

“The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it”: Another Look at Courbet’s Landscape Painting

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The purpose of this paper is to propose a fresh look at the structure of Courbet’s landscapes, considering above all the painter’s *expressiveness*. I want to draw your attention to five aspects of his works:

First aspect: Emotional ambiguity. Let me go back to *Courbet Reconsidered* at the Brooklyn Museum. When I visited this exhibition in 1988, I caught the words of a critic saying, “One sees above all how *bad* Courbet is as a landscape painter and how marvelous he is as a figure painter.” The Getty Museum exhibition *Courbet and the Modern Landscape* (2006), emphasizing Courbet’s talent as a landscape painter, had the great merit of refuting this underestimation of landscape within his oeuvre. This concept especially allows us to learn how emotional life works in Courbet’s interpretations of nature. Some details from the Houston *Gust of Wind* (fig. 1) are very illuminating in this respect. Threatening black clouds hang heavily just where the beholder might long for celestial consolation or at least pictorial harmony. The viewer has to make a choice between the dark and the joyful aspects of the picture, between light and shade, and between enjoying an overview when looking from afar as an observer and getting involved in captivating peculiarities when looking from up close, *becoming a virtual part of the depicted nature*. Every picture by Courbet is imbued with both an attractive and a repulsive power. Emotional ambiguity, even for the beholder of the twenty-first century, it seems to me, is one of the most basic and most amazing features in Courbet. The more lively a Courbet landscape is, the more striking are these ambivalences.



Figure 1

Gustave Courbet (French, 1819–1877), *Gust of Wind*, ca. 1865. Oil on canvas, 143.5 x 228.5 cm (56 1/2 x 89 15/16 in.). Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, 2002.216. Gift of Caroline Wiess Law.



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Second aspect: The emotive connection of landscape and figure. If emotional ambiguity is one of the keys to understanding the inner life of Courbet's landscapes, should we really keep away from the figures? In other words: as meritorious as it has been to concentrate on landscapes exclusively in the Getty exhibition, it would be equally worthwhile to go a little beyond this concept, by looking at pictures that show landscapes with figures. I doubt that one can fully understand the human impact of Courbet's landscapes without considering his figurative painting. Figures interpret nature, and nature interprets figures. This will allow us to investigate whether the painter's methods change when he shifts from landscape to figure, whether the processes and effects are different or, rather, comparable or complementary. I will ask these questions with regard to the central part of *The Studio* and to the *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine*. My hypothesis is that landscapes strengthen the figures' mood or even express it more frankly.

Third aspect: Introspection. Scholars and critics have often emphasized Courbet's positivist approach to nature, his materialism, his objective perception when depicting the world. Moreover, they see this view mirrored in the physicality and the tactility of his stroke. Rarely discussed, however, are Courbet's deep subjectivity, his reflectiveness, his skepticism toward the sheer reality of things, his poetic imagery—in short, his emotive capacities. By *introspection* I mean examination of the painter's self and expression of his inner conflicts through an artwork.¹ Art historians rightly tend to be suspicious of a psychology-driven history of art, being afraid of either a superficial psychobiography of the artist or a vision that neglects the historical context. But thanks to a scholars' research group dealing with the expression of psychic energies in art, which I initiated and chaired over nine years,² I feel immune to the obvious dangers of internalization that dominated some misguided currents of art history in the 1920s and the 1950s.³ Recent neurophysical research has suggested that neural actions are followed by emotional reactions. I learned from neuroscientists like Antonio Damasio that there is a need for both self-reflection and consideration of the other's conflicts when analyzing human emotive faculties.⁴ Historians like Reinhart Koselleck and philosophers like Wolf Lepenies note the importance of distinguishing between social, or outside, perception and psychic, or inner-life, perception.⁵ It is, therefore, a widespread misunderstanding to denounce "introspection" as a mere psychological term.

Emotional reflection leads to works of art that tend to express the self. In Courbet's case, depicting nature revealed thoughts about himself that are not really different from what he was concerned with when depicting figures. The meaning of introspection that I want to apply here to landscape and figurative paintings should be distinguished from the idea of absorption.⁶ While absorption concerns the artist exchanging roles with the beholder (becoming the "painter-beholder," to quote Michael Fried), introspection points to the painter's doubts about the recognizability of the world, and furthermore to an artistic exploration of the self that serves to clarify the painter's status within the world. The need to clarify one's status is not relevant to every epoch and is therefore not reflected in Leonardo's famous adage, "Ogni pittore dipinge sè" (Every painter depicts himself).⁷ Rather, it results from the dissolution of firm borders of single objects in paintings (in late works of Courbet—or in Odilon Redon, Eugène Carrière, etc.—objects are no longer separated from each other, but form a continuous stratum). Dario Gamboni described this phenomenon in terms of "ambiguity" and "indeterminacy" with regard to late-nineteenth-century art.⁸ Introspection has something to do with melancholy, but in a positive way—it defines an attitude: that of intense reflection between two creative actions, between conceiving a painting in one's mind and realizing it on the canvas. It points to the need for an intermediate stage of thinking over the



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situation, containing the presentiment of a forthcoming perspective, the outlines of which are just vaguely perceptible. Everybody knows Courbet's famous letter to his Maecenas, Alfred Bruyas, which reads, "Behind the laughing mask that you are familiar with, I hide, deep down, grief, bitterness, and a sorrow that clings to the heart like a vampire."⁹ But few people realize that in the same letter, he exposes to Bruyas the project of *The Studio*, where he depicts himself as a proud man amid the pictures, pointing to a landscape as the central medium of reflection. The landscape, in other words, represents himself. It represents both the dark aspect of looking inward and the joyful aspect of creating a new worldview.

Courbet's dual reflectiveness is a result of feeling insufficiently supported by society, of living as a "sauvage" (Courbet's term¹⁰). It is exactly this feeling that may provoke the aim of creating one's own, independent means of introspection. But what is needed is an outside realm where the artistic exploration of the self can be expressed without danger. For Courbet, this field was nature, or, in pictorial terms, landscape painting.

Establishing this theoretical framework is necessary to any further discussion of landscapes but also to understanding the way in which two scholars, Werner Hofmann in 1978 and Aaron Sheon in 1981, used the term *introspection* when speaking of Courbet.¹¹ In dealing with Courbet's figurative painting, both authors pointed to the self-concerned attitude of just one subject, the sleeping women, the focus of several works. A coherent theory was lacking for these paintings that close off the outside world, and therefore some conclusions became extremely antagonistic. The Montpellier *Sleeping Spinner* (1853), for instance, was interpreted as a "démon de la nuit" (demon of the night) by Sheon,¹² and as "La Belle au bois dormant" (The Sleeping Beauty in the Wood) by Hofmann.¹³ It has also been suggested that Courbet "traced the course of his inner life" in some of his portraits,¹⁴ for example in the Montpellier *Portrait of Alfred Bruyas* (1853) or in the *Portrait of a Lady*, the so-called *Meditation or Reflection* (1864, in Douai). No word, however, on landscapes in this context.

With regard to Courbet, this topic has not been developed since those discussions. Yet, *introspection* was as important to the painter as was *provocation*; these were two complementary forces to him, and I should even add: introspection was a kind of provocation, if applied to figures, since it prevented them from appearing all too pleasant or conformist. If applied to landscapes, introspection results in an expression of autonomy, self-enjoyment, or, sometimes, resistance against the central power.¹⁵ When Werner Hofmann, in another article, wrote on Courbet's landscapes,¹⁶ he rightly discovered connections to figurative painting, linking the "sources" to female bodies, to wombs, vulvae, and uteri. This aspect of the works can be seen as a form of introspection. Yet, limiting the representation of nature to sexual metaphors seems too restrained a view to me. Rather, as we shall see in the seven *Source of the Loue* paintings, the numerous *Black Well* pictures, the *Wave* series, and others, Courbet indeed "traced the course of his inner life" through landscapes to define his own place in the world.

Fourth aspect: Abstract art versus objective art. Artistic introspection is a challenge for the beholder. It involves changing the pattern when looking at a picture, switching from the objects to subjectivity, to the *mood* of the painter. Distancing ourselves from the object leads us to look at the pictorial means as independent of the proposed theme. As noted above, the materiality and tactility of Courbet's stroke have been widely observed, while at the same time, the artist's ability to liberate himself from the constraint of merely depicting objects has been underestimated. A free handling of surface, color, and stroke is not only



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a technical procedure opposed to tradition, however. Gaining the upper hand during the 1860s over a faithful translation of objects, it responds to a widespread discourse on speediness, in which *la touche* (the speedy stroke) and *la tache* (the color spot) played their role. When this discourse arose in France during the 1850s, under English influence, it was connected to a debate over whether a picture done in a sketchy manner could claim to be a full painting. If such works were said by some to surpass photography, they soon became more. Details of the anarchically painted *Source of the Loue* (see fig. 11 of Font-Réaulx's essay in this publication), Hamburg version, of 1864,¹⁷ show not only how much Courbet was imbued with this modern manner, but also how it allowed him to express his own feelings instead of objectively observing the outside world. Thus, the painter's method of approaching nature means leaving it at the same time—in other words, going beyond the observation of objects. It involves linking landscape to figures, or to sheer expressive structures. Indeed, where Courbet depicts rocks, there are spots of color without any illusion of solidity; those in the water of the Paris and the Frankfurt *Wave* pictures (both 1869) consist of brown hollows;¹⁸ snow is very often incoherent and porous; and trees, as in the famous *Oak of Vercingetorix* (fig. 2), are puzzles of light and shade.¹⁹ When this manner became popular, caricaturists identified Courbet as its leader (figs. 3 and 4) and as a forerunner of abstract art—which, of course, would place him at the opposite end of the spectrum from Realism.



