BEFORE PHOTOGRAPHY
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Painting and the Invention of Photography

PETER GALASSI

THE MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, NEW YORK

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Not a member of the staff of The Museum of Modern Art when I began work on the exhibition, I depended to an unusual degree on that staff. I especially would like to thank Richard E. Oldenburg, Director; Susan Kismaric and Mary E. Fanette, of the Department of Photography; Jane Fluegel, who edited this book; and Antony Drobinski, who designed it.

The idea for Before Photography began in 1963, when John Szarkowski was deeply impressed by a lecture by Heinrich Schwarz, entitled “Before 1839: Symptoms and Trends.” (Professor Schwarz’s seminal contribution is discussed in note 2, p. 30.) Mr. Szarkowski, Director of the Department of Photography at this Museum, developed the idea over a number of years, and in 1979 invited me to prepare the present exhibition. Since then, with great generosity and warmth, Mr. Szarkowski has shared with me his knowledge, his wisdom, his curiosity, and his profoundly original outlook as an art historian. It is also with great warmth that I thank him, not only for his unselfish intellectual guidance but also for the pleasure I have had in working with him.

P. G.
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BEFORE PHOTOGRAPHY
Louis de Clercq

*Entrance Portal, Denderah, 1859-60*

Albumen-silver print from a paper negative

8 3/8 x 11 in.

*From Voyage en Orient, vol. 5, Monuments et sites pittoresques de l’Egypte 1859-1860*

Collection Phyllis Lambert, on loan to the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal

Not in exhibition
Perhaps the most curious aspect of the race to invent photography is that it was not a race until it was over. With the exception of Daguerre and Niépce (who became partners), none of the four or five serious contestants was aware of the others. Despite this fact, the finish was remarkably close. Indeed, the identity of the winner and the date of the finish depend on which characteristic of the medium is chosen as salient. There are respectable arguments for Thomas Wedgwood in 1802, Nicéphore Niépce in 1826, William Henry Fox Talbot in 1835, and L.-J.-M. Daguerre in 1835 or 1839 (when the invention was publicly announced).

This apparent coincidence is all the more striking because, despite the technical character of the invention, we cannot point to any technical innovation as a catalyst. All of the inventors simply combined two scientific principles that had been known for quite some time. The first of these was optical. Light passing through a small aperture in one wall of a dark room (or "camera obscura") projects an image on the opposite wall. The camera obscura had been a familiar tool of artists and scientists from the sixteenth century. From the eighteenth, it had been common in portable form, designed to project on paper or glass an image that the artist could trace. The second principle was chemical. In 1727, Johann Heinrich Schulze had shown that certain chemicals, especially silver halides, turn dark when exposed to light. The inventors of photography used such chemicals to render permanent the insubstantial image formed in the camera obscura.

"Considering that knowledge of the chemical as well as the optical principles of photography was fairly widespread following Schulze's experiment—which found its way not only into serious scientific treatises but also into popular books of amusing parlour tricks—the circumstance that photography was not invented earlier remains the greatest mystery in its history." For Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, who wrote these words, and for most other historians of photography, the mystery persists because its solution is considered to be primarily scientific. The bulk of writing on photography's pre-history, even in works by art historians, has been technical. The increasing popularity of the camera obscura and the proliferation of other mechanical aids to drawing have been traced in detail. These developments are obviously relevant to the invention of photography. So too is the cumulative search for new methods of pictorial reproduction, which played, for example, a large role in the experiments of Wedgwood and Niépce. But these technical experiments and enthusiasms answer only one side of the question.

No one has proposed that the invention of photography was a mistake or an isolated flash of genius. Most modern studies of the individual inventors treat their careers as representative rather than idiosyncratic, and even the driest technical histories implicitly acknowledge that photography was a product of shared traditions and aspirations. The best writers have recognized that these traditions are social and artistic as well as scientific. Nevertheless, the problem in this form has received less attention than it deserves, perhaps because it cannot be solved by the analysis of a single biography or sequence of scientific or artistic influences.

There is little doubt that reference to the great social and political transformations of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is an important feature of any adequate solution. However, this aspect of the problem is difficult, since hindsight too readily concludes that the early uses of photography satisfied needs that existed before its invention. Perhaps it is more logical to suggest that the period spawned a great volume of speculative tinkering, whose spirit and products fostered as well as answered such needs.

The social context of the invention of photography is important. Here, however, I propose to concentrate on the narrower (although kindred) issue of photography's relationship to the traditional arts. Previous studies of this issue have yielded many useful facts, but the principles under which the facts have been gathered and organized remain largely unexamined. The principles have changed little since
Heinrich Schwarz's representative article of 1949, "Art and Photography: Forerunners and Influences." The article's title reflects its divided conception. The first half traces the history of mechanical aids to post-Renaissance art, especially the camera obscura, whose increasing use, Schwarz argues, led to the invention of photography. Abruptly inverting his argument, Schwarz then lists nineteenth-century paintings derived directly from photographs.

The neat split in Schwarz's method is symptomatic of the prevailing understanding of photography’s relationship to painting. Regarded essentially as a child of technical rather than aesthetic traditions, the medium is inevitably considered an outsider, which proceeded to disrupt the course of painting. The extreme corollary of this conception is the notion that photography adopted (or usurped) the representational function of painting, allowing (or forcing) painting to become abstract. This argument, now discredited, seems to have been launched around 1900 by painters, who used it to justify their rejection of nineteenth-century naturalism. The argument has its roots in the conviction — born in 1839 — that photography is the epitome of realism. Few today would accept this notion without qualification, yet it has remained indispensable to most writers who sense a need to supplement the scientific rationale for the invention of photography with an aesthetic one. Devotees of the camera obscura explain the machine’s growing popularity as a symptom of a new thirst for accurate description. Others point to the precision of Biedermeier painting or the spectacular illusion of Daguerre's Diorama. The position is summarized in Beaumont Newhall’s words: “The fever for reality was running high.”

This formulation is not untrue, but it is vague and ahistorical. So often have Western artists earned the label “realist” and so various are their achievements that the label has meaning only in a historical framework. Such a framework, an admirable one, exists for the Realist movement of the mid-nineteenth century. However, the prephotographic realism that Newhall and others refer to is a patchwork of disparate expressions, defined not by artistic tradition but by the very invention it is meant to explain. It is, in other words, a tautology, which in effect remands the interpretive burden to the scientific tradition. The object here is to show that photography was not a bastard left by science on the doorstep of art, but a legitimate child of the Western pictorial tradition.

The ultimate origins of photography — both technical and aesthetic — lie in the fifteenth-century invention of linear perspective. The technical side of this statement is simple: photography is nothing more than a means for automatically producing pictures in perfect perspective. The aesthetic side is more complex and is meaningful only in broader historical terms.

Renaissance perspective adopted vision as the sole basis for representation: every perspective picture represents its subject as it would be seen from a particular point of view at a particular
moment. Measured against the accumulated options of prior pictorial art, this is a narrow conception. However, in the four-hundred-odd years of perspective's hegemony over Western painting, artists managed to construe it in an extraordinary variety of ways. Quite apart from the issue of their subjects, the pictures of Paolo Uccello, Jan Vermeer, and Edgar Degas, for example, are very different in appearance. To a great extent these differences may be (and have been) understood in terms of the principle underlying each painter's manipulation of the perspective system or, in other words, the way each conceived the role of vision in art. These conceptions, moreover, did not develop at random, but form a coherent history.

Some familiar features of that history are illustrated in the comparison of the Ideal Townscape from the circle of Piero della Francesca (c. 1470, fig. 1) and Emanuel de Witte's Protestant Gothic Church (1669, fig. 2). The subject of each picture is a regular, man-made structure, symmetrical along an axis. The earlier painter adopted this as his axis of vision, so that the picture, too, is symmetrical. It presents the ground plan of the architecture almost as clearly as a map. The relative sizes of the buildings are plainly shown and may be checked precisely by reference to the pavement, which is a logical guide to the whole space of the picture.

De Witte, by contrast, chose a point of view well off the axis of symmetry of the church; and his line of sight is not parallel to that axis but oblique, and arbitrary in regard to the structure. The frame also is differently conceived. The Italian view accommodates the entire piazza, but de Witte's picture includes only a portion of the interior of the church. And, just as the point and axis of view are indifferent to the plan of the building, so this portion is a fragment unrelated to the rational form of the church.

To this conception of a narrow slice of space, de Witte added that of a specific slice of time. Unlike the Italian painter, who imposed on his view the clarity of even light, de Witte accepted the momentary play of light and shade, which obscures the architectural logic.

Figure 2. Emanuel de Witte. Protestant Gothic Church, 1669. Oil on panel, 16 15/16 x 13 ¾ in. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
Both pictures are faithful to the rules of perspective. But the earlier work is formed in the service of its subject's absolute order, while the later submits to the disruptive influence of an ostensibly arbitrary viewpoint and moment in time. We stand outside the Italian view, admirers of the timeless perfection of the imaginary townscape; in de Witte's picture we are participants in the contingent experience of everyday life.

The elaboration of such comparisons leads to a continuous historical analysis of vision in painting. The differences between the fifteenth-century Italian view and de Witte's *Church* are representative of a transformation in the standard of pictorial authenticity. The old standard did not disappear, but it became conservative, marked as a retrospective form. Also divergent from the norm was the vanguard, formed by pictures whose new visual syntax did not enter the mainstream until much later. Such a picture is Pieter Jansz Saenredam's *The Grote Kerk, Haarlem* (1636-37, fig. 3), where the conception of light is less radical than de Witte's but the structure is more so. The frame abruptly truncates the near pillars, which loom enormously in comparison to their counterparts beyond, hiding crucial features of the interior space. The narrow band of pavement is almost powerless to explain the striking juxtaposition of near and far pillars in the middle of the picture. Not until the late nineteenth century was such a willfully fragmentary and internally discontinuous view the common option of every painter.

Such forward glances stand out against the complex but continuous development of the normative visual scheme. The idea of this developing norm as the "history of seeing" in art was conceived within modern art history and has remained one of its major organizing principles. Since the great works of art historians Alois Riegl and Heinrich Wölflin at the turn of the century, it has been common to explain the difference in formal character between works such as the Italian *Townscape* and de Witte's *Church* in the terms used here—in terms of diverging understandings of the role of vision in art. In other
words, the notion of the "history of seeing" was from the beginning
developed not as an independent tool of historical analysis but as a
general explanatory principle of style and stylistic change. Meyer
Schapiro summarized the principle in his essay "Style": "The history
of art is, for Riegl, an endless necessary movement from representa-
tion based on vision of the object and its parts as proximate, tangible,
discrete, and self-sufficient, to the representation of the whole
perceptual field as a directly given, but more distant, continuum with
merging parts..." Here is the now familiar sense of art's history as
an irreversible trend from tactile to visual intuitions, from knowing
to seeing.

As Schapiro demonstrated, this principle is inadequate as a uni-
versal explanation of pictorial development, for it fails to account for
many important episodes in art. However, the history of the role
of vision in art remains a valid tool as long as it is not made to explain
more than it can — as long as it is freed from the responsibility of
encompassing the entire history of style.

A more limited history of vision as the basis of representation is
evacuated by Ernst Gombrich's Art and Illusion, which attacks the
problem of stylistic change with a refreshingly practical bias. Gom-
brich proposed that the development from figure 1 to figure 2, for
example, need not be explained as an ineluctable drift from tactile to
visual intuitions. He showed, rather, that it should be understood in
terms of the progressive invention of basic pictorial tools — he called
them schemas — each derived from the existing normative analogue
of vision and establishing a potential prototype of the next.

Armed with this notion of the artist's pictorial arsenal as a grow-
ing toolbox, the historian of perspective may ignore great spans of
art, concentrating instead on those periods that developed most
intensely new practical applications of the perspective system. The
resulting history has a different shape from a value-free chronology
of post-Renaissance art. Broadly speaking, it is denser in the fif-
teenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth centuries, when innovative con-
ceptions of perspective were richer than during the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. And its emphasis is not guided by absolute value, for Saenredam will claim attention equal to Vermeer, and the young Corot more than David. Similarly, for a given period, it will favor some branches of art over others. The problem of vision was often most directly posed, for example, in the painting of landscapes and views. This tradition thus receives disproportionate attention; around 1800 it is the entire domain of the most radical experiments in the role of vision in art.

Ever since Leon Battista Alberti published On Painting in 1435, a perspective picture has been defined as a plane intersecting the pyramid of vision. (See fig. 4.) At the apex of the pyramid is the eye. The pyramid's base is the perimeter of the picture. The picture is the projection upon the intersecting plane of everything that lies within the scope of the pyramid, extending to infinity. The various ingenious objections notwithstanding, Alberti’s definition provides that if perfectly produced and viewed with one eye from the apex of the imaginary pyramid, a perspective picture will be like a window through which its subject is seen.

Given this definition, any perspective picture is implicitly the product of three fundamental choices. (1) The artist must choose the arrangement of the subject or (what amounts to the same thing) choose the moment at which to represent an existing subject; (2) he must choose the point of view; (3) he must choose the scope of the view or, in other words, establish the edges of the picture. These three choices determine the basic composition of the picture.

Figure 5. Paolo Uccello. A Hunt, c. 1460. Panel, 25 3/4 x 64 13/16 in. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England

All possible functions of these three interdependent choices lie between two extreme, limiting cases. In one, the point of view and the frame — the visual pyramid — are established first, creating a measured stage. The Ideal Townscape of Piero’s circle presents just such a stage, on which the buildings are arranged for maximum visibility, and where the position and size of potential figures are easily determined by reference to the preexisting grid. The grid is the key to the reciprocal relationship of two and three dimensions and allows the painter to compose from the former into the latter. Thus Uccello, in his Hunt (c. 1460, figs. 5 and 6 [detail]), deployed the men, animals, and trees simultaneously on the surface of the picture and in space, so that there is no gap or obstruction in either.

In the opposite conception of the perspective system, the world is accepted first as an uninterrupted field of potential pictures. From his chosen point of view, the artist scans this field with the pyramid of vision, forming his picture by choosing where and when to stop. De Witte’s and Saenredam’s pictures are obviously closer to this conception. So too is Degas’s The Racing Field (c. 1877–80, fig. 7), where point of view and frame rob the figures and animals of their physical integrity, compressing them into an unfamiliar pattern.

Degas of course composed his picture as carefully as Uccello, but his intuitive procedure was different. Uccello conceived of the visual pyramid as a static, neutral container, within which he organized the elements of his picture. In Degas’s work the visual pyramid plays an
active, decisive role. We attribute the obstructions to the painter's viewpoint and the asymmetry to the frame, which excludes as well as includes. Where Uccello's painting seems comprehensive, Degas's seems fragmentary, concentrating in a single visual aspect the vital spirit of the entire scene.

Uccello worked from pieces to a whole; he synthesized. Degas worked from a whole to an aspect; he analyzed.

These polar conceptions of perspective have a historical sense. Gradually, over a period of centuries, Uccello's procedure of logical construction gave way to Degas's strategy of selective description. In theory, there must have been a point at which pictorial experiment, diverging from the Renaissance norm, reached a critical stage, a sufficient density, to form a new norm. However, since artistic tradition develops along multiple fronts at different rates, and because the artist's procedure is rarely his subject, this point is difficult to locate. It is not easy to name a date when the world expanded beyond the control of the studio artist, who then unhinged the visual pyramid, wielding it at large in pursuit of his subject.

Nevertheless, the invention of photography poses precisely this historical question. For the photographer, try as he might, could not follow Uccello's procedure. The camera was a tool of perfect perspective, but the photographer was powerless to compose his picture. He could only, in the popular phrase, take it. Even in the studio the photographer began not with the comfortable plane of his picture but with the intractably three-dimensional stuff of the world.

Noting formal characteristics — obstructions and croppings — that readily arise from this unavoidable condition of photography, many art historians tacitly attribute to the invention of the medium the function of a crucial watershed. They explain, for example, some new features of Degas's art in terms of the disruptive influence of photography, ignoring the long tradition from which his artistic procedure is derived. In fact it is not Degas's work that needs explaining but the invention of photography.

Figure 6. Paolo Uccello. A Hunt, c. 1460 (detail)
Figure 7. Edgar Degas. The Racing Field: Amateur Jockeys near a Carriage, c. 1877-80. Oil on canvas, 25 15/16 × 31 7/8 in. Musée du Louvre, Paris
Simply on a practical basis, photography would have been unsuited to the Renaissance art of composition. Uccello might have used the camera to make studies of bits and pieces for his pictures; but it is likely that such studies would have displeased him, as they did a much later artist, Edward Hopper: “I once got a little camera to use for details of architecture and so forth but the photo was always so different from the perspective the eye gives, I gave it up.”

The Renaissance system of perspective harnessed vision as a rational basis of picture-making. Initially, however, perspective was conceived only as a tool for the construction of three dimensions out of two. Not until much later was this conception replaced — as the common, intuitive standard — by its opposite: the derivation of a frankly flat picture from a given three-dimensional world. Photography, which is capable of serving only the latter artistic sense, was born of this fundamental transformation in pictorial strategy. The invention of photography must then coincide with or succeed the accumulation of pictorial experiment that marks the critical period of transformation from the normative procedure of Uccello’s era to that of Degas’s.

The present study is designed to explore this proposition. Its paintings and drawings, from the decades before and after 1800, are chosen to mark the emergence of a new norm of pictorial coherence that made photography conceivable. Although these pictures share with the art of their time a spirit of change, and although they were made by artists of many European countries, they do not belong to the mainstream of art. With few exceptions they are landscapes, and most are modest sketches, hardly intended for exhibition. For these very reasons, however, they are perhaps a more reliable guide to the intuitive norm of authentic representation, unburdened by the responsibilities of public art.

These paintings and drawings show that this norm was under drastic revision. They display a new family of pictorial types as yet largely unappraised and only rarely turned to full artistic advantage, but representative of a significant strain of artistic practice that adopted the analytic function of perspective as its sole tool, discarding the synthetic option as inappropriate to its aims.

The photographs here represent the artistic capital that some early photographers made of this strategy, which painters had long been inventing and which photographers could not avoid.

