which he was to work all through the 1830s.[153] In the seventh letter of that work, published in 1841, Carus takes up the theme of the physiognomy of the earth's surface, which he had already put forward in enclosure I to letter IX of *Letters on Landscape Painting.*[154] He borrowed the term from Humboldt's essay *Ideen zu einer Physiognomik der Gewächse* (Ideas toward a physiognomy of plants) of 1806.[155] In this matter Carus based himself on the science that was practiced everywhere, before and after 1800, under the name *geognosy.*[156] In 1840 the Prussian geologist Christian Keferstein drew the distinction between mineralogy (classification of rocks), geognosy (investigation of the mineral masses of the earth's crust), and geology (speculation as to the evolution of the earth as a planet).[157] There was a long-running and vigorous controversy between the Neptunists, who argued that rocks were the product of crystallization in water, and the Plutonists, who asserted their volcanic origin. The main point at issue was the origin of basalt. After field research in the Auvergne and on Mount Vesuvius—the latter conducted by Humboldt—it became impossible even for such sworn Neptunists as Goethe to doubt the volcanic origin of this rock.[158]

As early as 1834 Carus attempted to draw the celebrated Fingal's Cave, on the basalt Isle of Staffa off the west coast of Scotland, from written accounts and existing illustrations.[159] When he traveled to Britain in 1844, in the suite of King Friedrich August II, the royal party visited the cave itself. Carus

**Fig. 22. Johan Christian Clausen Dahl (1788–1857)**
*Gorge in Saxon Switzerland,* 1820, oil on canvas, 62.9 × 48 cm (24¾ × 18⅞ in.)
Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek

**Fig. 23. Carl Gustav Carus (1789–1869)**
*Fingal's Cave,* after 1844, watercolor and pen, 24.7 × 29.2 cm (9¾ × 11½ in.)
Basel, Kupferstichkabinett

described the visit in his account of the journey and produced a number of watercolors based on his own sketches.[160] In a pen-and-wash drawing now in Basel (fig. 23), he shows the clusters of basalt columns in all their irregularity and displacement.

In treating geognosy as one of the scientific foundations of landscape painting, Carus was concerned with the laws governing the relationship between the exterior and the interior—between forms, on the one hand, and the structure and history of mountain ranges, on the other—and with the linking of the parts with the whole through a combination of close and remote viewpoints. "In the investigation of all natural objects," he wrote, "we are led to draw a distinction between the *exterior* and the *interior:* the exterior enabling us to form a mental image of the whole, and the interior showing us the parts. Only when these two combine do we gain a global idea of the nature of the object in itself."[161]

In the *Zwölf Briefe über das Erdleben* of 1841 Carus refers back to his earlier remarks from a "higher vantage point." Letters VII to IX of that work are devoted to an account of "earth-life" in terms of the four elements of Empedocles.[162] Like Schubert or Steffens, Carus has no compunction in combining precise observations of detail with remarkably free-ranging and unsubstantiated speculations about the universe.[163]

The idea of correspondences between exterior and interior led Carus, even after completing the *Zwölf Briefe über das Erdleben,* to concern himself on a number of occasions with dubious and already discredited disciplines such as phrenology or cranioscopy, chiromancy, and physiognomy.[164] While invariably deploring the merely superstitious and fortuitous aspects of these practices, he cited the analogy of symptomatology in medicine to argue that anthropology, anatomy, and physiology could yield scientific knowledge of man's interior through the scrutiny of the exterior. In his book on physiognomy (1853) Carus spoke of the "science of the significance of external human configuration in relation to inner psychic and mental life, which I here discuss, for the sake of concision, under the name of *symbolism.*" Among its practical applications, Carus included the art of portraiture.[165]

The program of "earth-life painting"—to express the structure and history of mountains through their form, and to render the other elements in such a way as to reveal the universal rule of law and demonstrate the harmony between the particular and the universal—was far beyond the capacity of landscape painting.[166] It is striking, however, that, although in theory Carus had the most exalted ideas of what painting could be expected to do, in practice he clung to his old predilection for Friedrich, while resting content with quite modest achievements by others (as in the case of the painting by Crola).

In *Letters on Landscape Painting* Carus tackled a major theme and a number of important issues while armed with an extremely slender knowledge of landscape painting and of its history. This is something that he would never have allowed himself to do on a scientific subject, at least not at the beginning

**Fig. 24. Carl Gustav Carus (1789–1869)**
*Goethe Memorial; or, In Memory of Goethe: Landscape Fantasy,* 1832,
oil on canvas, 71.5 × 53.5 cm (28⅛ × 21⅛ in.)
Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle

of his career. He did very little reading in the specialized literature of art; in his text he appears to be deliberately avoiding references to that literature. Instead, he cites such illustrious authorities as Goethe, Schiller, Schelling, and Humboldt. He mentions only one writer on landscape painting, Salomon Gessner; he also refers to William Hogarth's "line of beauty," though only to dismiss it. His only direct quotation, in letter IV, is from Fernow's study of Antonio Canova.[167] He makes no reference to Heinrich Meyer, to Fernow's lengthy essay on landscape painting—a work that he used constantly throughout the composition of *Letters on Landscape Painting*—or indeed to any other literature on the subject. The opening of letter VIII, "Landscape painting has often been likened to music," is a clear but unavowed reference to a passage in which Fernow takes issue with Goethe: "A beautiful landscape is steeped in a harmony of colors that affects the mind in much the same way as melody and harmony in the art of music."[168]

Carus's suppression of his literary sources is probably not a sign of negligence or deceit. It reflects his diffidence about competing with established authors on territory that was not entirely familiar to him; it also reflects the dilettante's willful delusion that he can produce all the essential insights from his own resources, and that he can substantiate them on the strength of his own conviction and his own chosen authorities alone. His supreme authority was Goethe, whom he quotes in a number of his writings. When the poet died in 1832, Carus created a remarkable memorial to Goethe in the form of a painting (fig. 24).[169] Outlined against the moonlight, a dark sarcophagus, accompanied by an Aeolian harp and two kneeling angels, stands at the foot of a mighty rock face. In the hollows, wisps of mist cling to the fir trees; high in the sky hang light-colored clouds; and from the wooded cliff there plunges a waterfall, the symbol of the eternal cyclic motion of nature. For Goethe, Carus has devised a mystical "earth-life painting" in which the music of the spheres, the harmony of the cosmos, presides over the harmonious complementarity of geological and meteorological interests. Like Friedrich's *Cross in the Mountains* (see fig. 20), the Goethe memorial is an altarpiece; it evokes the very analogy between music and landscape painting that Goethe himself had refused to countenance.[170]

### *The Influence and Reception of* Letters on Landscape Painting

Despite the widespread debate on landscape painting that was taking place in Germany, the publication of letter VIII of Carus's *Letters on Landscape Painting* in Schorn's *Kunst-Blatt* in 1826 generated no reaction whatever. However, the first edition of *Letters on Landscape Painting* (1831) received a belated but detailed and appreciative review from the theologian Carl Grüneisen, writing in the *Kunst-Blatt* for 1833.[171] Grüneisen welcomed Carus's new coinages, *Erdlebenbild* and *Erdlebenbildkunst,* despite their awkwardness, but noted with disapproval that Carus had neglected or marginalized the great contemporary masters of historical landscape:

> It is frustrating, however, that in this respect the author does not give due acknowledgment to what has been called the historical landscape, as practiced by the great masters of our own time, Koch, Reinhard, Schick, Steinkopf, and Reinhold; indeed, he tends to dismiss it as insignificant, as seems to be the case on page 121 [end of letter VI]. Frustrating, because in it [historical landscape] the quality of natural life is most often closely allied to the spirit of the action and the mental state of the persons depicted; and, conversely, a mythological or historical scene may be supported—and indeed called for—by the distinctive quality of the Greek natural scene and by the specific form, air, and coloring of a landscape.[172]

When Carus visited Koch and Reinhart in their Roman studios in 1828, he came away with an unfavorable impression of both artists and their works. He had been looking forward to meeting Reinhart, because he himself had derived much inspiration from his etchings; but in Rome he found him "elderly and dull, with something of a beer-drinker's physiognomy; in short, he struck me as an extinct artistic talent." His response to Koch, who had given the royal party a guided tour of his mural paintings on subjects from Dante, was equally unsympathetic: "As for Koch, he enjoys a significant reputation as a landscape painter; but I confess that, among his few conceptions that are halfway to being Old German, I found nothing attractive."[173]

Grüneisen's review of the first edition of *Letters on Landscape Painting,* which consists mostly of a summary of the content, concludes with a cautious judgment, praising the thoroughness of the exposition while exhorting artists and their public to take landscape more seriously: "To summarize our verdict on the whole: the nature and purpose of landscape painting are here described in a thorough manner; this is an encouragement to artists and to the public to pay greater heed to this highly significant branch of art, to inquire into it more earnestly, and to promote it by relating it to intellectual life and to the states of mind."[174]

The first edition of *Letters on Landscape Painting* was not a commercial success. It is evident that in 1835 there were still printed, unbound sheets of the first edition available. Carus added a tenth letter and some additional material, had the title page reset, and described the version including pages 209 to 276 as a "second edition, with an additional letter and several enclosures."[175] In 1836 this expanded edition of *Letters on Landscape Painting* (1835) was reviewed in the *Literatur-Blatt,* along with a number of other publications on aesthetics, by Wolfgang Menzel, an inveterate adversary of Goethe and Hegel. Menzel covered more than a dozen recent German publications, all of which he greeted with more or less acid comments. He began his account of *Letters on Landscape Painting* by saying: "Little matter and an astounding profusion of words." He went on to quote a number of passages and concluded as follows: "What is the landscape painter to do with such empty phrases? It is only in the enclosures that the author goes into any detail: on the physiognomy of mountains, for example, the effects of moonlight, the contemplation of a number of paintings by Ewerdingen, and so

on."[176] Menzel was condemning the *Letters on Landscape Painting* for a lack of practical usefulness, something that Carus had never regarded as central to his intention.

Neither the publication of Carus's *Zwölf Briefe über das Erdleben* in 1841 nor Humboldt's *Kosmos: Entwurf einer physischen Weltbeschreibung* (Cosmos: Notes for a physical description of the world), begun in 1845, did anything to remedy the lack of influence of Carus's "earth-life painting." The satirical drawing *Das organische Leben in der Natur* (Organic life in nature; fig. 25), by Moritz von Schwind (1804–71), published in the Munich periodical *Fliegende Blätter* in 1848, may be regarded as one of the rare public responses to the "earth-life" idea.[177] Schwind transformed the roots of a clump of trees into weird, anthropomorphic, long-nosed figures, some seated, some reclining, some apparently in the act of rising to depart, and one towering above eye level in a striding pose. The occasion of Schwind's mockery is unknown; the magazine published no text to accompany the caricature. Schwind had moved to Munich as a professor at the Akademie in 1847, and, in his first few years there, he drew many illustrations for the *Fliegende Blätter* and *Münchner Bilderbogen*.