Figure 2

Gustave Courbet, *The Oak at Flagey or The Oak of Vercingetorix*, 1864. Oil on canvas, 89 x 110 cm (35 1/8 x 43 3/8 in.). Tokyo, Marouchi Art Museum.



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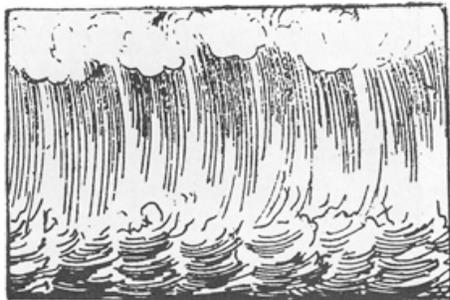


Figure 3

G. Randon. Caricature of *The Waterspout*, in *Le Journal amusant*, 1867. Photo from Herding, "Courbet's Modernity" (1978), transl. in *Courbet: To Venture Independence* (New Haven and London, 1991), p. 168, fig. 81.

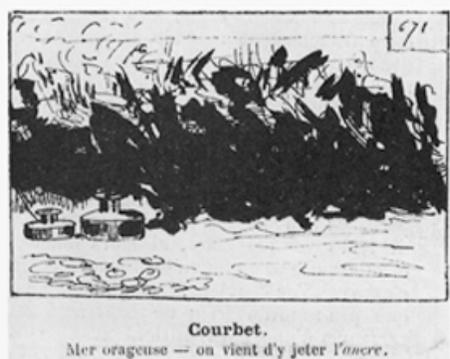


Figure 4

Henry Somm (1844-1907), Caricature of *The Wave*, in *Le Salon de c' année* (Paris, 1870). Photo from "Courbet's Modernity," ed. of 1991 (see fig. 3), p. 168, fig. 80.

Fifth aspect: Courbet as the anti-Realist par excellence. After these observations, what is the result of a pictorial conception that aims at the investigation of the self instead of depicting objects, combined with an obvious undermining of reliability and coherence? One could almost define Courbet the landscape painter as a non-objective artist working with plashes of dark and light color. Indeed, I came to this result in my Courbet entries for the *Dictionary of Art* and the new encyclopedia of the world's artists.²⁰ More and more, during my research, I felt that the term *Realism* has a very limited reach. It may be a valid label for Courbet, strictly speaking, due to the *Stonebreakers* (1849, formerly Dresden, destroyed in World War II) and *The Burial at Ornans* (1850, Musée d'Orsay; see Bomford, fig. 3, in this volume), which he considered to be the "exposé of his principles,"²¹ to the first time he used the word "Realism" (1851), and to his Manifesto of Realism (1855), which is echoed in some of his statements and works of 1861, 1863, and 1867. As for the entire rest of his career, the label might have been useful to provoke the attention of the crowd, after it had reached the mass media. One might even say that it has been imposed on Courbet, and this is why I gave it up early. But there are further reasons. I think Realism, with regard to Courbet, is composed of two incompatible principles. One is that of popular art, of woodcuts like those made at Épinal. Another is that of political perspectives, or of a politically founded rebuttal of bourgeois



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idealism. The writer Jules Champfleury, Courbet's adviser for a down-to-earth Realism based on popular imagery, was an apolitical man who wanted to reconcile the good old customs of the *peuple* with modern life.²² The philosopher Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Courbet's guide to a political conception of Realism, wanted to fight the hypocrisy of institutional idealism, which he accused of concealing the real condition of the lower classes; he therefore encouraged an offensive, anticlerical, and anticentralist art.²³ Hence, Realism implied two extremely different issues, one leading to modest works within a conformist attitude, and one trusting in the popular power to remodel society and to free the oppressed social strata from suffering, which possibly would lead to an illustrative art containing political propaganda, without any formal perspectives. The far-reaching difference between these two attitudes has often been overlooked: popular art meant simplicity, simplicity would lead to reduction, and reductionism came to be one of the decisive principles of modern art in the works of Pissarro, Seurat, and Gauguin.²⁴ Anti-idealist art in Proudhon's understanding would lead to satirical art, to a crude focusing of reality, to representing work instead of leisure, along with peasants, day laborers, and beggars, and finally, beyond Millet and Van Gogh to twentieth-century painters like George Grosz. For Proudhon, art's focus lay on fight, not on form. Moreover, both concepts do not really apply to landscape painting. That is why the critic Jules Castagnary, as early as 1857, wrote, "One is no longer busy with realism. The idea which Courbet claimed to have put forth in *The Stonebreakers*, *The Burial*, *The Ladies of the Village*, and *The Bathers* becomes more and more incomprehensible."²⁵ And in 1870, Castagnary was bold enough to write, "Courbet has never been a Realist."²⁶ Iconographically, one can "save" the notion of Realism only if one loads it up with lots of contradictory meanings, as does Sheon.²⁷

The crucial question about Realism is what *matter* is. Is it the object as shown in its plausible and recognizable form, is it the sheer substance of things (which means the reduction of objects to symbols), or is it the pictorial equivalent of real matter in the outside world?²⁸ If we replace "Realism" with "reductionism," we'll seize at once the importance of the non-objective plashes that lead to abstract patterns: they can be read as questioning coherence and substance in nature. That is why Roger Fry, in his translation of Maurice Denis's "Cézanne," in 1910, stated that so-called primitive art has the potential to represent a higher degree of truth than modern objective art, just because it does *not* represent things realistically.²⁹ This view is well known, but my argument is that Fry's division between depicting reality and conceiving truth in pictorial terms goes back to Courbet. Not only was the painter written off as a "primitive," and his "Bather" labeled as a "Vénus Hottentotte,"³⁰ but his search for pure color, pure black, and pure light guided him beyond representational art. Truth in art may be greater when it departs from concrete objects. In landscape painting, a picture is more convincing when it does not (or not only) depict a real site. We are more inclined to perceive freedom, power, resistance, or joy if we do not have the feeling that we are just confronted with a view of the castle A or the river B.

We may then ask how far it is possible to apply Gamboni's concept of "ambiguity and indeterminacy" in modern art to Courbet's landscape painting. Gamboni applied these terms to Symbolism, that is, to paintings of twenty or thirty years later. If we leave aside the specific pictorial means of Symbolism, I would argue that the black holes and the broken-up structure in Courbet's *Wave* pictures are no less paradigms of ambiguity and indeterminacy, because they are exchanging solid and unsolid matter— withdrawing, so to speak, the soil from under the beholder's feet, while the heaviness of the clouds seems to oppress the viewer and the water appears to consist of jewels, as Salon visitors put it. One cannot trust



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matter, nor reality. So, the most important point in the works of Courbet is ambiguity, the defining feature of twentieth-century art. This was easier to realize in landscape pictures, while in human portraits it could be realized only insofar as the figures were embedded in nature.

We are now well prepared to have a closer look at some pictures. I will not go through all five aspects, as the first—ambiguity based on attractive and repulsive features—occurs in nearly every picture; and I will treat the second and the third aspects, the connection of landscape and figure and introspection, together, because they shine out in the same paintings. In all these works, we are referring to the painter's introspection as translated into the figures' mood, the crucial part of which is rendered in landscape. Let us start with *The Meeting* of 1854 (figs. 5 and 6). Here, at first glance, the landscape seems to play a subordinate role. Courbet's manner of reversing his dependence on his patron Bruyas by giving him a humiliating, almost worshipful attitude has dominated the research literature. The iconography of the



Figure 5

Gustave Courbet, *Courbet Meeting Alfred Bruyas (or The Meeting—'Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet')*, 1854. Oil on canvas, 129 x 149 cm (50 7/8 x 58 3/4 in.). Montpellier, Musée Fabre. Photo: Erich Lessing / Art Resource, New York.



Figure 6

Detail of Figure 5.



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“Wandering Jew,” then despised and now honored, was treated long ago by Linda Nochlin.³¹ With regard to the landscape, it has been noted that this picture was the first by Courbet to show Mediterranean light.³² More important, the pattern of the soil, the plants, and the shade is an early example of his dividing and dissolving of color fields, which reached its climax ten years later, as seen in *The Source of the Loue* series, leading almost to decomposition. Looking more intensely at *The Meeting*, one becomes aware that the brightness of the figures is an assimilation to the landscape. Even in Courbet’s shirt and trousers, one can detect traces of the blue of the sky; the white of the clouds is there, the green of Bruyas’s jacket goes with the plants in the foreground, and the brown of the servant’s coat and vest is an echo of the stony crossroad. This is not only the beginning of the famous earth colors in Courbet, but the starting point of subordinating figures to landscape, which is a reversal of the academic tradition. Because of such a dominating emphasis, landscape was judged by conservative critics of the time to be a “subversive” genre, as Michael Clarke has shown.³³

Courbet, the “anti-civilized” man, was longing for a world in its original state. I am not so much alluding to his famous nude called *L’Origine du monde* (*The Origin of the World*; 1866, Musée d’Orsay), but to the landscape in *The Studio* (fig. 7). Before analyzing nature in this picture, I have to clarify that, if I say “nature” here, I am using this term not in the comprehensive Aristotelian sense, which means the totality of physics and every physical object, but rather I use it as did Friedrich Schiller in his “Spaziergang,” the famous poem of 1795—that is, to mean the outside environment in contrast to the city, a concept that implies a sensation of freedom in contemplating it. Nature therefore, if reduced to landscape, was not just given a passive role. It was believed to carry messages of self-realization and creativeness. This was what Courbet and his friends Champfleury, Castagnary, and the critic Théophile Thoré meant by “nature” (when speaking of “nature libre”³⁴) and what they especially meant when discussing Courbet’s landscape pictures in terms of health—not only individual health, but that of society at large. Champfleury described landscapes as an antidote to the city dweller’s fatigue, and Thoré emphasized Courbet and Millet as “these doctors . . . of forests and mountains.”³⁵ Pointing to the landscape in *The Studio*, Courbet presents it as the core of the whole composition. In spite of the landscape’s importance, however, its role has not been explained sufficiently: an impenetrable mountain valley is depicted there, functioning as a guarantor of



Figure 7
Gustave Courbet, *The Studio*, 1855 (detail). Oil on canvas, 361 x 598 cm (11 ft. 10 1/4 in. x 19 ft. 7 5/8 in.). Paris, Musée d’Orsay. Photo: Hervé Lewandowski, Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, New York.



