

# **The Design of Claude Monet's Garden at Giverny**

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## Abstract

This study traces the reciprocal influence that the two great passions of Claude Monet's life, painting and gardening, had on one another. From 1883 to his death in 1926, the Impressionist painter devoted much of his time and resources to the design of his two gardens at Giverny, France: a geometrically arranged flower garden and a curvilinear water garden featuring a pond of exotic waterlilies. Through many successive alterations, Monet created the inspired gardens represented in the memorable canvases of his later years. The evolution of the design has been documented by comparing descriptions of the garden's changing appearance available through primary sources such as Monet's letters, accounts of the artist's contemporaries, photographs and the garden paintings, supplemented by interviews with those who are familiar with the design through family ties or association with the recent garden restoration. Finally, consultation of secondary source material written by art historians and critics provided the basis for understanding parallel developments in Monet's painting. The results of the study confirm the close, but complex, relationship between the arts of painting and garden design. The transformation of the garden from a two-dimensional "picture" into a three-dimensional sequence of "places" parallels the changing emphasis in Monet's painting from the realistic portrayal of external appearances to the evocative environment of the panoramic *Waterlily Decorations*, which invite comparison with the music of Debussy and Symbolist poetry. The similarities between the evolution of the arts of painting and design suggest that the garden, which served at first as a motif for painting, reflecting an Impressionist use of color, brushstroke and composition, later attained such significance in Monet's life that its sensory and spatial qualities determined the form of the later paintings. Monet ultimately succeeded in creating, through his growing skill in three-dimensional design, a personal paradise that became the focus of the public and private rituals of the artist's daily life in his

final years. Recognized by Monet as his "most beautiful masterpiece," the garden represents a unique artistic creation in which diverse, often contrasting elements were unified by the aesthetic perceptions of a painter whose eye was trained to observe the finest nuances of color and the subtle play of light and shadow.

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## Preface

*"All gardening is landscape painting,"* said Alexander Pope, a poet and an early exponent of the English Landscape Garden, which set about to transform the English countryside into a series of scenic views composed according to the aesthetics of popular landscape painting. Eighteenth-century painter- designers like William Kent and his French counterpart Hubert Robert established a dialogue between painting and gardening that continues to the present day in the work of the Brazilian artist, Roberto Burle Marx, who describes his designs as "painting with plants." In a recent article, Gina Crandall points out how the picturesque tradition continues to dominate the field of landscape architecture today:

Beginning in the eighteenth century, compositional principles were used to enlarge our view of scenery by including agricultural landscapes....As a result, we have come to see most landscapes as potential pictures. Surely this idea has influenced recent efforts to preserve rural landscapes, scenic rights-of-way and enormous wilderness areas that have escaped our asphalt paving.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, there have been efforts to incorporate the compositional techniques of modern painters into garden design as a challenge to the pervasive picturesque aesthetic. Early in the twentieth century, landscape architects applied the principles of Cubism to garden design, providing freedom from "the tyranny of the conventionalized formal shape" and "sentimental 'pretty bouquet' effects in planting."<sup>2</sup> The contribution of Claude Monet in this regard has not been fully explored, although Christopher Tunnard, in his influential book *Gardens in the Modern Landscape*, signaled the importance of Monet's achievement in applying the innovations of Impressionist painting to the design of his garden:

Monet, in his later years, planned and made an inspired garden, a painter's garden indeed, but an achievement acknowledged to be equal to some of his works on canvas.<sup>3</sup>

This study seeks to trace the complex dialogue between painting and gardening over the forty-three years that Monet lived and worked in his gardens at Giverny, France. Through the successive stages of the garden design, one can trace the evolution of Monet's concept of the garden from a two-dimensional "picture" to a three-dimensional "place." Moreover, the garden design parallels the changing emphasis in Monet's painting from the attempt to capture the momentary appearance of the world to the search for a truth beyond appearances. The garden, whose development is recorded in Monet's canvases, finally became the sensory stimulus for the artist's meditations; meditations that were then portrayed in the evocative *Waterlily Decorations* of the Orangerie Museum, where they hang in a suite of rooms designed expressly to evoke the contemplative environment of Monet's personal paradise.

The evolution of Monet's painting style has been thoroughly examined since William Seitz revived Monet's artistic reputation in the 1960s by pointing out his relevance to trends in modern art<sup>4</sup>; yet little information has been published on the development of the garden. The documentation provided by Claire and Jean-Marie Toulgouat in their writings about the garden as well as the research of Robert Gordon have provided the point of departure for the current study. The plans of Monet's garden at different stages of its development are based upon a measured axonometric drawing by Jean-Marie Toulgouat, a descendant of the painter. The evolution of the design was traced by comparing visual documentation of the garden's changing appearance, found in Monet's paintings and in photographs taken during his lifetime, with written references to the garden in journalistic interviews



with the painter, descriptions by visitors to the garden and information contained in Monet's published correspondence, collected in the four-volume *Catalog Raisonne* of Monet's work by Daniel Wildenstein, which is also the source for the dates ascribed to the paintings in this study. Secondary sources on Monet's life and painting as well as a search of garden literature of the period, including the contents of Monet's own library, provided additional information on the historical context of the garden design. Finally, interviews with the people who were familiar with the garden through family ties or association with the recent garden restoration supplemented published sources of information.