In all probability Schwind's caricature marks the end of the direct reception of Carus's idea of "earth-life" as the subject of landscape painting. Although the ideas of the world soul and of the analogy between microcosm and macrocosm were later taken up in a variety of ways, these have no connection with Carus. In 1851 Gustav Theodor Fechner (1801–87) attempted to breathe new life into nature philosophy. Fechner had become professor of physics at the Universität Leipzig in 1834; an eye complaint compelled him to retire from teaching in 1839, and he subsequently concentrated on nature philosophy, aesthetics, and anthropology. In 1848 he brought out a book entitled *Das Seelenleben der Pflanzen* (The psychology of plants); in 1851 he published his magnum opus of nature philosophy, *Zend-Avesta; oder, Über die Dinge des Himmels und des Jenseits* (Zend-Avesta; or, on things celestial and transcendental), in three volumes, in which he asserted, contrary to prevailing opinion, that plants and indeed heavenly bodies are "animate beings."[178]

In his preface Fechner admits that nature philosophy has declined from the respect that it formerly enjoyed. His publication is an attempt to rehabilitate the ancient belief "that the whole of nature is alive and divinely informed with soul."[179] Fechner repeatedly invokes the doctrine of correspondence between macrocosm and microcosm. In a chapter titled "Vergleichende physische Erd- und Himmelskunde" (A comparative physical study of earth and the heavens) he dilates at some length on the following analogy: "Classifying materials according to their mode of cohesion (aggregative form), we can identify in the earth, as within our own bodies, the firm, the fluid, the airy, the vaporous, and the imponderable. We have rocks in our bones; rivers run through our veins; vapors and air blow through our respiratory apparatus; light enters through our eyes; heat permeates our body; a subtle agent may circulate through our nerves. Macrocosm, microcosm."[180]

24. Bestellungen werden in allen Buch- und Kunsthandlungen, so wie von allen Postämtern und Zeitungsexpeditionen angenommen.

Nro. 144.

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VI. Band

Das organische Leben in der Natur.

**Fig. 25. Moritz von Schwind (1804–71)**
*Das organische Leben in der Natur*
Cover of *Fliegende Blätter* 6, no. 144 (1848)

**Fig. 26. Edgar Degas (1834–1917)**
*Landscape (Cliffs)*, 1892, pastel, 42 × 55 cm (16⅕ × 21⅝ in.)
Geneva, Collection Jan and Marie-Anne Krugier-Poniatowski

Fechner quoted Goethe and Humboldt, among others, but not Carus, whose views on "earth-life" he evidently did not use. Remarkably, even in Charles Blanc's systematic manual of drawing, *Grammaire des arts du dessin* (1867), the same view of the correspondence between earth and man reappears. Man is "the intelligent abstract of the world," according to Blanc, who continues:

> His skeleton is the image of those rocks that are the bones of the earth. His bony framework is joined by nerves, which, like metals, are subject to the action of electricity; it is clothed in muscles, which, by their convexities and concavities, remind us of mountains and valleys; and his whole body is watered by rivulets of purple which transpire through the skin as rivers transpire through the surface of the globe. Finally, the hair that shades the organ of thought is, in Herder's poetic expression, an emblem of the sacred groves where once the mysteries were celebrated. Man, considered in his organic life, is thus an abstract of the universe.[181]

Counterparts to Fechner's and Blanc's ideas are to be found in anthropomorphic landscape paintings, a few examples of which are known from the second half of the nineteenth century. Gustave Courbet (1819–77), Arnold Böcklin (1827–1901), and Emil Nolde (1857–1956) made attempts in this direction—as did Edgar Degas (1834–1917), in his extraordinary pastel *Cliffs* (circa 1890–92; fig. 26), in which the contours of the terrain generate the earth figure of a woman, her skull being a rocky coastal promontory.[182]

By the end of the nineteenth century Carus was forgotten. The exhibition in Berlin in 1906—which had the effect, among others, of reviving awareness of Friedrich as a painter—included two paintings by Carus.[183] One year later Alfred Peltzer published the first art historical discussion of Carus's *Letters on Landscape Painting,* in a sixty-seven-page booklet prefaced with Carus's prophecy that there would one day be landscape paintings of a higher beauty, in which "nature will appear in its higher truth, as it is seen in the mind's eye."[184] Peltzer believed that Carus's prophecy had been fulfilled in the art of Arnold Böcklin (1827–1901) and of Hans Thoma (1839–1924), the dedicatee of his essay. Two decades later, in 1927, Kurt Gerstenberg brought out his edition of *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting,* which was reissued by a different publisher in 1947.[185] In 1972 Dorothea Kuhn wrote an intelligent commentary for a facsimile reprint of the second (1835) edition of *Letters on Landscape Painting.*[186] A French translation of the work appeared in 1983, and an Italian translation in 1991.[187] The only English translations to date are of a number of individual letters.[188]

Carus's reputation has always stood highest among students of anthroposophy. As a "Goetheanist," he was ripe for enlistment under the banner of theosophical doctrine, especially in view of his theory of "earth-life." Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925) planned a new edition of *Zwölf Briefe über das Erdleben,* and this was completed by Christoph Bernoulli and Hans Kern in 1926.[189] In 1986 Ekkehard Meffert published another edition of *Zwölf Briefe*

*über das Erdleben* and a biography of Carus written from an anthroposophical viewpoint.[190]

As Werner Busch has pointed out, Carus's principal work on psychology, *Psyche* (1846), mediates between Schelling's world soul theory and the psychoanalysis of Sigmund Freud. On the one hand, Carus is numbered among the precursors of depth psychology; on the other, *Psyche,* with its theory of the "unconscious" as a "life force," seems to live on (in the context of the anthroposophical response to Carus) in the work of the artist Joseph Beuys (1921–86).[191]

**Notes**

Julia Gelshorn has rendered me invaluable assistance with literary research. I have been able to discuss the project with Professor Werner Busch, of Berlin, who has also kindly taken the trouble to review the manuscript. Thanks are due to him for his many suggestions.

1. Carl Gustav Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1865–66), 1:181: "Es trat in diesen Briefen eine eigenthümliche Vermählung von Wissenschaft und Kunst hervor, und dies ist es auch jedenfalls, wodurch ihnen eine bleibende Stellung in der Literatur erhalten werden wird. Das, was um jene Zeit Schelling durch den Begriff der *Weltseele* auszusprechen suchte, es war recht eigentlich der Cardinalpunkt, um welchen sich diese Gedankenzüge bewegten." See also his later remark in the same text (3:176) concerning "die eigentliche Mission dieses Begründers der Naturphilosophie . . . , nämlich die Lehre von dem organischen Zusammenhange des Ganzen, wie sie sich in seinem Begriffe der Weltseele ausdrückt" (the true mission of this founder of nature philosophy . . . , namely, the doctrine of the organic cohesion of the whole, as expressed in his concept of the world soul). Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by David Britt.

2. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:67–75, esp. 1:69: "neues eigenthümliches und bedeutungsvolles Princip. . . . Dieses Princip war *das einer höhern Einheit,* hervorgegangen im Lichte der damals zuerst sich geltend machenden Naturphilosophie."

3. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:70–71: "als der bereits von vielen Philosophen des Alterthums geahnte Gedanke von der innern nothwendigen und unerlaßlichen Verbindung des Weltgebäudes zu einem einzigen unendlichen organischen Ganzen, mit *einem Worte der Gedanke von der Weltseele,* durch Schelling's damals gross und lichtvoll hervortretenden Geist zuerst wieder in die Wissenschaft eindrang."

4. Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling, *Ideen zu einer Philosophie der Natur, als Einleitung in das Studium dieser Wissenschaft* [1797; 2d ed., 1803], pt. 1, vol. 2 (1857) of idem, *Sämmtliche Werke* (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1856–61), 1–343; Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling, *Von der Weltseele: Eine Hypothese der höheren Physik zur Erklärung des allgemeinen Organismus, nebst einer Abhandlung über das Verhältniß des Realen und Idealen in der Natur; oder, Entwicklung der ersten Grundsätze der Naturphilosophie an den Principien der Schwere und des Lichts* [1798; 2d ed., 1806;

3d ed., 1809], pt. 1, vol. 2 (1857) of idem, *Sämmtliche Werke* (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1856–61), 345–583. Schelling taught at the Universität Jena from 1798 through 1804, initially alongside Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), who was, however, dismissed in 1799 in the aftermath of the "atheism controversy." In 1803 Schelling went to Würzburg for a short time; in 1806 he moved to the Königlich-Bayerische Akademie der bildenden Künste (Royal Bavarian academy of fine arts) in Munich, to become its secretary general. In 1827 he became full professor of philosophy at the newly founded Universität München; and in 1841 he accepted an invitation to transfer to Berlin.

5. Schelling, *Von der Weltseele* (note 4): "[führt] alle Erscheinungen in der Welt in den ewigen Kreislauf zurück" (p. 381); "Diese beiden streitenden Kräfte zugleich in der Einheit und im Conflikt vorgestellt, führen auf die Idee eines *organisirenden,* die Welt zum *System* bildenden *Princips.* Ein solches wollten vielleicht die Alten durch die *Weltseele* andeuten (p. 381).

6. Schelling, "Vorrede zur ersten Auflage," *Von der Weltseele* (note 4): "Idee der Natur als eines Ganzen... Mechanismus und Organismus" (p. 348); "unendlich kleine gerade Linien in der allgemeinen Kreislinie des Organismus" (p. 350).

7. Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling, "Bruno; oder, Über das göttliche und natürliche Princip der Dinge" [1802], in idem, *Sämmtliche Werke* (Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta, 1856–61), 4:213–332, esp. 258–64. In Germany, before Schelling, Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi (1743–1819) had drawn attention to Bruno in his *Über die Lehre des Spinoza, in Briefen an den Herrn Moses Mendelssohn* (Breslau: Gottlob Löwe, 1785; reprint, Brussels: Culture & Civilisation, 1968).

8. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:71: "vielfältigen Ueberstürzungen und Uebertreibungen." Gotthilf Heinrich Schubert, *Ansichten von der Nachtseite der Naturwissenschaft* (Dresden: Arnoldische Buchhandlung, 1808; reprint, Eschborn: Dietmar Klotz, 1992): "Seinem Freunde und Zuhörer Herrn J. Gerhard von Kügelgen, berühmten Historienmahler." J. Gerhard von Kügelgen (1772–1820), a well-known portrait painter, moved to Dresden in 1805 and became a professor at the Kunstakademie in 1814. In the 10 and 21 March 1809 issues of *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* he published a defense of Caspar David Friedrich against the onslaught that F. W. B. Ramdohr published there; see Caspar David Friedrich, *Caspar David Friedrich in Briefen und Bekenntnissen,* ed. Sigrid Hinz (Berlin: Henschelverlag Kunst & Gesellschaft, 1984), 175–77, 254. Carus does not seem to have attempted to make contact with Kügelgen.

9. Schubert, *Ansichten von der Nachtseite der Naturwissenschaft* (note 8), 3: "Das älteste Verhältnis des Menschen zu der Natur, die lebendige Harmonie des Einzelnen mit dem Ganzen, der Zusammenhang eines jetzigen Daseyns mit einem zukünftigen höheren, und wie sich der Keim des neuen zukünftigen Lebens in der Mitte des jetzigen allmälig entfalte." On Schubert, see Alice Rössler, ed., *Gotthilf Heinrich Schubert: Gedenkschrift zum 200. Geburtstag des romantischen Naturforschers* (Erlangen: Universitätsbund, 1980).

10. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1): "Mit großen gewaltigen Zügen wagte er es zuerst in die chaotische Mannichfaltigkeit von Natur-Formen und -Thatsachen einen einzigen Mittelpunkt, ein einziges neues belebendes Princip einzuführen, und dies Princip war das genetische, das Princip der Entwicke-

lung" (1:71–72); see also 1:188–95. Lorenz Oken came to Jena as an associate professor of medicine in 1807, and in 1812 he was appointed to the full chair of natural science. From 1816 until 1848 he edited the periodical *Isis,* resigning his university post in Jena for the sake of press freedom. In 1828 he was appointed to the newly founded Universität München, and in 1832 he transferred to the Universität Zürich; see Wolfgang Pross, "Lorenz Oken: Naturforschung zwischen Naturphilosophie und Naturwissenschaft," in Nicolas Saul, ed., *Die deutsche literarische Romantik und die Wissenschaften* (Munich: Iudicium, 1991), 44–71.

11. Carl Gustav Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei, geschrieben in den Jahren 1815–1824: Zuvor ein Brief von Goethe als Einleitung* (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1831); the first edition dates the writing to the years 1815–24.

12. Carus's letters to Regis are in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden: Mscr.dresd.h 45, 2 vols. (Briefe 1–369, 1814–1847); Mscr.h 45, vol. 4, Nachträge (Briefe 105–14); and Preußische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin acc.Ms. 9796 (Briefe 3–63, 1847–56). See Marianne Prause, "Carl Gustav Carus als Maler" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Köln, 1963), 150.

13. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:76.

14. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:165–66. Klengel became associate professor of landscape painting in 1800 and full professor in 1816.

15. Marianne Prause, *Carl Gustav Carus: Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1968), 95 (cat. no. 39): *Eingang zur Unterwelt* (Entrance to the underworld); 112–13 (cat. no. 100): *Felsenlandschaft mit ruhendem Kind und Kapelle* (Rocky landscape with recumbent child and chapel); 167 (cat. no. 373): *Waldeinsamkeit* (Woodland solitude); and 167–68 (cat. no. 374): *Weide im Herbstnebel* (Willow in autumn mist).

16. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:205, writes of the year 1818: "Was meinen verewigten Freund Kaspar David Friedrich betrifft, wo waren wir schon um das Jahr 1818 einander näher gekommen" (As for my late friend Caspar David Friedrich, we became close friends as early as 1818 or thereabouts). This statement has been taken to mean that Carus first met Friedrich in 1818; clearly, however, it means that they got to know each other *better* at that time. For the correction, see Prause, "Carl Gustav Carus als Maler" (note 12), 13–14.

17. Carl Gustav Carus, "Friedrich der Landschaftsmaler, mit Fragmenten aus nachgelassenen Papieren desselben," *Kunst-Blatt,* no. 86 (27 October 1840): 357–58; no. 87 (29 October 1840): 362–63, esp. 357: "Errettung und Erhebung . . . daß in der Landschaftsmalerei namentlich *Friedrich* es war, welcher mit einem durchaus tiefsinnigen und energischen Geiste, auf absolut originale Weise, in den Wust des Alltäglichen, Prosaischen, Abgestandenen hineingriff, und, indem er ihn mit einer herben Melancholie niederschlug, aus dessen Mitte eine eigenthümlich neue, leuchtende poetische Richtung hervorhob."

18. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1): "eine recht scharfgezeichnete norddeutsche Natur mit blondem Haar und Backenbart" (1:206); "eigenen melancholischen Ausdruck in seinem meist bleichen Gesicht" (1:206); "Kam nun hinzu ein sehr hoher Begriff von der Kunst, ein an sich düsteres Naturell und eine aus beiden hervorgehende tiefe Unzufriedenheit mit seinen eigenen Leistungen, so begriff

man leicht, wie er einst wirklich zu einem Versuche des Selbstmords sich verleitet finden konnte" (1:206).

19. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:207: "übrigens brütete er in seinem stark beschatteten Zimmer fast fortwährend über seinen Kunstschöpfungen."

20. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:196–97: "Auch Thorwaldsen sah es und saß lange sinnend davor. Ihn erfaßte sichtbar die Idee desselben, und er ergänzte im Geiste, was die Ausführung noch hier und da mangelhaft zurückgelassen hatte. Natürlich konnte es nicht fehlen, daß eine solche Theilnahme mich eigenthümlich ermuthigte.... Ich ahnte damals noch nicht, daß ich zehn Jahre später diesen Heros mitten unter seinen Schöpfungen in Rom und unter so viel andern Verhältnissen wiedersehen sollte! Indess er hatte schon hier mächtig und nachhaltig auf mich gewirkt." Carus locates this surprise visit from Thorvaldsen in 1818 or shortly afterwards, but the biography of Thorvaldsen affords only one possible dating, which is September 1820. The correct dating is given in Prause, *Carl Gustav Carus* (note 15), 15, 60 n. 21, with reference to Carus's letter no. 49 to Regis of 12 October 1820. On *Marius on the Ruins of Carthage,* 1818, see Prause, *Carl Gustav Carus* (note 15), 87–88 (cat. no. 9).

21. Carl Gustav Carus, *Reise durch Deutschland, Italien und die Schweiz im Jahre 1828* (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1835), 1:348–50, esp. 350: "Dabei haben den einfachen, tüchtigen Mann seine Schüler sehr lieb und ausserdem ist er noch allen jungen deutschen Malern ein wahrer Schutz und Trost"; see also 2:22. On Thorvaldsen in Rome, see Ursula Peters, ed., *Künstlerleben in Rom: Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844): Der dänische Bildhauer und seine deutschen Freunde,* exh. cat. (Nuremberg: Verlag des Germanischen Nationalmuseums, 1991).

22. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:74–75, 127–28, 169–70; on the effect of Thorvaldsen's visit, see also 1:196–97.

23. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1): "tiefmelancholische Stimmung" (1:127); "falsche Umnachtungen" (1:128); "das Ausführen und Darlegen derselben durch die Entwerfung eines Kunstwerks; eines Kunstwerks, welches gleichsam als Ausdruck und Gleichniß des gesammten Seelenzustandes dem Geiste dann wirklich einen Spiegel vorzuhalten vermag" (1:128). In Carus's view, this is more effective than the often recommended habit of writing down one's ideas.

24. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:169–70: "Es liegt etwas Wunderbares in jener Macht der Kunst, dem Menschen sein eigenes Innere im Aeussern gegenständlich werden zu lassen! So zog es mich also auch jetzt, wie im Frühjahr 1814, nach den schweren Kriegs- und Krankheitsstürmen, in allen Mussestunden wieder an die Staffelei, und je mehr die schwere Trübung des Innern und der einsame tiefe Schmerz in irgendeinem sinnigen dunkeln Bilde offenbar wurde, und wie in einer geheimnissvollen Spiegelung dort widerschien, um so mehr kehrte der Friede wieder ein."

25. On the portrait of his son, see Prause, *Carl Gustav Carus* (note 15), 89 (no. 15). For the names of the fictitious writer and addressee of the letters, see the letter from Carus to Regis, 26 February 1831: "Carus an Regis, eine Brieffolge 1814–1847" (nos. 1–369), no. 152, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek; see Prause, "Carl Gustav Carus als Maler" (note 12), 13, 150.

26. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:199–200.

27. Carl Gustav Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting,* in this volume, 77; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), vi: "Sie sind der treue Abdruck eines Gemüthes, dem neben mannigfaltigen ernsten Bestrebungen und schweren Pflichten die Kunst eine treue Freundin und stille Erheiterung gewesen ist."

28. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 77; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), iv: "man wird aber auch finden, dass während der dazwischenliegenden Zeit manche Blüte unsres Geistes abgewelkt ist, indeß vielleicht ebendarum in entgegengesetzter Richtung neue Blüten hervorgetrieben haben."

29. Prause, "Carl Gustav Carus als Maler" (note 12), 68–70.

30. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 113; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 103: "denn ich fühlte wohl, daß ich etwas Schweres unternommen hatte, als ich versprach: fernerhin meine Gedanken darüber Dir vorzulegen, wie ein landschaftliches bedeutendes Kunstwerk in jetziger und künftiger Zeit, trotz der Menge von Vorbildern, welche ewig irre leiten, ewig uns in ihren Kreis zu ziehen suchen, entstehen könnte."

31. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:76.

32. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:185, 195; see the letter from Carus to Regis, no. 2, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mscr. dresd. h 45, vol. 1; reprinted in part in Wolfgang Genschorek, *Carl Gustav Carus: Arzt, Künstler, Naturforscher* (Leipzig: Hirzel & Teubner, 1983), 58–59.

33. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:202–5. On Abraham Gottlieb Werner, see Wolf von Engelhardt, "Neptunismus und Plutonismus," *Fortschritte der Mineralogie* 60, no. 1 (1982): 21–43; and Martin Guntau, *Abraham Gottlob Werner* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1984).

34. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 2:9–13; see also 2:266, where Carus laments that he never followed up any of the later invitations that he received to visit Goethe.

35. The correspondence between Goethe and Carus is in the Goethe-Schiller-Archiv in Weimar.

36. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 79; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), vii–ix. All subsequent editions also include Goethe's letter as a foreword.

37. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Über die Gemälde des Herrn Dr. Carus auf der Ausstellung des Großherzogl. Zeicheninstituts zu Weimar im September 1824," *Über Kunst und Alterthum* 5, no. 2 (1825): 180–83, esp. 180: "Das Gestein und dessen eigentümlicher Charakter ist vortrefflich mit lobenswürdiger Wahrheit dargestellt, so in Hinsicht auf Gestalt wie auf Behandlung und Farbe." See Prause, *Carl Gustav Carus* (note 15), 162 (cat. no. 350) and 104–5 (cat. no. 72). In the drawing *Geognostic Landscape: Katzenköpfe near Zittau* the location is now thought to be wrongly identified. The subject is clearly the Steinberg, near Bertsdorf, which Carus saw on his Riesengebirge trip from near Waltersdorf; see Albrecht Flieger, "Der Steinberg bei Bertsdorf: Lokalisierung des Bildes 'Geognostische Landschaft' von Carl Gustav Carus," *Work in Progress,* no. 5 (1995): 19–33.

38. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:303–7.

39. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1): "plutonischen Erhebungen" (p. 298); "grossen ruhigen Linien des granitischen Erzgebirges" (p. 298); "Physiognomik der Gebirge" (p. 298).

40. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1): "Lebendigkeit des Geistes" (1:197); "vollendete Feinheit des Hofmannes bei einer solchen Tiefe des Wissens und solchem Reichthum von Erfahrungen" (1:197).

41. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:197–98: "Auch ich sollte von ihm in folgenden Jahren und namentlich bei einem spätern Aufenthalte in Paris, mannichfaltige Förderungen dieser Art erfahren, und in jenen ersten frühern Jahren fühlte ich mich wesentlich gehoben und in meinen Bestrebungen ermuthigt, daß ein so Erfahrener und mit Recht Gerühmter an meinen Arbeiten eine wiederholte und aufrichtige Theilnahme bezeigte." The visit to Paris took place in 1835, and Carus published his notes one year later: Carl Gustav Carus, *Paris und die Rheingegenden: Tagebuch einer Reise im Jahre 1835,* 2 parts (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1836).

42. Salomon Gessner, letter to Johann Caspar Füssli on landscape painting, originally published in Füssli, "Vorrede," *Geschichte der besten Künstler der Schweiz* (Zurich: Orell, Gessner & Comp., 1770–72), 3:xxxvi–lxiv; published as "Brief über die Landschaftmahlerey," in Gessner, *Schriften* (Zurich: Orell, Gessner, Fuessli & Cie., 1772), 4:229–73; facsimile reprint in Gessner, *Sämtliche Schriften,* ed. Martin Bircher, 3 vols. (Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1974).

43. Johann Daniel Preissler, *Gründliche Anleitung, welcher man sich im Nachzeichnen schöner Landschaften oder Prospecten bedienen kann...* (Nuremberg: Preissler, 1740). Preissler's appendix on landscape also appeared in numerous subsequent editions.

44. Johann Georg Sulzer, s.v. "Landschaft," in idem, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in einzeln, nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Kunstwörter aufeinander folgenden Artikeln abgehandelt,* 2d ed. (Leipzig: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1792–99; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), 3:145–54, esp. 147: "Die Mahlerey findet demnach in der leblosen Natur einen nie zu erschöpfenden Stoff, vortheilhaft auf die Gemüther der Menschen zu würken; und der Landschaftmahler kann uns sehr vielfältig auf eine nützliche Weise vergnügen; fürnehmlich, wenn er mit den höhern Kräften seiner Kunst bekannt, sittliche und leidenschaftliche Gegenstände mit den Scenen der leblosen Natur verbindet." This article first appeared in the first edition: Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (Leipzig: M. G. Weidemanns Erben und Reich, 1771–74), 2:653–76. The second, expanded edition was revised by Christian Friedrich von Blankenburg.

45. Sulzer, "Landschaft" (note 44), 3:148: "Hat er aber Verstand und Empfindung genug, den Geist und die Seele der vor ihm liegenden Materie zu empfinden, so wird er ohne Mühe, um sie auch uns desto lebhafter fühlen zu lassen, sittliche Gegenstände seiner eigenen Erfindung einmischen können."