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Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*

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individual freedom to which the artist guides us. Courbet points to a little hut while depicting the ruins of a castle, as if to say that castles are done with, that the future lies in the small hut, making landscape a key to the figurative part of the picture. This emphasis may imply a criticism directed against the regime of Napoleon III, who is supposed to be present in *The Studio*. As I demonstrated thirty years ago,³⁶ the contemporary—and therefore authentic—terms of authoritarian and egalitarian landscape are valid here and should not be ignored. Courbet used horizontality and verticality to build up landscapes like castles—a kind of metaphor of resistance against the authority of central power. Champfleury lucidly wrote, “Nearly all of [Courbet’s] landscapes represent . . . mountains and rocks that look like fortresses.”³⁷ The landscape of *The Studio* is indeed commuted into a place that resists the regime.



Figure 8

Gustave Courbet, *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine, Summertime*, 1856. Oil on canvas, 174 x 206 cm (68 1/2 x 81 1/8 in.). Paris, Musée du Petit-Palais. Photo: Bulloz, RMN / Art Resource, New York.

Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine, Summertime (fig. 8) is another of Courbet’s crucial figural compositions that contain landscapes. This picture is so important because figure and landscape are melted together here, and again (as in *The Meeting* and *The Studio*) it is the landscape that dominates. We cannot see this picture without thinking of Surrealism; the women lie there like attributes of their clothes. The lower lady is represented almost with detached limbs, while the upper one, looking into the far distance, seems to be a meditative part—let’s say an emanation—of the surrounding nature. The figures’ fatigue is expressed by nature. The clustered foliage above corresponds in its heaviness to the sleepy attitude below; the longing of the upper woman’s gaze is even mirrored in the mood of the water. It has not yet been noted that the ground on which the two are resting originally extended farther. Courbet changed part of the soil into water, thus augmenting the sense of longing. This pentimento can be clearly seen thanks to the display of the picture at the Petit Palais since 2005. A latent artificiality, an attribute of urban life, characterizes the lower woman, especially in the stiffly upright part of her blouse. With the other figure, the unarranged bouquet of flowers indicates a transformation into a natural state. Courbet seems to have wanted *to show nature as overwhelming*. The picture is a daydream reflecting the marriage of figurative and landscape painting.



Herding “The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it”:

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With regard to introspection, I would say that *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine* anticipates what the critics, thirty years later, said about Puvis de Chavannes's pictures: "What really marks a work of art is less the action or subject matter it presents but rather the nuance of sensibility which it brings forward . . . , the dreamers will always be more suggestive"³⁸ (than the Realists, we may add). It is the daydream atmosphere that counts, and it is unfortunate that Sheon did not really analyze this picture, arguing that the ladies are not asleep; however, somnolence—or more precisely, the state of half-consciousness, between sleep and wakefulness—is the concern here. If one could say about such an architecturally constructed composition as Seurat's *La Grande Jatte* that "the spell of the picture . . . lies in an intensification of the subject's mood,"³⁹ how much more true is this of the reclining woman's dreamily lost glance, which is accompanied by the bacchanalian, heavy leaves of the upper tree? This is an example of nature interpreting human beings. Courbet here ceases to qualify objects and instead turns toward the evocation of a psychic state, that of both the two figures and the artist himself—a daydream longing for love in the past and in the future, with the present situation eclipsed. Earth colors and earthly objects create the setting for a mood and a symbolic offering of love.⁴⁰ As with Gauguin, not one object or one person constitutes the dream scenery, but the composition as a whole works in this way. As a result, time is suspended—as it is in nature.



Figure 9

Gustave Courbet, *Lady of Frankfurt (Mrs. Pauline Pose)*, 1858. Oil on canvas, 104 x 140 cm (41 x 55 1/8 in.). Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum. Photo: Rheinisches Bildarchiv Cologne.

During his stay in Frankfurt (1858–59), Courbet painted the *Lady of Frankfurt* (fig. 9), not really an unfinished picture, as one is used to reading it. The lady's attitude is that of a woman who is somewhat lost in her richness. Originally, close to her, her husband was depicted; he has been erased. This kind of vanishing occurs several times in Courbet.⁴¹ The work represents the estrangement of the couple; even if one reconstructs the original composition, the woman would appear alone, since she looks straight ahead and not at her husband. But, in our context, it is especially significant to see how the rooflike form, the covering gesture of the fir branches, and the "protecting" leaves of the trees at the right escort the mourning figure. *This is Romanticism avant la lettre*. The lonesomeness is notable as well: the effaced figure depicted the painter Eduard Wilhelm Pose, one of Courbet's Frankfurt friends whose pictures Courbet nonetheless despised, and sitting at the table is his wife, Pauline. In the middle, a sort of *tempietto* partly overpaints her husband. Although Eduard was the commissioner of the picture, he



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declined to accept the work even before it was overpainted, because his wife gazed so romantically into the void, without looking at him. She is painted in a self-concerned, or introspective, attitude. For Courbet, the affair was simple: he was in love with Pauline, her husband disturbed him, so he had to disappear.⁴² As you see, my point concerns the Romantic attitude between the figures and the Romantic link between the woman and the surrounding nature.

The Woman in the Waves (1866),⁴³ an extremely attractive–repulsive picture, is important both with regard to the figure representing nature and vice versa, and with regard to introspection. The curved body of the woman is shaped like the bow of a wave, a high breaker at the moment of turning over, as Courbet depicted them so many times in his seascapes. The woman’s arms are, in a very academic way, almost artificially crossed and closed over the head—a self-protecting and surrendering gesture at the same time—and the face is represented as reflecting, not as dreaming. The figure seems to reflect very consciously what she did in the past and what she will have to do in the future. Her self-centeredness and taciturnity point to introspection. In this respect, there is a close affinity to the look of *Lady of Frankfurt*, or to that of the upper girl in *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine*. In all three pictures, a hesitating ambiguity, also with regard to sexuality, is obvious.⁴⁴ The face of *The Woman in the Waves* is shy, and apart from the breast, nothing is “realist” in this picture.⁴⁵ I do not agree with the reading of the figure as “demythologized,” if that is due only to “the presence of a far-off boat,”⁴⁶ which is very tiny. Rather, we are confronted with a pre-Symbolist concept: the woman emerging from the depths as the goddess or nymph symbolizing the wet element. The figure thus stands for nature; one can replace the other, as in *The Sea-Maids*, or *Play of the Waves*, of Böcklin (a picture that is much closer to Courbet than are Ingres’s *Source* or Cabanel’s and Baudry’s *Venuses*).⁴⁷ Despite his earlier Realist manifesto, this concept of the figure becoming nature was not alien to Courbet, who was acquainted with such poets as Charles Nodier, Edgar Allan Poe, Charles Baudelaire, and Gérard de Nerval. The domination of nature in this work is enforced by the green color that suffuses the figure’s body, arms, and face.

Introspection and subordination of the figure to the landscape come together again in the *Hunter on Horseback, Recovering the Trail*, possibly of 1867 (fig. 10). There is a notable gray color covering the whole picture, in a loosely treated surface layer. Gray is the atmosphere, gray are the (partly hollow) mountains in the background, gray are parts of the soil, and this color—a dirty gray, far from Ingres’s ennobling gray—penetrates the horse and the hunter. Not only the gloves but all of this “Chagallian” daydreaming figure, who scarcely observes the trail, is enveloped by the snowy-icy tone. In short, this rider is part of nature and even enveloped by her.

If Courbet, in this picture, went a step further by placing the figure into nature, the same holds true for *The Beach at Saint-Aubin-sur-Mer*, of 1867 (fig. 11), about which I published a detailed study.⁴⁸ Let me just underline that Courbet’s primary goal here is to convey the supremacy of nature. The children are part of the gray and brown tones on the beach, the lady resting above the cliffs looks immersed in the surrounding green, and the fishermen’s boats are melted into the dark areas of the beach, as if part of it.

I will also be brief about *The Cliff at Étretat after the Storm*, of 1869 (dated 1870; fig. 12), where human beings are so much embedded into nature that they have been overlooked.⁴⁹ As I pointed out in a 1978 exhibition catalogue,⁵⁰ there are twelve women at the border of the sea, who, in shape and color, are almost indistinguishable from their surroundings. The integration of human beings into nature has



Herding “The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it”:

Another Look at Courbet’s Landscape Painting

Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*

Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum on March 18, 2006

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Figure 10

Gustave Courbet, *Hunter on Horseback, Recovering the Trail*, ca. 1867. Oil on canvas, 119.4 x 95.3 cm (47 x 37 1/2 in.). New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery. Photo: Art Resource, New York.



Figure 11

Gustave Courbet, *The Beach at Saint-Aubin-sur-Mer*, 1867. Oil on canvas, 54 x 65 cm (21 1/4 x 25 5/8 in.). Madrid, Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection.





Figure 12

Gustave Courbet, *The Cliff at Étretat after the Storm*, 1870 (detail). Oil on canvas, 133 x 162 cm (52 3/8 x 63 7/8 in.). Paris, Musée d'Orsay. Photo: Arnaudet, RMN / Art Resource, New York.

reached its climax here. The figures belong to nature. Castagnary's statement regarding the painter's seascapes holds true for this picture as well: Courbet "no longer depicts any partial and local situation, but shows the eternal drama that is in play in all countries, at all coasts,"⁵¹ and, especially pointing to this picture, Castagnary emphasized its "truthful rendering which makes the work of art disappear, letting us see only nature."⁵² To conclude this aspect, one can state that from *The Studio* onward, Courbet would place his emphasis on nature as the ground out of which human beings come to life.