Some important aspects of the garden which lie outside the scope of this project offer fruitful avenues for future research. Due to a lack of information, questions about the degree to which Monet's gardening friends may have influenced his design remain unanswered. Fellow gardeners such as the writer Octave Mirbeau and Gustave Caillebotte undoubtedly shared information and even plants with Monet on their frequent visits to each other's gardens. The unavailability of primary source material and the disappearance of both Caillebotte's and Mirbeau's gardens leave any discussion of mutual influence to the realm of mere speculation. Similarly, a detailed analysis of the color harmonies in Monet's planting scheme also lies beyond the scope of this paper. The data necessary for such a study, precise botanical information about the species Monet planted and their exact location in the garden design at any given point in its evolution, is not available at this time.

The relationship between the the garden and the painting, which is rarely a simple matter of cause and effect, must be deduced by comparing the appearance of the garden at any given stage with the paintings of the same period, for Monet rarely explained his method in either endeavor. There is no evidence that he ever

drew a plan view of the property; rather the design evolved in the course of his experiences in maintaining, observing and painting the garden over many years. His closest friend, Georges Clemenceau, describes the design process in this way:

This garden was simply an open-air studio. Monet hadn't made any theory about it. His empiricism was too sure an instinct for him to have had any doctrine. By traveling around the countryside, drinking in nature all around him, he had simply learned what claimed the attention of his eye.... There is no need to know how he made his garden. It is quite sure that he did it in such a way as his eye arranged it, in succession, guided by the invitations of each day, to the satisfaction of his appetite for colors.

5

Furthermore, the garden design was constantly changing. In presenting a sequence of plans to represent the major stages in the garden's development, this study condenses a continuous process into a series of logical steps that were probably never so linear nor logical in their progression. Sacha Guitry, an actor who was a friend of Monet's, recounts that the artist would change the color scheme of the garden on an annual basis, and quotes him as saying things like, "This year I want my garden to be mauve."<sup>6</sup> The division of the flower garden into rectangular beds, each planted with flowers of a single color, would facilitate the kind of constant experimentation that Sacha Guitry describes. Even a few months before his death of cancer in 1926, he wrote to Georges Clemenceau, "I haven't lost courage [in spite of the pain] and busy myself with big changes to my studios and projects for perfecting the garden."<sup>7</sup>

The study begins with an introductory chapter summarizing the parallel trends in Monet's painting and gardening efforts. The second chapter describes the final stage of Monet's design efforts, when the garden was the focus of the painter's emotional and artistic life. In the light of this understanding, the discussion of the evolution of the garden, contained in the third chapter, becomes more meaningful.

Finally, an examination of the context of the garden in the history of French garden design establishes the extent to which Monet's creation was typical of its time and place or an original expression of the painter's aesthetic principles.

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

*Aside from painting and gardening, I am good for nothing.*<sup>8</sup>

From the time he moved to Giverny in 1883 until his death in 1926, gardening and painting were the two great passions of Monet's life. His contemporaries noted the reciprocal influence that these two creative endeavors may have had on one another. The art historian and critic Arsene Alexandre wrote in 1901:

For months at a time, the artist forgets that Paris even exists; his gladioli and dahlias sustain him with their superb refinements but cause him to forget civilization. This, then, is why I say that the garden is the man. Here is a painter who, in our time, has multiplied the harmonies of color, has gone as far as one person can into the subtlety, opulence and resonance of color....

Who inspired all this? His flowers. Who was his teacher? His garden.

He owes it a great debt, he is proud of it, and freely introduces passersby to his mentor. Such is the lesson that a plot of earth, artfully sown, can teach.<sup>9</sup>

The design of the garden, like the artist's painting style, changed gradually over the years at Giverny. Monet moved to the small hamlet fifty kilometers west of Paris in April, 1883, renting a house located in the cider press district known as "Le Pressoir." (Fig. 1) The property adjoining the house was a walled apple orchard, called a "clos," typical of the region. Located at the base of one of the limestone hills characteristic of the Seine River basin, the garden sloped to the south from the house down to the local stream, the Ru, beyond which lay the Seine River. (Fig. 2) His first concern was to plant the flowers necessary to complete a series of still-life

panels commissioned by his art dealer, Durand-Ruel. Over the next forty- three years, the orchard was transformed into a flowering paradise, no longer a mere motif for painting but a work of art itself, as the novelist Marcel Proust observed, "The garden itself is a genuine artistic creation, rather than a model for painting, for its composition is right there in nature itself and comes to life through the eyes of a great painter."<sup>10</sup>