The preceding argument attempts to abstract from the history of post-Renaissance painting, to isolate for the purpose of clarity, a single thread of development. To this end it employs the rhetorical fiction of the painter’s intuitive strategy or procedure. The hypothetical principles of synthesis and analysis are not meant to describe the painter’s actual method (for, literally, all paintings are composed) but to call attention to fundamental changes in the conventions of representation.

A comparable sense of these changes may be had by ignoring the artist in favor of the viewer. The latter has no place in Uccello’s picture, but he is a virtual participant in Degas’s. Erratic, even incoherent, by Uccello’s orderly standard, Degas’s picture is nevertheless consistent with the conditions of perspective, to which the spectator intuitively responds. From a precise and nearby position, the viewer’s knowing eye translates the apparently arbitrary, fragmented forms into the whole space of the picture, and beyond.

A long tradition of pictorial experiment separates Degas’s picture from Uccello’s. In the seventeenth century, for example, painters often introduced prominent foregrounds that, a century before, would have been considered bizarre and inappropriate, even if accurate in perspective. In Jacob van Ruisdael’s Bentheim Castle (c. 1670, fig. 8), for instance, the near boulders, insignificant in themselves, are
as large in the picture as the intrinsically more important castle. The
viewer intuitively comprehends this discrepancy, acknowledging it as
a function of his proximity to the foreground. In judging the picture's
space the viewer is also guided by a series of gentle diagonals, which
form an unbroken pictorial path between the boulders and the castle.
This link is, like Piero's pavement, a two-dimensional measure of a
continuous three-dimensional space.

Such an explanatory pictorial path is wholly absent from Fried-
rich Loos's View of Salzburg from the Mönchberg (c. 1829-30, fig.
9), which presents an even sharper contrast between obstructing
foreground and distant subject. It is precisely the lack of an interven-
ing pictorial link — the abrupt discontinuity of the picture's space —
that makes the viewer feel his own presence directly before the looming
cliff. By stressing the formative role of the vantage point, the artist
seems to step aside as the viewer bluntly confronts the world of
the picture. Thus in the history of perspective each new norm of pic-
torial logic, by scuttling an existing convention, appears in its time as
an achievement of realism. The result, however, is not an escape from
convention but the establishment of a new convention.

This does not mean that the development of pictorial conven-
tions is an abstract, inevitable force. The great periods of innovation
in the function of perspective — the mid-fifteenth, mid-seventeenth,
and mid-nineteenth centuries — are widely separated in time. Particu-
larly in these periods, it is clear that the pictorial inventions were
motivated by changes in artistic value, under historically specific
conditions: against the immediately preceding norm the new art
indeed held the conviction of a fresh confrontation with reality.

Before Photography concerns the beginnings of the last of these
great periods of transformation. In the broad context of the perspec-
tive tradition, the paintings and drawings here represent the initial
stage of a new standard of pictorial logic. In the specific context of
their own time, they are symptomatic of changing artistic values — of
an embryonic spirit of realism.
This spirit was related to the Neoclassical principle of artistic renewal, which sought to replace the fantasies of the eighteenth century with a more sober art, based in part on careful visual observation. Neoclassical artists of 1800, led by the French painter Jacques-Louis David, disdained the art of François Boucher's generation as much for its frankly artificial style as for its frivolous content. However, the revival of classical principles also gave new weight to the old, originally Neoplatonic, distinction between a straightforward record of nature and the idealization essential to high art.

Ever since Renaissance artists had reclaimed the appearance of nature as the basis of an ideal art, the theoretical distinction between real and ideal had fostered a loose separation between private sketches and public paintings. Artists and theorists distinguished among several types and two basic categories of sketch: first, the compositional sketch (ébauche or bozzetto), meant to translate the painter's first idea for a composition into initial and then more elaborate form; second, the study from the model or from nature (étude), meant as a record of observation. Unencumbered by public duty, all sketches shared an informal, personal character, which was increasingly prized. But the two kinds of sketch — the ébauche and the étude — served opposite functions. The former was a record of imagination, the latter of reality. This essay concerns only the latter kind of sketch and its new, important role in art around 1800. By stressing the distinction between imperfect reality and the imagined ideal, Neoclassical theory widened the gap between observational study and finished picture, isolating the sketch as a domain of distinct artistic issues.

The split developed most fully in landscape painting, the class of art that had always held a low place in the academic hierarchy. The highest class was history painting — the representation of the "great deeds of great men, worthy of memory." The landscape, lacking the essential human drama of a great deed, was without intrinsic moral value. As the Abbé Dubos put it in 1719: "The most beautiful land-

Figure 10. Claude Lorrain. Landscape with the Marriage of Isaac and Rebekah, 1648. Oil on canvas, 58 7/8 x 77 1/2 in. The Trustees of The National Gallery, London

Figure 11. Claude Lorrain. Wooded View, c. 1640. Brown wash on paper, 5 11/16 x 7 1/4 in. Teylers Museum, Haarlem, the Netherlands
scape, even by Titian or Carracci, is of no more interest to us than an actual tract of country, which may be either hideous or pleasant. Such a painting contains nothing which, as it were, speaks to us; and since we are not moved by it we do not find it of particular interest."

This statement, doubtless already conservative at the beginning of the eighteenth century, would have been hopelessly reactionary in 1800. By any standard, landscape painting was rising dramatically in importance. At the heart of this extremely complex phenomenon was the growing conviction that the unembellished landscape possessed intrinsic value: because it was made by God, because it was beautiful, because it was the place where man lived and had lived, or because it was independent of man. The ultimate artistic corollary of this moral conception was the notion that a careful visual record of the landscape was meaningful in itself.

The rise of realistic landscape painting around 1800 contradicted the dominant Neoclassical principle of an ideal art. However, it coincided exactly with the Neoclassical conception of the sketch — devoid of traditional artistic value but devoted to the problem of transcribing the appearance of nature. Academically sanctioned as an aspect of craft, the landscape sketch was a ready vehicle for experiments in realism. The sketch was, in other words, a loophole in the traditional definition of artistic practice, which allowed a generally unacknowledged but formidable shift in artistic values to develop. Thus, although lacking the status of high art and rarely receiving full artistic attention, the landscape sketch — particularly the landscape sketch in oil — became around 1800 the primary vehicle of a tentative but profoundly original sense of pictorial order, based on a heretical concern for the visual aspect of the most humble things.

The traditional, reciprocal relation of sketch and finished picture is evident in the seventeenth-century landscape art of Claude Lorrain. Compared with the grand formulas of Claude’s public compositions (fig. 10), his sketches, presumably from nature (fig. 11), are astonishingly informal and immediate. Yet the paintings share with the sketches a delicate sensitivity to light and a subtle response to the variety of nature. Nor are the sketches mere transcriptions from nature; they are so thoroughly informed by the painter’s lyrical talent that it is often difficult to judge whether a particular drawing is an invention of the mind or a record of perception. As Lawrence Gowing has written: “...the distinction between the two elements in Claude’s art, the artificial pictorial scheme and the actuality of nature, by no means coincided with the division between painting and drawing. ... It seems that the drawings, rather than transmitting particular information, served to indulge and intensify an emotional attitude to nature, an attitude that the paintings dramatized in an ideal, expository order.”

For Claude, the theoretical polarities of real and ideal remained in happy solution; by the late eighteenth century, they had begun to precipitate into distinct categories of artistic practice. Consider, for example, J. M. W. Turner’s analysis of Claude’s method, in a lecture of 1811: “We must consider how [Claude] could have attained such powers by continual study of parts of nature. Parts, for, had he not so studied, we should have found him sooner pleased with simple subjects of nature, and would not have[,] as we now have, pictures made up of bits, but pictures of bits.”

Turner of course preferred “pictures made up of bits” (imaginative compositions) to “pictures of bits” (straightforward visual records). But more important than his preference is his application of the theoretical distinction between imagination and reality to discrete forms of practice. The application suits much better the art of Turner’s period than that of Claude’s. Although Turner rarely painted pictures of bits, many of his contemporaries did, deriving their clarity of purpose from the growing polarization that all artists felt.

The traditional media of outdoor sketching were monochrome, most often the handy pencil on paper. In the seventeenth century painters also began to sketch outdoors in oil — the dominant medium of studio pictures, distinguished from other media by its range of
color and by its potential subtlety, force, and adaptability. The use of oil was in itself a mark of serious intention; the powerful medium moreover imposed on the painter the artistic burden of its great resources.

A handful of landscape sketches in oil survives from the seventeenth century, and there are records of others. There is also an extraordinary group of sketches made by Alexandre-François Desportes in the early eighteenth century. However, the practice of landscape sketching in oil was neither common nor important in art until the late eighteenth century, when it began to grow rapidly. By the early nineteenth century it already had an autonomous character, so that, for example, a figure painter could make a few landscape sketches in oil, contributing to the widespread trend without fully joining it.

The blossoming of landscape sketching in oil is marked around 1780 by the Italian campaigns of the Frenchman Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes and the Welshman Thomas Jones, both of whom are represented here. Despite many differences in the careers of the two painters, each produced in significant numbers remarkably inventive oil sketches from nature (e.g., fig. 12) that bear no obvious relation to their grandiose, often unimpressive public pictures (e.g., fig. 13). What for Claude had been a fluid commerce between complementary aspects of his art had become for Valenciennes and Jones an unbridgeable gap. No longer able to transfer the conviction of their nature studies to their formulaic public works, they nevertheless found the practice of sketching an admirable vehicle for their talents.

In the next half-century, the landscape sketch in oil enjoyed a rich development. Just as our limited knowledge fails to explain precisely the sudden appearance of the sketches of Valenciennes and Jones around 1780, so it is impossible now to trace, through a series of specific artistic contacts, the virtual explosion of oil sketching in the early nineteenth century. By 1820 the practice was extremely widespread, common among painters from England, France, and

Figure 12. Thomas Jones. Outskirts of London, 1784. Oil on paper, 9 3/4 × 13 in. The Tate Gallery, London
Figure 13. Thomas Jones. The Bard, 1774. Oil on canvas, 45 1/2 × 66 in. National Museum of Wales, Cardiff
Germany, as well as from Belgium, Denmark, and Norway.

The melting pot for the various aspects of this Northern phenomenon was nevertheless in the South — in Italy and particularly in Rome. That city had been for several centuries the artistic capital of Europe, and until the mid-nineteenth century most painters of ambition made an early pilgrimage there. The international community of artists, dense with students, provided the landscape sketchers with a sympathetic environment and a lively forum of exchange. Rome and the surrounding landscape, the haunts of Claude and Poussin, were moreover rich in history: here, if anywhere, the landscape itself had intrinsic human significance.

It is a mistake, however, to think of landscape sketching in oil as a definite artistic movement, with its center in Rome. John Constable, perhaps the best of the landscape sketchers, never visited Italy; indeed he made a virtue of his inclination to stay at home. His achievement depends not so much on immediate influence as on the less tangible condition of a tradition under change. Constable's sketches of the 1810s and 1820s and Camille Corot's of the 1820s and 1830s are distinguished from the earlier work of Valenciennes and Jones by their variety of subject and technique and by their formal resolution. The high quality of the works is a product of the artists' talent but no less of the broad artistic transformation that gave form to that talent. The sketch had reached maturity.

It is difficult to maintain the judgment that, as mere studies or documents of nature, the sketches must lack aesthetic intent or value. Although modest in scale and ostensible ambition, they are often vigorous, self-sufficient pictures. This is true even in the rare cases where the sketch (fig. 14) apparently served only to record a motif for a later composition (fig. 15). In general the sketches had no such obvious function. Corot's View of the Colosseum through the Arches of the Basilica of Constantine (1825, fig. 16), for example, is practically useless as a document of either building. Nor does the work have any explanatory figures or even a recognizable space in which they might

Figure 14. John Linnell. Study of Buildings, 1806. Oil on board, 6 1/2 x 10 in. The Tate Gallery, London
Figure 15. John Linnell. Milking Time, 1832. Oil on panel, 11 1/4 x 15 1/4 in. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Crown copyright
move. Yet here, directly and powerfully expressed, is the “noble simplicity and calm grandeur” of classical art.

Much has been made of Constable’s and Corot’s intermittent attempts to bridge the gap between sketch and finished work, to join the virtues of observation and convention. Less attention has been paid to the fact that this gap, as they knew it, was only a few decades old. It is precisely the gap that is distinctive of the period — and significant, for it announces the impending struggle between an inherited rhetorical art and an art devoted to individual perceptions of the world. Still, the struggle was not yet open, nor even yet a struggle. Perhaps paradoxically, the innovations of the landscape sketch in oil were possible because they did not challenge the authority of public art.

Thus the unresolved but bold realism of the sketch was not an attack from without but a symptom of transformation within artistic tradition. It is significant in this respect that none of the painters represented here were amateurs or extreme provincials; all were professional artists who shared a more or less conventional training. Conspicuously absent are the Americans, who lacked the conditioning environment of tradition. The earliest American oil sketches, comparable to those common in Europe from 1780, were made in the late 1840s, when European practice had already begun to change.

For the young Adolf Menzel in the 1840s, the sketch still offered an option of artistic freedom; and the spirit of the sketching tradition is still recognizable in Wassily Kandinsky’s small landscapes of 1900-05. But the sketch, as Valenciennes had defined it, is to be found in the later nineteenth century only in the work of conservative artists, such as William Adolphe Bouguereau and Frederic Leighton. It had little place in the art of Gustave Courbet or Claude Monet. Once the artistic problems that first appeared in the landscape sketch began to be broached in the public forum, sketching waned in importance.

In the early nineteenth century, the landscape sketch was a special vehicle of change. John Constable suggested the new values when
he wrote in 1836 that “painting is a science, and should be pursued as an inquiry into the laws of nature. Why, then, should not landscape painting be considered as a branch of natural philosophy, of which pictures are but the experiments.” This deeply modern sense of art as exploratory rather than didactic may also be found in the work of many figure painters, most importantly Francisco Goya and Théodore Géricault. A more adventurous historian, faced with the problem posed here, would have included these painters. I have chosen instead to focus on that aspect of landscape painting that is the clearest (if ostensibly the most modest) symptom of the broad artistic transformation that catalyzed the invention of photography. The landscape sketches (and some comparable drawings and finished paintings, also shown here) present a new and fundamentally modern pictorial syntax of immediate, synoptic perceptions and discontinuous, unexpected forms. It is the syntax of an art devoted to the singular and contingent rather than the universal and stable. It is also the syntax of photography.

Of the works presented here, those that most deserve Turner’s epithet “pictures of bits” are the ones that take forthrightly as their subject a single, namable thing: the trunk of a tree (p. 41), a cloud (p. 46), a humble gate (pp. 42, 43). The text for these pictures is not to be found in the Bible or in Homer’s Iliad but in a letter of John Constable: “The sound of water escaping from Mill dams,... willows, Old rotten Banks, slimy posts & brickwork — I love such things... These scenes made me a painter (& I am grateful).”

There are of course earlier pictures of humble things and bits of nature. Among the most famous are Albrecht Dürer’s close nature studies, such as The Great Piece of Turf (1503, fig. 17). Obviously, artistic devotion to even the smallest corner of nature was not new, although in numbers alone the landscape studies of 1800 claim a new importance. In addition to their frequency, however, the nineteenth-
century paintings are distinguished from their precedents by an original pictorial conception.

Dürer's low, close viewpoint monumentalizes the grasses, isolating them pictorially and conceptually against a blank ground. They could be anywhere, almost any size. By contrast, Christen Købke's bush (c. 1837, fig. 18) shares the picture with its environment; the painter evidently sought and enjoyed the delicate confusion of the far bank with the tallest fronds of the plant. Denied the independence it has in our minds, the bush appears in the picture as the chosen feature of a broad scene. In a similar way the cropped treetops of Constable's cloud study (no. 4, p. 46) remind us that, although the noble cumulus is whole and symmetrical in the center of the picture, we see only a section of the sky. These pictures, then, are doubly "bits"—for their nominal subjects and for their frankly narrow pictorial scope.

This sense of the picture as a detail, carved from a greater, more complex whole, is a characteristic, original feature of nineteenth-century art. Perhaps most symptomatic is the phenomenon of close, variant views of the same site. Consider, for example, two sketches made by Constable on July 12 and 15, 1829 (figs. 19, 20). The apparent stimulus for the works was the group of trees at the left in the earlier work, but Constable was mindful also of their surroundings, especially the sky. The frame answers the movement of the clouds and trees, making salient in each picture the drama of earthbound weather that the painter loved.

Valenciennes also made close pairs, directed most often at changes in light (no. 35a and b, p. 33) or changes in weather (figs. 21, 22). These pairs focus our attention on the transient element. Faithful in his public works to the enduring value of ancient truths, Valenciennes devoted his sketches to the contingent and impermanent.

To the comprehensive whole of traditional art, the landscape sketchers of 1800 opposed the precisely determined aspect. Surely one of the most remarkable products of this strategy is the trio of

Figure 19. John Constable. A View of Salisbury, from the Library of Archdeacon Fisher's House, 4:00 p.m., July 12, 1829. Oil on paper, 6 1/8 x 12 in. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Crown copyright

Figure 20. John Constable. The Close, Salisbury, 11:00 a.m.–Noon, July 15, 1829. Oil on paper, 10 7/8 x 8 in. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Crown copyright
watercolors painted by John Linnell at Kensington in 1812 (no. 30 a-c, pp. 56, 57). Here again the parallel text is by Constable, who wrote that "it is the business of a painter not to contend with nature, and put this scene (a valley filled with imagery 50 miles long) on a canvas of a few inches, but to make something out of nothing, in attempting which he must almost of necessity become poetical."

Like Valenciennes's choice of a laundry-draped Roman rooftop (instead of the Colosseum), Linnell's choice of a barren Kensington brickfield (instead of Tintern Abbey) almost seems to explain the pictorial variations. It is as if the very ordinariness of the subject were a challenge to the painter's aesthetic imagination — a challenge to make something out of nothing. Constable of course did not believe that his subjects were nothing; he meant only that earlier artists would have considered them so. He also meant that artistic concern for humble things required a new pictorial language. By showing, in their variations, that even the most humble scene offered a variety of pictorial aspect, the painters claimed an active, potentially poetic, role in their works.