Let us investigate now how introspection functions in landscape paintings without figures, and how their expressiveness is achieved through a tendency toward abstraction. In other words, my fourth aspect, concerning the dialectics between non-objective and objective parts in Courbet's work, turns out to be a means to express the third: introspection. The question is how far a landscape may express or replace a human being, or more precisely, if it can represent the mood of a human figure or that figure's emotional condition, essentially that of the painter himself.

Creating a landscape as a mirror of one's own mood, as an expression of sadness or joy, supposes an indeterminate place, not a specific site, because in the latter case the beholders would be invited to spell out what they see, which would prevent them from projecting their own feelings into the landscape. As early as 1852, the French-Swiss critic Henri-Frédéric Amiel wrote very lucidly, "Un paysage quelconque est un paysage d'âme" (A landscape, whatever it shows, is a landscape of one's soul).⁵³ One has to insist on "quelconque"—only a landscape that does not render the view of a defined place has the chance to offer the substance of a moving introspection. Courbet tried to combine both, the view of a defined place and the vagueness of a "paysage d'âme," and this is what makes his painting so complex.⁵⁴ His landscapes from 1855 onward demonstrate this point, as seen in two versions of the *Puits Noir*.⁵⁵ Both pictures are symphonies of green and yellow, and the local identity no longer matters, although both depict the same place! This holds true for some of Courbet's travel sketches, which represent parts of the *Puits Noir* as



Herding "The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it":

Another Look at Courbet's Landscape Painting

Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*

Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum on March 18, 2006

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Figure 13

Gustave Courbet, *The Shaded Stream at the Puits Noir*, ca. 1860–65. Oil on canvas, 64.2 x 79.1 cm (25 1/4 x 31 1/8 in.). The Baltimore Museum of Art, BMA 1950.202. Photo: The Cone Collection, formed by Dr. Claribel Cone and Miss Etta Cone of Baltimore, Maryland.

well.⁵⁶ The same indeterminacy characterizes the versions in Columbus⁵⁷ and in a private collection, and another subtle version (fig. 13) at the Baltimore Museum. All these versions are so different from each other that one should not imagine that they show an identical location. While Courbet was a fanatic *amateur* of the Franche-Comté, he did much to make his compositions not recognizably depict this or that place. Thus my headline, “The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it.”⁵⁸ Expressing a similar sentiment, the painter Paul Signac described Monet depicting nature not as it was, but as he felt it: “No, Mr. Monet, you are not a naturalist. . . . In nature, the trees are not blue, people are not violet . . . and your great merit consists exactly in having depicted them like this, just as you feel them by love of beautiful color, and not as they are.”⁵⁹

Over the course of his work, Courbet moved farther and farther away from depicting defined places. This shift is at the core of a conversation he had with Baudelaire, which he described as follows: “‘There, this is what I wanted to show you,’ Baudelaire said to me, ‘this is the viewpoint.’ Pretty bourgeois, isn’t it?! Just what are viewpoints? Do viewpoints even exist?”⁶⁰ Not only did Courbet deny the existence of any hierarchy of perception, that any point was more important than another, but to his mind, any fixation on a single viewpoint should be given up—one must free oneself of a determined viewpoint, after which the subject becomes a mere pretext for composing color and form. Courbet’s subjectivity explains why his work was so appreciated by Cézanne and Gauguin, who approached their subjects similarly, while it does not seem to have impressed the Naturalists. Courbet, to apply Maurice Denis’s wordplay, was not a “nature-mortiste.”⁶¹ Not only did Courbet keep nature alive, but by shaping it through abstract patterns, his landscapes were best suited to describing his feelings, to expressing the painter’s relationship to the world. In this respect, nothing is more explicit than the silence of his dark and introspective *Black Well* pictures (see fig. 13), where the beholder is invited to dive into the painter’s inner life.



Herding “The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it”:

Another Look at Courbet’s Landscape Painting

Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*

Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum on March 18, 2006

© 2007 J. Paul Getty Trust

Although sites depicted in *The Source of the Loue* in New York (see Galvez, fig. 7, in this volume) and *The Source of the Lison* (see Galvez, fig. 4) in Berlin (both from 1864) are fairly recognizable, these paintings also consist of abstract patterns of gray and brown, representing holes and rocks, which are painted ruminations about solidity and ephemeral effects, and in a way tend to confound both.⁶² The light gray layers in front of the rocks are neither clouds nor lichens, but seem to be part of the heavy rocks themselves. But it is not inappropriate to see more in these strokes. Remember that Werner Hofmann established a link between *The Source of the Loue* and the desire to return to the uterus,⁶³ and Günter Metken, in his fabulous book on the *Origine du monde*, detected a most direct “introspection,” connecting this picture of a womb to Courbet’s sources.⁶⁴ Others saw in the man with the harpoon who stands in the center of the Washington *Puits Noir* an image of Charon, the ferryman who crosses the river Styx.⁶⁵

Taken literally, this would be an offense to Courbet’s principle of not depicting anything intangible; as the man is harpooning or fishing, he may, in a first layer of interpretation, be identified with Courbet’s own desires as a hunter. But there is no doubt that the meaning of the picture is greater; the work implies a debate over Romanticism, over contemplative figures like those by the German Romantic Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840). Although the man here is active, he seems tiny and overwhelmed by nature. And nature itself can appear unstable, as in the Frankfurt *Wave*, where the rock at the left is one of the least solid pieces of the picture.⁶⁶ That said, another *Source of the Lison* (1864) comes close to the journalist Maxime Du Camp’s photographs;⁶⁷ it is an exact rendering of geological formations, as is the famous *Grotto of Sarrazine near Nans-sous-Sainte-Anne* at the Getty Museum (ca. 1864; see fig. 4 in the Preface by Mary Morton).⁶⁸ In Courbet’s landscapes we are to meet the effect of positive philosophy, Hippolyte Taine, geological experience, and materiality on the one hand,⁶⁹ and of indeterminacy, unrest, ambiguity, and transitoriness on the other.

In contrast to *The Grotto of Sarrazine*, there are pictures like *The Underwood* (fig. 14) in Lausanne, published here for the first time, or *The Old Tree by the Glen* (1871),⁷⁰ which one cannot but read as an image of vanity. *The Old Tree* seems to mirror Courbet’s words to Alfred Bruyas, about his inward distress, quoted above. The painter indeed continued questioning himself through the image of nature.

The exchangeability of places is important in another respect. As I pointed out, it is only a small step from not defining places to not defining objects, as perfectly realized in the yellow, green, and brown parts of *The Underwood*. Although the picture bears this label, we are meeting here with Courbet as a non-objective painter. Landscape painting offered the best opportunity for this approach, as it was less bound by academic rules than portrait or history painting. I do not pretend, however, that the tendency toward abstraction leads to introspection in every possible case. Courbet also liked to simply experiment with colors and strokes. Look at one of his late pictures, *Mountain Landscape with a Goat Guard* (fig. 15), in a Swiss private collection. At first glance, it is a somewhat wrinkled but well-organized landscape, with a stream, some tiny trees, rocks, goats, and the shepherdess. Looking closer, we see more and more that there is nothing behind it but a play of colors (figs. 16a and 16b). This dissolving effect can be seen in the work itself, not just in blown-up reproductions. It goes far beyond the works of John Constable (1776–1837), from whom Courbet learned much about such displays of color. A similar example can be seen in a



Herding “The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it”:

Another Look at Courbet’s Landscape Painting

Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*

Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum on March 18, 2006

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Figure 14

Gustave Courbet, *The Underwood*, ca. 1865. Oil on canvas, 65.5 x 54 cm (25 7/8 x 21 1/4 in.). Lausanne, private collection.

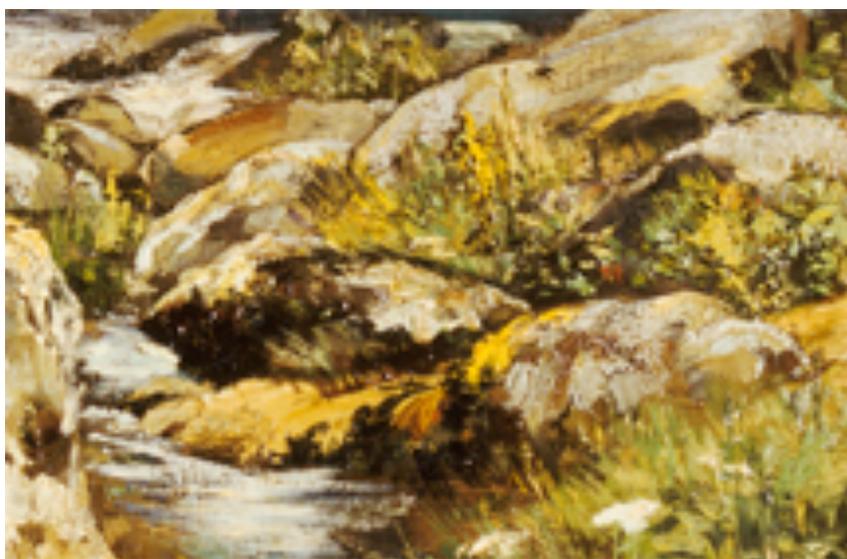


Figure 15

Gustave Courbet, *Mountain Landscape with a Goat Guard*, ca. 1873. Oil on canvas, 70 x 120.5 cm (27 5/8 x 47 1/2 in.). Private collection.



Herding "The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it":
Another Look at Courbet's Landscape Painting
 Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*
 Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum on March 18, 2006
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Figures 16a and 16b
Details of Figure 15.





Figure 17

Gustave Courbet, *The Wave*, 1869–70. Oil on canvas, 112 x 144 cm (44 1/8 x 56 3/4 in.). Berlin, Nationalgalerie. Photo: Jörg P. Anders, Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, New York.