Born in 1840, Claude Monet grew up in a middle-class society that was enamored of gardens. From 1853 to 1870, the city of Paris was furnished with a system of more than eighty parks, and urban dwellers flocked to enjoy these outdoor spaces which offered relief from the congested conditions of the city during the Industrial Revolution. Meanwhile, those who could afford to move outside the city center lived in suburban housing developments where, for the first time, middle-class urban families could enjoy the luxury of ornamental gardening. To meet this new demand, a horticultural industry grew up which provided an unprecedented variety of ornamental plants and gardening literature. Claude Monet, then, inherited the enthusiasm of his contemporaries for parks and gardens, as well as the long-standing traditions of the French landscape, from the masterpieces created by Le Notre for Louis XIV to the agricultural heritage of the French countryside.

Over the years at Giverny, Monet actually created two gardens: a flower garden and a water garden, where the "Waterlilies" series was painted.<sup>11</sup> (Fig. 3) The contrast between the two gardens, one strictly geometrical and the other curvilinear in form, reflects a similar dichotomy in the painter's work, noted by William Seitz:

Besides the simultaneity of pattern, depth, and live brushwork in these pictures, the tension of some of them is heightened through the stark opposition of tortuous curves to geometricity. Both qualities of form exist

in nature and both have their psychological complements in the opposed human predispositions either to passion or structural order.<sup>12</sup>

Seitz finds the painter's fascination with architectural form expressed in the Poplar and Haystack series as well as the views of London, while the opposite tendency is most fully perceived in the Waterlily canvases. In the upper garden, the geometry of the original orchard was succeeded by rectilinear flowerbeds. Arsene Alexandre described its appearance in an article about his first visit to Monet's garden in 1901:

The garden is divided into tidy "squares" like any truck garden of Grenelle or Gennevilliers. Substitute flowers for carrots, in rows just as close together, and you can work wonders--if you know how to play the floral almanac like a keyboard and are a great colorist....Everything is designed in such a way that the celebration is everywhere renewed and ceaselessly replaced. If a certain flowerbed is stilled in a certain season, borders and hedges will suddenly light up."<sup>13</sup>

In its division into geometric beds regulated by the architecture of the house, the structural framework of the flower garden combines the geometric organization of Le Notre with the humbler ordering of the French agricultural landscape. The profuse planting of the beds with brightly colored flowers, however, clothes the geometrical skeleton with luxuriant growth which obscures the edges of the rectangular beds. The entire design is organized around a central axis, celebrated by Monet in his paintings of *The Garden Path*. (Fig. 4) West of this wide central path and directly below Monet's bedroom windows was a lawn area in which the former apple trees were gradually replaced by flowering species. Clumps of Monet's favorite irises, peonies and oriental poppies were interspersed in the tall grass. Further west next to the greenhouse, there was a series of linear flowerbeds running north-south. At their northern end stood the second studio, with a grove of lime trees connecting it with the main residence. More geometric beds lay to the east of the main axis,

surmounted by a series of trellises that Monet designed especially for Montana clematis. Next to the third studio on the eastern edge of the property were several enclosures, lined with irises and roses, that housed Monet's collection of exotic birds.

In 1893, Monet purchased a piece of marshy land containing a small pond, located across the road and railroad tracks at the southern end of the flower garden. After enlarging the pond, he built an arched footbridge to extend the axis of the upper garden across the water. Through a series of alterations, he enlarged the water surface and molded the banks into sinuous curves. In 1909, he described his creation in a letter to Roger Marx:

It's a body of water created by me over the past fifteen years, this pond with a perimeter of 200 meters is fed by a branch of the Epte River. It is bordered by iris and various aquatic plants, framed by diverse trees, among which poplars and willows, several of which are weeping willows, predominate. It's in this same spot that I painted *The Waterlilies* with a bridge of the Japanese type.<sup>14</sup>

In contrast to the geometric arrangement of the flower garden, the form of the water garden is curvilinear, a form the English Landscape School had proposed as a more "natural" alternative to the geometric Italian and French gardens. With its grove of bamboo, arched bridge and *Iris kaempferi*, the lily pond also reflects the spirit of Japanese gardens.