What made a pictorial "something" out of an actual "nothing" was — literally and metaphorically — the painter's point of view. If slimy posts mattered to Constable, what convinces us of the fact is the way he looked at them. It is precisely the mediating conditions of perception — the cropping frame, the accidents of light, the relative point of view — that make the pictures here seem real. Separated from the ideal drama of older art by the triviality of their subjects, the pictures are also divergent in form. It is as if the expository order of traditional compositions were an obstacle to the spirit of immediacy the artists sought. The works appear to be formed by the eye instead of the mind.

Criticizing the landscape painters who exhibited at the Salon of 1859, Charles Baudelaire wrote: "They take the dictionary of art for art
itself; they copy a word from the dictionary, believing that they are copying a poem. But a poem can never be copied; it has to be composed. Thus, they open a window, and the whole space contained in the rectangle of that window — trees, sky and house — assumes for them the value of a ready-made poem."¹⁵

For Baudelaire, imagination was a synthetic faculty, “the queen of the faculties,” the mark of artists. “[Our public] are not artists, not naturally artists … They feel, or rather they judge, in stages, analytically. Other more fortunate peoples feel immediately, all at once, synthetically.”¹⁶ Art must serve imagination: a picture must be composed.

It was on the same grounds, in another part of his review of the same Salon (the first to include photographs), that Baudelaire claimed that photography could not be an art. A medium that allowed the artist no right to compose — to meddle in the internal affairs of the picture — could never be a vehicle of the imagination. Like Baudelaire, many critics of the day saw a causal connection between photography and the new strain of painting — “this silly cult of nature, not refined, not explained by imagination.”¹⁷ Their suggestion that photography might be responsible for this “cult” is still voiced today.

However, the new attitude (and its pictorial expressions) had begun to develop before photography was invented. What better illustration is there for Baudelaire’s argument than Friedrich Wasmann’s View from a Window (c. 1833, fig. 23)? If photography had an impact on painting (and it certainly did), it is because the new medium was born to an artistic environment that increasingly valued the mundane, the fragmentary, the seemingly uncomposed — that found in the contingent qualities of perception a standard of artistic, and moral, authenticity.

Of course many early photographers sought to emulate the look and meaning of traditional compositions, but the medium often defeated them. The photographs obstinately described with equal
precision (or imprecision) the major and minor features of a scene, or showed it from the wrong point of view, or included too little or too much. Even photographers who aimed only at a clear record were sometimes sorely rewarded with a disturbingly unfamiliar picture. Lady Elizabeth Eastlake, for example, observed that when photographed in bright sunlight, "hollies, laurels, ivy, and other smooth-leaved evergreens... instead of presenting a sunny effect look rather as if strewn with shining bits of tin, or studded with patches of snow." Many other critics noticed comparable problems and complained that if photography could only record, it often did not record well enough.

In a sense the critics were right on both counts. Photography recorded not the physical reality before the lens but its visible aspect, determined by a specific point and scope of view, at a particular moment, in a particular light. The description was seamless, but only in two dimensions. The photographer ignored this fact at his peril, risking obstructions and discontinuities, fortuitous juxtapositions, and unexpected densities and gaps in spatial logic.

Even the most attentive photographer must soon have compiled his own catalogue of the now familiar photographic mistakes. But the best early photographers evidently profited from their errors and learned, with surprising rapidity, to control (or at least to collaborate with) the refractory new medium. They also discovered a positive value in pictures that many would have called, and did call, mistakes.

The photographs presented here, like the paintings and drawings, are pictures of bits: telling details and vivid, singular perceptions. And, like the paintings, the photographs show a fierce independence from traditional standards of artistic value and coherence. There is, however, a difference. In painting, the new standards had been won through long experiment and only gradually acquired a dominant role. In photography, the camera's inability to compose rendered the old standards nearly obsolete from the outset.

The originality thus imposed on the photographer was compounded by the nature of the task he generally faced. Most early photographs—records of people, places, and things—were made in a spirit of documentation and investigation. Like the landscape sketchers but on a much broader scale, the photographers had a mandate to seek the specific and provisional in place of the general and didactic.

The photographs here were made in the first three decades of photography. They were made, in other words, before photographers could work without a tripod, or with exposures capable of stopping rapid action—and before photographers possessed a coherent tradition or a well-developed consensus of purpose. In these decades, and for some time thereafter, the painters, nourished by a rapidly changing tradition, led the way in applying the new vocabulary they now shared with photographers. What nineteenth-century photographer matched the achievement of Degas or Monet? But the very uncertainty of photography's status, its increasing technical versatility, and the variety of its worldly functions, combined to make it from the beginning a powerful force of change. That we now deeply value photography's disruptive character is perhaps the best measure of the degree to which the medium has shaped our conception of modern art.
The notes are confined to the minimum. The other literature on which I have drawn is cited in the bibliography.


2. Heinrich Schwarz, "Art and Photography: Forerunners and Influences," *Magazine of Art*, vol. 42, no. 7 (Nov. 1949), pp. 252-57. The late Professor Schwarz was a pioneer in the critical evaluation of this issue. Although his later publications do not depart from the spirit of the 1949 article, Schwarz apparently modified his views as he pursued the subject. Of particular importance is an unpublished lecture, "Before 1839: Symptoms and Trends," first delivered at the 1963 meeting of the College Art Association, in Baltimore. John Szarkowski, Director of the Department of Photography at The Museum of Modern Art, was deeply impressed by the lecture and its illustrative materials. His interest in the issue, prompted by Schwarz's lecture, eventually led to plans for the present exhibition. However, his efforts to obtain a transcript of the lecture were unsuccessful, despite the kind assistance of Professor Schwarz's widow.

The only record of the lecture is to be found in the *Year Book of the American Philosophical Society* (1963), p. 600; The lecture "deals particularly with observations on pre-photographic paintings of the 1820s and 1830s; that is to say, with paintings of the last two pre-photographic decades in which already strong 'photographic' features can be observed even if these paintings were done without the aid of any mechanical device. The introduction of the paper concerned with pre-photographic mechanical aids and devices used by artists from the fifteenth-century onwards pointed to the interdependence of science and art."

Another clue to Schwarz's position appears in his book *Salzburg und das Salzkammergut: Die künstlerische Entdeckung der Stadt und der Landschaft im 19. Jahrhundert*, 3rd ed. (Vienna: Anton Schroll, 1957). Of the sharp, bright landscapes painted by Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller in the 1830s (no. 38), Schwarz wrote (pp. 54, 55; my translation): "They are exemplary of a positivist-realist outlook, which would find its most extreme, namely mechanical, expression in photography, 'the evil spirit of the century.' Already in his landscapes of the Salzkammergut, Waldmüller (as Graf Athanasius Raczyński reports) had made use of the dark-mirror or Claude-glass, so loved by English painters and amateurs. One can clearly recognize in the cropings and light-dark contrasts of Waldmüller's early Salzkammergut landscapes, the effect of this optical aid, which had been in use for centuries. In 1833, while Waldmüller painted in the Salzkammergut, Fox Talbot, the future inventor of photography, was drawing at Lake Como with the help of a camera lucida. And a few years later, in 1839, Talbot succeeded in preserving and reproducing the image he caught in the camera obscura."

I am thankful to John Maass of Philadelphia, who heard Schwarz’s 1963 lecture and confirms its significance for the present investigation.


PLATES
PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS

Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes
Rooftop in Sunlight, Rome, c. 1782-84
Oil on paper, mounted on board
7 3/8 x 14 3/8 in.
Musée du Louvre, Paris
No. 35a

Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes
Rooftop in Shadow, Rome, c. 1782-84
Oil on paper, mounted on board
7 3/8 x 13 1/4 in.
Musée du Louvre, Paris
No. 35b
Thomas Jones
A Wall in Naples, c. 1782
Oil on paper
4⅞ × 6⅜ in.
Collection Mrs. Jane Evan-Thomas, England
No. 27
François-Marius Granet
The Roman Campagna at Sunset, 1802-19
Oil on paper, mounted on canvas
9 3/8 x 6 11/16 in.
Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence, France
No. 21
Friedrich Wasmann
*Study of a Grapevine*, c. 1830-35
Oil on paper
6 7/8 x 3 9/16 in.
Kunsthalle, Hamburg
No. 41
Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot

*Medieval Ruins, c. 1828-30*

Oil on canvas, mounted on board

9 × 12 in.

The Armand Hammer Foundation, Los Angeles

No. 8
Louis-Gabriel-Eugène Isabey
The Stall of a Cloth-Dyer, Algiers, 1830
Oil on paper
$11\frac{3}{16} \times 9\frac{13}{16}$ in.
Private collection, France
No. 26
John Constable

*Study of Tree Trunks*, c. 1821 (?)

Oil on paper

$9\frac{3}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

No. 5
Christen Købke
*View at Dosseringen*, c. 1837
Oil on paper
10 × 11 3/8 in.
The Ordrupgaard Collection, Copenhagen
No. 28
John Constable  
*Study of the Trunk of an Elm Tree*, c. 1821 (?)  
Oil on paper  
12 × 9 3⁄4 in.  
Victoria and Albert Museum, London  
No. 6
John Sell Cotman
*The Drop-Gate, Duncombe Park*, 1805
Watercolor and pencil on paper
13 × 9 1/16 in.
Trustees of the British Museum, London
No. 9
Caspar David Friedrich
*Gate in the Garden Wall*, c. 1828 (?)  
Watercolor and pencil on paper  
4 3/4 x 7 1/4 in.  
Kunsthalle, Hamburg  
No. 17
Friedrich Wasmann
*View from a Window*, c. 1833
Oil on paper
9 1/2 x 7 9/16 in.
Kunsthalle, Hamburg
No. 40
Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg
A Courtyard in Rome, 1813-16
Oil on canvas
$13^{1/16} \times 10^{13/16}$ in.
Kunstmuseum, Ribe, Denmark
No. 15
John Constable
*Study of Clouds and Trees*, 1821
Oil on paper, mounted on board
9 1/2 × 11 3/4 in.
Royal Academy of Arts, London
No. 4
Eduard Gaertner
Corner of the Eosander-Hof, or Outer Courtyard, of the Royal Palace, Berlin, c. 1831
Oil on canvas
22 13/16 x 18 11/16 in.
Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin
No. 18
Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres
*Tivoli, the Peristyle of the So-called Temple of Vesta, 1806-20*
Pencil on paper
$11\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ in.
Musée Ingres, Montauban, France
No. 25
Ernst Meyer
The Theater of Marcellus, Rome, 1830s (?)
Oil on paper, mounted on canvas
13 3/8 x 10 1/8 in.
The Hirschsprung Collection, Copenhagen
No. 32
Adolf Henning

Choir of the Cistercian Church, Altenberg, 1833
Oil on paper
14 × 10 1/2 in.
Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin
No. 24
François-Marius Granet

*Gothic Interior, 1802-19*

Oil on paper, mounted on panel

8¾ x 11½ in.

Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence, France

No. 20
Thomas Fearnley
Finger Logs at the Water’s Edge, 1836 or 1839 (?)
Oil and pencil on paper
127/16 x 7 1/4 in.
Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo
No. 16
Friedrich Nerly

Hillside, Italy. 1828-35

Oil on paper, mounted on board

12 × 17 1/16 in.

Kunsthalle, Bremen

No. 33
François-Marius Granet
*Fragment of Roman Architectural Sculpture*, 1802-19
Oil on paper, mounted on board
8\(\frac{3}{4}\) × 10\(\frac{3}{16}\) in.
Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence, France
No. 22
Carl Wagner
At the City Wall of Rome, 1823
Oil on paper, mounted on board
12 1/2 x 17 1/8 in.
Kunsthalle, Bremen
No. 37
John Linnell
The Brick Kiln, Kensington, 1812
Three works, watercolor and pencil on paper
Each, 4 × 5⅜ in.
Private collection
No. 30 a-c
Johan Christian Dahl
View from Praestø, c. 1814
Oil on canvas
22\(\frac{13}{16}\) x 28\(\frac{3}{8}\) in.
Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo
No. 11
Johan Christian Dahl
*Copenhagen Churchtowers against an Evening Sky*,
c. 1830
Oil on canvas, mounted on board
4½ × 6 in.
Kunsthalle, Hamburg
No. 13
Léon Cogniet

*At Lake Nemi, near Rome, 1817-24*

Oil on paper, mounted on panel
8 3/4 x 6 7/8 in.

Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans, France

No. 3
Jean-Joseph-Xavier Bidauld
A Cascade, c. 1790
Oil on canvas
$14\frac{15}{16} \times 19\frac{11}{16}$ in.
Musée Duplessis, Carpentras, France
No. 2
Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller
The Ziemitzberg, near Ischl, 1831
Oil on panel
12 3/8 x 10 3/4 in.
The Federal Republic of Germany, on loan to the
Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne
No. 38
Thomas Girtin
Coast of Dorset, near Lulworth Cove, c. 1797
Watercolor and pencil on paper
14 3/4 x 10 1/4 in.
City Art Galleries, Leeds, England
No. 19
John Sell Cotman

*Norwich Castle*, c. 1808-09
Watercolor and pencil on paper
12 3/4 × 18 13/16 in.
Norfolk Museums Service (Norwich Castle Museum), England
No. 10
Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot
*Rome, the Fountain of the French Academy*,
1826-27
Oil on canvas
7 × 11 1/2 in.
The Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art,
Dublin
No. 7
Jan-Frans Van Dael

Landscape: The Painter’s House, 1828

Oil on canvas

19 11/16 x 24 in.

Museum Boymans–van Beuningen, Rotterdam

No. 56
Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes

*Porta del Popolo, Rome, c. 1782-84*

Oil on paper, mounted on board

$6\frac{1}{16} \times 16\frac{3}{16}$ in.

Musée du Louvre, Paris

No. 34
Francis Danby
*Boatbuilder's Yard, 1838 (?)*
Oil on paper
$4\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ in.
Collection Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Gere, London
No. 14

Johan Christian Dahl
*Shipwreck and Anchor, 1826*
Pencil and wash on paper
$9 \times 10\frac{7}{16}$ in.
Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo
No. 12
Jean-Antoine-Théodore Baron Gudin

Sailing Ship on the Sea, 1837-39

Oil on paper, mounted on panel

15 1/8 x 25 1/2 in.

Kunsthalle, Bremen

No. 23
Johan Thomas Lundbye
*Study at a Lake, 1838*
Oil on paper
5 1/2 × 8 7/16 in.
The Hirschsprung Collection, Copenhagen
No. 31
John Linnell

At Twickenham, 1806
Oil on board
6½ x 10 in.
Trustees of the Tate Gallery, London
No. 29
Friedrich Wasmann
Castle in the Tyrol, c. 1831
Oil on paper
8½ × 10¼ in.
Kunsthalle, Hamburg
No. 59
PANORAMAS
Figure 24. Section of the Rotunda, Leicester Square, in Which Is Exhibited the Panorama, 1801. Colored aquatint, 12 1/2 x 18 in. From Robert Mitchell, Plans and Views in Perspective of Buildings Erected in England and Scotland (1801). Greater London Council, Print Collection

Robert Barker first exhibited his Panorama of London (no. 1) in 1792 at 28 Castle Street, London. The public response was so enthusiastic that in 1793 Barker moved the panorama to a new building in Leicester Square, where he could display two panoramas, one above the other. This section of the building, in which London is exhibited on the upper level, shows how the spectators entered the central viewing platform from below so that the circular picture would not be interrupted by a doorway.
Robert Barker
*Panorama of London*, 1791-92
Aquatint by Frederick Birnie after preparatory drawings for Barker’s painting
Six sheets, overall 17 × 132 in.
Trustees of the British Museum, London
No. 1

Felice Beato
*Panorama at Tangku*, 1860
Albumen-silver prints from glass negatives
Eight sheets, overall 8¾ × 88¾ in.
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Purchased as the Gift of Shirley C. Burden and the Estate of Vera Louise Fraser
No. 49
Friedrich Wasmann
Castle in the Tyrol, c. 1831
Oil on paper
8½ x 10¼ in.
Kunsthalle, Hamburg
No. 39
Gustave Le Gray
*Beech Tree*, c. 1855-57
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
12 3/16 × 15 7/16 in.
Private collection
No. 61
Albert Sands Southworth and Josiah Johnson Hawes

_Captain Jonathan W. Walker’s Branded Hand_,
c. 1845
Daguerreotype
2 3/4 × 2 5/8 in.
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
No. 73
Roger Fenton
*Dead Stag, 1852*
Albumen-coated salt print from a paper negative
738 x 8½ in.
Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York
No. 55
George N. Barnard
*The Battleground of Resaca, 1864-65*
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
10 1/4 x 14 9/16 in.
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Acquired by Exchange with the
Library of Congress
No. 48
Felice Beato

*Charge of the Dragoon's Guard at Palichian, 1860*

Albumen-silver print from a glass negative

9 9/16 × 11 7/8 in.

The Museum of Modern Art, New York

Purchased as the Gift of Shirley C. Burden and the Estate of Vera Louise Fraser

No. 50
John Bulkley Greene

River Bank, North Africa, 1855-56

Salt print from a paper negative

$9\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Lunn Gallery, Washington, D.C.

No. 57
Photographer unknown
*Study of the Sky*, c. 1865
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
$8\frac{7}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ in.
Collection André and Marie-Thérèse Jammes, Paris
No. 46
William Henry Fox Talbot
*The Open Door, 1843*
Salt print from a paper negative
$5\frac{7}{16} \times 7\frac{3}{8}$ in.
Arnold H. Crane Collection, Chicago
No. 76
Photographer unknown
*The Silver Hook*, 1860s (?)
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
2\(\frac{15}{16}\) × 2\(\frac{15}{16}\) in.
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Purchased as the Gift of
Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd
No. 44
Timothy H. O'Sullivan

*Steam Rising from a Fissure near Virginia City,*

*Nevada, 1867-69*

Albumen-silver print from a glass negative

$\frac{15}{32} \times \frac{13}{32}$ in.