Figure 18

Detail of Figure 17.

detail of the great *Wave* in Berlin (figs. 17 and 18), which Cézanne admired so much. The power of Courbet's insistence on the object is to be seen from afar, while a different kind of power is experienced up close, where the object vanishes. *Dissolution is played against firmness.*⁷¹

For a further understanding of this point, we will need some more insights about Courbet's place as a landscape painter in European art between Romanticism and Cézanne. In my first approach to Courbet, in 1970, I considered him in a way to be "the last German Romantic," and there are indeed several



Herding "The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it":

Another Look at Courbet's Landscape Painting

Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*

Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum on March 18, 2006

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features that Courbet shared with the Romantics, a kind of naive sincerity, even ingenuousness, in depicting trees and meadows, village houses and waterfalls, and a strong identification with his native homeland. These are qualities Courbet shared with Ludwig Richter (1803–1884), and they are the reason why the late Romantic Hans Thoma (1839–1924) followed the Frenchman so much, in the 1870s. On the other hand, there is a Romantic perception of endlessness in Courbet, an experience of personal freedom and of lonesomeness, both a utopia of happiness and a feeling of being lost that comes close to Caspar David Friedrich and, in a very different way, to the finest works of Carl Spitzweg (1808–1885). These two elements strongly persist in Courbet’s landscapes, and only in this genre. The feeling of unquiet and calm, the lost and homely qualities of nature, can be detected in pictures of fir trees and streams, rocky castles and thunderstorms⁷²—Romantic features, both in subject matter and form, which are suffused with a search for a virginal nature in the Rousseauian understanding of the term, as in *The Oak of Vercingetorix* (see fig. 2),⁷³ or in the landscape of *The Studio* (see fig. 7), where this myth carries an enigmatic program for the future. Insofar as Courbet was longing for the world in its original state, he found companions in the painters of Barbizon, another group of “Romantics.” In discussions with Courbet scholars in Los Angeles, both *The Oak* and the hut in *The Studio* landscape have been designated as metaphorical self-portraits. They thus reflect strength and fragility in personal and pictorial terms.

Michael Clarke is almost the only writer who took up the Romantic point and developed it, suggesting that Courbet knew pictures by Caspar David Friedrich’s friend Georg Friedrich Kersting (1785–1847).⁷⁴ Even if I do not see how, when, and why Courbet might have become acquainted with Kersting, I approve of Clarke’s statement in general. It corresponds with the Romantic songs by Courbet (one of which I published⁷⁵), and with Courbet’s behavior—his walking over long distances, his feeling for his own region as a place that he is familiar with and where he feels secure. More than a connection to Kersting, I see an affinity with the formerly underestimated Carl Spitzweg, whose great period ran from 1840 to 1870. Spitzweg was acquainted with every important figure not only in Rome, Vienna, and Prague, but also in London and Paris, exhibiting at the world fairs of 1851 and 1867. I do not pretend that Courbet knew Spitzweg’s work, but there is an undeniable proximity—apart from the size, since Spitzweg’s painting is



Figure 19
 Carl Spitzweg (German, 1808–1885). *The Forest of Barbizon*, ca. 1851. Oil on wood, 120 x 240 cm (47 1/4 x 94 1/2 in.). Private collection. Photo from *Carl Spitzweg: Reisen und Wandern in Europa: Der glückliche Winkel*, exh. cat., Siegfried Wichmann, ed. (Pfäffikon, Seedamm Kulturzentrum and other institutions), p. 120, pl. 52.



Herding “The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it”:

Another Look at Courbet’s Landscape Painting

Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*

Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum on March 18, 2006

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done in a small format. Numerous works of his—*Seascape with Breakers* of about 1832;⁷⁶ the pre-Impressionist *Travelers in a Rocky Landscape with Castle Ruins* (ca. 1850);⁷⁷ the subversive forest pictures, such as *The Forest of Barbizon* (ca. 1851, fig. 19) and *The Dunes at the Mouth of the Schelde* (ca. 1851);⁷⁸ *The Seaside at Dieppe* (ca. 1851);⁷⁹ and *Women's Bathplace at Dieppe, after Isabey* (ca. 1857)⁸⁰—come close to Courbet in the freshness of their color layers and in the nonconformist handling of compositions. I fully agree with Clarke even when he compares the poetical effect of Courbet's late seascapes with the Romantic *paysages d'âme* or *Stimmungslandschaften*.⁸¹ That is to say: the mood is what counts, the spirit more than the technique—although some of Courbet's wild coast pictures are so agitated that they are also technically reminiscent of earlier Romantic compositions, like Carl Rottmann's *Battlefield of Marathon* of about 1849 (fig. 20).⁸²



Figure 20

Carl Rottmann (German, 1797–1850). *The Battlefield of Marathon*, ca. 1849. Oil on canvas, 91 x 90.5 cm (35 7/8 x 35 5/8 in.). Berlin, Nationalgalerie. Photo: Jörg P. Anders, Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz / Art Resource, New York.

The dissolution of the subject was at the core of Romantic painting,⁸³ and as the Paris exhibition *Aux origines de l'abstraction* has shown,⁸⁴ non-objective painting even goes back to late-eighteenth-century pre-Romanticism, and introspection goes back to the same epoch as well. What Courbet adds to this tradition is the vehemence of his handling of color, the understanding of black as the substance of everything, and the palette-knife violence in getting color on and off the canvas. This is the technique that the Impressionists, the Pointillists, Van Gogh, and Cézanne learned from Courbet. The Impressionists took over one element of Courbet's complex procedure (dissolution), while Seurat and Cézanne created an artistic system out of the other (stabilization/solidification).



Herding "The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it":

Another Look at Courbet's Landscape Painting

Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*

Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum on March 18, 2006

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So when I proposed that Courbet's late pictures should be understood as a reaction to Impressionism, one of partial acceptance and partial refusal,⁸⁵ I did not mean this suggestion literally. For in fact, being exiled, it was impossible for him to visit the first Impressionist show of 1874, the second of 1876, or the third of 1877. But he knew Manet and Monet long before then, and knew about the principles of *objet nature* (an object as it is in nature) and *objet peinture* (the object in its painted form). He also practiced, from 1864 onward, the division of color into small, separate brushstrokes without representational values, and he created atmosphere not by depicting "tous les tons" (all the tones),⁸⁶ but rather by opposing two neighboring kinds of blue to two neighboring kinds of red, as in *Fisherman at the Lake of Geneva*, of 1877 (fig. 21). In this work Courbet, incorporated by his signature, and the fisherman, dipped into red color, stand for earth and solidity, while the lake and the sky—with their white, blue, and violet overtones—represent fluidity and an ephemeral mood. So Courbet maintained a twofold principle, one of self-assertion and one of dissolving the self through slashing strokes in landscape pictures. In other words, he said yes to Impressionist color spots, but no to Impressionist *légèreté* as expressed by light nuances overall. This holds especially true for the *Panoramic View of the Alps* (1874–77),⁸⁷ a detail of which shows how precariously the object is defined. All now is painterly matter. The grass no longer does work as grass, nor the earth as earth, because it is broken up, and black is coming through everywhere.



Figure 21

Gustave Courbet, *Fisherman at the Lake of Geneva*, 1877.
Oil on canvas, 22.3 x 27 cm (8 7/8 x 10 5/8 in.). Private collection.



Herding "The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it":

Another Look at Courbet's Landscape Painting

Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*

Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum on March 18, 2006

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Figure 22

Gustave Courbet, *La Roche de Dix-Heures*, ca. 1855 (detail). Oil on canvas, 85 x 160 cm (33 1/2 x 63 in.). Paris, Musée d'Orsay. Photo: Gerard Blot / Christian Jean, RMN / Art Resource, New York.

In other cases, as in *La Roche de Dix-Heures* (fig. 22) or in *Trees in Winter* (1865),⁸⁸ Courbet invites the beholder to imagine what the artist did not paint. Often he covers one substance with another, both loosely painted, so that it is the viewer's responsibility to determine whether there is light on the leaves, or rather snow or blooms—perhaps the latter in *La Roche de Dix-Heures*, while snow is meant in *Trees in Winter*. Altogether, it is clear that at least from 1864 on, long before the first Impressionist exhibition took place, Courbet tried to come to terms with this new manner of translating bourgeois leisure themes into a leisurely procedure of painting. In any case, the beholder is challenged to make a choice, to discover a personal picture, and has to be more active than ever before. Courbet did not practice an Impressionist method, but he pursued a similar and perhaps a deeper intention. If we look back to him from the four pioneers, or “fathers,” of twentieth-century painting—Cézanne, Seurat, Gauguin, and Van Gogh—then we must recognize that Courbet was the figure responsible for most of their achievements; or, to put it otherwise, he prepared their way in many respects. The creation of light and shade through colors in Cézanne's work is there, in the bare huts of the *Chicago Rock of Haute-pierre* (ca. 1869);⁸⁹ Seurat's reductionism, as in *The Bathers of Asnières* (1883–84, London, National Gallery), is present, for example, in the reductive oil sketch of *Young Ladies on the Banks of the Seine*;⁹⁰ Gauguin's method of representing landscape with horizontal strata is found in *The Moscow Coast in Brittany* (ca. 1865) or in the Amsterdam *View of the Mediterranean at Maguelonne* (1858),⁹¹ which consists of just a strip of sky, two strips of clouds, one for the sea, one for the beach, and some loosely displayed rocks; and Van Gogh's nervous display of color with harsh brushstrokes is there, as in the Philadelphia *Fringe of the Forest* (ca. 1856) or in the Pasadena *Cliffs by the Sea in Winter* (1870).⁹²

The problem with Courbet lies in his complexity. His work reflects an artistic strategy in which contradictory goals are forced into a “cohabitation,” while Seurat, for example, was interested in a synthesis, or, to put it in Signac's words, “le génie simplifie, élimine, sacrifie” (The genius simplifies,



Herding “The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it”:

Another Look at Courbet's Landscape Painting

Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*

Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum on March 18, 2006

© 2007 J. Paul Getty Trust

eliminates, sacrifices [details]).⁹³ However, if the history of modern art is not a mere progression of formal abstraction, then Courbet's oeuvre is a gold mine, which was exploited by the many different currents to follow him. The painter's expressiveness, his capacity for introspection, and his impulse to withdraw from depicting objects place him at the core of Modernism.