46. André Félibien, "Préface," *Conférences de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture, pendant l'année 1667* (Paris: Frederic Leonard, 1669), fol. e iij v. – e iv v.

47. Christian Ludwig von Hagedorn, *Betrachtungen über die Mahlerey* (Leipzig: Johann Wendler, 1762; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1997), 1:334–400. On Hagedorn, see Claudia Susannah Cremer, "Hagedorns Geschmack: Studien zur Kunstkennerschaft in Deutschland im 18. Jahrhundert" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Bonn, 1989).

48. Hagedorn, *Betrachtungen über die Mahlerey* (note 47), 1:334–400. Gérard de Lairesse, *Großes Mahler-Buch* (Nuremberg: n.p., 1728–30).

49. Joachim von Sandrart, "Vom Landschaft-Mahlen," *L'Academia todesca della architectura, scultura & pittura; oder, Teutsche Academie der edlen Bau- Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*... (Nuremberg: Joachim von Sandrart, 1675–79), 1:70–71. Carel van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const* (Haarlem: Paschier van Wesbusch, 1604); and *Het schilderboeck* (Amsterdam: Jacob Pieters Wachter, 1618), fol. 1–22; reprint of the Haarlem 1604 ed., Karl van Mander, *Den grondt der edel vry schilder-const,* ed. Hessel Miedema, 2 vols. (Utrecht: Dekker & Gumbert, 1973).

50. Roger de Piles, *Cours de peinture par principes* (Paris: Jacques Estienne, 1708; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1969), 200–59; first translated into German as *Einleitung in die Malerey aus Grundsätzen* (Leipzig: Johann Gottfried Dyck, 1760). Hagedorn, *Betrachtungen über die Mahlerey* (note 47), chap. 27, 1:358–68.

51. Jean Locquin, *Catalogue raisonné de l'œuvre de Jean-Baptiste Oudry, peintre du roi, 1686–1755* (Paris: H. Champion, 1912; reprint, Paris: Nobele, 1968).

52. Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discours qui a remporté le prix à l'Académie de Dijon en l'année 1750, sur cette question proposée par la même Académie: si le rétablissement des sciences & des arts a contribué à épurer les mœurs* (Geneva: Barillot & Fils, 1750); Oskar Bätschmann, *Entfernung der Natur: Landschaftsmalerei, 1750–1920* (Cologne: DuMont, 1989), 11–44; and Pross, "Lorenz Oken" (note 10).

53. Denis Diderot, *Salons,* ed. Jean Seznec and Jean Adhémar (Oxford: Clarendon, 1957–67), 3:129–67, esp. 139: "Là, nous allons contrefaire un moment le rôle du sauvage, esclaves des usages, des passions, jouer la pantomime de l'homme de Nature. Dans l'impossibilité de nous livrer aux fonctions et aux amusemens de la vie champêtre, d'errer dans une campagne, de suivre un troupeau, d'habiter une chaumière, nous invitons à prix d'or et d'argent le pinceau des Wouwermans, de Berghem ou de Vernet à nous retracer les mœurs et l'histoire de nos anciens aïeux. Et les murs de nos somptueuses et maussades demeures se couvrent des images d'un bonheur que nous regrettons." *Diderot et l'art de Boucher à David: Les Salons, 1759–1781,* exh. cat. (Paris: Ministère de la culture, Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 1984), 405–9.

54. The Vernet paintings to which Diderot refers in this imaginary promenade are lost; two of them were engraved by Jacques-Philippe Le Bas and exhibited in the Salon of 1771. See *Diderot et l'art de Boucher à David* (note 53), 405–9.

55. Johann Heinrich Füssli, s.v. "Erhaben," in Johann Georg Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in einzeln, nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Kunstwörter aufeinander folgenden Artikeln abgehandelt,* 2d ed. (Leipzig: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1792–99; reprint, Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), 1:341–49, esp. 341: "Das blos Schöne und Gute in der Natur und in der Kunst, gefällt, ist angenehm oder ergötzend; es macht einen sanften Eindruk, den wir ruhig genießen; aber das Erhabene würkt mit starken Schlägen, ist hinreißend und ergreift das Gemüth unwiderstehlich.... Es ist demnach in der Kunst das Höchste."

56. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: R. & J. Dodsley, 1757). On the sublime, see also Carsten Zelle, "*Angenehmes Grauen*": *Literaturhistorische Beiträge zur Ästhetik des Schrecklichen im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Meiner, 1987); Christian Begemann,

*Furcht und Angst im Prozess der Aufklärung* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1987); Christine Pries, ed., *Das Erhabene: Zwischen Grenzerfahrung und Grössenwahn* (Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1989); and Gernot Böhme and Hartmut Böhme, *Das Andere der Vernunft: Zur Entwicklung von Rationalitätsstrukturen am Beispiel Kants* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1985), 215–24.

57. Diderot, *Salons* (note 53), 3:162–67; Hugh Honour, *Romanticism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1979), esp. chap. 2: "The Morality of Landscape," 57–118; Willi Raeber, *Caspar Wolf, 1735–1783: Sein Leben und sein Werk, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Schweizer Malerei des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Prestel, 1979); and Walter Amstutz, ed., *Turner in Switzerland* (Dubendorf: De Clivo Press, 1976).

58. Theodor Musper, "Das Reiseskizzenbuch von Josef Anton Koch aus dem Jahre 1791," *Jahrbuch der Preuszischen Kunstsammlungen* 56 (1935): 167–93.

59. Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, ed. Robert R. Wark (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1975), 70.

60. See Reynolds, "Discourse IV," *Discourses on Art* (note 59), 55–73.

61. Richard Earlom, *Liber Veritatis; or, A Collection of Prints after the Original Designs of Claude le Lorrain*, 3 vols. (London: Boydell, 1777).

62. On the reception of Claude Lorrain, see Marcel Roethlisberger et al., *Im Licht von Claude Lorrain: Landschaftsmalerei aus drei Jahrhunderten*, exh. cat. (Munich: Hirmer, 1983).

63. Friedrich Schlegel, "Nachtrag italiänischer Gemälde" [1803], in *Kritische Ausgabe seiner Werke*, ed. Ernst Behler (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1959), 461–78, esp. 473–74: "Denn hier ist es wirklich eine Kunstanschauung, welche uns das Gemälde gewährt; dagegen in jener andern, umfassenden, dem Anschein nach viel grossartigeren Gattung, in welcher Claude Lorrain so unübertrefflich und der Erste geblieben ist, wo der Maler mit der Natur selbst, in der Nachbildung ihrer höchsten Prachtszenen wetteifern will, die Naturbewunderung jede andre Empfindung mit sich fortreißt, und auch das reine Kunstgefühl übertäubt; während auf der andern Seite die Herrlichkeit der Natur doch durch keine Kunst jemals erreicht werden kann."

64. Joseph Friedrich, Freiherr zu Racknitz, *Briefe über die Kunst an eine Freundinn* (Dresden: Carl Christian Meinhold, 1792), v–viii: "[eines] bloßen Dilettanten" (p. vii); "[als hätte ich] ein gelehrtes und vollständiges Werk über die bildenden Künste schreiben wollen" (p. vii).

65. Racknitz, *Briefe* (note 64), 27: "die Kunst, sichtbare Gegenstände auf flachem Grunde vermittelst Zeichnung und Farben nachzuahmen."

66. Racknitz, *Briefe* (note 64), 42; the eighth through the tenth letters of the first series constitute an explanation of this "Entwurf," 34–56.

67. Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes, *Éléments de perspective pratique, à l'usage des artistes, suivis de réflexions et conseils à un élève sur la peinture, et particulièrement sur le genre du paysage* (Paris: the author, year VIII [1800]; reprint, Geneva: Minkoff Reprint, 1973); first translated into German as *Praktische Anleitung zur Linear- und Luftperspektive für Zeichner und Mahler*, trans. Johann Heinrich Meynier (Hof: Gottfried Adolph Grau, 1803).

68. Valenciennes, *Éléments de perspective pratique* (note 67), 380–86.

69. Valenciennes, *Éléments de perspective pratique* (note 67), 405, 407:

> Nous avons déjà fait observer que les effets de la Nature ne sont presque jamais les mêmes aux mêmes instans ou à pareille heure. Ces variations dépendent d'une multitude de circonstances, telles que la lumière plus ou moins pure, la quantité de vapeurs de l'atmosphère, le vent, la pluie, les sites plus ou moins élevés, les différens reflets des nuages causés par leur couleur, leur légèreté ou leur épaisseur, enfin par un nombre infini de causes qu'il seroit impossible d'indiquer, sur-tout dans un ouvrage aussi peu étendu que celui-ci. Mais ce que nous avons dit doit suffire pour prouver qu'il est absurde à un Artiste de passer toute une journée à copier d'après Nature une seule vue. En conséquence, les Elèves qui voudront faire des études d'après nature, avec fruit, doivent s'y prendre différemment. Il faut d'abord se borner à ne copier, le mieux possible, que les tons principaux de la Nature dans l'effet que l'on choisit ; commencer son étude par le ciel, qui donne le ton des fonds; ceux-ci, celui des plans qui leur sont liés, et venir progressivement jusques sur les devants, qui se trouvent en conséquence toujours d'accord avec le ciel qui a servi à créer le ton local. On sent bien qu'en suivant cette marche, il est impossible de rien détailler, car toute étude d'après nature doit être faite rigoureusement dans l'intervalle de deux heures au plus: et si c'est un effet du soleil levant ou couchant, il n'y faut pas mettre plus d'une demi-heure.

70. Sandrart, "Vom Landschaft-Mahlen" (note 49), 70–71:

> Endlich aber, als mein nächster Nachbar und Hausgenoss zu Rom, der berühmte Claudius Gilli, sonst Loraines genant, immer mit ins Feld wolte, um nach dem Leben zu zeichnen, aber hierzu von der Natur gar nicht begunstet war, hingegen zum Nachmahlen eine sonderbare Fähigkeit hatte: als haben wir ursach genommen [an statt des Zeichnens oder Tuschens mit schwarzer Kreide und dem Pensel] in offnem Feld, zu Tivoli, Frescada, Subiaca, und anderer Orten, auch als S. Benedetto, die Berge, Grotten, Thäler und Einöden, die abscheuliche Wasserfälle der Tyber, den Tempel der Sibylla, und dergleichen, mit Farben, auf gegründt Papier und Tücher völlig nach dem Leben auszumahlen. Dieses ist, meines darfürhaltens, die beste Manier, dem Verstande die Warheit eigentlich einzudrucken: weil gleichsam dadurch Leib und Seele zusammen gebracht wird.
>
> (But in the end, since my nearest neighbor and housemate at Rome, the celebrated Claudius Gilli, otherwise known as Loraines, always wanted to come with me into the country to draw from life, but lacked the natural talent for it, although he had a singular ability for painting what he saw, we took occasion (instead of drawing or making washes with black chalk and the brush) to paint in the open—at Tivoli, Frescada, Subiaca, and elsewhere, also at S. Benedetto—the hills, caves, valleys, and wildernesses, the horrid waterfalls of the Tiber, the temple of the Sibyl, and the like, with colors, on grounded paper and canvases, entirely from life. I consider that this is the best way to impress the truth on the mind, because it brings body and soul, as it were, together.)

See also Sandrart, "Vom Landschaft-Mahlen"(note 49), 332. See Philip Conisbee, "Pre-Romantic *Plein-air* Painting," *Art History* 2 (1979): 413–28; Werner Busch, "Die autonome Ölskizze in der Landschaftsmalerei: Der wahr- und für wahr genommene Ausschnitt aus Zeit und Raum," *Pantheon* 61, no. 2 (1983): 126–33; and Philip

Conisbee, Sarah Faunce, and Jeremy Strick, eds., *In the Light of Italy: Corot and Early Open-Air Painting,* exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1996).