The final stage in the evolution of these two gardens, as described above, was achieved after many years of changes planned by a master gardener who was also a master painter, and the evolution of the garden design was closely tied to the process of painting it. Roger Shattuck has noted that the verb Monet used routinely in his letters to describe the act of painting, the verb *piocher*, is actually an agricultural term which means "to dig with a pick or mattock."<sup>15</sup> From his first days at Giverny, Monet saw the garden as a source of motifs for his painting, as he



had previously been inspired by his gardens at Argenteuil and Vetheuil. His initial interest was in planting specific flowers for still-life paintings on rainy days. After purchasing the property in 1890, however, he began to transform sections of the orchard into a flower garden, extending his efforts across the road to the water garden three years later. These design efforts culminated in the gardens portrayed in a series of canvases dating from 1899-1900. These paintings are relatively naturalistic representations of the appearance of the gardens after their redesign in the previous decade. Perhaps the painter felt frustrated by the limited views offered by the small pond, for he began to buy adjacent land in 1901 in order to enlarge the basin. The larger expanses of water produced by these efforts inspired the first series of *Waterlilies*, exhibited in 1909.<sup>16</sup> By that time, Monet had conceived an even more ambitious painting project: a panoramic decorative environment that would evoke the contemplative experience that Monet had come to value in his water garden. The final changes to the design of the waterlily pond, which reveal Monet's mastery of the principles of three-dimensional design, created a sensory paradise which stimulated the painter's final masterpiece. The garden, like the painting, was always changing in response to the demands of the artist, who was never satisfied with his creations.

## Chapter 2

### The Artist's Paradise: 1910-1926

*While you seek to understand the world through philosophy, I simply turn my energies to the greatest number of phenomena possible, since these are in strict correlation with the unknown realities. When one is on the plane of harmonious phenomena, one cannot be far from reality or at least what we can know of reality.<sup>17</sup>*

As Monet became increasingly involved in the design of his garden, he painted it more frequently. After 1911, the year his second wife died, it became the sole motif for his art. In fact, he left Giverny only with great reluctance. Arsene Alexandre gives valuable insights into the painter's reclusive habits:

It was probably assumed that, like most artists, Monet stayed in Paris for the duration of his exhibit....But a bit of research would have revealed the fact that M. Monet had hardly been away from Giverny, since one cannot leave a place such as this in mid-spring, when it is the most beautiful. He participated as little as possible at the opening and during the days that followed, and when it was necessary for him to be in Paris for the sale of his paintings, this is how he proceeded: he would leave Giverny by car between 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning in order to arrive at the rue Lafitte at 9 A.M. After the indispensable exchange of words with his agent, he would leave to be back at Giverny by noon. Thus, he successfully avoided acquaintances and rushed home at 80 kilometers per hour....All in all, he had been away from his garden for the shortest possible time.<sup>18</sup>

As early as 1900, Monet spoke of Giverny as "my retreat."<sup>19</sup> As the tragedies in his life proliferated--the deaths of family and close friends, political controversies, wars, his own approaching blindness--he burrowed deeper into the solace that his garden could provide. His attitude is revealed in a letter written to his art dealer informing him that, due to illness and fatigue, he must cancel his upcoming exhibit: "I am

completely overwhelmed by what I have written you, but tomorrow, I will be calm. I am going to rest and, if the weather is good, I will console myself in nature."<sup>20</sup>

Because of this attitude, those who wanted to talk to Monet or see his paintings had to visit him at Giverny. These visits then began to assume a consistent pattern of a ceremonial quality. Visitors of any importance to Monet would invariably be invited to lunch and spend the afternoon touring the gardens. Jacques Salomon's account of the visit of the artists Vuillard Roussel to Monet's domain on June 8, 1926, provides a first-hand description of the ceremony by which Monet introduced the public to his domain.<sup>21</sup> Visitors arriving by car would enter through the diagonal gate at the northeast corner of the property and proceed to the area in front of the house, where they would leave the car and be escorted to the entrance.<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 5 ) In good weather, lunch would be taken on the porch, which was so heavily covered with vines as to resemble an arbor. From this raised vantage point, directly on axis with the central path, one could view the entire flower garden. After the meal, Monet would conduct his guests on a tour of the gardens. (Fig. 6) In bad weather, a tour of the greenhouse, where Monet had a remarkable orchid collection, could substitute for the garden tour. The habitual route was to proceed down the main path, across the railroad tracks to the water garden, continuing on axis across the bridge. Usually the group would pause at the apex of the arched bridge in order to admire Monet's favorite view of his creation.<sup>23</sup> (Fig. 7) Then the tour would proceed around the perimeter of the pond. At around four o'clock, guests would be offered tea, which was served either in the water garden, probably at the semi-circular benches near the bridge, or under the linden trees near the second studio. The visit would often conclude with a tour of the studio, which generally featured the master's latest work.