¹ I had fruitful discussions on that matter with Paul Galvez and Ulrich Pfarr, to whom I wish to express my gratitude.

A first approach to the widespread term of *introspection* can be found in Edwin Garrigues Boring's article "Introspection" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica: A New Survey of Universal Knowledge*, vol. 12 (London, 1959), p. 542. In the context of this paper, introspection means both examination of the self and self-expression through works. Artistic introspection has its roots in the fifteenth century, leading to the representation of melancholy. It has been understood as "artistic exploration of the self" in Dürer. Later on, during the Enlightenment, it became pathologized. The philosopher Kant likened it to the "perception of ghosts," but it was extended to the arts, where it then became an autonomous reign producing its own mood of perception = introspection. The nineteenth-century phrenologists were interested in this term as well, because it indicated the ability to transgress the social meaning of inspiration to arrive at an individual understanding. The latter cannot be defined in Lacanian terms but comes closer to the Romantic meaning of *empathy*, especially to the mesmeristic variant in Justinus Kerner. The well-known aestheticist Ernst Kris, in his *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art* (New York, 1952; new ed., Madison, 1988), used "introspection" in the context of inspiration, which comes close to Schopenhauer's understanding of "imagination" as an organ of "self-perception." Eberhard Th Haas (*Transzendenzverlust und Melancholie: Depression und Sucht im Schatten der Aufklärung*, Giessen, 2006) has reinforced this aspect.

² Some of the results are contained in Klaus Herding and Bernhard Stumpfhaus, eds., *Pathos, Affekt, Gefühl: Die Emotionen in den Künsten* (Berlin, 2004).

³ The psychological approach to art in the 1920s and the 1950s is a vast area which cannot be treated here. The connection between art and psychology arose even earlier, with Heinrich Wölfflin (*Prolegomena zu einer Psychologie der Architektur*, Munich, 1886; new ed., Berlin, 1999) and with Wilhelm Worringer (*Abstraktion und Einfühlung: Ein Beitrag zur Stilpsychologie*, Munich, 1908; new ed., Munich, 2007). The latter author had a decisive influence on the 1920s. Among many others, the psychotherapist Hans Prinzhorn followed his path (see Thomas Röske, *Der Arzt als Künstler: Ästhetik und Psychotherapie bei Hans Prinzhorn*, Bielefeld, 1995). In the 1950s, sixteenth-century Mannerism influenced art historians to consider psychological problems as expressed in artworks. Again, psychoanalysts played an important role, including Ernst Kris, whose *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art* (see note 1) has been influential. Later on, scholars like Rudolf Arnheim (*New Essays on the Psychology of Art*, Berkeley, 1986) and Ernst Hans Gombrich (*Gombrich on Art and Psychology*, Manchester, 1996) reflected, sometimes critically, the psychological empathy in writings on art. A comprehensive survey can be found in David Freedberg, "Empathy, Motion and Emotion," in *Wie sich Gefühle Ausdruck verschaffen: Emotionen in Nahaussicht*, ed. Klaus Herding and Antje Krause-Wahl (Tausenstein, 2007), pp. 17–52.

⁴ See, for instance, Antonio R. Damasio, *Looking for Spinoza: Joy, Sorrow, and the Feeling Brain* (New York, 2003); Damasio, *The Feeling of What Happens: Body and Emotion in the Making of Consciousness* (New York, 1999); and Damasio, *Descartes' Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain* (New York, 1994).

⁵ See Reinhart Koselleck, *Historische Semantik und Begriffsgeschichte* (Stuttgart, 1978; 2nd ed., 1979); Wolf Lepenies, *Das Ende der Naturgeschichte: Wandel kultureller Selbstverständlichkeiten in den Wissenschaften des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1976; 2nd ed., Frankfurt, 1978).

⁶ Michael Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality* (Chicago, 1980). Although this thought-provoking book has greatly inspired me, my own conception is quite different. First, "absorption" applies best to such eighteenth-century figures as Diderot and Chardin and should not be overemphasized with regard to the nineteenth century. [Moreover, "absorption" is very different from "introspection" insofar as the first term points to a discourse between painter and beholder, whereas the latter explains the conflict of the artist with regard to his status and his worldview.]



Herding "The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it":

Another Look at Courbet's Landscape Painting

Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*

Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum on March 18, 2006

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⁷ See Frank Zöllner, “Ogni pittore dipinge sè’: Leonardo da Vinci and Automimesis,” in *Der Künstler über sich in seinem Werk*, ed. Matthias Winner (Weinheim, 1992), pp. 137–60.

⁸ Dario Gamboni, *Potential Images: Ambiguity and Indeterminacy in Modern Art* (London, 2001).

⁹ Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, *Letters of Gustave Courbet* (Chicago, 1992), p. 129, no. 54; for the original French wording, see Chu, ed., *Correspondance de Courbet* (Paris, 1996), p. 119, no. 54-7.

¹⁰ “Dans votre société si bien civilisée, il faut que je mène une vie de sauvage. Il faut que je m’affranchisse même des gouvernements.” Letter to Francis and Marie Wey, July 31, 1850. See Chu 1996 (French edition, see note 9), p. 92, no. 50-5.

¹¹ Werner Hofmann, “Über die ‘Schlafende Spinnerin,’” in *Realismus als Widerspruch: Die Wirklichkeit in Courbets Malerei*, ed. Klaus Herding (Frankfurt, 1978; 2nd ed., rev., 1984), pp. 212–22; Aaron Sheon, “Courbet, le réalisme français et la découverte de l’inconscient,” in *L’Âme au corps: Arts et sciences, 1793–1993*, exh. cat., ed. Jean Clair (Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 1994), pp. 280–99. Previously published in *Arts Magazine* 55, no. 6 (February 1981).

¹² Sheon 1994 (see note 11), pp. 294–95.

¹³ Hofmann 1984 (see note 11), p. 219.

¹⁴ See Sarah Faunce and Linda Nochlin, eds., *Courbet Reconsidered*, exh. cat. (New York, The Brooklyn Museum, 1988), p. 118.

¹⁵ See Klaus Herding, “Equality and Authority in Courbet’s Landscape Painting,” in *Courbet: To Venture Independence*, trans. John William Gabriel (New Haven and London, 1991), pp. 62–98. Originally published as “Egalität und Autorität in Courbets Landschaftsmalerei,” *Städel-Jahrbuch* 5 (1975), pp. 159–99.

¹⁶ Werner Hofmann, “Courbets Wirklichkeiten,” in *Courbet und Deutschland*, exh. cat., ed. Werner Hofmann with Klaus Herding (Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, and Frankfurt, Städel Museum, 1978), pp. 590–613.

¹⁷ See Werner Hofmann, ed., with Klaus Herding, *Courbet und Deutschland*, exh. cat. (Hamburg, Hamburger Kunsthalle, and Frankfurt, Städel Museum, 1978), color pl. 13.

¹⁸ See Klaus Herding, “Gustave Courbet: *La Vague*,” in *Six chefs-d’oeuvre prêtés par Francfort au Musée d’Orsay de Paris*, exh. cat., ed. Sabine Schulze (Paris, Musée d’Orsay, 1999), pp. 16–29.

¹⁹ See Klaus Herding, “Color and Worldview,” in *Courbet: To Venture Independence* (see note 15), pp. 111–34. Originally published in *Courbet und Deutschland* (see note 17), pp. 477–92. For a good detail reproduction that shows the color layers and the abstract pattern therein, see Valérie Bajour, *Courbet* (Paris, 2003), ill. p. 233.

²⁰ See Klaus Herding, “Courbet, Gustave,” in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 8 (London, 1996), pp. 50–61; Herding, “Courbet, Gustave,” in *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler aller Länder und Zeiten*, vol. 21, ed. Klaus G. Saur (Munich and Leipzig 1999), pp. 567–74.

²¹ Letter to Bruyas, 1853, see Chu 1996 (French edition, see note 9), p. 109, nos. 53–56.

²² For this point, see Meyer Schapiro’s legendary article, “Courbet and Popular Imagery,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 4 (1940–41), pp. 164–91.

²³ See James H. Rubin, *Realism and Social Vision in Courbet and Proudhon* (Princeton, 1980), reviewed by Klaus Herding in *The Art Bulletin* 66, no. 3 (1984), pp. 533–35; Rubin, “Courbet and Proudhon in *The Atelier of the Painter*,” in *Malerei und Theorie: Das Courbet-Colloquium 1979*, ed. Klaus Gallwitz and Klaus Herding (Frankfurt, 1980), pp. 175–86; Klaus Herding, “Proudhons ‘carnets intimes’ und Courbets *Bildnis Proudhons im Familienkreis*,” in *Malerei und Theorie*, pp. 153–73; Herding, “Fortschritt und Niedergang in der bildenden Kunst: Nachträge zu Barrault, Baudelaire und Proudhon,” in *Fortschritts Glaube und De-*



Herding “The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it”:

Another Look at Courbet’s Landscape Painting

Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*

Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum on March 18, 2006

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kadenzbewußtsein im Europa des 19. Jahrhunderts: Literatur—Kunst—Kulturgeschichte, Siegerner Beiträge zur Literatur- und Sprachwissenschaft 59, ed. Wolfgang Drost (Heidelberg, 1986), pp. 239–58; Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *Von den Grundlagen der Kunst und ihrer sozialen Bestimmung*, Klassiker der Kunstsoziologie 3, ed. Alphons Silbermann, translated into German with an introduction and annotations by Klaus Herding (Berlin, 1988); Herding, “Pourquoi lire *l'esthétique* de Proudhon?,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 111, no. 130 (1988), pp. 103–8, nos. 1428–29; Herding, “Proudhon, Courbet, Zola: Un étrange débat,” in *Proudhon, Anarchisme, art et société: Actes du colloque de la Société P.-J. Proudhon (Paris, 2 December 2000)* (Paris, 2001), pp. 15–62.