71. Lynda Fairbairn, comp., *Paint and Painting: An Exhibition and Working Studio Sponsored by Winsor & Newton to Celebrate Their 150th Anniversary* (London: Tate Gallery, 1982), 8–9, 67–69. In 1822 James Harris introduced a metal cylinder as a container for oil colors, to replace the customary pig's bladder; in 1840 Winsor & Newton patented a glass cylinder; and in 1841 an American, John G. Rand, invented the squeezable metal tube. Rand's patent was taken over by Winsor & Newton one year later ("Rand's Patent Collapsible Tubes").

72. Philippe Grunchec, *Le grand prix de peinture: Les concours des Prix de Rome de 1797 à 1863* (Paris: École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts, 1983); and Pierre Miquel, *Le paysage français au XIXe siècle, 1824–1874: L'école de la nature,* 3 vols. (Maurs-la-Jolie: Éditions Martinelle, 1975). On the institution of the Rome Prize for landscape painting, see Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Phaidon, 1971).

73. Christian August Semler, *Untersuchungen über die höchste Vollkommenheit in den Werken der Landschaftsmalerei: Für Freunde der Kunst und der schönen Natur,* 2 vols. (Leipzig: Schäfer, 1800); Christian August Semler, "Bruchstücke aus einem Werke über die Landschaftsmahlerei," *Der Kosmopolit: Eine Monatsschrift zur Beförderung wahrer und allgemeiner Humanität* 2, no. 12 (1797): 507–23. See Hilmar Frank, "Die mannigfaltigen Wege zur Kunst: Romantische Kunstphilosophie in einem Schema Caspar David Friedrichs," *Idea* 10 (1991): 165–96.

74. Carl Ludwig Fernow, *Römische Studien* (Zurich: H. Gessner, 1806–8), 2:v–vi: "Dieser Zweig der Malerei, den die neuere Kunst zu einer so hohen Stufe der Volkommenheit ausgebildet hat, dass er nur etwa noch in dem dichterischen Theile der Erfindung einer grösseren Vervolkommnung fähig seyn dürfte, hat wegen der Unbestimtheit der Idee, die dieser Kunstart zum Grunde liegt, besondere Schwierigkeiten für die theoretische Behandlung; auch ist in der derselben bisher noch wenig geleistet worden, was dem filosofischen Forscher genügen möchte."

75. Inge Feuchtmayr, *Johann Christian Reinhart, 1761–1847: Monographie und Werkverzeichnis* (Munich: Prestel, 1975), 26–28, 86–90.

76. Fernow, *Römische Studien* (note 74): "wirklich vorhandene Gegend" (2:12); "Bild einer idealischen Naturscene der Land- oder Wasserwelt" (2:12).

77. Fernow, *Römische Studien* (note 74), 2:34–35:

> Jede Darstellung der landschaftlichen Natur, wenn sie nicht Abbildung einer wirklichen Aussicht ist, sol eine Dichtung seyn; denn auch der Maler ist nur in sofern ein wahrer Künstler, als er dichtet. Ob aber seine Dichtung eine Scene aus der Wirklichkeit, oder aus der Vorzeit, oder aus der Dichterwelt ist, kan nur aus der Staffirung und dem Beiwerke erkant werden; denn die Landschaftsmalerei kan ihre idealischen Scenen nie anders als im Karakter und Stil der wirklichen Natur dichten, da weder das Einzelne noch das Ganze in ihr ein Ideal, d.h. eine solche Erhebung über das Wirkliche zuläst, wo die Natur mit der Volkommenheit ihrer Erzeugnisse nicht hinan reicht.

78. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Ruysdael als Dichter," *Morgenblatt für gebil-*

*dete Stände,* no. 107 (3 May 1816): 425–27; Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Werke,* edited under the auspices of Großherzogin Sophie von Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach (Weimar: Hermann von Böhlau, 1887–1919; reprint, Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1987), pt. 1, 48:162–68; and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke, Briefe, Tagebücher und Gespräche,* ed. Hendrik Birus (Frankfurt am Main: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1987–), 19:632–36.

79. Fernow, *Römische Studien* (note 74), 2:22: "Die Harmonie der Farben, welche über eine schöne Landschaft ausgegossen ist, macht eine ähnliche Wirkung auf das Gemüth, wie die Melodie und Harmonie in der Tonkunst."

80. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 138; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 16–17, 131. See Alexander von Humboldt, *Ansichten der Natur* [1808], vol. 5 of idem, *Studienausgabe,* ed. Hanno Beck (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987–97), 181: "Totaleindruck einer Gegend." On Humboldt's *Totaleindruck,* see Gerhard Hard, "Der 'Totalcharakter der Landschaft': Re-Interpretation einiger Textstellen bei Alexander von Humboldt," *Geographische Zeitschrift* suppl. 23 (1970): 49–73.

81. The painting passed to Friederike Brun and is now in the Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg. In 1803 Reinhart painted a replica in a larger size, *Stormy Landscape;* see Feuchtmayr, *Johann Christian Reinhart* (note 75), 316 (cat. no. G 6), 332 (cat. no. G 68). Either the first or the second version is described in "Die Maleren in Rom," *Kunst-Blatt,* no. 14 (16 February 1824): 53. See also F. Carlo Schmid, "'Der Sturm, eine heroische, Schillern dedicirte Landschaft,'" in idem, *Naturansichten und Ideallandschaften: Die Landschaftsgraphik von Johann Christian Reinhart und seinem Umkreis* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1998), 270–96.

82. Feuchtmayr, *Johann Christian Reinhart* (note 75), 139–40 (letter from Reinhart to Schiller, 8 May 1801): "Ich habe nämlich—wie ich mitunter gern etwas radiere—eines meiner Gemälde in Kupfer gekrazt, und es Ihnen dedicirt, um auch in Ihrem Gedächtnis mein Bild hervorzurufen, wie das Ihrige in meinem Gedächtnis frisch und fest dasteht." On the etching, see Feuchtmayr, *Johann Christian Reinhart* (note 75), 404–5 (cat. no. A 96); and Andreas Andresen, comp., *Die deutschen Maler-Radirer (Peintres-Graveurs) des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, nach ihren Leben und Werken,* 5 vols. (Leipzig: Rudolph Weigel, 1866–74; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1971), 311–12 (no. 96).

83. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Zwei Landschaften von Philipp Hackert," *Intelligenzblatt der Jenaischen Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung,* nos. 19–20 (1804), cols. 151–52, 159–60: "Gemälden, welche so wie diese zwei Hackertischen Werke treu nach der Natur gemalte Aussichten darstellen, würde großes Unrecht widerfahren, wenn man sie nach dem Maßstabe beurteilen wollte, den der höchste Begriff von der Landschaftsmalerei dem Kunstrichter an die Hand gibt"; Goethe, *Werke* (note 78), pt. 1, 48:125–29; and Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke* (note 78), 18:929–31. The coauthor, if not the sole author, of the piece is thought to have been Heinrich Meyer; see Wolfgang Krönig and Reinhard Wegner, *Jakob Philipp Hackert: Der Landschaftsmaler der Goethezeit* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1994), 25 and 198 n. 22.

84. Fernow, *Römische Studien* (note 74), 2:117–18 n. On the Hackert issue, see Krönig and Wegner, *Jakob Philipp Hackert* (note 83); and esp. Verena Krieger, "Hackert in der Kunstkritik," 171–225.

85. Philipp Otto Runge, *Briefe und Schriften,* ed. Peter Betthausen (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982), 26 (letter to Johann Heinrich Besser, 3 June 1798): "nie etwas so im Innersten ... ergriffen." Ludwig Tieck, *Franz Sternbalds Wanderungen: Eine altdeutsche Geschichte,* vol. 1 of idem, *Werke in vier Bänden,* ed. Marianne Thalmann (Munich: Winkler, 1963).

86. Philipp Otto Runge, *Hinterlassene Schriften,* ed. Daniel Runge (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1840–41), 1:7–16 (letter to his brother Daniel, 9 March 1802); and Runge, *Briefe und Schriften* (note 85), 1:71–77.

87. Runge, *Hinterlassene Schriften* (note 86), 1:14–15 (letter to his brother Daniel, 9 March 1802): "Ich glaube schwerlich, daß so etwas Schönes, wie der höchste Punct der historischen Kunst war, wieder entstehen wird, bis alle verderblichen neueren Kunstwerke einmal zu Grunde gegangen sind, es müßte denn auf einem ganz neuen Wege geschehen, und dieser liegt auch schon ziemlich klar da, und vielleicht käme bald die Zeit, wo eine recht schöne Kunst wieder erstehen könnte, *das ist in der Landschaft*"; Runge, *Briefe und Schriften* (note 85), 76. See also Runge's letter to Tieck, 1 February 1802, in Runge, *Hinterlassene Schriften* (note 86), 1:23–28; Runge, *Briefe und Schriften* (note 85), 1:7–16.

88. Werner Hofmann, "Runges Versuch, das verlorene Paradies aus seiner Notwendigkeit zu konstruieren," in idem, ed., *Runge in seiner Zeit: Kunst um 1800,* exh. cat. (Munich: Prestel, 1977), 33–35; on Runge and Böhme, see Jörg Traeger, *Philipp Otto Runge und sein Werk: Monographie und kritischer Katalog* (Munich: Prestel, 1975), 54–55, 122–27; and Thomas Leinkauf, *Kunst und Reflexion: Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis Philipp Otto Runges zur philosophischen Tradition* (Munich: Fink, 1987).

89. Runge, *Hinterlassene Schriften* (note 86), 1:36.

90. Hanna Hohl, "Die Epiphanie des 'Morgen,'" in Werner Hofmann, ed., *Runge in seiner Zeit: Kunst um 1800,* exh. cat. (Munich: Prestel, 1977), 204–6.

91. Philipp Otto Runge, *Farbenkugel; oder, Construction des Verhältnisses aller Mischungen der Farben zu einander, und ihrer vollständigen Affinität, mit angehängtem Versuch einer Ableitung der Harmonie in den Zusammenstellungen der Farben* (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1810), 10: "alle diametral entgegenstehenden Farben und Mischungen."

92. Henrik Steffens, "Über die Bedeutung der Farben in der Natur," in Philipp Otto Runge, *Farbenkugel; oder, Construction des Verhältnisses aller Mischungen der Farben zu einander, und ihrer vollständigen Affinität, mit angehängtem Versuch einer Ableitung der Harmonie in den Zusammenstellungen der Farben* (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1810), 29–60.

93. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Zur Farbenlehre* (Tübingen: J. G. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung, 1810); Goethe, *Werke* (note 78), pt. 2, vol. 1; and Goethe, *Sämtliche Werke* (note 78), vols. 32/1 and 32/2. For modern views, see Dennis L. Sepper, *Goethe Contra Newton: Polemics and the Project for a New Science of Color* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1988); and John Gage, *Color and Meaning: Art, Science and Symbolism* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1999), 169–76.

94. On Runge's color sphere, see Heinz Matile, *Die Farbenlehre Philipp Otto Runges: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Künstlerfarbenlehre* (Bern: Benteli, 1973); Gage, *Color and Meaning* (note 93), 173–76. On Runge and Steffens, see Traeger,

*Philipp Otto Runge und sein Werk* (note 88), 58, 211; at full length, Leinkauf, *Kunst und Reflexion* (note 88), 177–245, 247–78; and Timothy F. Mitchell, *Art and Science in German Landscape Painting, 1770–1840* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 77–79. See also Runge's letter to Steffens in Halle, March 1809, in Runge, *Briefe und Schriften* (note 85), 212–16.