Aside from its public ceremonial function, the garden played a vital role in the daily rituals of the painter. His private experience of the garden also followed an habitual rhythm. First thing each morning (he rose before dawn), Monet toured his domain, as his friend Clemenceau describes:

By these narrow bourgeois paths that could accommodate a single stroller, Monet, familiar with each discreet or boisterous cluster of flowers, never failed to accomplish each morning the ceremony of the first greeting, demanded by the insatiable attraction of his eyes.<sup>24</sup>

Again after lunch, with or without guests, he would spend hours strolling about the paths. Alone, or with his very closest friends, he would penetrate beyond the limits of the public circuit to the narrow paths through the rectangular beds to the east and west of the main path. There was no prescribed sequence through these areas.<sup>25</sup> Instead, the artist would wander at will, pausing to admire a particularly striking color combination. Due to the geometric layout of the beds, the color composition would change from point to point along the paths, depending whether one looked straight down the row or diagonally across the beds. In summer, the painter would spend hours gazing into the mirror-like surface of the pond. His stepson, Jean-Pierre Hoschede, describes Monet's habit:

First of all, the reader must know the preponderant place that his water garden held in Claude Monet's life ever since it was created ....Morning, afternoon and evening, one saw him walking there, making the tour of it and often stopping a long time in a well-defined place, where he would return to settle again.... Of course, he enjoyed admiring the total effect he had desired, either the Japaneses peonies flowering on the narrow lawn around the basin or the Iris kaempferi planted along its shores...But always, he returned by choice to the water surface in order to dream about all it revealed.<sup>26</sup>

Monet had an intense personal interest in all aspects of his garden. At first he and his family did all the work themselves, from selecting the plants to performing routine maintenance, as Monet described to Marc Elder:

Forty years ago when I established myself here, there was nothing but a farmhouse and a poor orchard....I dug, planted, weeded myself; in the evenings the children watered.<sup>27</sup>

In 1892, Monet hired a head gardener, Felix Breuil, and five assistants. However, he continued to supervise work on the garden very closely, as excerpts from a letter written to his gardener while he was away on a painting trip indicate:

Sow: about 300 pots of poppies--60 pots of sweetpeas

about 60 pots of white prickly poppy

30 pots of yellow prickly poppy

From the 15th to the 25th [February], put the dahlias  
on a hotbed...

In March---put the borders in place as we agreed....<sup>28</sup>

He even specified the fertilizer required by his flowering masterpiece:

100 kg. iron sulfate, pulverized

20 kg. superphosphate

4 kg. potassium sulfate

10 kg. dried blood<sup>29</sup>

He was an extremely demanding employer, insisting that faded blossoms should be removed continually. He would fly into a rage if he chanced upon one that his staff had missed. One gardener was assigned the sole task of caring for the water garden. Only through daily cleansing of the pond to remove all trace of weeds and debris could the mirror-like surface so important to Monet's meditations be maintained. Monet explains the importance of the limpid surface:

...The water flowers are far from being the whole spectacle; they are only its accompaniment. The basic element of the motif is the mirror of water, whose appearance changes at every instant because of the way bits of the sky are reflected in it, giving it life and movement.<sup>30</sup>

Moreover, the gardener was instructed to dust the lily pads daily and trim them into shapely clusters.<sup>31</sup>

Monet's interest in gardening was scientific as well as artistic; he acquired considerable knowledge of botany, which informed his gardening practice.<sup>32</sup>

Encouraged by Monet, his son Michel and stepson Jean-Pierre Hoschede wrote a book on the native vegetation of the Giverny region, *Flora of Vernon and La Roche-Guyon*. The painter encouraged and assisted with this endeavor, taking them on plant-gathering expeditions, ordering books for them and sending samples from botanical gardens he visited on his painting trips. His own library contained a twenty-three volume *Flore des serres et des jardins d'Europe*, and he subscribed to several horticultural journals, among them *La Revue Horticole: Journal d'Horticulture Pratique* from 1893 to 1925. Moreover, a new species of poppy that was hybridized experimentally in his garden has been named Papaver Monetii.<sup>33</sup>

His interest in the garden was also intensely emotional. He seemed to feel a deep personal bond or empathy with the plants. In her biography of Monet, Marthe de Fels relates an anecdote told by Raymond Koechlin, who said that one day he encountered Monet wandering through the garden, disheveled and distracted. When he inquired what was wrong, Monet replied, "It's frightful! There was a cyclone yesterday. Two trees in my garden are dead! Do you understand-- two trees! It's no longer my garden.." Koechlin then watched him wander off, muttering to himself, "It's just not my garden anymore..."<sup>34</sup> She also describes the "conversations" he would hold with his plants, and many writers have referred to the flowers as Monet's companions.<sup>35</sup> The following passage from a letter written to his wife reveals the degree of his solicitude for the welfare of his garden:

What you tell me about my poor roses distresses me and I am expecting many disasters. Have you at least thought of covering the Japanese peonies? Not to have done so would amount to murder.<sup>36</sup>

By the turn of the century, the garden had become the focus of the artist's universe, not just serving as a painting motif but as a private world designed specifically to meet the needs of the aging artist, not unlike the paradise gardens of

the Islamic tradition. In fact, visitors often described it as a "paradise," as in the following passage by the art critic Gustave Geffroy, one of Monet's closest friends:

As soon as you push the little entrance gate, on the main street of Giverny, you think, in almost all seasons, that you are entering a paradise. It is the colorful and fragrant kingdom of flowers.<sup>37</sup>

Many of the qualities that make Monet's garden unique are those that produce the impression of having stepped out of the everyday world to enter a terrestrial paradise created by Monet's growing skill in three-dimensional design.