Gilman Paper Company Collection

No. 68
Albert Sands Southworth and
Josiah Johnson Hawes
*Marion Augusta Hawes* or *Alice Mary Hawes*
c. 1855-60
Daguerreotype
4 × 3 in.
International Museum of Photography at
George Eastman House, Rochester
No. 74
Humphrey Lloyd Hime
The Prairie on the Bank of the Red River,
Looking South, 1858
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
5 1/4 × 6 3/4 in.
The Notman Photographic Archives,
McCord Museum, Montreal
No. 59
Samuel Bourne
A Road Lined with Poplars, Kashmir, 1863-70
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
$8^{15/16} \times 11$ in.
Collection Paul F. Walter, New York
No. 52
Linnaeus Tripe
Ava, Upper Burma, 1855-56
Salt print from a paper negative
10 5/8 x 13 1/2 in.
Collection Phyllis Lambert, on loan to the
Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal
No. 77
Louis-Auguste Bisson and Auguste-Rosalie Bisson
Cathedral of Notre Dame, Paris, the Saint Marcel Portal, Called the Sainte Anne Portal, c. 1853
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
$14\frac{3}{16} \times 9\frac{3}{16}$ in.
Collection Phyllis Lambert, on loan to the
Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal
No. 51
Pierre-Charles Simart (?)

*Shrub*, c. 1856
Salt print enlarged from a glass negative
12 5/8 x 17 1/16 in.
Collection André and Marie-Thérèse Jammes, Paris
No. 72
Jean-Charles Langlois

*Detail of the Fortification at Malakhov, 1855*

Albumen-silver print from a paper negative

107/16 × 129/16 in.

Collection Texbraun, Paris

No. 60
Henri Le Secq
_Garden Scene, c. 1852_
Salt print from a paper negative
12 13/16 x 9 11/16 in.
International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, Rochester
No. 63
Henri Le Secq

Chartres Cathedral, South Transept Porch,
Central Portal, 1851-52
Photolithograph
$13\frac{3}{8} \times 9\frac{3}{16}$ in.
Collection Phyllis Lambert, on loan to the
Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal
No. 62
William James Stillman
The Parthenon, Athens, Profile of the Eastern Facade, 1868-69
Carbon print from a glass negative
7 3/8 × 9 3/8 in.
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Gift of Miss Frances Stillman
No. 75
A. Collard

Bridge, 1860s (?)  
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative  
9 15/16 × 13 7/8 in.  
Collection Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr., New York  
No. 53
Auguste Salzmann

Jerusalem, the Temple Wall, West Side, 1853-54

Salt print from a paper negative

9 3/16 x 13 1/8 in.

The Museum of Modern Art, New York

Purchase

No. 71
Robert MacPherson
The Theater of Marcellus, from the Piazza Montanara, Rome, c. 1855
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
16 1/16 x 11 1/4 in.
Collection Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr., New York
No. 64
Charles Marville
Spire of the Chapel of the Collège Saint Dizier (Haute Marne), 1860s (?)
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
$14\frac{1}{4} \times 9\frac{7}{8}$ in.
Gilman Paper Company Collection
No. 65
Roger Fenton

Lichfield Cathedral, Porch of the South Transept,
c. 1855
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
13 7/16 x 16 1/4 in.
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
John Parkinson III Fund
No. 56
Timothy H. O'Sullivan

Buttes near Green River City, Wyoming, 1867-69

Albumen-silver print from a glass negative

7 7/8 x 10 1/2 in.

The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

No. 693
Timothy H. O'Sullivan
Buttes near Green River City, Wyoming, 1867-69
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
7 7/8 x 10 1/2 in.
The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
No. 69b
Timothy H. O'Sullivan
_Buttes near Green River City, Wyoming, 1867-69_
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
10\(\frac{1}{2}\) x 7\(\frac{3}{4}\) in.
The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
No. 69c
Maxime Du Camp

Profile of the Great Sphinx, from the South,
1849-51
Salt print from a paper negative
$6\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{9}{16}$ in.
Gilman Paper Company Collection
No. 54
Charles Marville
Place de l’Etoile, Paris, 1860s (?) 
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
8 7/16 × 14 7/16 in.
Collection Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr., New York
No. 66
Andrew Joseph Russell
Pontoon Bridge Crossed by General Ord,
at Akin's Landing, 1864
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
8 × 11 13/16 in.
Collection Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr., New York
No. 70
Photographer unknown
*New York* (?), 1850s (?)
Salt print from a paper negative
$9\frac{3}{8} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ in.
Collection Paul F. Walter, New York
No. 42
Photographer unknown

*Church of Saint Martin, Candes, 1851-55*

Salt print from a paper negative

$8\frac{3}{16} \times 10\frac{7}{16}$ in.

International Museum of Photography at
George Eastman House, Rochester
No. 43
Photographer unknown

Triumphal Entry of the Bavarian Army into Munich, 1871

Albumen-silver print from a glass negative

8½ × 7⅞ in.

Lunn Gallery, Washington, D.C.

No. 47
Alfred A. Hart
Rounding Cape Horn, c. 1869
Stereograph, albumen-silver prints from glass negatives
Two prints, overall 3 × 6\(\frac{1}{8}\) in.
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Purchase
No. 58
Photographer unknown

*Through the Window, 1860s (?)*

Albumen-silver print from a glass negative

25/8 × 2 13/16 in.

The Museum of Modern Art, New York

Purchased as the Gift of

Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd

No. 45
Charles Nègre

Miller at Work, Grasse, 1852-53
Salt print from a paper negative
$8\frac{1}{16} \times 6\frac{3}{16}$ in.
Collection André and Marie-Thérèse Jammes, Paris
No. 67
CATALOGUE
In the dimensions, height precedes width. The citations of relevant literature are intended to be helpful rather than comprehensive. The sources noted often contain much more extensive references. The following works are cited in abbreviation:

Bramsen et al. 1972

Bremen 1973

Bremen 1977-78

Detroit 1968

Hamburg 1976

Jammes, Egypte

London 1980-81

New York 1975

New York 1980

New York and Buffalo 1975

Paris 1976-77

Paris 1976

Philadelphia 1978

Thieme-Becker

Robert Barker
British, 1739-1806
1. A Panorama of London, 1791-92
Aquatint by Frederick Birnie after preparatory drawings for Barker's painting
Six sheets, overall 17 x 132 in. (43 x 334 cm)
Trustees of the British Museum, London
Illustrated pp. 75-78

This work is an aquatint representing a much larger painting by Barker, first exhibited in 1792. The original, nearly 1500 square feet in area, was exhibited in a complete circle and viewed from within (see fig. 24, p. 74). It was the first full-circle panorama, a type of picture that enjoyed considerable popularity in the early nineteenth century.

The panoramas were popular spectacles, noticed but generally scorned by the serious art world. Their ostensible aim was a comprehensive illusion of the depicted scene—most frequently a city or a battle or a great public event. This illusion was achieved, to a striking degree, by surrounding the viewer with the picture, whose upper and lower edges were concealed by elements of the platform on which the viewer stood. The popularity of the panoramas is often cited as a symptom of the thirst for realism that is thought to have prompted the invention of photography. However, the particular character of this realism rarely has been carefully considered.

Barker's panorama marks a new stage in the tradition of broad city views. Such views, of which Jacopo de' Barbari's woodcut of Venice in 1500 is exemplary, compromised between the principles of perspective and of map-making. By adopting a high, humanly impossible, bird's-eye vantage point, the artists conveyed a maximum of reliable topographical information in the form of a single view. The standard comprehensive view of London,
developed in the late sixteenth century, was closer to an elevation than a plan, and emphasized the skyline, dominated by St. Paul's Cathedral (fig. 25). Consistent with the principle of comprehensive display, the view straightened the winding Thames, aligning the buildings on the riverbank with the picture plane.

The characteristic view of London, which changed little before 1800, showed the more important north bank of the river from the South. Barker followed this tradition, but in other respects departed radically from the standard he inherited. He constructed the panorama from a series of careful perspective studies, all made from his chosen viewpoint on the roof of the Albion Mills, at the foot of Blackfriars Bridge. This fidelity to a single viewpoint accounts for the drastically unconventional appearance of the work. The most prominent feature—occupying a third of the picture—is no longer St. Paul's but the roof on which the artist stood. The heart of the city has become only one of many features of the view, and the river, winding as in reality, no longer offers its bank in a rigid line of display.

By cheating only a little, Barker could have banished the looming rooftop to show more of the city. Instead, he included it with enthusiasm, decisively marking the viewer's standpoint, which determines the entire organization of the picture. The panorama is rich in precisely observed detail, but clearly Barker was less concerned with presenting a thorough record of the city than with making the viewer feel he was there. Evidently these two aims—both in a sense realistic—are not only distinct but potentially contradictory.

Barker's panorama and others like it (see fig. 28, p. 126), were of course designed as much to thrall as to inform the paying public. However, contemporary topographical prints of London (presumably intended to inform) show a similar shift away from the principle of comprehensive display. Most astonishing are those made from the pinnacle of St. Paul's—formerly the most important feature in the picture. Nothing could illustrate better the transitory of value from the represented scene to the experience of looking at it. (An example of such a print is J. Henshall's Panoramic View of London . . . taken from the Upper Gallery of St. Paul's Cathedral, 1836; British Museum, London, Dept. of Prints and Drawings, Crace Collection, Portfolio III, no. 105.)

This sense of the view as an aspect, determined by the position of the viewer and implying his participation, is directly relevant to the other works in this exhibition. The topographical prints, and panoramas such as Barker's, help to show that the innovative spirit of these paintings and drawings is symptomatic rather than eccentric.

Jean-Joseph-Xavier Bidauld
French, 1758-1846

2. A Cascade, c. 1790
Oil on canvas
\(14\frac{15}{16} \times 19\frac{11}{16}\) in. (38 x 50 cm)
Musée Duplessis, Carpentras, France
Illustrated p. 61

Bidauld was one of the minor masters of French Neoclassical landscape painting. On his first trip to Italy, in 1785-90, he made a number of fine oil studies from nature. This picture was probably made on that trip, but it is not a sketch. The deep, old-fashioned tones and the frankly artificial details in the foreground mark the painting as a studio work. All the more striking, therefore, are the modesty of the subject and the large area given over to the inarticulate mass of the opposite bank of the stream.

The function of the work is not clear. It may have been intended for the trade in finished paintings of modest scale and subject. This class of pictures was an important one, for it invited thematic and stylistic freedom and undermined academic authority. Nevertheless, such pictures usually depicted a more likely spot than this one, and often included figures.


Léon Cogniet
French, 1794-1880

3. At Lake Nemi, near Rome, 1817-24
Oil on paper, mounted on panel
8\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 6\(\frac{3}{8}\) in. (22.2 x 17.4 cm)
Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans, France
Illustrated p. 60

Cogniet, a portrait and history painter, won the Prix de Rome in 1817. During his stay in Italy, which ended by 1824, he painted a number of small landscape studies in oil, as did many figure painters. The widespread habit of keeping such studies as tokens of the student sojourn at Rome is documented by Amélie Cogniet's painting, Interior of the Studio of Léon Cogniet in 1831 (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Orléans), in which the little sketches are displayed on the wall of the studio.

John Constable
British, 1776-1837

4. Study of Clouds and Trees, 1821
Oil on paper, mounted on board
9½ × 11 ¾ in. (24.2 × 29.9 cm)
Inscribed, verso: Hampstead./Sept. 11, 1821./10 to
11 Morning under the sun/Clouds silvery grey on
warm ground/sultry. Light wind to the S.W. fine all
day— but rain the night following.
Royal Academy of Arts, London
Illustrated p. 46

5. Study of Tree Trunks, c. 1821 (?)
Oil on paper
9 ⅞ × 11 ½ in. (24.8 × 29 cm)
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
Illustrated in color p. 39

6. Study of the Trunk of an Ebn Tree, c. 1821 (?)
Oil on paper
12 × 9 ⅞ in. (30.6 × 24.8 cm)
Inscribed, verso: JC
Victoria and Albert Museum, London
Illustrated p. 41

The terms of inherited convention and direct
observation are crucial to any discussion of early
nineteenth-century landscape painting. For
Constable, however, these terms describe a rela-
tionship richer and more complex than is to be
found in the work of his contemporaries. Constable
applied his deep familiarity with older art to his
work as a sketcher, and more than any contempo-
rary painter brought a fresh view of nature to his
finished works. These parallel ambitious nearly met
in 1815 when, for the only time, he painted an
exhibition picture out of doors (Boat Building, Vic-

In 1819, Constable began work on the great series
of six-foot exhibition pictures of which The Hay
Wain (1821, National Gallery, London) is the most
famous. This project recast the shape of his art. As
John Gage has pointed out, the distinction between
outdoor sketch and finished work broadened again
in the 1820s from its near closure the decade before.
One might expect that as the finished works
became grander, the sketches, once again only
studies, became trivial. The opposite is the case, as
these three works show. They, as much as the six-
footers, are accomplishments of maturity.

Literature: Norwich: Castle Museum, A Decade of Eng-
lisli Naturalism 1810-1820, ed. and intro. John Gage (exh.
cat., 1969-70). London: The Tate Gallery, Constable:
No. 4: Detroit 1968, no. 126.
Nos. 5 and 6: Graham Reynolds, Victoria and Albert
Museum: Catalogue of the Constable Collection (Lon-
don: HMSO, 1973), nos. 234 and 235, respectively.

Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot
French, 1796-1875

7. Rome, the Fountain of the French Academy,
1826-27
Oil on canvas
7 × 11 ⅜ in. (18 × 29 cm)
Stamped, l.l.: VENTE COROT
The Hugh Lane Municipal Gallery of Modern Art,
Dublin
Illustrated p. 65

8. Medieval Ruins, c. 1828-30
Oil on canvas, mounted on board
9 × 12 in. (23 × 30.5 cm)
Stamped, l.r.: VENTE COROT
The Armand Hammer Foundation, Los Angeles
Illustrated in color p. 37

Before he left Paris for Rome in 1823, Corot
already understood the sketching tradition he
would find in full bloom there. Both of his teachers
had studied with Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes (nos.
34, 35), and since 1822 Corot himself had been
sketching in oil. His very first Roman studies (such
as fig. 16, p. 24), dated December 1823, are already
mature works. Corot returned to France in 1828
not as a promising student but as a seasoned
painter. His powers are well represented in
Medieval Ruins (no. 8), a view from the ruined for-
tress at Pierrefonds or at Arques, painted after his
return. Corot continued to sketch near Paris and on
trips throughout France; but he worked most
intensely and developed most rapidly in Italy, which
he visited again in 1834 and 1843. It is in the Italian
sketches, for instance, that Corot first came to the
elegiac, hazy image of his later landscapes (as in
Nemi, the Lake Seen through the Trees, 1843,
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).

Some of Corot's best Roman studies, including
Rome, the Fountain of the French Academy (no. 7),
borrowed from the venerable topographical tradi-
tion. The familiarity of the topographical views like
the celebrity of the monuments lent the authority of
tradition to the little painted studies. Number 7
represents, in the foreground, the fountain of the
Villa Medici (the home of the French Academy in
Rome) and, in the distance, St. Peter's Basilica.

Corot's method in Italy is nowhere more evident
than in this work and a related drawing (fig. 26).
Following standard practice, Corot painted his Itali-
アンalysis on paper prepared with an oil ground in
tan or beige (or, less frequently, on canvas). Unlike
some of his contemporaries, he did not proceed immediately to paint but first drew his scene carefully in pencil on the prepared ground. Figure 26 documents this method, for it is not an independent drawing but an abandoned painting.

Corot's constructive sense is already evident in the abandoned work. He has understood the framing trees as an echo of St. Peter's dome, and has found other analogies of form in the structure of the fountain. Presumably, in the course of making figure 26, Corot made a discovery and began again on canvas, producing number 7. The discovery requires some explanation. From Corot's viewpoint on the Pincian Hill, the impressive symmetry of St. Peter's silhouette—a large dome flanked by smaller domes—is destroyed. The smaller dome on the right is subsumed in the mass of the larger dome. Corot discovered that he could restore the beloved symmetry by substituting for the missing small dome the spout of the foreground fountain.

The significance of this discovery is illustrated by the presence of the same device in a nearly contemporary painting by Caspar David Friedrich, The Churchyard (c. 1825-30, fig. 27). As in many of Friedrich's works, the pictorial structure may be read as a command: You will pass from the crumbling wall of life through the graveyard of death, to the redemption of heaven, revealed on earth in the spire of the church. Here, as so often, the formulaic piety of the command is rendered convincing by the earthly beauty of the picture. Relevant to Corot's picture is the astonishing identity between Friedrich's spire and the narrow, triangular gap in the gate.

The visual pun, so similar to Corot's, is not like the approximate rhyming of shapes found in many older pictures. It is an exact pictorial identity, wrought from disparate worldly things by the painter's precise point of view. It announces the painter's authority over the two-dimensional image, even when the latter is nominally no more than an accurate view of a given scene. The fact that Corot's picture shares none of Friedrich's symbolic message would seem to make the comparison more rather than less interesting.


John Sell Cotman
British, 1782-1842

9. The Drop-Gate, Duncombe Park, 1805
Watercolor and pencil on paper
13 x 9 1/16 in. (33 x 23.1 cm)
Trustees of the British Museum, London
Illustrated p. 42

10. Norwich Castle, c. 1808-09
Watercolor and pencil on paper
12 3/4 x 18 1/16 in. (32.4 x 47.2 cm)
Inscribed, verso of mount: Castle Norwich
Norfolk Museums Service (Norwich Castle Museum), England
Illustrated p. 64

In 1798 Cotman left his native Norwich for London. There, primarily through the patronage of Dr. Thomas Monro, he absorbed the lessons of the advanced school of young watercolor painters. He learned most from Thomas Girtin (no. 19). Within several years, Cotman had developed an original style—a pattern of discrete and interlocking areas of flat color, laid on in an even wash. This style has been called artificial, unrelated to observation, and so it occasionally became. But it emerged, most strongly in the Grete landscapes of 1805, from an inventive compromise between the conditions of watercolor and the demands of observation. Like the flat patterns of Japanese prints, the forms of Cotman's best works are not arbitrary but refer precisely to vivid perceptions of external things.