95. Henrich Steffens, *Beyträge zur innern Naturgeschichte der Erde*, pt. 1 (Freyberg: Crazische Buchhandlung, 1801): "Durch diesen Beweiss wird die Electricität Princip einer *Meteorologie*, so wie durch den, in diesem Theil, geführten Beweiss, der Magnetismus *Princip einer Geologie* geworden ist. Beyde werden die empirische Grundlage zu einer *Natur-Theorie* legen" (p. 270); "der dynamische Process der Erde construiren" (p. 269). See Dietrich von Engelhardt, "Naturgeschichte und Geschichte der Kultur in der Naturforschung der Romantik," in Karin Orchard and Jörg Zimmermann, eds., *Die Erfindung der Natur: Max Ernst, Paul Klee, Wols und das surreale Universum*, exh. cat. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1994), 53–59.

96. Steffens, *Beyträge zur innern Naturgeschichte der Erde* (note 95): "zerlegenden Kunst" (p. 53); "der unendlichen Tiefe der bildenden Kraft" (p.53). Steffens became professor in Halle in 1804, became full professor of physics in Breslau in 1811, and transferred to Berlin in 1832. In Berlin in 1806 he published a remarkable catechism under the title *Grundzüge der philosophischen Naturwissenschaft* (Berlin: Verlag der Realschulbuchhandlung, 1806), and in 1810 he called a collection of essays a "preparation for an inner natural history of the earth," *Geognostisch-geologische Aufsätze: Als Vorbereitung zu einer innern Naturgeschichte der Erde* (Hamburg: Hoffmann, 1810).

97. Steffens, *Grundzüge der philosophischen Naturwissenschaft* (note 96); and Steffens, *Geognostisch-geologische Aufsätze* (note 96).

98. Karl Christoph Schmieder, *Geschichte der Alchemie* (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1832; reprint, Ulm-Donau: Arkana, 1959).

99. Schmieder, *Geschichte der Alchemie* (note 98), 469–602.

100. Philipp Otto Runge, *Hinterlassene Schriften* (note 86), 1:157–58: "die wissenschaftlichen Resultate in der Kunstausübung mehr an allgemeine wissenschaftliche Ideen"; Runge, *Briefe und Schriften* (note 85), 223–24.

101. Carl Gustav Carus, "Bruchstück aus einer Reihe von Briefen über Landschaftsmalereyen," *Kunst-Blatt*, nos. 52–54 (1826): 205: "Aus mannichfaltigen Betrachtungen über diese Kunst, welche als ihre eigentliche Aufgabe den großen Gegenstand hat, einzelne Scenen, einzelne Stimmungen des allgemeinen Naturlebens darzustellen und, welche ich desshalb lieber *die Historienmalerey der Natur*, oder *Erdleben-Bildkunst* nennen möchte, ist im Laufe eines Jahrzehends eine Reihe von neun Briefen entstanden, welche ich bisher nur einigen Freunden mitgeteilt habe. Nach dem Wunsche Einiger lege ich hier ein Glied dieser Kette versuchsweise einem größern Publikum vor." In subsequent notes the text of this letter will be cited from Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11) and the translation from the present volume.

102. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 125; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 138: "das wundervolle, eigenste Leben der Natur ... den Willen der Seele schnell, leicht und schön zu vollziehen." On the elements, see Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 126; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 142–43.

103. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 127; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 145–46: "Es ist in Wahrheit merkwürdig, daß bei dem bisherigen Unterricht in Landschaftsmalerei man die Nothwendigkeit eines solchen naturwissenschaftlichen Theiles so ganz übersehen konnte, da man in andern Zweigen bildender Kunst die Unerläßlichkeit des Zuziehens naturwissenschaftlicher Studien so bald einsah."

104. Carl Gustav Carus, *Zwölf Briefe über das Erdleben* (Stuttgart: P. Balz'sche Buchhandlung, 1841); Carl Gustav Carus, *Zwölf Briefe über das Erdleben,* ed. Ekkehart Meffert (Stuttgart: Verlag Freies Geistesleben, 1986).

105. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 130; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 156: "das vielfältige und sorgsame freie Nachbilden und Selbstconstruiren geometrischer Grundformen . . . gegen eine gewisse Liederlichkeit . . . die Grundlagen aller organischen Bildungen."

106. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 130; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 157: "Die Sprache der Natur . . . reden lernen."

107. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 130–131; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 158:

> Ist nun aber die Seele durchdrungen von dem innern Sinne dieser verschiedenen Formen, ist ihr die Ahnung von dem geheimen göttlichen Leben der Natur hell aufgegangen und hat die Hand die feste Darstellungsgabe, sowie auch das Auge den reinen, scharfen Blick sich angebildet, ist endlich die Seele des Künstlers rein und durch und durch, ein geheiligtes freudiges Gefäß, den Lichtstral von oben aufzunehmen, dann werden Bilder vom Erdenleben einer neuern höheren Art, welche den Beschauer selbst zu höherer Naturbetrachtung heraufheben und welche mystisch, orphisch in diesem Sinn zu nennen sind, entstehen *müssen,* und die Erdlebenbildkunst wird ihren Gipfel erreicht haben.

108. Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann, *Sämtliche Werke: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe mit Einleitungen, Anmerkungen und Lesarten,* ed. Carl Georg von Maassen (Munich: G. Müller, 1908–28), 3:104–35:

> Auffassung der Natur in der tiefsten Bedeutung des höhern Sinns, der alle Wesen zum höheren Leben entzündet, das ist der heilige Zweck aller Kunst. Kann denn das blosse Abschreiben der Natur jemals dahin führen? . . . Der Geweihte vernimmt die Stimme der Natur, die in wunderbaren Lauten aus Baum, Gebüsch, Blume, Berg und Gewässer von unerforschlichem Geheimnis spricht, die in seiner Brust sich zu frommer Ahnung gestalten; dann kommt, wie der Geist Gottes selbst, die Gabe über ihn, diese Ahnung sichtlich in seine Werke zu übertragen. . . . Daher studiere die Natur zwar auch im Mechanischen fleissig und sorgfältig, damit du die Praktik des Darstellens erlangen mögest, aber halte die Praktik nicht für die Kunst selbst. Bist du eingedrungen in den tiefen Sinn der Natur, so werden selbst in deinem Innern ihre Bilder in hoher glänzender Pracht aufgehen.

109. See Wolfgang Kemp, ". . . *einen wahrhaft bildenden Zeichenunterricht überall einzuführen": Zeichnen und Zeichenunterricht der Laien, 1500–1870: Ein Handbuch* (Frankfurt am Main: Syndikat, 1979); and Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw:*

*Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2000).

110. Werner Hofmann, “Geometrie und Farbe,” in idem, ed., *Runge in seiner Zeit: Kunst um 1800,* exh. cat. (Munich: Prestel, 1977), 136–40.

111. Carl Gustav Carus, “Über einen besondern Typus in Darstellung des Auges, bey mehreren alten Malern,” *Kunst-Blatt*, no. 103 (26 December 1825): 413–16; the occasion was the publication of the fifteen drawings after the painting by Wilhelm Ternite, with an explanatory text by August Wilhelm Schlegel (Paris, 1817).

112. Armin Zweite, “Aspekte der Münchner Landschaftsmalerei,” and Barbara Eschenburg, “Landschaftsmalerei in München zwischen Kunstverein und Akademie und ihre Beurteilung durch die Kunstkritik,” in Armin Zweite, ed., *Münchner Landschaftsmalerei, 1800–1850,* exh. cat. (Munich: Lenbachhaus, 1979), 33–34, 93–115.

113. On Ludwig Schorn, see Peter Batthausen, ed., *Metzlers Kunsthistoriker Lexikon: Zweihundert Porträts deutschsprachiger Autoren aus vier Jahrhunderten* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999), 369–70.

114. Ludwig Schorn, “Kunstausstellung in München, im Oktober 1826,” *Kunst-Blatt*, no. 89 (6 November 1826): 353–56; Ernst Förster, “Gedanken über Landschaftsmalerey,” *Kunst-Blatt,* no. 29 (10 April 1828): 113–15; no. 30 (14 April 1828): 117–18; no. 31 (17 April 1828): 123–24; no. 34 (28 April 1828): 135–36; no. 37 (8 May 1828): 147–48; no. 38 (12 May 1828): 151; Karl Schnaase, “Über die Richtung der Malerei unserer Zeit,” *Kunst-Blatt,* no. 82 (18 October 1831): 325–28; no. 83 (20 October 1831): 329–32; no. 84 (23 October 1831): 333–36; no. 85 (27 October 1831): 340; on further contributions and the debate, see Eschenburg, “Landschaftsmalerei in München” (note 112), 100–106.

115. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1): “eine große Flauheit der Kunst” (1:180); “eine künftige Entwickelung” (1:180);

> Friedrich mit seiner etwas starren und trüben, aber hochpoetischen Weise, war überhaupt und insbesondere in der Landschaftsmalerei der erste, der hier das Philistertum angriff und aufschüttelte, und es hatte viel Aufsehen gemacht, als über eins seiner Bilder, ein Crucifix auf dem Felsen unter dunklen Tannen und vor den verglühenden Wolken der Abendröthe, ein literarischer Streit sich erhob, der für ihn, von dem ihm befreundeten Gerh. von Kügelchen, gegen ihn von einem banalen Dilettanten, einem gewissen Herrn von Ramdohr, zum Nachtheil des letztern durchgefochten wurde (1:180–81).

116. Ramdohr quoted in Friedrich, *Caspar David Friedrich in Briefen und Bekenntnissen* (note 8), 138–57, esp. 151: “pathologische Rührung”; see also the defense of Friedrich by Semler in an article of 1809: Hilmar Frank, “Die mannigfaltigen Wege zur Kunst: Romantische Kunstphilosophie in einem Schema Caspar David Friedrichs,” *Idea* 10 (1991): 181–86.

117. Caspar David Friedrich, “Brief vom 8. Februar 1809 an den Akademiedirektor Schulz,” in Helmut Börsch-Supan and Karl Wilhelm Jähnig, *Caspar David Friedrich: Gemälde, Druckgraphik und bildmässige Zeichnungen* (Munich: Prestel, 1973), 182–83, esp. 183: “Wenn ein Bild auf den Betrachter seelenvoll wirkt, wenn es sein Gemüth in eine schöne Stimmung versetzt; so hat es die erste Forderung eines

Kunstwerkes erfüllt. Wäre es übrigens auch noch so schlecht in Zeichnung, Farbe, Art und Weise der mahlerei u.s.w."

118. Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 1:207: "Ein Bild soll nicht erfunden, sondern empfunden sein."

119. Carus, "Friedrich der Landschaftsmaler" (note 17); Carl Gustav Carus, *Friedrich, der Landschaftsmaler: Zu seinem Gedächtniß nebst Fragmenten aus seinen nachgelassenen Papieren, seinem Bildniß und seinem Faksimile* (Dresden: B. G. Teubner, 1841).

120. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 91; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 41: "Hauptaufgabe landschaftlicher Kunst... Darstellung einer gewissen Stimmung des Gemüthlebens (Sinn) durch die Nachbildung einer entsprechenden Stimmung des Naturlebens (Wahrheit)."

121. Prause, *Carl Gustav Carus* (note 15), 113–14 (cat. no. 104).

122. Kurt Karl Eberlein, "Goethe und die bildende Kunst der Romantik," *Jahrbuch der Goethe-Gesellschaft* 14 (1928): 55–60; and Prause, *Carl Gustav Carus* (note 15), 45–51.

123. Jutta Müller-Tamm, *Kunst als Gipfel der Wissenschaft: Ästhetische und wissenschaftliche Weltaneignungen bei Carl Gustav Carus* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995), 154–69; see Werner Busch, ed., *Landschaftsmalerei* (Berlin: Reimer, 1997), 263–66.

124. Eberlein, "Goethe und die bildende Kunst der Romantik" (note 122), 44; Kurt Badt, *Wolkenbilder und Wolkengedichte der Romantik* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1960), 18–32; Bätschmann, *Entfernung der Natur* (note 52), 117–24; and Werner Busch, "Die Ordnung im Flüchtigen: Wolkenstudien der Goethezeit," in Sabine Schulze, ed., *Goethe und die Kunst*, exh. cat. (Stuttgart: Hatje, 1994), 523–24. See also Christa Lichtenstern, "Beobachtungen zum Dialog Goethe–Caspar David Friedrich," *Baltische Studien*, n.s., 60 (1974): 75–100.

125. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 94; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 51: "das eigentliche Bild der Unendlichkeit." Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 94–95; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 51: "Wie daher durch Wolken, ja selbst durch hochaufgethürmte andere Gegenstände das Anschauen dieser Unendlichkeit mehr und mehr eingeengt und endlich gänzlich verhüllt wird, so regt dies auch im Gemüth mehr und mehr eine beklommene Stimmung an, wenn dagegen das Übergehen dieses Wolkenschleiers in lichte Silberwölkchen, das Zertheilen desselben durch des aufgehenden Mondes oder der Sonne ruhige Klarheit, die innere Trübheit verlöscht und zum Gedanken des Sieges eines Unendlichen über ein Endliches uns erhebt."

126. See for instance the cloud study *Abend*, which has been dated 1824, or the painting *Der Abendstern*, which has been dated circa 1825: Börsch-Supan and Jähnig, *Caspar David Friedrich* (note 117), 393 (cat. no. 319), 423–25 (cat. no. 389).

127. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 113; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 104–8.

128. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 81; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 13: "anmuthiges Dämmerlicht." Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 89; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 32: "die spät blühenden anmuthigen Fliederbüsche." Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 101; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 65: "die naßkalte Nebelluft und das dürre Gezweig."

129. For a comprehensive account of the Biedermeier, see Friedrich Sengle, *Biedermeierzeit: Deutsche Literatur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Restauration und Revolution, 1815–1848,* 3 vols. (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1971–80).

130. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 101; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 65: "Laß mich denn im geistigen Umgange mit Dir, alter geprüfter Freund, völlige Herstellung der innern Heiterkeit und Ruhe finden, in welcher wir ja immer das alleinige und wahre Glück begründet hielten."

131. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 133; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 161: "Diener des Luxus."

132. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Werke,* ed. Eva Moldenhauer and Karl Markus Michel (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1970), 13:23–26, esp. 24: "sich des Absoluten bewußt zu sein."

133. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 134; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 162: "Nur aber sollte nicht gesagt werden, die Zeit echter Kunst, echter Künstler sei deshalb vorüber, weil der Weltlauf sie unbeachtet zu lassen scheint; für echte Kunst kann ja schon darum die Zeit nie vorüber sein, weil sie selbst über aller Zeit, weil sie *ewig* ist."

134. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 134; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 162–63: "dem Landschaftskunst im höheren Sinne am Herzen liegt."

135. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 135; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 165–66:

> Warum soll der Künstler, dem ein Ziel vorschwebt, nach dem die gemeine Welt sich nicht umsieht, den alltäglichen Bedarf nicht durch irgend ein ganz alltägliches Treiben erwerben? ja ich behaupte: selbst dieser Kampf mit dem alltäglichen Leben, wobei es ihm frei und sogar natürlich bleiben wird, das Alltägliche selbst von einer großartigen und edlen Seite zu nehmen, wird ihn innerlich kräftigen und wird ebenso seine gesammte menschliche Ausbildung vervollständigen, wie ein gesunder Körper nur durch gleichzeitige tüchtige Regsamkeit seiner niedern und höhern Organe als wahrhaft gesund erscheint.—Leider habe ich Künstler genug, sowie Gelehrte gesehen, denen ihre Kunst wie jenen ihre Wissenschaft nur die melkende Kuh war, die rein handwerksmäßig nur fragten: was schätzt die Menge? was schmeichelt den Narrheiten der Zeit?—und indem sie in diesen Trachten sich immer mehr verwickelten, nach bald verflogener erster jugendlicher Begeisterung in philisterhafter Dumpfheit ihren Pinsel und Stift nicht sowol von Kopf und Herzen, sondern allein vom Magen aus regieren ließen.

On the issue that Carus superficially touches on here, see Oskar Bätschmann, *The Artist in the Modern World: The Conflict between Market and Self-Expression* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1997).

136. On letter IX, see Müller-Tamm, *Kunst als Gipfel der Wissenschaft* (note 123), 183–92.

137. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 82; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 16: "den vollen und echten poetischen Genuß."

138. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 82; Carus, *Neun Briefe*

*über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 17: "jede echte Naturforschung [muß]... an die Schwelle höherer Geheimnisse führen." Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 86; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 25: "Vermittlerin der Religion."

139. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 89; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 34: "eine ewige, höchste, unendliche Einheit." Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 90; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 35: "Aus dem Erkennen geht das *Wissen,* die Wissenschaft hervor, aus dem Können die *Kunst.* In der Wissenschaft fühlt der Mensch sich in Gott, in der Kunst fühlt er Gott in sich." On the issue of science and art, see Joachim Ritter, *Landschaft: Zur Funktion des Ästhetischen in der modernen Gesellschaft* (Münster: Achendorff, 1963); Wolf Lepenies, *Das Ende der Naturgeschichte: Wandel kultureller Selbstverständlichkeiten in den Wissenschaften des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1978); Richard Hoppe-Sailer, "Carl Gustav Carus: Einige Anmerkungen zum Verhältnis von Kunst und Wissenschaft im 19. Jahrhundert," in Karin Orchard and Jörg Zimmermann, eds., *Die Erfindung der Natur: Max Ernst, Paul Klee, Wols und das surreale Universum,* exh. cat. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1994), 67–73; and Sabine Schulze, ed., *Goethe und die Kunst* (note 124), 485–570, especially the articles by Werner Busch: "Der Berg als Gegenstand von Naturwissenschaft und Kunst: Zu Goethes geologischem Begriff," 485–97, and "Die Ordnung im Flüchtigen: Wolkenstudien der Goethezeit," 519–27.

140. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 90; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 36.

141. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 96; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 56.

142. Fernow, *Römische Studien* (note 74).

143. Frank Büttner, "Abwehr der Romantik," in Sabine Schulze, ed., *Goethe und die Kunst,* exh. cat. (Stuttgart: Hatje, 1994), 456–67.

144. Büttner, "Abwehr der Romantik" (note 143).

145. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 106; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 83: "eigentliche Kunst des Heroenalters." Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 106; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 83: "die idealere Kunst." Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 106; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 83: "eine höhere Bildung und Erfahrung." Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 106–7; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 83: "Es liegt eine gewisse Abstraction und Selbstaufopferung darin, die Außenwelt, früher nur das Element für unsere Thätigkeit, auch an und für sich als etwas Schönes und Erhabenes gelten zu lassen."

146. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 107; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 84: "Der Mensch mußte die Göttlichkeit der Natur als der eigentlichen leiblichen Offenbarung, oder menschlich ausgedrückt, als der Sprache Gottes anerkennen."

147. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 107; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 86–87. See editorial note 38 in this volume, 152; see

also the repetition of his denunciation of this (under the name "cross-and-rosary mysticism") in Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 114; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 107: "Kreuz- und Rosenkranzmystik."

148. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 113; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 104–5. See Badt, *Wolkenbilder und Wolkengedichte der Romantik* (note 124), 33–44; and Mitchell, *Art and Science in German Landscape Painting, 1770–1840* (note 94), 166–73.

149. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 114; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 108: "Geheimnisse des Naturlebens." Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 114; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 108: "Erkenntnis der wunderbaren Wechselwirkungen von Erde und Feuer und Meer und Luft."

150. Humboldt, *Ansichten der Natur* (note 80); Christian Gottfried Daniel Nees von Esenbeck, *Das System der Pilze und Schwämme: Ein Versuch,* 2d ed., 2 vols. (Würzburg: Stahelschen Buchhandlung, 1817).

151. Carl Gustav Carus, *Schlucht in der sächsischen Schweiz,* undated, charcoal with white highlights, Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett; see Ekkehard Meffert, *Carl Gustav Carus: Sein Leben, seine Anschauung von der Erde* (Stuttgart: Verlag Freies Geistesleben, 1986), fig. 40, 146. On the contemporary interest in geology, see Bätschmann, *Entfernung der Natur* (note 52), 57–67; and Sabine Schulze, ed., *Goethe und die Kunst* (note 124), 485–517, especially the article by Werner Busch, "Der Berg als Gegenstand" (note 139).

152. Later, writing in *Kunst-Blatt,* Carus opined that his prophecy in *Letters on Landscape Painting* had come true: that young Crola's painting was superior to the best works of Ruisdael. See Carl Gustav Carus, "Über eine Landschaft (Erdlebenbild) von Crola in München," *Kunst-Blatt* 27, no. 43 (28 May 1833): 169–71, esp. 171.

153. Carus, *Zwölf Briefe über das Erdleben,* 1841 (note 104); Carus, *Zwölf Briefe über das Erdleben,* ed. Meffert (note 104). Parts of the work were initially published between 1838 and 1840 in the Altona periodical *Der Freihafen: Galerie von Unterhaltungsbildern aus den Kreisen der Literatur, Gesellschaft und Wissenschaft.*

154. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 136–41; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 169–85.

155. See Alexander von Humboldt, *Studienausgabe,* ed. Hanno Beck (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1987–97), 5:175–92.

156. See Abraham Gottlob Werner, *Kurze Klassifikation und Beschreibung der verschiedenen Gebürgsarten* (Dresden: Waltherischen Hofbuchhandlung, 1787).

157. See Christian Keferstein, *Geschichte und Litteratur der Geognosie: Ein Versuch* (Halle: Joh. Fried. Lippert, 1840).

158. Rachel Laudan, *From Mineralogy to Geology: The Foundations of a Science, 1650–1830* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1987); and Busch, "Der Berg als Gegenstand" (note 139).

159. In the Kupferstichkabinett Dresden; see Sabine Schulze, ed., *Goethe und die Kunst* (note 124), 513 (cat. no. 340). On the Isle of Staffa, see Charlotte Klonk, *Science and the Perception of Nature: British Landscape Art in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1996), 80–90.

160. Prause, *Carl Gustav Carus* (note 15), 57, 70 n. 237. Two of the watercolors are lost; the one in Dresden is now dated 1834. On the travel narrative, see Meffert, *Carl Gustav Carus* (note 151), 134–39; on the drawings, see Hoppe-Sailer, "Carl Gustav Carus" (note 139).

161. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 137; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 174: "Bei der Untersuchungsweise sämmtlicher Naturkörper nämlich werden wir auf Berücksichtigung eines *Äußern* und eines *Innern* geleitet; das Äußere gibt uns die anschauliche Idee des Ganzen, das Innere zeigt uns die Theile."

162. Carus, *Zwölf Briefe über das Erdleben*, ed. Meffert (note 104), 142–230. On the theory of the elements, see Gernot Böhme and Hartmut Böhme, *Feuer, Wasser, Erde, Luft: Eine Kulturgeschichte der Elemente* (Munich: Beck, 1996).

163. Schubert, *Ansichten von der Nachtseite der Naturwissenschaft* (note 8); Steffens, *Beyträge zur innern Naturgeschichte der Erde* (note 95); Steffens, *Grundzüge der philosophischen Naturwissenschaft* (note 96); and Steffens, *Geognostisch-geologische Aufsätze* (note 96).

164. Carl Gustav Carus, *Grundzüge einer neuen und wissenschaftlich begründeten Craniscopie (Schädellehre)* (Stuttgart: Balz'sche Buchhandlung, 1841); Carl Gustav Carus, *Psyche: Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Seele* (Pforzheim: Flammer und Hoffmann, 1846); and Carl Gustav Carus, *Symbolik der menschlichen Gestalt: Ein Handbuch zur Menschenkenntnis* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1853).

165. Carus, *Symbolik der menschlichen Gestalt* (note 164), vi–vii: "Wissenschaft von der Bedeutung der äussern menschlichen Bildung für inneres seelisches und geistiges Leben die ich hier, um sie mit einem Worte kurz zu bezeichnen, unter dem Namen der 'Symbolik' abhandle." On Lorenz Oken and his rationalization of the ideas of nature philosophy, see Pross, "Lorenz Oken" (note 10).