One of the remarkable characteristics of Monet's garden was the sense of profusion and abundance created by the plantings. Perhaps the Moreno garden in Bordighera on the Italian Riviera, which he painted shortly after moving to Giverny, provided the model for this effect, which he sought to capture in his own garden. In a letter, he describes his first impression of the garden:

Briefly, [I took] a delicious walk about the small recesses of this property without equals. I regret having started other studies; a garden like this resembles no other; it's a pure fairyland, all the plants in the world spring from the ground here without appearing to be cared for; it's a profusion of all sorts of palm trees, all sorts of oranges and mandarines....<sup>38</sup>

One of the methods he used to achieve this effect was to plant the beds very thickly. The beds, in fact, were so densely packed that the plants seemed to spill over the edges into the aisles. (Fig. 8) Monet sometimes had difficulty convincing others of the validity of the unusual practice:

The daily discussions with Felix Breuil, the head gardener, sometimes became heated arguments. Breuil was concerned with the quality of the soil, the spacing of the plants, the need to clip and prune, but Monet, although aware of these necessities, was chiefly concerned with the relationships of color, density and texture.<sup>39</sup>

The choice of plants also contributed to this impression of profusion. Monet had a preference for those species, often common field flowers, whose untidy growing habits

were spurned by other gardeners: California poppies, sunflowers, field poppies, ox-eye daisies, to name a few. He also tended to plant many tall and climbing plants. Roses clambered up the trunks of trees or metal arches, while wisteria draped the trellis of the Japanese Bridge. Even the house was submerged in greenery, summer-blooming clematis twined with Virginia creeper and roses, covering the facade. Besides a concern for the beauty of their flowers, Monet seems to have selected species for the luxuriance of their foliage as well. (Fig. 41) Roger Shattuck summarizes the effect of Monet's planting principles:

The flowerbeds, the ponds, even the house disappeared under a great welling-up of vines, foliage, overhead arches and trellises....At the end, he was painting Eden after the fall, when the garden was growing up to obliterate all traces of earlier occupancy....<sup>40</sup>

This paradise was an intensely private and personal experience; the sense of enclosure was created by Monet's increasingly subtle use of three-dimensional space. The vernacular "clos," or walled orchard, suited Monet's needs well. The upper end of the property was sealed off from the main street of Giverny by a high wall that extended down both sides of the garden. Accordingly, the back of the house faced the street, while the main entrance was from the garden. At the lower end was a more penetrable barrier: a low wall surmounted by an iron grille twined with climbing nasturtiums. Passersby could peek through the foliage at the garden beyond. Along the railroad tracks, a wire fence and simple wooden gate marked the boundary of the water garden. A dense screen of wichuriana roses, trees and evergreen shrubs provided a remarkable degree of privacy so close to a major thoroughfare, as Clemenceau describes:

Without the road, the railway and the river which draws fishermen, one might have been able to find isolation. And yet, the miracle is just this: one is sheltered from every intrusion...A door enables us to cross the road, a key to step onto the soil of the railway, which piles of large



rhododendrons and a high trellis of climbing roses cut off from everything else. The traveller would not complain about coasting along an immense bouquet of flowers, and Monet, absorbed in the mirror of his pond only a few steps away, would not even hear the train.<sup>41</sup>

The property boundary on the south bank of the stream channel was the most transparent of all. At one time an arched trellis of rambler roses marked the limit of Monet's paradise, framing views of the watery meadows beyond. At other times only a screen of poplars stood between the water garden and the larger landscape of the Seine.

Within the garden walls, further spatial definition was provided by the plants themselves. The prevalence of tall plants, such as delphiniums, hollyhocks and sunflowers, increased the sense of enclosure; even roses were often raised on supports over two meters high. (Fig. 9) Rene Gimpel, an art dealer, describes his impression of the garden at the time of his first visit in 1918:

On opening a wooden door set in the stone wall surrounding it, one steps at once into his famous garden, which is composed of quite simple flowers growing to a considerable height. There are none, I believe, less than three feet high, and certain kinds of huge marguerites seemed to me to be at least six feet tall. It is a virgin forest of brightly hued blossoms....<sup>42</sup>

A more transparent form of spatial division is provided by the use of arches and trellises that form screens, similar in effect to the trellis-and-grille motif that was so popular among nineteenth-century artists, who had admired the sliding grille walls used in Japanese houses as "a veil-like spatial blocking device."<sup>43</sup> Monet himself used this technique in the *Poplar* series and *Spring seen through the branches*, in which the background landscape is viewed through a screen of vertical trunks or horizontal branches. On the southern edge of the water garden, the Seine floodplain was screened in a similar manner. The clematis trellises east of the central path were described as serving a "veil-like function": "They [white Montana

clematis] form airy garlands with ends free floating in the wind, thus creating an effect of lace curtains."<sup>44</sup> (Fig. 10.)