Johan Christian Dahl
Norwegian, 1788-1857

11. View from Praestø, c. 1814
Oil on canvas
22 3/16 x 28 3/8 in. (58 x 72 cm)
Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo
Illustrated p. 58

12. Shipwreck and Anchor, 1826
Pencil and wash on paper
9 x 10 7/16 in. (22.9 x 26.6 cm)
Inscribed, l.r.: d. 5 May 1826 JD
Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo
Illustrated p. 68

13. Copenhagen Church towers against an Evening Sky, c. 1830
Oil on canvas, mounted on board
4 1/2 x 6 in. (11.5 x 15.2 cm)
Kunsthalle, Hamburg
Illustrated p. 59

In 1811 Dahl left his native Bergen for the Copenhagen Academy, where he made a thorough study of the great seventeenth-century Dutch landscape painters. In 1816 he became a pupil of C. W. Eckersberg (no. 15) upon the latter's return from Italy. In 1818 Dahl moved to Dresden where, except for several important trips, he stayed until his death. From 1823, he shared a house with Caspar David Friedrich (no. 17).

In 1820-21 Dahl traveled to Naples and then to Rome, where he joined the circle of the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen. The trip was critical, for Dahl rapidly absorbed the lessons of the open-air landscape painters who congregated in Naples and Rome. In 1826 Dahl made the first of five summer sketching trips to his native Norway, whose grand landscape remained his favored subject.

View from Praestø (no. 11) reflects Dahl's early admiration for the Dutch landscape masters, especially Jacob van Ruisdael. It is perhaps a student exercise—a foreground study raised to the level of a full-scale painting. Yet this does not explain how Dahl could have abbreviated so severely the older compositional schemes that the picture recalls.

Dahl made Shipwreck and Anchor (no. 12) on his first and most important return visit to Norway, in 1826. Ostensibly it is a study for one of a series of slightly later paintings of shipwrecks, such as After the Storm (1829, Nasjonalgalleriet, Oslo). But instead of drawing the ship alone or placing the anchor to one side, Dahl chose a point of view that collapsed the two objects (and a smaller boat between them) into a confusing tangle of forms.

The cloud study (no. 13) is one of dozens that Dahl made after his return from Italy in 1821. In addition to its place in the international vogue of cloud sketching, the work invites comparison with two other nearly unrelated threads of contemporary painting. First, the picture recalls a theme of Dahl's mentor Friedrich, in which church spires reach toward the vault of heaven. Second, the picture is a synoptic but precise topographical representation. It shows the steeple of St. Peter's Church and the belfry of the Church of Our Lady (built 1811-29) from the fourth or fifth story of a building on the east side of Copenhagen's Nytorv (or Newmarket) Square. Together these two towers were (after 1829) the identifying feature of the Copenhagen skyline. Thus to the nineteenth-century viewer, the picture denoted Copenhagen as surely as today a view of the Eiffel Tower denotes Paris.


Francis Danby
British, 1793-1881

14. Boatbuilder's Yard, 1838 (?)
Oil on paper
4 3/4 x 7 3/4 in. (12.2 x 18.5 cm)
Inscribed on the mount: Francis Danby, ARA
Collection Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Gere, London
Illustrated p. 68


Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg
Danish, 1783-1853

15. A Courtyard in Rome, 1813-16
Oil on canvas
15 3/16 x 10 1/16 in. (33.5 x 27.5 cm)
Kunstmuseum, Ribe, Denmark
Illustrated p. 45

Eckersberg is the key figure in the splendid unfolding of early nineteenth-century Danish painting. Around 1800 the Copenhagen Academy was an important artistic center; among others, Caspar David Friedrich (no. 17) and Johan Christian Dahl...
After early training in Oslo, Copenhagen, and
Stockholm, Fearnley became a student of J. C. Dahl
(nos. 11-13) in 1829. He had copied a picture by
Dahl as early as 1822 and made a special trip to
Norway to meet him in 1826. Fearnley adopted
the themes and practice of his master, often sketching
in oil.

By the 1830s, the oil sketch had become a popu-
lar vogue, produced as much for its superficial qual-
ities as for its sensitivity to natural appearance.
Fearnley's work of the 1830s, often marked by lurid
colors and arbitrary handling, is exemplary of this
trend. Fearnley, who lived abroad most of his life,
probably made Finger Logs at the Water's Edge
(no. 16) on one of his later sketching trips to
Norway, in 1836 or 1839. Some of the painter's
unwonted facility is evident here. However, the
exceptional absence of the horizon and the nearly
vertical presentation of the floating logs suggest the
continuing vigor of the sketching tradition, even as
the force of its realist impulse passed into public
painting.

Literature: Sigurd Willoch, Maleren Thomas Fearnley
(Oslo, 1912), Karl Roy Lunde, "Johan Christian Dahl"
(Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, New York,

Caspar David Friedrich
German, 1774-1840
17. Gate in the Garden Wall, c. 1828 (?) Watercolor and pencil on paper
$4 \frac{3}{4} \times 7 \frac{3}{4} \text{ in. (12.2 \times 18.5 \text{ cm})}$
Kunsthalle, Hamburg
Illustrated p. 43

The content of Friedrich's art is abstract and sym-
bulous, but its material is insistently physical; the
spiritual meaning of the pictures is grounded in
explicit visual fact. It should not be surprising, then,
that some of Friedrich's bolder inventions share a
family resemblance with some contemporary land-
scapes whose naturalism is anything but spiritual.

Thus Friedrich's On the Sailboat (1818-19, Her-
mitage, Leningrad) may be compared to a sketch by
J.-A.-T. Gudin (no. 23); or his Churchyard (c. 1825-
50, fig. 27) to a Roman view by Corot (no. 7). So,
too, the unbroken horizon and near emptiness of
Friedrich's Monk by the Sea (1809, Schloss Charlotten-
burg, Berlin) is to be found in a sunset by E.-M.
Granet (no. 21), a photograph by H. L. Hime (no.
59), and many other nineteenth-century landscapes
of widely different mood and intent.

These comparisons do not do justice to the differ-
cences in meaning among the works. But the formal
similarities, echoing across national, stylistic, and
thematically borders, force us to acknowledge common
syntactical features of nineteenth-century art, their
origins in perception and their divergence from tra-
ditional pictorial structures. Even the criticisms of
some of Friedrich's pictures might easily apply to
some works of the Impressionists, who employed
and enriched but did not invent the new structures.
Friedrich's Tetschen Altar (1807-08, Gemälde-
galerie, Neue Meister, Dresden), for instance, was
faulted for its lack of a conventional, introductory
foreground. And of the Monk by the Sea one critic
wrote that "because of its monotony and bound-
lessness, with nothing but the frame as a fore-
ground, one feels as if one's eyelids had been cut
off." (Heinrich von Kleist, quoted in the London
exhibition catalogue cited below, p. 107.)

Literature: London: The Tate Gallery, Caspar David
Friedrich 1774-1840: Romantic Landscape Painting in
Hamburg: Kunsthalle, Caspar David Friedrich (exh. cat.,
Eduard Gaertner
German, 1801-1877

18. Corner of the Eosander-Hof, or Outer Courtyard, of the Royal Palace, Berlin, c. 1831
Oil on canvas
223/16 x 1811/16 in. (58 x 47.5 cm)
Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin
Illustrated p. 47

Gaertner was the best architectural view painter of mid-nineteenth century Germany. He served a long apprenticeship — at the Berlin porcelain factory (1814-21) and under the theater-scene painter Karl Gropius (1821-25). Gaertner then spent three years in Paris, where he is thought to have studied under Jean-Victor Bertin, who had been a student of Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes (nos. 34, 35) and a teacher of J.-B.-C. Corot (nos. 7, 8). Returning to Berlin in 1828, Gaertner rapidly established a high reputation for his specialty. In the next decade he worked frequently for King Friedrich Wilhelm III, who commissioned Gaertner’s masterpiece — a six-part panorama of Berlin from the roof of the recently built Friedrichsbergesche Kirche (fig. 28).

In 1830 and 1831, Gaertner painted two large views of the inner and outer courtyards of the Royal Palace, named respectively for their architects the Schlüter-Hof and the Eosander-Hof (both paintings are now at the Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Potsdam-Sanssouci; see Wirth, figs. 27 and 28). Number 18 is a study related to the second of these works, which shows three sides of the courtyard from another point of view but includes the same diagonal shadow. This shadow, the decisive feature of the sketch, loses most of its formal power in the full, three-dimensional space of the finished work.

Literature: Berlin: Berlin Museum, Eduard Gaertner (exh. cat., 1968); Irmgard Wirth, Eduard Gaertner: Der Berliner Architekturmaler (Berlin: Propyläen, 1979), no. 21, ill., in color on the jacket; Wirth dates the sketch c. 1832, after the finished work.

Thomas Girtin
British, 1775-1802

19. Coast of Dorset, near Lulworth Cove, c. 1797
Watercolor and pencil on paper
14 1/4 x 10 1/4 in. (38 x 28 cm)
City Art Galleries, Leeds, England
Illustrated p. 63

The precise subject of number 19 is uncertain, but the work surely belongs to the series of watercolors Girtin worked up from sketches on a tour of Southwest England and Wales in 1797.

Figure 28. Eduard Gaertner. Panorama of Berlin from the Roof of the Friedrichsbergesche Kirche, 1834. Oil on canvas; two three-part paintings, 35 7/8 X 123 in. and 35 7/8 X 125 in. Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin


François-Marius Granet
French, 1775-1849

20. Gothic Interior, 1802-19
Oil on paper, mounted on panel
8 1/8 x 11 1/8 in. (22 x 29.5 cm)
Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence, France
Illustrated p. 51

21. The Roman Campagna at Sunset, 1802-19
Oil on paper, mounted on canvas
9 3/8 x 6 11/16 in. (23.8 x 17 cm)
Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence, France
Illustrated in color p. 35

22. Fragment of Roman Architectural Sculpture, 1802-19
Oil on paper, mounted on board
8 1/4 x 10 1/16 in. (21 x 25.6 cm)
Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence, France
Illustrated p. 54
A native of Aix-en-Provence, Granet first studied with the local master of landscape painting and later (1799-1801) in Paris under Jacques-Louis David. In 1802, with his friend Auguste de Forbin, he traveled to Rome, where he remained for seventeen years. In 1826 Forbin (then director of the national museums) appointed Granet to a curatorship at the Louvre.

Granet was celebrated in his own day for his interior views of religious ceremonies, dimly lit by a few windows and peopled by monks in the trance of ritual. The works express perfectly the Romantic view of religion as foreign, mysterious, vaguely threatening, and fascinating. All of this is present in Gothic Interior (no. 20), which in size and technique must be classed with another aspect of Granet’s work, little known in his own day.

Following the example of Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes (nos. 14, 15) and anticipating that of J.-B.-C. Corot (no. 7), Granet painted in Italy a large number of small landscape studies in oil. The Roman Campagna at Sunset (no. 21) is exemplary of the originality of these works. With a thorough disregard for conventional pictorial space, Granet has concentrated on the delicate tones of the sunset, making a picture that we read vertically, as if to follow the descent of the sun. It is one of the characteristic images of modern art — of Whistler and Rothko for example — a work whose very emptiness calls attention to its subtlety.


Jean-Antoine-Théodore Baron Gudin
French, 1802-1880

23. Sailing Ship on the Sea, 1837-39
Oil on paper, mounted on panel
15 3/8 x 25 1/2 in. (38.5 x 65 cm)
Kunsthalle, Bremen
Illustrated p. 69

Gudin won early success in the Salons of the 1820s and was soon acclaimed as one of the leading marine painters of France. He enjoyed numerous official commissions, among them an order for ninety-seven paintings illustrating the glories of French naval history. The Baron Gudin was, in other words, a thoroughly acceptable artist, and like many other acceptable artists of the day, he made oil sketches from nature that bear no obvious relation to his finished works and are very different in spirit. This work, unusually large for an oil sketch, was made from a gun portal of the ship La Véloce, or perhaps from one of its lifeboats.

The sense of the picture is illustrated by the apocryphal story in which the landscape painter J. M. W. Turner is said to have leaned out of the window of a speeding train to study a storm. The episode is supposed to have provided the raw material for Turner’s famous painting Rain, Steam, and Speed — The Great Western Railway (1844, National Gallery, London), which indeed presents an impressively stormy confusion of the elements. The story, nevertheless, seems irrelevant: instead of the view from the train, the painting shows the train itself, seen from the traditional, imaginary bird’s eye.

The spirit of Turner’s story is better suited to Gudin’s picture, whose subject is neither the ship nor the sea but the experience of looking out at the sea from the ship.


Adolf Henning
German, 1809-1900

24. Choir of the Cistercian Church, Altenberg, 1833
Oil on paper
14 x 10 1/2 in. (35.5 x 25.7 cm)
Inscribed l.r.: Altenberg/Julii 1833
Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin
Illustrated p. 50

Born in Berlin, Henning began to study painting at the age of twelve, in 1821. Number 24 was made in the interval between the close of his formal studies
in 1832 and his departure for Italy in October 1833. Henning returned to Berlin in 1838 and became a member of the Academy the following year. He painted biblical and mythological themes, landscapes, and genre scenes, but was best known for his portraits. This picture, like Corot’s Medieval Ruins (no. 8), reflects widespread artistic enthusiasm for the medieval past, also a prominent theme of early photographers.


Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres
French, 1780-1867

25. Tivoli, the Peristyle of the So-called Temple of Vesta, 1806-20
Pencil on paper
11 1/2 x 7 in. (29.2 x 17.9 cm)
Musée Ingres, Montauban, France
Illustrated p. 48

Ingres won the Prix de Rome in 1806. He overstayed his official four-year visit by ten years, leaving only in 1820. In this period Ingres made scores of drawings of Rome and its environs. Some of these are related to the backgrounds of his portraits, but it is clear that Ingres made the drawings for their own sake.

The linear purity and graphic clarity of the drawings is in tune with Ingres’s Neoclassical training. But in their approach to their subjects, the drawings are highly original, sometimes eccentric, and often radical. This is perhaps most obvious in Ingres’s views of the Roman Forum, where he repeatedly chose a vantage point that obscured rather than described the salient monuments and general plan. In figure 29, for example, he gave prominence to a building of no consequence, reduced the grand alley of trees to a nearly illegible mass, and relegated the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, the Basilica of Constantine, and the Colosseum to fragmentary appearances at the upper left. A topographer no more would have valued this view than Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes’s view of the Piazza del Popolo (no. 34). The clarity of the picture, as in many of Ingres’s Roman drawings, is formal and pictorial rather than descriptive.

The Tivoli drawing (no. 25) also represents an original point of view. The so-called Temple of Vesta, a Roman Republican monument, is perched on a cliff overlooking a magnificent cascade. Since Claude Lorrain, the view of this little round temple, with Rome in the distance, had been a standard image—an imaginary classical landscape found in reality. Ingres also drew this standard view; his drawing of the temple’s interior is much less familiar.

in oil. Wilson, like Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes (nos. 34, 35) had probably received the notion from the French landscapist Claude-Joseph Vernet, who had advocated oil sketching in a short treatise published in 1817 but written much earlier. There is no evidence that Vernet or Wilson made much of the practice, but Jones was already sketching in oil before his important trip to Italy in 1776-83. He stayed first in Rome for two years and then traveled to Naples, where he did much of his best work, including a series of remarkable studies of buildings and rooftops.

Number 27 is one of the best of this series. From an evidently humble Neapolitan building, of whose overall form and dimensions there is no clue, Jones has abstracted a striking symmetry. The focus is the door and little balcony, marked by a decisive white stroke of laundry. Repeated in this strong center is the simple color scheme of the whole: the blue of the sky, the green of the foliage, the brown and black of the wall. The resolute balance of classical art is here, and its theme of harmony between nature and man; yet it is as if these were not created but discovered.


Figure 30. Christen Købke. View at Dosseringen, c. 1837. Oil on paper, 97/8 x 12 1/2 in. The Ordrupgaard Collection, Copenhagen

Christen Købke
Danish, 1810-1848
28. View at Dosseringen, c. 1837
Oil on paper
10 x 11 3/8 in. (25.5 x 29 cm)
The Ordrupgaard Collection, Copenhagen
Illustrated in color p. 40

Christen Købke possessed considerable natural talent and an unerring instinct for the bright, homey values of what is called the Golden Age of Danish painting. Through his teacher C. W. Eckersberg (no. 10), his own trip to Italy (1818-40), and the legacy of the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen, Købke was exposed to the ambitions of Europe at large. He left them almost entirely alone.

Købke painted portraits and landscapes. The latter, excepting the Italian views, described places he knew. One of Købke’s favorite subjects was a spot called Dosseringen, which is separated from Copenhagen proper by a small lake. He painted a dozen or more pictures of the lakeshore, often with Copenhagen in the distance (as in fig. 30). Together the pictures seem to describe a casual walk along the shore, with glances forward and back or across the lake, and brief pauses to look more closely. The bush singled out for attention in number 28 appears in the corner of another view at Dosseringen (Krohn, no. 106, ill. p. 72).


John Linnell
British, 1792-1882

29. At Twickenham, 1806
Oil on board
6 1/2 x 10 in. (16.5 x 25.5 cm)
Inscribed, verso: J. Linnell 1806 Twickenham
Trustees of the Tate Gallery, London
Illustrated p. 71

30a-c. The Brick Kiln, Kensington, 1812
Three works, watercolor and pencil on paper
Each, 4 3/8 x 5 3/4 in. (10.2 x 14.3 cm)
a. Inscribed, l.r.: J. Linnell 1812
b. Inscribed, l.r.: J. Linnell 1812
c. Inscribed, l.l.: J. L.; l.r.: 1812
Private collection
Illustrated pp. 56, 57

Linnell is best known for his friendship with William Blake, whom he met in 1818, and with Samuel Palmer, whom he introduced to Blake. A great deal of his most interesting work, however, was done before he knew Blake. In 1805 Linnell became a student of John Varley. He must also have learned from his work as a copyist for Dr. Thomas Monro, who earlier had employed Thomas Girtin (no. 19), J. M. W. Turner, and John Sell Cotman (nos. 9, 10).