166. Busch, "Der Berg als Gegenstand" (note 139), 495–97.

167. Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 98, 102, and 127; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 63, 70, 147 (references to Gessner, Fernow, and Hogarth, respectively).

168. Fernow, *Römische Studien* (note 74), 2:22: "Die Harmonie der Farben, welche über eine schöne Landschaft ausgegossen ist, macht eine ähnliche Wirkung auf das Gemüth, wie die Melodie und Harmonie in der Tonkunst."

169. Prause, *Carl Gustav Carus* (note 15), no. 98, 111–12; see also no. 6, 87: *Allegorie auf Goethes Tod.* See Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten* (note 1), 2:342; and Donat de Chapeaurouge, "Carus' Gemälde 'zu Goethes Ehrengedächtnis' von 1832," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 61, no. 1 (1998): 113–17.

170. Fernow, *Römische Studien* (note 74), 2:22; and Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 123; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 31.

171. Carl Grüneisen, review of *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei,* by Carl Gustav Carus, *Kunst-Blatt,* no. 17 (26 February 1833): 65–68; no. 18 (28 February 1833): 71–72. Carl Grüneisen (1802–78), of Stuttgart, was a theologian—a follower of Friedrich Schleiermacher—as well as an art connoisseur and poet. Until 1868, he was successively court chaplain, court preacher, and chief court preacher to King Wilhelm I of Württemberg.

172. Grüneisen, review of *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 171), 71:

> Befremdlich ist es aber, daß der Verf[asser] in solcher Hinsicht nicht die Anerkennung des bisher sogenannten historischen Landschaftsbildes, wie es von den grossen Meistern unserer Zeit, Koch, Reinhard, Schick, Steinkopf, Reinhold behandelt worden ist, hervorhebt und vielmehr es, wie S. 121 zu geschehen scheint, beseitigt;—befremdlich, da doch in demselben der Charakter des Naturlebens mit dem Geiste der Handlung, mit der Stimmung der dargestellten Personen die genauesten Beziehungen zu unterhalten pflegt und auch umgekehrt eine mythologische oder geschichtliche Scene von der Eigenthümlichkeit griechischer Natur und von der besondern Form, Luft und Farbentönen einer Landschaft getragen und gleichsam gefordert seyn kann.

173. Carus, *Reise durch Deutschland, Italien und die Schweiz im Jahre 1828* (note 21), 1:351; 352: "ältlich trocken, mit einer gewissen bierhaften Physiognomie; kurz, er kam mir vor wie ein untergegangenes Kunsttalent.... Was Koch betrifft, so geniesst dieser eines bedeutenden Rufes als Landschaftsmaler; doch gestehe ich, auch bei ihm unter den wenigen halb altdeutschen Conceptionen nichts Anmuthiges gefunden zu haben." See Caspar David Friedrich's adverse verdict on the German artists resident in Rome, in Caspar David Friedrich, *Kritische Edition der Schriften des Künstlers und seiner Zeitzeugen,* ed. Gerhard Eimer and Günter Rath (Frankfurt am Main: Kunstgeschichtliches Institut, 1999– ), esp. 21, 28, 71, 74, 108, and 127.

174. Grüneisen, review of *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 171), 72: "Fassen wir ein Urtheil über das Ganze zusammen, so ist es diess, dass hier Wesen und Bestimmung der Landschaftsmalerei auf eine gründliche Weise dargestellt und dem Künstler wie dem Publikum Anregung geworden sey, diesen Kunstzweig in seiner grossen Bedeutung höher zu achten, ernstlicher zu erforschen, und durch Beziehung auf Geistesleben und Gemüthsstimmung zu fördern."

175. Carl Gustav Carus, *Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei, geschrieben in den Jahren 1815–1835,* 2d, expanded ed. (Leipzig: Gerhard Fleischer, 1835), title page: "Zweite durch einen Brief und einige Beilagen vermehrte Ausgabe." On the additional material for the second edition, see Dorothea Kuhn, "Nachwort," in Carl Gustav Carus, *Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei, zuvor ein Brief von Goethe als Einleitung* (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1972), [34]–[35]. The tenth letter, added in 1835, is accompanied by five enclosures. The first two contain descriptions of moonlight scenes, the third reprints a critique of a landscape painting by Crola, the fourth is an account of Allart van Everdingen's painting *The Great Waterfall,* and the fifth is entitled "Vorlesung über die rechte Art Gemälde zu betrachten" (Lecture on the right way to look at paintings).

176. Wolfgang Menzel, "C. G. Carus: 'Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei': Besprechung." *Literatur-Blatt des Morgenblattes für gebildete Stände,* no. 125 (12 December 1836): 498–99: "Wenig Stoff und zum Erstaunen viele Worte.... Was soll doch der Landschaftsmaler mit solchen leeren Redensarten anfangen? Nur in den Beilagen geht der Verfasser ins Einzelne ein, in die Physiognomie der Gebirge z.B., in die Wirkungen des Mondscheins, in die Betrachtung einiger Bilder von Ewerdingen etc." Wolfgang Menzel (1798–1873), born in Silesia, studied in Berlin, Jena, and Bonn. In 1820, as a

political émigré, he took a teaching post at the Kantonsschule in Aarau, Switzerland, and there introduced the teaching of gymnastics on the system devised by his mentor, the "father of gymnastics" (*Turnvater*), Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778–1852). In 1825 Menzel moved to Stuttgart and became editor of the *Literatur-Blatt*, the literary supplement to the daily *Morgenblatt* published by the Stuttgart press baron Johann Friedrich Cotta, Freiherr von Cottendorf (1764–1832). Menzel became an influential literary historian and critic, noted in particular for his opposition to Goethe and to Hegel. The *Morgenblatt* appeared from 1807 through 1865.

177. Eschenburg, "Landschaftsmalerei in München" (note 112), 111.

178. Gustav Theodor Fechner, *Zend-Avesta; oder, Über die Dinge des Himmels und des Jenseits: Vom Standpunkt der Naturbetrachtung*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: L. Voss, 1851). According to the explanation supplied by Fechner (1:v), *Zend-Avesta* means "lebendiges Wort" (living word). The ancient Persian scriptures, the *Avesta*, reached Europe in a translation by the French Orientalist Abraham-Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron in 1771, under the title *Zend–Avesta;* this was published in a German version as early as 1776. Further German translations appeared in Vienna in 1853 and in Leipzig from 1852 to 1863. Fechner's intention was to bring about "die Wiedergeburt des Uralten" (the rebirth of the primordially ancient) and the conjunction of purified religious ideas with exact science (1:v).

179. Fechner, *Zend-Avesta* (note 178), 1:v: "daß die ganze Natur lebendig und göttlich beseelt sei."

180. Fechner, *Zend-Avesta* (note 178), 1:48–178, esp. 102–3: "Je nach der Zusammenhangsweise (Aggregationsform) der Stoffe können wir in der Erde wie in unserem Leibe Festes, Flüssiges, Luftiges, Dunstiges und Unwägbares unterscheiden. Wir haben Felsen in unsern Knochen, Ströme laufen durch unsere Adern, Dämpfe und Luft blasen durch unsere Athemwerkzeuge, Licht dringt durch unsere Augen, Wärme durchdringt unsern Leib, ein feines Agens mag in unseren Nerven kreisen. Makrokosmos, Mikrokosmos." On this, see also 2:104–73.

181. Charles Blanc, *Grammaire des arts du dessin: Architecture, sculpture, peinture* (Paris: Renouard, 1867), 33:

> l'intelligent abrégé du monde . . . son squelette est l'image de ces rochers qui sont les ossements de la terre. Sa charpente osseuse est reliée par des nerfs, qui sont soumis à l'action de l'électricité comme les métaux; elle est revêtue de muscles qui, par leurs saillies et leurs dépressions, rappellent les montagnes et les vallées, et tout son corps est arrosé par des ruisseaux de pourpre qui transpirent à travers la peau, comme les fleuves transpirent à travers la surface du globe. Enfin la chevelure qui ombrage l'organe de sa pensée est, suivant l'expression poétique de Herder, un emblème des bois sacrés où l'on célébrait jadis les mystères. L'homme, considéré dans sa vie organique, est donc un abrégé de l'univers.

182. See Oskar Bätschmann, "The Landscape *Oeuvre* of Ferdinand Hodler," in *Ferdinand Hodler: Landschaften*, exh. cat. (Zurich: Swiss Institute for Art Research, 1987), 42–45.

183. Vorstand der deutschen Jahrhundertausstellung, ed., *Katalog der Gemälde*, vol. 2 of *Ausstellung deutscher Kunst aus der Zeit von 1775–1875 in der königlichen*

*Nationalgalerie Berlin 1906,* exh. cat. (Munich: Friedrich Bruckmann, 1906), 72–73; the works by Carus exhibited were cat. no. 253, *Hünengrab im Mondschein* (Prause, *Carl Gustav Carus* [note 15], 153 [cat. no. 304]), and cat. no. 254, *Frühlingslandschaft im Rosental* (Prause, *Carl Gustav Carus* [note 15], 143 [cat. no. 259]). Caspar David Friedrich (paintings, cat. nos. 505–35, studies, cat. nos. 536 a–h), Johan Christian Claussen Dahl (cat. nos. 305–20, 321 a–m), and Joseph Anton Koch (cat. nos. 869–84) were all far better represented than Carus.

184. Alfred Peltzer, *Goethe und die Ursprünge der neueren deutschen Landschaftsmalerei* (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1907), 1–6. Carus's prophecy is found at the end of letter VI: Carus, *Nine Letters on Landscape Painting* (note 27), 115; Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei* (note 11), 111: "es wird in ihnen die Natur, mit geistigem Auge erschaut, in höherer Wahrheit erscheinen."

185. Carl Gustav Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei,* ed. Kurt Gerstenberg (Dresden: Wolfgang Jess, 1927); Carl Gustav Carus, *Neun Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei, geschrieben in den Jahren 1813 bis 1824* (Villingen: Reichelt, 1947).

186. Carl Gustav Carus, *Briefe über Landschaftsmalerei, zuvor ein Brief von Goethe als Einleitung* (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1972).

187. Carl Gustav Carus, *Neuf lettres sur la peinture de paysage,* trans. Erika Diekenherr, Alain Pernet, and Rainer Rochlitz (Paris: Klincksieck, 1983); Carl Gustav Carus, *Lettere sulla pittura di paesaggio,* trans. Alessandro Nigro (Pordenone: Studio Tesi, 1991).

188. Excerpts from letters III, VI, and VII in Lorenz Eitner, comp., *Restoration/Twilight of Humanism,* vol. 2 of idem, comp., *Neoclassicism and Romanticism, 1750–1850* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 47–52; excerpts from letters II, III, and VII, translated by Gertrude Harms Halloway and Gerhard Groehlich, in Elizabeth Gilmore Holt, ed., *A Documentary History of Art; From the Classicists to the Impressionists: Art and Architecture in the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1986), 87–93; letter II, translated by Michael Snideman, in Joshua C. Taylor, ed., *Nineteenth-Century Theories of Art* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1987), 270–74; excerpts from letters I, II, III, and V translated by Nicholas Walker in Charles Harrison, Paul Wood, and Jason Gaiger, eds., *Art in Theory, 1815–1900: An Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 101–7.

189. Carl Gustav Carus, *Zwölf Briefe über das Erdleben,* ed. Christoph Bernoulli and Hans Kern (Celle: Kampmann, 1926).

190. Carl Gustav Carus, *Zwölf Briefe über das Erdleben,* ed. Meffert (note 104); Meffert, *Carl Gustav Carus* (note 151).

191. Busch, letter to author of 8 January 2001; Carus, *Psyche* (note 164); Wolfgang Köppe, "Carl Gustav Carus," in Josef Rattner, ed., *Vorläufer der Tiefenpsychologie* (Vienna: Europaverlag, 1983), 57–80.