²⁴ Partly surging indeed from popular art, as in Gauguin’s Brittany period, partly from scientific research on color and surface structure, as in Seurat’s case.

²⁵ Jules-Antoine Castagnary, “Le Salon de 1857,” in *Salons (1857–1870)*, with a preface by Eugène Spuller, 2 vols. (Paris, 1892), vol. 1, p. 30; German translation in *Realismus als Widerspruch* (see note 11), p. 162.

²⁶ “Le Salon de 1870,” in Castagnary 1892 (see note 25), vol. 1, p. 407; German translation in *Realismus als Widerspruch* (see note 10), p. 176.

²⁷ Sheon 1994 (see note 11), p. 297.

²⁸ I tried to develop this last point in an article [“Im Lichte Courbets—Landschaft als Selbsterfahrung und Zeitsignatur,” in *Die Entdeckung des Lichts, Landschaftsmalerei in Frankreich von 1830 bis 1886*, exh. cat., ed. Ernst-Gerhard Güse (Saarbrücken, Saarland-Museum, 2001), pp. 46–55] while I treated the two other points in the section on Realism of *Funkkolleg Kunst* (ed. Kunsthistorisches Institut der Freien Universität Berlin, 2005, <http://www.kunst-und-funktion.de>), and in a different way in “Truth in Courbet and Millet: A Discourse about Anti-Realism,” in *Barbizon: Malerei der Natur—Natur der Malerei*, ed. Andreas Burmester, Christoph Heilmann, and Michael Zimmermann (Würzburg, 1999), pp. 274–94; and, with a more theoretical impact, in “Mimesis und Innovation: Überlegungen zum Begriff des Realismus in der bildenden Kunst,” in *Zeichen und Realität: Akten des 3. Semiotischen Colloquiums Hamburg 1981*, ed. Klaus Oehler, 3 vols. (Tübingen, 1984), vol. 1, pp. 83–113.

²⁹ Roger Eliot Fry, “Introductory Note to Maurice Denis, ‘Cézanne,’” in *A Roger Fry Reader*, ed. Christopher Reed (Chicago and London, 1996), pp. 76–80. Previously published in *The Burlington Magazine* 8 (January 1910), pp. 207–8.

³⁰ Théophile Gautier, “Salon de 1853,” *La Presse*, July 21, 1853, fully quoted in Klaus Herding, “Les Lutteurs détestables. . .,” in *Courbet: To Venture Independence* (see note 15), p. 190. Originally published in *Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen* 22 (1977), pp. 137–74.

³¹ Linda Nochlin, “Gustave Courbet’s *Meeting*: A Portrait of the Artist as a Wandering Jew,” *The Art Bulletin* 49 (1967), pp. 209–22.

³² This is a common issue in the Courbet literature. See, for example, André Fermigier, *Courbet* (Geneva, 1971), p. 59.

³³ See Michael Clarke, “Courbet peintre de paysages,” in *Courbet artiste et promoteur de son oeuvre*, exh. cat., ed. Jörg Zutter and Petra ten-Doesschate Chu (Lausanne, Musée Cantonal des Beaux-Arts, 1998), pp. 83–99 (for that matter, p. 92).

³⁴ Jules-Antoine Castagnary, “Le Salon de 1868,” in Castagnary 1892 (see note 25), vol. 1, pp. 280–83; German translation in *Realismus als Widerspruch* (see note 11), p. 170.

³⁵ For Champfleury, see Clarke 1998 (see note 33), p. 93. For Thoré, see Théophile Thoré, *Salons de W. Bürger, 1861–1868*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1870), vol. 1, p. 93, quoted in Herding 1991 (see note 15), p. 82.

³⁶ See Herding 1975 (see note 15).

³⁷ “Les paysages représentent presque tous ... des montagnes et des rochers qui ressemblent à des forteresses.” See Geneviève and Jean Lacambre, eds., *Champfleury, Le Réalisme* (Paris, 1973), p. 155; interpreted in Herding 1999 (see note 28), p. 285 and n. 68. For fortresslike landscape pictures by Courbet, see Mary Morton and Charlotte Eyeran, eds., *Courbet and the Modern Landscape*, exh. cat. (Los Angeles, The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006), pl. 2 (*Landscape near Ornans*, 1864, Toledo Museum of Art) and pl. 4



Herding “The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it”:

Another Look at Courbet’s Landscape Painting

Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*

Held at the J. Paul Getty Museum on March 18, 2006

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(*Rocks at Chauveroché*, 1864, private collection); Herding 1991 (see note 15), p. 79, fig. 33 (*Valley with Deer*, 1866, formerly Dresden, coll. Schmeil), and p. 80, fig. 34 (*Wire Stringers' Mill on the Loue*, ca. 1860, Charlottenlund, Ordrupgaardssamlingen).

³⁸ “Ce qui date vraiment une œuvre d’art, c’est beaucoup moins l’action ou le sujet mis en scène que la nuance de sensibilité qu’elle révèle ..., les rêveurs resteront toujours plus suggestifs.” See André Michel, “Le Salon de 1886,” *Journal des Débats*, May 6, 1886.

³⁹ Daniel Catton Rich, *Seurat and the Evolution of “La grande Jatte”* (1935; repr., New York, 1969), p. 51.

⁴⁰ I am using here and applying to Courbet a statement by Timothy Mathews in “Sex and the Occult in Symbolist Art and Literature,” in *Artistic Relations: Literature and the Visual Arts in Nineteenth-Century France*, ed. Peter Collier/Robert Lethbridge (New Haven and London, 1994), p. 273.

⁴¹ E.g., in *Proudhon and His Wife* (painted 1865, overpainted 1867; Paris, Musée du Petit Palais) and in *The Wounded Man* (painted 1844, overpainted 1854; Paris, Musée d’Orsay), two pictures in which Courbet overpainted a woman.

⁴² Courbet never wanted to sell the picture. Informed about the love affair, his sister, Juliette, called the picture intimate, and after Courbet’s death she fought until 1890 to get it back from collector Étienne Baudry. The story of the picture and the identification of the Pose couple is not yet known within the Courbet literature; see, so far, Bettina Erche, “Fuchs in der Falle. Pauline Pose, oder: Die abenteuerliche Geschichte von Courbets Gemälde *Dame de Francfort*,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 263, November 11, 2000, supplement “Bilder und Zeiten.”

⁴³ The Metropolitan Museum of Art; see Bajou 2003 (see note 19), p. 343.

⁴⁴ Iconographic standards are no longer unequivocally fixed; ambiguity has become crucial thanks to Charles Méryon, Victor Hugo, Charles Baudelaire, people whom Courbet knew well. Like these figures, the artist lifts the veil of imagination only partially.

⁴⁵ As claimed by Abigail Solomon-Godeau, catalogue entry in *Courbet Reconsidered* (see note 14), p. 179, no. 68.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Böcklin: 1883, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen; Ingres: 1856, Musée d’Orsay; Cabanel: 1863, Musée d’Orsay; Baudry: 1863, Musée d’Orsay.

⁴⁸ Klaus Herding, “The Beach at Saint-Aubin sur-Mer, 1867,” in *Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection/Fundación Colección Carmen Thyssen-Bornemisza*, ed. Javier Arnaldo, 2 vols., English and Spanish edition (Madrid, 2004), vol. 1, pp. 314–17, 375.

⁴⁹ It is extremely difficult to detect these women in the picture. They appear in detailed illustrations in *Courbet und Deutschland* (see note 17), p. 489, and in *Courbet: To Venture Independence* (see note 15), p. 132, fig. 53.

⁵⁰ *Courbet und Deutschland* (see note 17), p. 491, and detailed reproduction, p. 489, reprinted in my *Courbet: To Venture Independence* (see note 15), p. 134 with fig. 53, p. 132. This has been overlooked in *Courbet Reconsidered* (see note 14), p. 193, where the reader is misguided by the statement that “all trace of social existence is banished.” The 1978 observation has been overlooked also in later articles by Linda Nochlin and Robert E. Herbert.

⁵¹ See Castagnary 1892 (see note 25), vol. 1, p. 397.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 396; *Courbet Reconsidered* (see note 14), p. 193. In this quotation, “nature” is used in a metaphorical way, meaning that all the artificial tricks have disappeared, so that the whole composition has become “natural.”

⁵³ Published only later, in *Fragments d’un journal intime*, 2 vols. (1883; 12th ed., Geneva, 1915), vol. 1, p. 62 (entry of October 31, 1852). I am indebted to Kerstin Thomas for having drawn my attention to this author.



Herding “The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it”:

Another Look at Courbet’s Landscape Painting

Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*

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© 2007 J. Paul Getty Trust

⁵⁴ Similarly, Puvis de Chavannes (1824–1898), who renounced a literal translation of reality into a landscape painting, inserted botanically precise branches into his pictures. See Kerstin Thomas, “Stimmung als malerische Weltaneignung: Puvis de Chavannes—Seurat—Gauguin” (PhD dissertation, University of Frankfurt, 2005), pp. 99–100 (to be published in 2007).

⁵⁵ These are the *Stream of the Puits Noir* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1855) and *The Shaded Stream* (Musée d’Orsay, 1865); see *Courbet and the Modern Landscape* (see note 37), pls. 11 and 14.