Between 1805 and 1815 Linnell, along with several other students of Varley, painted a number of studies (in oil or in watercolor) whose subjects in the environs of London are often almost aggressively mundane. Writing of the three views of the brick kiln (no. 30a-c), John Gage has suggested that the stimulus for these works may lie more in the tastes of Dr. Monro than in the tame work of Varley. In a letter of 1828, Samuel Palmer commented
thus on a sketching trip of Dr. Monro and Welby Sherman: "The Doctor led the way to that selected scene which he intended to commend first of all to his visitor's attention. It did not consist wholly of nature nor wholly of art. Had we had the happiness of beholding it, how must it have raised our esteem and admiration of his taste who first discover'd & explored it! Rara Avis! It consisted, I say, not of mere sylvan simplicity or undorned grandeur, but presented that most rare, fortunate concurrence & due admixture of nature and of art in which great critics assert perfection to consist. Here was landscape in its flattest and most inoffensive simplicity; & uncorrected architecture in its purest elements & most primitive order! At last the picturesque tourists arrived at the Arcadia of their destination; — and Behold! — it was a BRICK FIELD!!!!" (In G. Grigson, Samuel Palmer: The Visionary Years, London, 1947, pp. 80-81; quoted by Gage, in The Art Quarterly, vol. 37, no. 1 [Spring 1974], p. 89.)

Johan Thomas Lundbye
Danish, 1818-1848
31. Study at a Lake, 1838
Oil on paper
5 1/2 × 8 7/16 in. (14 × 21.5 cm)
Inscribed, l.l.: Jaegersborg. d 26 Juny 1838 TL
The Hirschsprung Collection, Copenhagen
Illustrated p. 70

In the 1820s and 1830s Christen Købke (no. 28) and his contemporaries in Denmark had made a high virtue of artistic modesty. In the 1840s several younger landscape painters, including Lundbye, began to seek a prouder view of their native land in larger, grander pictures. Lundbye often succeeded, sometimes at the expense of the liveliness of his early studies, like this one.


Ernst Meyer
Danish, 1797-1861
32. The Theater of Marcellus, Rome, 1830s (?)
Oil on paper, mounted on canvas
13 3/8 × 10 1/16 in. (34 × 25.5 cm)
Inscribed, i.r.: E MEYER
The Hirschsprung Collection, Copenhagen
Illustrated p. 49

Meyer, who spent most of his life in Italy, made a career of painting affectionate, nostalgic pictures of Italian peasants and tradesmen. He worked in a tradition, founded in the seventeenth century, that exploited the contrast between the lost grandeur of the great Roman monuments and their humble modern occupants. The pictures also frequently implied that the tradesmen, loafers, itinerant musicians, bandits, and washerwomen were the authentic inheritors of the noble Roman character. Meyer himself summarized the tradition when he wrote: "Let other artists rush into the Vatican and study the ancients, I shall remain here [in the street]: this is my Vatican." (Quoted in Copenhagen, 1967, no. 46.)

Number 32 is an exceptionally blunt expression of the theme, a work nearly devoid of traditional pictorial structure. It represents the Theater of Marcellus, which was completed by the Emperor Augustus in 13-11 B.C. In the Middle Ages the Theater served as the private fortress of the Pierleoni family; since the sixteenth century its upper floors have been a palace, based on designs by Baldassarre Peruzzi; and until 1927 it housed the ground-floor shops seen here.

Meyer's painting seems to endorse the observation of Oswald in Mme de Staël's novel Corinne of 1807: "The reading of history, the reflections it inspires, touches our soul much less than these stones in disorder, these ruins amid new houses. The eyes are all-powerful over the soul..." (Mme la Baronne de Staël-Holstein, Corinne, ou l'Italie [1807], 8th ed. Paris: Nicole, 1818, vol. 1, p. 128.)

Meyer was in Italy in 1824-41, 1844-48, and 1852-61. This work, for its quality and style, is traditionally assigned to the first of these periods. In the 1911 catalogue of The Hirschsprung Collection, for instance, E. Hanover places the picture among the works of the 1830s.

Friedrich Nerly
German, 1807-1878
33. Hillside, Italy, 1828-35
Oil on paper, mounted on board
12 × 17 1/16 in. (30.5 × 45 cm)
Kunsthalle, Bremen
Illustrated p. 53


Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes
French, 1750-1819
34. Porta del Popolo, Rome, c. 1782-84
Oil on paper, mounted on board
6 1/16 × 6 1/16 in. (15.5 × 41.5 cm)
Inscribed, above: porta del popolo in Roma no. 5
Musée du Louvre, Paris
Illustrated p. 67

35a. Rooftop in Sunlight, Rome, c. 1782-84
Oil on paper, mounted on board
7 1/8 × 14 3/8 in. (18.2 × 36.5 cm)
Inscribed, verso: loggia a Roma
Musée du Louvre, Paris
Illustrated in color p. 33

35b. Rooftop in Shadow, Rome, c. 1782-84
Oil on paper, mounted on board
7 1/8 × 13 3/8 in. (18.2 × 33.7 cm)
Inscribed, verso: loggia a Roma
Musée du Louvre, Paris
Illustrated in color p. 33

Born in Toulouse, Valenciennes settled in Paris on return from his first trip to Italy in 1771. In 1773 he entered the studio of Gabriel-François Doyen and in 1777 left again for Italy. On a visit to Paris in 1781 he met the great landscape painter Claude-Joseph Vernet. It is now generally believed that Valenciennes's Italian oil sketches were painted during his last stay in Rome, c. 1782-84, and were prompted by the counsel of Vernet. Valenciennes made his début at the Paris Salon in 1787 and soon his work was hailed as the equivalent in landscape to the Neoclassical history painting of Jacques-Louis David and his school. Valenciennes assumed the mantle of leadership of the school of Neoclassical landscape, taught at the academy, and in 1800 published a widely read and influential treatise on perspective and landscape painting.

In 1864 Henri Delaborde, who did not know Valenciennes's sketches, criticized the painter's public work as rigid and retardataire, a detour from the path that had led to the naturalism of the mid-nineteenth century. Since 1930, when the sketches came to light, Valenciennes frequently has been called a proto-Impressionist, an artist well ahead of his time. He was in fact neither a conservative nor a radical. Recent art historians, especially Robert Rosenblum, have shown repeatedly that Neoclassicism was a complex, compound phenomenon in which many aspects of later art were hinted. The two sides of Valenciennes's work are part of that complexity: the freedom of the sketches could not have existed without the dogma of the finished works.

Valenciennes's treatise and the sketches themselves show that he did not think of the studies nar-rowly, as documents of motifs to be incorporated in later finished works. In painting the studies the artist intended to acquaint himself with natural appearance in the general sense and above all with conditions of light and atmosphere. One corollary of this conception was that, especially in and around Rome, nearly any subject matter would do. Thus some of Valenciennes's studies are comparable to the work of other artists, particularly the English, for whom low subjects had a positive value. Even when painting in the city of Rome, Valenciennes was often indifferent to the celebrity of his monuments. Who could recognize easily the nominal subject of number 34, the proper view of which is made from the opposite direction (fig. 31).

Jan-Frans Van Dael
Flemish, 1764-1840

36. Landscape: The Painter’s House, 1828
Oil on canvas
19 1/4 x 24 in. (50 x 61 cm)
Inscribed, l.l.: Vandael 1828
Museum Boymans – van Beuningen, Rotterdam
Illustrated p. 66

Van Dael was a Flemish flower painter who worked in Paris. He painted other landscapes, but this is apparently the only one known today. It has been proposed that the picture shows the artist’s own house in or near Paris and that the painter next to the easel in the window is Van Dael himself.

Whether or not this is true, the painting is a splendid pendant to any number of nineteenth-century views made from behind a window looking out.


Carl Wagner
German, 1796-1867

37. At the City Wall of Rome, 1823
Oil on paper, mounted on board
12 3/4 x 17 3/4 in. (31.7 x 44.4 cm)
Inscribed l.l.: Rom d. 12. Febr. 23
Kunsthalle, Bremen
Illustrated p. 55

After an initial study of forestry, Wagner studied painting from 1817 to 1820 at the Dresden Academy. He traveled to Switzerland in 1821 and spent the following three years in Rome, where he joined the circle of German artists called the Nazarenes.


Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller
Austrian, 1793-1865

38. The Zienitzberg, near Ischl, 1831
Oil on panel
12 3/4 x 10 3/4 in. (31.5 x 26 cm)
Inscribed, l.r.: Waldmüller 1831
The Federal Republic of Germany, on loan to the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne
Illustrated p. 62

Waldmüller was the master of Austrian Biedermeier painting. His portraits and still lifes, genre pictures and landscapes, display an untroubled confidence in the tangible pleasures of a modest, comfortable life.

In the early 1830s, Waldmüller developed a distinctive notation for the brittle appearance of wood, foliage, and rock under sharp sunlight. The technique admirably served the abrupt, frozen, refractory quality of his landscapes. It is this quality, more than superficial precision of detail, which makes Waldmüller’s mountain views of the 1830s seem photographic.

Before about 1830, this style may be found only in the landscapes, but in the late 1840s Waldmüller began to apply it also to figural pictures. He abandoned the bland illumination of his earlier genre scenes, arresting figures in mid-gesture and scattering over them a crystalline pattern of shadow and light. This development has been attributed to the influence of the daguerreotype, but it has a more obvious source in Waldmüller’s own landscapes of the 1830s.


Friedrich Wasmann
German, 1805-1886

39. Castle in the Tyrol, c. 1831
Oil on paper
8 1/2 x 10 3/4 in. (21.5 x 26 cm)
Kunsthalle, Hamburg
Illustrated p. 72

40. View from a Window, c. 1833
Oil on paper
9 3/4 x 7 7/16 in. (24.4 x 19.2 cm)
Kunsthalle, Hamburg
Illustrated p. 44

41. Study of a Grapevine, c. 1830-35
Oil on paper
6 3/8 x 5 11/16 in. (16.3 x 9 cm)
Kunsthalle, Hamburg
Illustrated in color p. 36

Many landscape painters made oil sketches throughout their lives, but the sketch — the étude — was always associated closely with students. The notion that the painter learned as he sketched encouraged the already considerable freedom that sketching had by virtue of its independence from the constraints of exhibition. It is significant that many of the works shown here were made by young painters.

Less talented and consistent than John Constable or J.-B.-C. Corot, Wasmann was for several years in his youth as inventive. After studying in Hamburg, Dresden, and Munich, he lived in Merano in the Ita-
Figure 32. Friedrich Wasmann. Open Window, 1830-35. Oil on paper, 7 7/8 x 9 1/8 in. Kunsthalle, Hamburg

Figure 33. Piet Mondrian. Painting, 1, 1926. Oil on canvas, 44 3/4 x 44 in. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Katherine S. Dreier Bequest

lian Tyrol in 1830-31 and among the Nazarene circle in Rome in 1832-35. In these years he did his most original work.

A few of Wasmann's sketches (such as no. 39) are for their date surprisingly casual in form and feeling. Next to these are many others (such as nos. 40, 41 and fig. 32) whose considerable formal boldness bears comparison with much later art. Relevant to these works is Meyer Schapiro's observation, in an essay on Mondrian, that the formal strategies of twentieth-century art are in important respects continuous with the nineteenth-century conception of the picture as a fragment of a broader visual field: "The new abstract elements of [Mondrian's] art are disposed on the canvas in asymmetric and open relationships that had been discovered by earlier painters in the course of a progressive searching of their perceptions of encountered objects in the ordinary world and had been selected for more than aesthetic reasons. In that art of representation, the asymmetry and openness of the whole, which distinguished a new aesthetic, also embodied allusively a way of experiencing directly and pointedly the everyday variable scene—a way significant of a changing outlook in norms of knowledge, freedom, and selfhood." (Schapiro, "Mondrian: Order and Randomness in Abstract Painting," in Modern Art, 19th and 20th Centuries: Selected Papers, New York: Braziller, 1978, p. 242.)


PHOTOGRAPHS

Photographer unknown
American (?)  
42. New York (?), 1850s (?)  
Salt print from a paper negative  
9 3/8 x 6 7/8 in. (23.8 x 17.5 cm)  
Collection Paul F. Walter, New York  
Illustrated p. 112

Photographer unknown
French (?)  
43. Church of Saint Martin, Candes, 1851-55  
Salt print from a paper negative  
8 1/8 x 10 1/16 in. (20.5 x 25.5 cm)  
International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, Rochester  
Illustrated p. 113

This photograph is one of a large group of paper negatives and positive prints acquired by the International Museum of Photography from the establishment of Louis-Désiré Blanquart-Evrard in Lille. Some of the pictures are by Hippolyte Bayard; the authorship of the others remains unknown. Blanquart-Evrard's Imprimerie Photographique, in operation 1851-55, was the first thoroughgoing establishment for printing albums of photographs in multiple editions. No practical process had yet been devised to adapt photography to the traditional print media, so that Blanquart's albums contained original photographic prints. In its brief heyday, the firm printed the great albums of Maxime Du Camp (no. 54), Auguste Salzmann (no. 71), and others, as well as a series of collections of prints by various photographers.

The photographs and negatives in Rochester represent mainly medieval religious architecture. As Robert A. Sobieszek suggested when he exhibited some of the works at Eastman House in 1973, they
Photographer unknown

44. The Silver Hook, 1860s (?)  
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative  
$2\frac{1}{10} \times 2\frac{1}{10}$ in. (7.4 x 7.4 cm)  
Inscribed on the mount: The Dog Cart. Harper Rigg  
"The Silver Hook"  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York  
Purchased as the Gift of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd  
Illustrated p. 89  

45. Through the Window, 1860s (?)  
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative  
$2\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{10}$ in. (6.7 x 7.1 cm)  
Inscribed on the mount: A slightly exaggerated foreground  
"Through the Window"  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York  
Purchased as the Gift of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd  
Illustrated p. 116  

The automatic character of photography is a prodigious force. The modern eye has welcomed the medium’s ability to make whole pictures on a minimum of deliberate choices, and has often found aesthetic merit in pictures made without aesthetic intent. Of the large number of photographs that fall into this category, most influential have been those made in the service of scientific investigation, and the casual records of amateurs.  

These two works are from an album of fifty-three pictures, nearly identical in size, which on the basis of technique and the costume of the subjects may be assigned provisionally to the 1860s. The first thirty-five pictures record a journey to the Middle East, showing the noted landscapes and monuments (e.g., fig. 44) and the author’s companions and servants. The return home is marked by several views of Gorwood House, Institution for Imbecile Children, Larbert, Stirlingshire, Scotland—presumably the author’s place of work. The remainder of the pictures record a fishing expedition, the author’s family and friends, and the house and garden of his home at 11 Church Hill, Morningside, Edinburgh. The front cover of the album bears the words “From the East,” the back cover simply “Etc.”  

Like many of today’s snapshotters, the director of Gorwood House (as I suspect the author was) may well have wished to reproduce the orderly compositions of professional topographers and portraitists. It is doubtful that he thought of the pictures as much more than the best records he could make of people and places he cared for. Still, some of the inscriptions (such as the one for no. 45) suggest that the photographer enjoyed the unconventional effects of some of his pictures. Thus it does not seem unfair that more self-conscious painters and photographers have come to identify the spontaneous, elliptical character of such pictures with the spirit of private enthusiasms.

Photographer unknown

Italian

46. Study of the Sky, c. 1865  
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative  
$8\frac{1}{8} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$ in. (20.6 x 17.1 cm)  
Inscribed in the negative: 170  
The Museum of Modern Art, New York  
Purchased as the Gift of Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd

Clouds posed a problem for early photographers. The paper or glass negatives were sensitive only to blue light, so that the sky was usually overexposed, a blank white area in the positive print. Many photographers solved the problem by making separate negatives for sky and earth and surreptitiously printing them together. This practice contributed to the tradition, established by painters, of pure sky studies; but it also meant that most cloud photographs were broad, distant views, suitable for a match with a landscape. This picture is an exception, a truly independent, close study of clouds.

47. Triumphant Entry of the Bavarian Army into Munich, 1871
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
8 3/4 x 7 1/16 in. (21.6 x 18.3 cm)
Inscribed on the mount: Triumphant Entry of the Bavarian Army into Munich
Lunn Gallery, Washington, D.C.
Illustrated p. 114

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71 and the ensuing events challenged photography's growing but still imperfect capacity as a tool of reportage. Hampered as they were by their inability to capture action, the photographers nevertheless compiled an extensive and (as Kirk Varnedoe has shown in an unpublished lecture) often tendentious record of the highly charged events, personalities, symbols, and ruins of the war.

The theme of number 47 is among the oldest represented in this exhibition. As the viewer may ascertain upon close inspection of the photograph or, more easily, by reading the caption below, it is a triumphal entry. Whether the photographer knew in advance that the billowing awning would so perfectly express the spirit of the theme, or whether he was allowed no closer by the security forces, is open to question.

George N. Barnard
American, 1819-1902
48. The Battleground of Resaca, 1864-65
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
10 3/4 x 14 7/16 in. (25.7 x 36 cm)
Printed on the mount: Photo from nature by G. N. Barnard/BATTLE GROUND OF RESACCA, GA. No. 2
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Acquired by Exchange with the Library of Congress
Illustrated p. 84

This picture is from Photographic Views of Sherman's Campaign, an album of sixty-one photographs published by Barnard in New York in 1866. As Barnard himself explained in the pamphlet he wrote to accompany the album, Sherman's March from Tennessee through Georgia to the sea was so rapid that the photographer had to return to many of the sites after the close of the war. Unlike some of the Civil War photographers, Barnard made no effort in this series of pictures to suggest the fray of battle close at hand. John Szarkowski has pointed out that the pictures "are composed carefully and deliberately, by a photographer who did not fear for his life. The spirit of the pictures is retrospective and contemplative." (In Looking at Photographs, New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1973, p. 28.)


Felice Beato
British, born in Italy. Before 1830—after 1904
49. Panorama at Tangkoo, 1860
Albumen-silver prints from glass negatives
Eight sheets, overall 8 5/8 x 8 7/8 in. (21.1 x 223.8 cm)
Inscribed on the mount: Panorama at Tangkoo, August 10, 1860
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Purchased as the Gift of Shirley C. Burden and the Estate of Vera Louise Fraser
Illustrated pp. 75-78

50. Charge of the Dragoon's Guard at Palichian, 1860
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
9 11/16 x 11 7/8 in. (23.1 x 30.2 cm)
Inscribed on the mount: Charge of the Dragoon's Guard at Palichian
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Purchased as the Gift of Shirley C. Burden and the Estate of Vera Louise Fraser
Illustrated p. 85

Beato appears to have been one of the most talented, as well as one of the most ubiquitous, early photographers of the Near and Far East. He began his career in the Mediterranean in partnership with James Robertson, whom he met in 1850. Robertson and Beato worked together in Constantinople in the early 1850s and in Sevastopol at the end of the Crimean War in 1855. They next worked in Malta and Palestine and then traveled to India in 1857 to photograph the sites of the Indian Mutiny. Little is known of Robertson's later career, but Beato is known to have traveled next to China, where he documented the Anglo-French campaign of 1860, which successfully forced trade on the Chinese. Beato went to Japan in 1862, was again in
China in 1870, and documented the Mahdist rebellion against the British at Khartoum in the Sudan in 1884–85. In the late 1880s Beato opened shops in Rangoon and Mandalay for mail-order export of Burmese arts and crafts. Felice (or Felix) Beato should be distinguished from Antonio Beato (d. 1903), a topographical photographer based at Luxor from 1862.

These two works are drawn from an album of ninety-two photographs by Felice Beato at The Museum of Modern Art, New York. The album traces the conquests of the Anglo-French North China Expeditionary Force in 1860, beginning with the assembly of the fleet at Hong Kong in the spring of that year. The force traveled north in June and July, taking the Tangku and Taku forts on the coast near Peking on August 14 and 21. Peking itself fell on October 21. The album concludes with portraits of the British leaders of the expedition and a series of photographs that Beato had made in Canton in April.

Beato and an artist named Charles Wirgman (who later traveled with Beato to Japan) worked in China at the invitation of the British military. Wirgman was employed by the Illustrated London News, which published engravings based on his sketches. Some of Beato’s photographs of the campaign also appeared in engraved form in the News (Oct. 6, 1860, p. 314; Oct. 27, 1860, p. 390), as had some of Robertson’s Crimean pictures, but Beato’s arrangement with the journal is not known.

The Beato album is exemplary of the fine work of early photographers charged to record faraway events and places in difficult circumstances. The photographer’s appetite for work apparently was large. D. F. Rennie, a surgeon attached to the North China Expedition, reported thus Beato’s reaction to a group of corpses: “Signor Beato was here in great excitement, characterising the group as ‘beautiful,’ and begging that it might not be interfered with until perpetuated by his photographic apparatus, which was done in a few minutes afterwards.” (Quoted by Henisch, p. 9.)

This zeal for the task is also evident in seventeen of the album’s photographs, which are composed of two or more prints, pasted together to form panoramas. The Panorama at Tangku (no. 49), composed of eight prints, is the largest of these. Like Timothy O’Sullivan in the American West (nos. 68, 69), Beato clearly often felt that he could not accommodate his vast subject to a single plate. Unlike O’Sullivan, who made series of pictures from different points of view, Beato solved the problem by making panoramas, which require nearly as much attention as the subject itself.


Louis-Auguste Bisson
French, 1814–1876

Auguste-Rosalie Bisson
French, 1826–1900


The Bisson Frères, first established as daguerreotypists in the 1840s, were among the leading professional architectural photographers in France in the 1850s and 1860s. This photograph is plate number 17 from the Monographie de Notre Dame de Paris et de la nouvelle sacristie de MM. Lassus et Viollet-le-Duc contenant 65 planches, gravés par MM. Hibon, Ribault, Normaud, etc., 12 planches photographiques de MM. Bisson Frères, 5 planches chromolithographiques, de M. Lemercier, précédé d’une notice historique et archéologique par M. Celtibère, architecte-archéologue (Paris: A. Morel, c. 1853).

Samuel Bourne
British, 1834-1912

52. A Road Lined with Poplars, Kashmir, 1863-70
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
8\(\frac{3}{16}\) x 11 in. (22.8 x 27.9 cm)
Inscribed in the negative: Bourne 801A (partially trimmed); inscribed, verso: 801A/A Grove of
Poplars, Kashmir
Collection Paul F. Walter, New York
Illustrated p. 93

Literature: Clark Worswick, ed., The Last Empire:
Photography in British India, 1855-1911 (Millerton, New
Photographer of India in the 1860s,” The British Journal
Four Decades of Photography in India,” History of

Maxime Du Camp
French, 1822-1894

54. Profile of the Great Sphinx, from the South,
1849-51
Salt print from a paper negative
6\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 8\(\frac{3}{16}\) in. (15.5 x 21.8 cm)
Inscribed on the mount: Egypte. Profil du grand
sphinx, pris du sud. No. 21
Gilman Paper Company Collection
Illustrated p. 109

In 1849 budding journalist and man of letters
Maxime Du Camp set off on a second journey to
the far side of the Mediterranean. Even if he had
not persuaded his friend Gustave Flaubert to join
him, the trip would still be a famous one. For it
resulted in one of the earliest and most impressive
photographically illustrated books of the
nineteenth century. Du Camp returned to Paris in
1851 with more than two hundred photographic
negatives on paper.

In 1852 he published an album of 125 photo-
glyphs, printed from his negatives by Blanquart-
Evrard (see no. 43): Egypte, Nubie, Palestine et
Syrie: Dessins photographiques recueillis pendant
les années 1849, 1850 et 1851. The picture repro-
duced here, not included in the published album, is
from a portfolio of 175 of Du Camp’s photographs
of the Near East, once owned by Viollet-le-Duc and
now in the Gilman Paper Company Collection. The
photograph is one of a series that Du Camp made
of the Sphinx and the Great Pyramids.

A. Collard
French, before 1840 – after 1887

53. Bridge, 1860s (?)
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
9\(\frac{3}{16}\) x 13\(\frac{7}{8}\) in. (23.2 x 35.3 cm)
Blindstamp on the mount: ATELIER CENTRAL
DE PHOTOGRAPHIE/COLLAIRD/
PHOTOGRAPHE/DES PONTS ET
CHAUSSEES/Boud. de Strasbourg, 39: printed on the
mount: XV
Collection Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr., New York
Illustrated p. 101

Collard was an official photographer for the French
Service of Bridges and Roads. He worked in this
capacity through much of the Second Empire
(1852-70), which is to say he had a great deal to do.

His work is not yet fully known, but it appears that
he rarely showed the whole of a given monument.
Instead, he concentrated the spirit of the grand
designs in close details, boldly conceived on large
plates.

Literature: New York 1980, no. 44.

Roger Fenton
British, 1819-1869

55. Dead Stag, 1852
Albumen-coated salt print from a paper negative
6\(\frac{3}{8}\) x 8\(\frac{3}{8}\) in. (17.7 x 21.5 cm)
Inscribed in the negative: June 1852/R. Fenton
Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York
Illustrated p. 83

56. Lichfield Cathedral, Porch of the South
Transept, c. 1855
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
13\(\frac{3}{16}\) x 16\(\frac{3}{4}\) in. (34.2 x 41.3 cm)
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
John Parkinson III Fund
Illustrated p. 105

Fenton was trained as a painter and as a lawyer. He
took up photography in the mid-1840s, and helped
to found the Calotype Club in 1847 and the Royal
Photographic Society in 1852. Little is known of his
photographic work of this early period, apart from
some views made in Russia. The Dead Stag (1852,
no. 55) suggests that the work may have been, like
that of many of the early English amateur photogra-
phers, humble in spirit and modest in subject.

Fenton’s later work is very different. From the
mid-1850s until he abandoned photography at the
end of the decade, he was one of the leading profes-
sional photographers in England — perhaps the
best. He photographed the royal family, the Cri-
mean War, the sculptures of the British Museum,
John Bulkley Greene
American, c. 1832-1856
57. River Bank, North Africa, 1855-56
Salt print from a paper negative
9 1/4 x 11 3/4 in. (23.5 x 29.8 cm)
Lunn Gallery, Washington, D.C.
Illustrated p. 86
Beaumont Newhall recently established that Greene, long thought to have been British, was American. The son of an American banker living in Paris, the young Greene evidently was closely associated with the formidable group of French photographers of the 1850s that included Henri Le Secq (nos. 62, 63), Gustave Le Gray (no. 61), and Charles Marville (nos. 65, 66). He was a founding member of the Société Française de Photographie in 1855.

In 1854, L.-D. Blanquart-Evrard (see no. 43) printed an album of ninety-four photographs by Greene, entitled Le Nil, monuments, paysages, explorations photographiques. Greene’s work in Egypt clearly was conceived in part as an archaeological study, but like his slightly later work in Algeria, it includes a number of beautiful pictures of little obvious archaeological value. This photograph belongs to the Algerian series, which (as William F. Stapp of the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C., has established) was made in 1855-56.


Alfred A. Hart
American, active 1864-1875
58. Rounding Cape Horn, c. 1869
Stereograph, albumen-silver prints from glass negatives
Two prints, overall 3 x 6 1/4 in. (7.6 x 15.6 cm)
Inscribed on the mount: CENTRAL PACIFIC RAILROAD./CALIFORNIA./56. Rounding Cape Horn./Road to Iowa Hill from the river, in the distance.
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Purchase
Illustrated p. 115
The stereograph — a pair of pictures made to simulate binocular vision — was invented in the late 1830s, just before the invention of photography was announced. Soon, virtually all stereographs were stereographs, made with a camera whose two lenses were about as far apart as the human eyes. The pictures were viewed through a simple, hand-held device, which visually collapsed the two pictures into one, yielding an astonishing illusion of depth. From the 1850s until the early twentieth century, collecting stereographs was a parlor pastime of great popularity.

Photographers met the popular demand with stereo views of nearly everything that was important and a good deal that, by traditional standards, was not. The market for variety and novelty goaded photographers to seek new subjects and new aspects of old subjects. In their search they were aided by the small size of the stereo pictures, which allowed more rapid exposures than those required for larger plates. And the depth illusion invited photographers to compose differently, to look for striking juxtapositions of near and far. Commercially and technically, the stereo format encouraged pictorial invention.

In terms of aesthetic intent, the stereographs were as trivial as they were numerous. But like the popular panoramic paintings of the early nineteenth century (see no. 1), the stereos were not unrelated to serious art. Their marginal subjects, unexpected points of view, and casual pictorial order frequently parallel the strategies of advanced painters of the second half of the nineteenth century.

Humphrey Lloyd Hime
Canadian, born in Ireland, 1833-1903

59. The Prairie on the Bank of the Red River, Looking South, 1858
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
5 1/4 x 6 1/4 in. (13.4 x 17.2 cm)
Inscribed, l.r.: Hime
The Norman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum, Montreal
Illustrated p. 92

Hime came to Canada from Ireland in 1854 and found work as a surveyor. In 1857 he joined the firm of the Toronto surveyors Armstrong and Beere, from whom he learned the craft of photography. In 1858 the Canadian Government hired Hime as a photographer and surveyor for the Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition. Hime made this view in the autumn of 1858, when the expedition reached the Red River.

Professor Henry Youle Hind, the geologist who led the expedition, was not pleased with his photographer's work. Hime returned briefly to Armstrong and Beere but soon left surveying and photography altogether to found his own stock-brokerage firm. In 1867-69 he served the first of two terms as President of the recently founded Toronto Stock Exchange.

Radical formal simplicity is such an important element of modern art that one almost instinctively views Hime's photograph as a bold, adventurous work. The picture, however, is probably best understood as a competent description of an intractably empty landscape.


Jean-Charles Langlois
French, 1789-1870

60. Detail of the Fortification at Malakhot, 1855
Albumen-silver print from a paper negative
10 7/16 x 12 7/16 in. (26.6 x 31.9 cm)
Collection Texbren, Paris
Illustrated p. 97

In 1807 Langlois graduated from the Ecole Polytechnique in Paris. He immediately joined Napoleon's army and eventually earned the rank of Colonel. After the battle of Waterloo, Langlois retired to Bourges and began to study painting. In 1817, under the patronage of the War Ministry, he returned to Paris to continue his studies under Antoine-Louis Girodet and Horace Vernet. He first exhibited at the Salon in 1822.

Impressed by the full-circle panoramas of Pierre Prévost (which were of the type invented by Robert Barker; see no. 1), Langlois began to paint his own, exhibiting the first, The Battle of Navarino, in 1830. For the next forty years, battle panoramas were his specialty.

Late in 1855, Langlois traveled to Sevastopol, where combined French, British, and Turkish forces had recently defeated the Russians, ending the Crimean War. In order to make photographic studies for his panorama The Taking of Sevastopol, which opened in Paris in 1860, Langlois enlisted the aid of Léon-Eugène Méchédin and Frédéric Martens. Presumably under Langlois's direction, the two photographers made a number of individual studies, such as number 60, and a series of fourteen contiguous pictures that form an uninterrupted panorama of 360 degrees (Collection Texbren, Paris). The photographs were made not at Sevastopol but at Malakhot, a crucial fortified point just east of the city. Twenty-nine photographs from the campaign are preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, in an album entitled Souvenirs de la guerre de Crimée, Hommage à S. M. L'Empereur Napoléon III par le Colonel C. Langlois.


Gustave Le Gray
French, 1820-1882

61. Beech Tree, c. 1855-57
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
12 7/16 x 15 7/16 in. (31.9 x 39.5 cm)
Stamped, l.r.: Gustave Le Gray; blindstamp on the mount: PHOTOGRAPHIE/GUSTAVE LE GRAY & C/PARIS
Private collection
Illustrated p. 81

Several of the best and most original early photographers were trained as painters. Gustave Le Gray, Charles Nègre (no. 67), Henri Le Secq (nos. 62, 63), and Roger Fenton (nos. 55, 56) all studied in the 1840s in the Paris studio of Paul Delaroche. This is not to say that they followed Delaroche's style, but only that they worked in the large and diverse
The studio of one of the most popular and successful painters of the day.

The photographers who had been trained as painters naturally were well acquainted with the tradition of landscape sketching in oil that is represented in the first half of this exhibition. In general, the relationship between the paintings and photographs shown here is one of shared artistic outlook, not direct influence; but it is certain that some of the painter-photographers drew on the sketching tradition. Exemplary of this development are Le Gray's photographs of the forest of Fontainebleau, especially number 61. The forest—a domain of wild nature easily reached from Paris—had been a haunt of painters since the 1820s. Initially it had been above all a place to sketch, but in the 1840s and 1850s the painters of Barbizon, near Fontainebleau, increasingly favored more elaborate compositions. In this period, the photographers helped to preserve the tradition of the étude d'après nature—the small, direct study after nature.


Henri Le Secq
French, 1818-1882

62. Chartres Cathedral, South Transept Porch, Central Portal, 1851-52

Photolithograph
$131/4 \times 97/16$ in. ($33.4 \times 23.7$ cm)

Inscribed in the plate: h. Le secq./chartres
Collection Phyllis Lambert, on loan to the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal
Illustrated p. 99

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Figure 35. Henri Le Secq. The Quarry at Saint-Leu, c. 1852. Cyanotype from a paper negative, $83/4 \times 123/4$ in. International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, Rochester

63. Garden Scene, c. 1852

Salt print from a paper negative
$121/16 \times 91/16$ in. ($32.6 \times 24.7$ cm)

Inscribed in the negative: h. Le Secq
International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, Rochester
Illustrated p. 98

Number 62 is drawn from a portfolio of twenty-five lithographs by Le Secq: Fragments d'architecture et sculpture de la cathédrale de Chartres d'après les clichés de Mr. le Secq, artiste peintre, et imprimés à l'encre grasse par Mrs. Thiel aînée et cie (Paris, [1852]). Like many other early French photographers, Le Secq spent a good deal of his brief photographic career documenting medieval cathedrals. He photographed extensively in Alsace, Lorraine, and Champagne, and at Chartres, Amiens, Rheims, and Strasbourg. This aspect of his work would be valuable even if it were not beautiful.

The subjects of many of Le Secq's most original photographs, however, are anything but important. There is an extraordinary series of views of the quarries at Saint-Leu (fig. 35) and a large number of landscapes. The latter are rarely general views of idyllic or conventionally interesting spots. Nor do most of them have the stately grandeur of Le Gray's equally original work (no. 61). The pictures are, rather, personal and even eccentric. Le Secq's landscapes, if indeed works like the Garden Scene (no. 63) may be classified as landscapes, are perhaps the first extended group of pictures to make the case that nearly anything may be the subject of a beautiful photograph.


Robert MacPherson
British, 1811-1872

64. The Theater of Marcellus, from the Piazza Montanara, Rome, c. 1855

Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
$161/16 \times 111/4$ in. ($40.9 \times 28.6$ cm)

Collection Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr., New York
Illustrated p. 103

A surgeon from Edinburgh, MacPherson moved to Rome for his health in the 1840s. In 1851 he took up photography. The 1858 edition of John Murray's Handbook of Rome (London; p. xix) speaks of MacPherson as one of the first to have practiced photography in Rome. By 1863, when he published a broadsheet listing 305 subjects (MacPherson's Photographs, Rome), he was well established as one of the city's leading photographers.

MacPherson's photographs were for sale; the broadsheet mentions a price of five shillings. But his work, like that of the Bisson Frères (no. 51), Roger Fenton (nos. 55, 56), and other contemporary commercial photographers, is different from the
slightly later productions of the Alinari Brothers and similar firms. Most obviously, the earlier pictures are larger in scale and fewer in number. They are also in general more thoughtfully composed. It is as if the early architectural photographers could not rid themselves of the notion that picture-making was a labor of time, intelligence, and love.