⁵⁶ See Klaus Herding and Katharina Schmidt, eds., *Les voyages secrets de Monsieur Courbet—Unbekannte Reiseskizzen aus Baden, Spa und Biarritz*, exh. cat. (Baden-Baden, Staatliche Kunsthalle, 1984), no. 177, pl. 44. Twenty years ago, some people disputed the authenticity of some of these landscape sketches, and perhaps they still do, but connoisseurs such as Hélène Toussaint, Margret Stuffmann, James H. Rubin, the late Jean Adhémar, Günter Busch (the doyen of the connoisseurs of nineteenth-century French art), and recently Michael Fried shared my view to a large extent. So time will come to reconsider this question with more calmness.

⁵⁷ *The Shaded Stream at the Puits Noir* (The Baltimore Museum of Art, ca. 1860–65) and *The Stream at the Puits Noir* (Columbus Museum of Art, 1865); see *Courbet and the Modern Landscape* (see note 37), pls. 16 and 17.

⁵⁸ A symposium about landscape painting and nonobjective art at the Freie Universität in Berlin, which took place late in 2005 and was chaired by Werner Busch, came to a similar conclusion. Hopefully, it will be published in 2007. I got to know of it only through a newspaper reference by Gustav Falke: “Mehr Natur wagen, Landschaft als Gattung: Ein Berliner Kolloquium,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 285, December 7, 2005.

⁵⁹ “Mais non, monsieur Monet, vous n’êtes pas naturaliste. . . . Les arbres dans la nature ne sont pas bleus, les gens ne sont pas violets. . . et votre grand mérite est justement de les avoir peints ainsi, comme vous les sentez, par amour de la belle couleur, et non tels qu’ils sont.” Entry of August 23, 1894, in John Rewald, ed., “Extrait du Journal inédit de Paul Signac,” *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (July–September 1949), p. 101.

⁶⁰ “Voilà ce que voulais vous montrer,” me dit Baudelaire, ‘voilà le point de vue.’ Était-il assez bourgeois, hein! Qu’est-ce que c’est que des points de vue? Est-ce qu’il existe des points de vue?” Quoted in Pierre Courthion, *Courbet raconté par lui-même et par ses amis*, 2 vols. (Geneva 1948–50), vol. 1, pp. 159–60. (English translation from Herding 1991 [see note 15], p. 78).

⁶¹ Maurice Denis, “Cézanne” (1907), quoted from Maurice Denis, *Le Ciel et L’arcadie*, texts collected, presented, and annotated by Jean-Paul Bouillon (Paris, 1993), p. 139. See Thomas 2005 (see note 54), p. 130. In his statement, Denis is opposing the “peintres de l’âme” and the “paysagistes,” a contrast which, as I have tried to demonstrate in this paper, does not apply to Courbet. Literally, “nature-mortiste” means a painter of still lifes; in the figurative sense, it alludes to a painter who fixates ever-moving nature so that it finally looks dead.

⁶² See *Courbet and the Modern Landscape* (see note 37), pls. 23 and 21.

⁶³ See note 15.

⁶⁴ Günter Metken, *Gustave Courbet: Der Ursprung der Welt; Ein Lust-Stück* (Munich, 1997), especially the chapter “Das Wasser und die Träume,” pp. 45–54.

⁶⁵ See Ann Dumas in *Courbet Reconsidered* (see note 14), p. 157, no. 48.

⁶⁶ For more on this aspect, see *Courbet and the Modern Landscape* (see note 37), pp. 103–5, pl. 40; Herding 1999 (see note 18), p. 16 (ill.) and pp. 17–29.

⁶⁷ Formerly in Paris, at Georges Petit.

⁶⁸ See *Courbet and the Modern Landscape* (see note 37), pl. 20.



Herding “The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it”:

Another Look at Courbet’s Landscape Painting

Papers from the Symposium *Looking at the Landscapes: Courbet and Modernism*

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⁶⁹ These aspects are emphasized in Mary Morton, *Naturalism and Nostalgia: Hippolyte Taine's Lectures on Art History at the École des Beaux-Arts, 1865–1869* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1998), especially pp. 153–54.

⁷⁰ Lausanne, Musée Cantonal des Beaux-Arts; see Jörg Zutter and Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, eds., *Courbet artiste et promoteur de son œuvre*, exh. cat. (Lausanne, Musée Cantonal des Beaux-Arts, 1998), p. 46, pl. 41.

⁷¹ This is exactly what the twofold reception of Courbet mirrors: Willem de Kooning (1904–1997) and Gerhard Richter (b. 1932), the painter of our times, are on the nonobjective side, while James Ensor (1860–1949), from the 1880s on, and Chaim Soutine (1893–1943) are on the other.

⁷² As in Courbet's very Romantic picture *Fortress* (ca. 1855, Cologne, private collection); see *Courbet und Deutschland* (see note 17), no. 232, ill. p. 221.

⁷³ This is the full title of this famous picture, as exhibited in Philadelphia in 1867—it is obvious that Courbet, by this comprehensive designation, wanted to lift this work to the level of history painting. The picture is now in Tokyo, Maruuchi Art Museum. For more information, see Bajou 2003 (see note 19), ill. pp. 232–33.

⁷⁴ Clarke 1998 (see note 33), p. 86.

⁷⁵ Klaus Herding, "Lautmalereien: Zu einigen unbekanntem Gedichten und Briefen Courbets," in *Kunst um 1800 und die Folgen: Werner Hofmann zu Ehren*, ed. Christian Beutler, Peter-Klaus Schuster, and Martin Warnke (Munich, 1988), pp. 233–43.

⁷⁶ Private collection; see Siegfried Wichmann, ed., *Carl Spitzweg: Reisen und Wandern in Europa; Der glückliche Winkel*, exh. cat. (Pfäffikon, Switzerland, Seedamm Kulturzentrum, 2002), p. 76, pl. 32.

⁷⁷ Oldenburg, Landesmuseum; *ibid.*, p. 159, pl. 74.

⁷⁸ Private collection; *ibid.*, p. 146, pl. 66.

⁷⁹ Private collection; *ibid.*, p. 147, pl. 67.

⁸⁰ St. Gallen, Kunstmuseum; *ibid.*, pp. 140–41, pl. 62.

⁸¹ See Clarke 1998 (see note 33), p. 98. The labels given in italics are mine.

⁸² See Christoph Heilmann and Erika Rödiger-Diruf, eds., *Landschaft als Geschichte: Carl Rottmann 1797–1850, Hofmaler Ludwigs I.*, exh. cat. (Heidelberg, Kurpfälzisches Museum, 1997), no. 153, ill. p. 295 (ca. 1847, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen), and no. 187, ill. p. 334 (ca. 1850, Berlin, Staatliche Museen). Rottmann certainly merits being further discovered by the American public.

⁸³ One does not know if Courbet ever met with the work of William Turner (1775–1851), and certainly he did not meet with that of Karl Blechen (1798–1840). But the effect of his beach compositions comes close to Blechen's vanishing objects, and the lonesome mood is deeply anchored in Romanticism as well.

⁸⁴ November 3, 2003–February 22, 2004. See the exhibition catalogue *Aux origines de l'abstraction, 1800–1914* (Paris, Musée d'Orsay, 2003).

⁸⁵ See Klaus Herding, "A Note on the Late Work," in *Courbet: To Venture Independence* (see note 15), pp. 135–55, p. 148. Originally published in *Pantheon* 44 (1986), pp. 75–86.

⁸⁶ This is taken from Théodore Duret's famous book, *Les peintres impressionnistes* (Paris, 1878; reprinted in Denys Riout, *Les Écrivains devant l'impressionnisme*, Paris, 1989), where this author furnished all the characteristics and all the clichés of what Impressionist painting should be. The Impressionists' main quality, from now on, was considered to lie in their passivity, or



Herding "The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it":

Another Look at Courbet's Landscape Painting

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submissive attitude, toward the perception of nature: “selon l’état du ciel, l’angle de la vision, l’heure du jour, le calme ou l’agitation de l’atmosphère, l’eau prend tous ses tons, il peint sans hésitation sur sa toile de l’eau qui a tous les tons” (following the condition of the sky, the angle of the view, the hour of the day, the calmness or agitation of the atmosphere, the water takes all tones. So he [the Impressionist painter] paints without any hesitation on his canvas a [kind of] water which has all the tones) (1989 ed., p. 215). This kind of enduring nature depicted through a purely receptive attitude was not Courbet’s goal; his intention rather was a kind of artistic fight with nature. Whenever he observed tonality, he owed these observations, like those in the blue shades, to Rubens (as revealed in a talk to Jules Castagnary, quoted in Courthion 1948–50 [see note 60], vol. 2, p. 61), more so than he anticipated the Impressionists in this, as suggested in Clarke 1998 (see note 33), p. 94.

⁸⁷ The Cleveland Museum of Art; see *Courbet Reconsidered* (see note 14), p. 205, pl. 89.

⁸⁸ National Gallery of Scotland; see James H. Rubin, *Courbet* (New York, 1997), fig. 154.

⁸⁹ See Bajou 2003 (see note 19), p. 17; *Courbet and the Modern Landscape* (see note 37), pl. 3.

⁹⁰ See *Courbet und Deutschland* (see note 17), no. 240, color pl. 5.

⁹¹ See *Courbet and the Modern Landscape* (see note 37), pl. 39.

⁹² For *Fringe of the Forest*, see *Courbet and the Modern Landscape* (see note 36), pl. 9; for *Cliffs by the Sea in Winter*, see *Courbet: To Venture Independence* (see note 15), p. 82.

⁹³ Paul Signac, “Les Besoins individuels et la peinture,” in *Encyclopédie française*, vol. 16, ed. Pierre Abraham (Paris, 1935), pp. 16.84–87. Quoted from Thomas 2005 (see note 54), p. 177.



Herding “The more you approach nature, the more you must leave it”:

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