The Theater of Marcellus is also the subject of Ernst Meyer’s painting (no. 32), which MacPherson almost certainly did not know.


Charles Marville
French, active 1851-1879

65. Spire of the Chapel of the College Saint Dizier (Haute Marne), 1860s (?)
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
14 1/4 x 9 7/8 in. (36.2 x 25.1 cm)
Printed on the mount: CHAPEL DU COLLÈGE ST. DIZIER (HTE. MARNE)/PAR MR. FISBACQ ARCHITECTE/CH. MARVILLE PHOT/FLÈCHE EN PLOMB MARTELÉ/EXÉCUTÉ PAR MONDUIT BÉCHE; blindstamp on the mount: CH. MARVILLE/PHOTOGRAPE/DU MUSÉE IMPÉRIAL/DU LOUVRE.
Gilman Paper Company Collection
Illustrated p. 104

66. Place de l’Etoile, Paris, 1860s (?)
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
8 7/16 x 14 7/16 in. (22.8 x 36.7 cm)
Blindstamp on the mount: CH MARVILLE/PHOTOGRAPHE/DES MUSEES NATIONAUX/75, RUE D’ENFER/PARIS; inscribed on the mount: No. 43 Place de l’Arc de Triomphe/prise de la Place.
Collection Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr., New York
Illustrated p. 110

Among the great French architectural photographers of the Second Empire, Marville is most closely associated with the city of Paris. Under official patronage, he methodically documented the old streets of the city that were soon to be destroyed to make way for the new boulevards of Baron Haussmann. He also photographed the new Paris.

Although Marville is best known for his Parisian work, it is only one aspect of his total production. He also contributed to Blanquart-Evrard’s portfolios of the early 1850s (see no. 43), and recorded famous monuments throughout France.


Charles Nègre
French, 1820-1880

67. Miller at Work, Grasse, 1852-53
Salt print from a paper negative
8 7/16 x 6 7/16 in. (20.4 x 16 cm)
Collection André and Marie-Thérèse Jammes, Paris
Illustrated p. 117

Trained as a painter, Nègre took up photography about 1844. Like Gustave Le Gray (no. 61), he brought an artist’s seriousness and the themes of contemporary painting to his photographic work. This is especially clear in his work for a projected volume of photographs titled Le Midi de la France. In late 1852 and early 1853 Nègre made over two hundred negatives in the region of southeast France called the Midi, which includes the town of Grasse, where he was born. In 1854 two fascicles of the publication appeared, comprising ten photographs; the remainder were never published.

Nègre’s photographs document the ancient and medieval monuments of the Midi, the landscape, the seaports, and aspects of provincial life: the people’s houses, their faces, their work. It is an ambitious series of pictures, based on the notion that the Midi was not merely a collection of famous views and buildings, but a coherent geographical and social whole, with a rich history and a contemporary population whose appearance and customs were worthy of study and preservation. This conception of the provinces of France was widely shared by writers and painters of the 1830s through the 1850s. It fostered a number of genre pictures, such as Nègre’s Miller at Work, Grasse (no. 67), whose subjects are conceived not as unique individuals nor as general representatives of all mankind but as characteristic types of a specific region.

Timothy H. O'Sullivan
American, c. 1840-1882
68. Steam Rising from a Fissure near Virginia City, Nevada, 1867-69
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
7 1/16 x 10 13/16 in. (20.2 x 27.4 cm)
Gilman Paper Company Collection
Illustrated p. 90

69a-c. Buttes near Green River City, Wyoming, 1867-69
Three works, each albumen-silver print from a glass negative
a and b: 7 3/8 x 10 1/2 in. (20 x 26.7 cm)
c: 10 1/2 x 7 7/8 in. (26.7 x 20 cm)
The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
Illustrated pp. 106-8

O'Sullivan's first subject was the American Civil War. Later he worked in the American West and in Panama as a photographer to the great government geological surveys. In each case he recorded, with astonishing poise, a reality that was vast, complex, difficult of access, important, and known by few at first hand.

O'Sullivan's first campaign as a survey photographer began in 1867, when he joined the first of the surveys, the Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel, directed by Clarence King. The survey party left Sacramento in July 1867, moving eastward, and finished its work by September 1869.

O'Sullivan photographed in Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Idaho, and Wyoming.

In his work under King, O'Sullivan frequently made several photographs of a given site. These were not multiple attempts at a single view but series of interdependent pictures. Most often, as in the series of four photographs of buttes near Green River City (three, no. 69a-c), O'Sullivan simply var-


ied his point of view. He also made a stunning series of six photographs of the Green River (e.g., figs. 36, 37), in which only the light changes.

O'Sullivan's acute sensitivity to the variety of aspect offered by any site doubtless contributed to the perfect order of his single pictures.


Andrew Joseph Russell
American, 1830-1902
70. Pontoon Bridge Crossed by General Ord, at Akin's Landing, 1864
Albumen-silver print from a glass negative
8 x 11 3/16 in. (20.4 x 30 cm)
Printed on the mount: PONTOON BRIDGE CROSSED BY GEN. ORD, AT AKIN'S LANDING/October 1864
Collection Samuel J. Wagstaff, Jr., New York
Illustrated p. 111
Russell is best known for his photographs documenting the completion of the first American transcontinental railroad, in 1869. Like many of the pioneer photographers of the West, he had also worked earlier recording the sites of the Civil War. He had served as a Captain in the U.S. Military Railroad Construction Corps, photographing bridges and fortifications, the architecture and materials of the war. As Weston J. Naef has pointed out, Russell's pictures present the war not as a conflict but as an accomplishment of logistics and engineering.


Auguste Salzmann
French, 1824-1872

71. Jerusalem, the Temple Wall, West Side, 1853-54
Salt print from a paper negative
9 7/16 x 13 3/8 in. (23.4 x 33.4 cm)
The Museum of Modern Art, New York Purchase
Illustrated p. 102.

On the basis of an archaeological investigation of Jerusalem in 1850, a French antiquarian named Louis-Félicien Caignart de Saulcy concluded that the oldest architecture of the city was much earlier in date than had been previously thought. He claimed some parts of the city for the era of Solomon (tenth century B.C.). De Saulcy's argument, and the drawings he used to support it, were severely questioned.

In December 1853 Salzmann, a young painter and budding archaeologist, set out for Jerusalem to gather evidence for de Saulcy in the form of photographs. (He took with him an assistant named Durheim. As James Borcoman has pointed out, it is not clear whether Salzmann alone, or Durheim under Salzmann's direction, made the photographs.) Four months later, Salzmann returned to France with some 150 paper negatives. Durheim, who stayed behind, added another fifty. Of the total, 174 pictures were published in an album, printed at the Lille establishment of Blanquart-Evrard (see no. 43), and titled Jérusalem. Étude et reproduction photographique des monuments de la Ville Sainte depuis l'époque judaïque jusqu'à nos jours (Paris: Gide et Baudry, 1856). In the preface to the text that Salzmann wrote to accompany the pictures, he stated: "These photographs are no longer tales, but sure facts endowed with a conclusive brute force" (p. 4).

Salzmann had begun his work with the wall shown in number 71, which de Saulcy had recognized as part of the Temple of Solomon, citing the mention of "costly stones, even great stones" in the Old Testament (1 Kings 7:10). In his text (p. 6), but not in the printed caption to the picture, Salzmann identified the subject as the Wailing Wall.


Pierre-Charles Simart (?
French, 1806-1857

72. Shrub, c. 1856
Salt print enlarged from a glass negative
12 5/8 x 17 1/8 in. (32.1 x 43.3 cm)
Collection André and Marie-Thérèse Jammes, Paris
Illustrated p. 96


Albert Sands Southworth
American, 1811-1894

Josiah Johnson Hawes
American, 1808-1901

73. Captain Jonathan W. Walker's Branded Hand, c. 1845
Daguerreotype
2 3/4 x 2 5/8 in. (5.7 x 6.7 cm)
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
Illustrated p. 82

74. Marion Augusta Hawes or Alice Mary Hawes, c. 1855-60
Daguerreotype
4 x 3 in. (10.2 x 7.6 cm)
Stamped, l.l.: SCOVI7.I. MFG Co/EXTRA
International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, Rochester
Illustrated p. 91

Southworth and Hawes formed a partnership in Boston in 1843. Their business in daguerreotype portraits flourished, doubtless because their work was both technically and artistically fine. They often triumphed over the long exposures their medium required, producing portraits that seem to capture a momentary expression.
These two works are not representative of Southworth and Hawes’s public commercial work. The first (no. 73) shows the branded hand of a Florida sea captain who, in 1844, attempted to sail seven slaves to freedom, earned the brand “SS” (“slave stealer”) for his trouble, and later became an ardent abolitionist. (The hand, like the subject of every daguerreotype, is laterally reversed.) The second daguerreotype (no. 74), perhaps made by Hawes alone, is a portrait of one of his daughters: Marion Augusta (1855-1941) or Alice Mary (1850-1938).


William James Stillman
American, 1828-1901
75. The Parthenon, Athens, Profile of the Eastern Facade, 1868-69
Carbon print from a glass negative
73/8 x 9% in. (18.7 x 23.8 cm)
Inscribed in the negative: 17
The Museum of Modern Art, New York
Gift of Miss Frances Stillman
Illustrated p. 100

Stillman was an accomplished journalist, a historian, a diplomat, an artist, and not least, a photographer. In 1855 he founded the first substantial journal of American art, The Crayon. In 1857, while recovering in Florida from an attack of pneumonia, he took up photography. Later, Stillman continued to photograph on Crete, where he was appointed U.S. consul in 1865. His support of the Cretan insurrection angered the ruling Turkish pasha, and in 1868 he left Crete for Athens. There Stillman “set about photographing the ruins, [which he] found had never been treated intelligently by the local photographers” (Autobiography, vol. 2, p. 455). The result was an album of twenty-five photographs: The Acropolis of Athens Illustrated Picturesquely and Architecturally in Photography (London: E. S. Ellis, 1870).

Stillman’s photographs for the album are both beautiful pictures and intelligent representations of the architectural logic of the Acropolis. The rationale for this bold detail, plate number 17 in the album, is explained in Stillman’s caption: “Profile of the eastern facade, showing the curvature of the stylobate. The system of curvatures of the Greek temples (which will also be seen in No. 12) with regard to which so much discussion has taken place, seems, taken in connection with the diminution of the extreme intercolumniations of the facade (seen in No. 16), to indicate, as its purpose, the exaggeration of the perspective, and, consequently, of the apparent size of the building. It is common to the Greek temples of the best epoch.” (This note is based in part on research by Richard Bullock.)


William Henry Fox Talbot
British, 1800-1877
76. The Open Door, 1843
Salt print from a paper negative
5/16 x 7/8 in. (13.9 x 18.7 cm)
Arnold H. Crane Collection, Chicago
Illustrated p. 88

Of the inventors of photography, the most interesting as photographers are Hippolyte Bayard and Fox Talbot. The two are closest in the quiet, contemplative pictures that each made of his own immediate environment. The Open Door (no. 76), made in the courtyard of Talbot’s estate at Lacock Abbey, is one of these. Talbot published the picture in The Pencil of Nature (1844-46), a thoughtful and prescient survey of photography’s potential scientific and aesthetic applications. He illustrated the book with his own photographs, each accompanied by a brief commentary. In reference to The Open Door, Talbot wrote that “we have sufficient authority in the Dutch school of art, for taking as subjects of representation scenes of daily and familiar occurrence. A painter’s eye will often be arrested where ordinary people see nothing remarkable.” The passage speaks for the great role of seventeenth-century Dutch art in the nineteenth century: The earlier art gave painters (and photographers) the authority to base their work on personal observation instead of academic rules — and, in doing so, to choose subjects even more humble than those of the Dutch.

Linnaeus Tripe
British, 1822-1902

77. Ava, Upper Burma, 1855-56
Salt print from a paper negative
10 3/4 x 13 1/2 in. (27 x 34.4 cm)
Collection Phyllis Lambert, on loan to the
Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal
Illustrated p. 94

For many years the army officers of the British East
India Company had documented the architecture of
the Indian subcontinent in drawings and paintings.
In 1855 the Company adopted photography for this
purpose, noting the medium's usefulness "as a
means by which representations may be obtained of
scenes and buildings, with the advantages of perfect
accuracy, small expenditure of time, and moderate
cash." (Quoted by Desmond, p. 316.) Linnaeus
Tripe, already in India, was among the first to
photograph for the Company.

Born and educated in England, Tripe enlisted in
1839 as an ensign in the Twelfth Madras Native
Infantry. In 1851, he earned the rank of Captain.
Four years later he became an official photographer
to the British Mission at the Court of Ava in Burma
and, in 1856, Government Photographer to the
Madras Presidency. In 1857-58 he published a
series of ten albums containing over three hundred
of his splendid photographs of the architecture of
India and Burma. After 1861, when Tripe became a
Major, he seems to have made no more photo-
graphs.

Literature: London: Royal Photographic Society, Captain
Linnaeus Tripe—1822 to 1902: Photographs in India and
Burma in the 1850s, Usha Desai, intro. (typescript exh.
cat., 1977). R. Desmond, "19th Century Indian Photog-
raphers in India," History of Photography, vol. 1, no. 4
The effort to disencumber the introduction (pp. 11-29) of lengthy notes has necessitated a bibliographical essay of this sort. It follows the plan of the introduction as closely as possible. Studies of individual artists, cited in the catalogue entries, are not repeated here.


The most thorough exposition of the notion that the invention of photography satisfied a longing for realism is to be found in Heinz Buddemeier, Panorama Diorama Photographie: Entstehung und Wirkung neuer Medien im 19. Jahrhundert (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1970).

The suggestion that photography adopted the representational function of painting is present in Heinrich Schwarz, "Art and Photography," Magazine of Art, vol. 42, no. 7 (Nov. 1949), p. 252: "Through the technique of photography the principles initiated in the days of the renaissance reached their climax and limits and were, so to speak, led into absurdities, thus preparing the ground for the new approach and turning point at the beginning of the twentieth century, which may be typified by the proclamation of the German expressionists in 1907: 'Today photography takes over exact representation. Thus painting, relieved from this task, gains its former freedom of action.'" Schwarz does not cite the source of the quotation.


The basis of any critical discussion of the history of photography is Beaumont Newhall's The History
On the invention of photography see:


The most important and influential work on painting and photography is Aaron Scharf, Art and Photography (London: Penguin, 1968). See also:


The most valuable works concerned with the invention of photography in a social context are:


The authoritative study of the functions of linear perspective is M. H. Pirenne’s Optics, Painting & Photography (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1970), with extensive bibliography. Of the many works concerned with the history
and meaning of perspective, I have profited most from the following, especially the essays by Panofsky and Ivins:


Before Photography would have been impossible without the considerable scholarly attention that has been given in the last decade to landscape painting around 1800. Much of the new work has appeared in exhibition catalogues, of which the following are the most useful:


I have also depended greatly upon four fine studies of the landscape sketch in oil:


These studies in turn form part of a growing interest in all kinds of oil sketch, which first found major expression in Masters of the Loaded Brush: Oil Sketches from Rubens to Tiepolo (exh. cat., New York: Columbia University, 1967). The most important work in the present context is Albert Boime’s The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century (London: Phaidon, 1971), particularly for its insistence on the continuity of early and late nineteenth-century painting, on the progressive aspects of so-called academic art, and on the importance of preparatory works as a domain of innovation. However, Boime’s failure to apply the fundamental distinction between the nature study (étude) and the compositional sketch (esquisse) led him to focus on the spurious issue of loose brushwork. Boime’s approach, which suggests that the salient feature of Impressionism and advanced pre-Impressionist art lay in technique rather than in a new response to the visual world, is also present in French Nineteenth Century Oil Sketches: David to Degas (exh. cat., Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The William Hayes Ackland Memorial Art Center, 1978).

My argument that the syntax and values of modern art first appear in recognizable form around 1860 is not original. Perhaps the most persuasive apologist for this widely held position is Robert Rosenblum. See especially his Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition: Friedrich to

Of the many other works to which I am indebted, I am most conscious of my obligation to the following:


_____.


_____.


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The invention of photography was one of the most important cultural and artistic events of the nineteenth century. Yet its origins have been studied largely from the scientific point of view. This carefully reasoned essay challenges the conventional notion that the invention of photography was fundamentally a technical achievement, without artistic roots. Peter Galassi, Associate Curator in the Department of Photography at The Museum of Modern Art, argues that the medium "was not a bastard left by science on the doorstep of art, but a legitimate child of the Western pictorial tradition."

Ever since the Renaissance invention of linear perspective, artists had considered vision the sole basis of representation. But only gradually did they formulate pictorial strategies capable of suggesting the immediacy and relativity of everyday visual experience; only after centuries of experiment did they come to value pictures that seem to be caught by the eye rather than composed by the mind. Galassi argues that photography was born of this transformation in artistic outlook.

To support this argument the author has assembled forty-four innovative European paintings and drawings made in the half-century before the invention of photography was announced in 1839. These works, landscapes by John Constable, J.B.C. Corot, and their contemporaries, show an impressive independence from earlier standards of composition, an original sense of pictorial order based on a heretical concern for the most humble scenes. In their fundamentally modern pictorial syntax of synoptic perceptions and discontinuous, unexpected forms, Galassi identifies the critical shift in artistic norms that led to the invention of photography.

The paintings and drawings are followed by a comparable group of photographs from the first three decades of the medium. These works represent the considerable artistic capital that such outstanding photographers as Gustave Le Gray, Roger Fenton, and Timothy O'Sullivan made of the fact that the camera could not compose. They show, in other words, the talent with which the best early photographers embraced the artistic strategies that painters had long been inventing and which photographers could not avoid.

This book accompanies an exhibition, also directed by Peter Galassi, at The Museum of Modern Art. The author has provided, in addition to the essay, a catalogue containing biographies of the painters and photographers in the exhibition and comments on the plates. His carefully selected annotated bibliography completes the volume.

Front cover:
Thomas Jones
A Wall in Naples, c. 1782
Oil on paper
4 3/8 x 6 3/4 in.
Collection Mrs. Jane Evan-Thomas, England

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