Other plantings provided a more opaque screen. For example, the two weeping willows on the north bank of the pond were perfectly placed to block one's view of the house from Monet's seat under the arches of the boat landing. Other plantings are artfully arranged to prevent one from perceiving the total space at a glance. The bamboo grove, located on the peninsula between the diverted streambed and the pond outlet, interrupts one's view beyond the Japanese Bridge. Thus isolated, the western end of the pond seems like a separate body of water. Beyond the bamboo grove and bridge, the space opens up to a large expanse of water, glittering with sunlight, bordered by an open lawn area. The space closes down again at the eastern end in the woodland area of trees with rhododendron understory. The alternating expansion and contraction of space, along with the artful screening of views creates a sense of enclosure within which the garden seems to extend extend indefinitely in all directions. In an interview, Monet described the effect he had created:

Looking at it[the pond], you thought of infinity; you were able to discern in it, as in a microcosm, the presence of the elements and the instability of a universe that changes constantly under our eyes.<sup>45</sup>

Moreover, the spaces created by the lush vegetation of Monet's garden were filled with a rich array of sounds, scents and textures as well as the visual delights one would expect in a painter's paradise. Many of the plant species that were so carefully selected by Monet exhibited characteristics such as interesting foliage texture and/or fragrance in addition to the color of their flowers. (See Plant List in Appendix)

Visitors often commented on the fragrance that hung in the air at Giverny,

such as the following description of the wisteria in bloom: "In June, the perfume is so thick that it seems as if you are traveling through a tube of vanilla."<sup>46</sup> The scent was so powerful that it even penetrated to the house and studio, as another visitor describes, "...through the open window came the scent from the garden and the hum of bees."<sup>47</sup> The long aisles bordering the central path were lined with a delightfully scented variety of iris, Iris pallida dalmatica, and the walls and ceilings of Monet's outdoor rooms were covered with roses selected for their fragrance as well as the profusion of bright flowers. Other fragrant species included wallflowers, mignonettes, sweetpeas, and hollyhocks, among others. (See Appendix)

Striking contrast of texture, appealing to the tactile sense, was another principle of Monet's planting design. According to Felix Breuil, head gardener at Giverny, Monet liked to intersperse plantings of iris, with their vertical form and sword-like leaves, with the broad, flat foliage of marsh marigold, or the round yellow globeflower set against the violet spires of loosestrife.<sup>48</sup> In other parts of the garden, the willows' silvery fringe mingled with the feathery tamarisk. Exotic bamboo stood as sentinels above the broad, heavy leaves of sweet-scented coltsfoot drooping over the water. The evocative power inherent in such contrasts is expressed in the following passage by Gaston Bachelard:

If he dared, a philosopher dreaming in front of one of Monet's watery canvases could develop the dialectic of the iris and the waterlily, the dialectic of the upright leaf and the leaf calmly, wisely, heavily resting on the waters. Isn't this essentially the dialectic of the aquatic plant: the one wants to surge in an animated revolt against its origin, the other is faithful to its element.<sup>49</sup>

One can imagine that the garden was not a silent place either. The breeze would rustle the trembling poplar leaves and set the bamboo murmuring. Several visitors commented on the drone of the bees drawn by the allure of bright flowers:

"the late gladioli bear their sumptuous cups, reach their lily-like throat to the bees'infatuated flight."<sup>50</sup> Even in winter, the bamboo served as a refuge to a host of birds whose songs cheered the Monet household.<sup>51</sup> It is interesting to note that several people have drawn auditory analogies to the visual qualities of Monet's art as well. Roger Shattuck confesses, "Without knowing for sure what was going on in Monet's sensibility, I find myself responding to certain paintings of this period with a conviction that he was almost hearing the landscape."<sup>52</sup>

Finally, of course, the garden was a visual feast prepared by the master colorist, about whom Cezanne once remarked, "Monet is nothing but an eye. But, my God, what an eye!"<sup>53</sup> The garden was conceived as an outdoor studio, allowing the artist to work outdoors under more controlled conditions than the larger landscape could offer.<sup>54</sup> It was in this garden-studio that Monet followed to its logical conclusion the exploration of perceptual reality begun in the 1870s. In 1926, when asked by John Sargent's biographer, Evan Charteris, for a definition of Impressionism, Monet replied, "Impressionism is nothing more than immediate sensation."<sup>55</sup> Throughout his career, he had sought to capture the momentary appearance of a scene, which he came to understand as an effect of light, lasting no longer than thirty minutes at a time.<sup>56</sup> Although he developed a special painting method to capture the fleeting light, he was never satisfied with the results and continued to penetrate deeper into the mystery of "immediate sensation." Perhaps he came to realize the inherent impossibility of capturing appearances subject to fleeting effects of light in a universe of ceaseless change. For whatever reason, his later work moved away from the representation of objective reality and grew more abstract. The 1918 series of the *Japanese Bridge*, for example, aim at something different from the earlier, more realistic depictions of the motif. (Fig 11) Some of his

contemporaries offered a scientific explanation for the change; John Singer Sargent provided the following insight:

Impressionism was the name given to a certain form of observation when Monet, not content with using his eyes to see what things were or what they looked like as everyone else had done before him, turned his attention to noting what took place on his own retina.<sup>57</sup>

It is not surprising that Clemenceau, who trained as a medical doctor, should also espouse a scientific explanation of Monet's later style:

It takes the miracle of a retina formed for this purpose by evolution itself-- and the miracle of a painter who can capture the very elements of light and the shades of color. Of what value is the boldness of a sensitive brush that is yet firm in its intention, when the painter reveals, as clearly as an ultramicroscope, elemental depths that without him we would never have experienced...Certainly the gap between science and art is bridged here. But at the same time, we find here the whole unity of cosmic phenomena.<sup>58</sup>

A more philosophical explanation of Monet's late work is suggested by Gustave Geffroy, who writes, "It [*The Waterlilies*] is the supreme significance of Monet's art, of his admiration of the universe leading to a pantheist and buddhist contemplation...."<sup>59</sup> Whatever the cause, it is certain that the works of his later years, including the *Waterlily Decorations*, aim at expressing a different perception of reality than that represented in his earlier work. At this time, there is evidence that the three-dimensional garden design may have inspired this change in focus, rather than serving as the passive reflection of principles previously explored on a two-dimensional canvas. In the final stage of design, the garden had become a paradise where a rich mingling of sensory stimuli provided a setting conducive to meditations that led, paradoxically, beyond the senses themselves.

The vivid description of sensory phenomena was an important aspect of Symbolism, the leading artistic trend in France at the end of the century,

emphasizing the links among all the arts.<sup>60</sup> The poet Stephane Mallarme and the composer Claude Debussy were, for instance, both considered Symbolists; they both also admired Monet's paintings.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, critics often described Monet's work of this period in terms of Symbolist principles.<sup>62</sup> The characteristics of Monet's garden in its final form could be seen to represent a Symbolist paradise, where the sensory stimuli encouraged the synesthesia, or mixing of sensory images, that also characterized Symbolist poetry. Symbolist art, like Monet's later canvases, seeks to express universal ideals through an intense experience of "immediate sensation":

The underlying philosophy of the symbolists was a conviction that the transient objective world is not true reality, but a reflection of the invisible Absolute. Moreover, correspondences exist between impulses derived through different senses.<sup>63</sup>

A striking sensory impression awakens the reaction of other senses and can lead to an intimation of metaphysical truths. Baudelaire's poem, "Les Correspondances," describes the metaphysical dimension of the world perceived through the senses. Due to the importance of the poem's musical qualities, the French verse is cited below, followed by a prose translation.

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

Comme de longs echos qui de loin se confondent  
Dans une tenebreuse et profond unite  
Vaste comme la nuit et comme la clarte  
Les parfums, les couleurs et les sons se repondent.

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

Ayant l'expansion des choses infinies,  
Comme l'ambre, le musc, le benjoin et l'encens,

Qui chantent les transports de l'esprit et des sens.

(Nature is a temple where living pillars sometimes allow confused words to escape; man passes there through forests of symbols that watch with familiar glances.

Like long-drawn-out echoes mingled far away into a deep and shadowy unity, vast as darkness and light, scents, colours, and sounds answer one another.

There are some scents cool as the flesh of children, sweet as oboes and green as meadows--and others corrupt, rich, and triumphant,

Having the expansion of things infinite, like amber, musk, benzoin, and incense, singing the raptures of the mind and senses.)<sup>64</sup>

The symbols Baudelaire refers to cannot be expressed directly, only suggested. As Mallarme explained, "To name is to destroy, to suggest is to create."<sup>65</sup> Monet himself admitted feeling an affinity with the Symbolists:

It would be much more accurate to describe me--a disciple of Courbet and Jongkind-- as a contemporary of Stephane Mallarme and Claude Debussy. I agree with them and with Baudelaire that all the arts have points in common, that there are harmonies and concerts of color that are self-sufficient and that affect us just as a musical phrase or a chord can strike us deeply, without reference to a precise and clearly stated theory. The indeterminate and vague are modes of expression that have reason for existing and have had their own characteristics; through them sensations become lasting; they are the key to symbolism and continuity.<sup>66</sup>

Moreover, in an effort to clarify the meaning of the term "Impressionism," Monet sent Evan Charteris a review of a book on the music of Debussy, having underlined a passage comparing Impressionist paintings to the composer's musical style.<sup>67</sup>

It is not surprising that Monet could not capture the remarkable sensory paradise he had created in the two-dimensional format of a traditional canvas; rather he invented a form to fit his needs: a decorative environment that could recreate the three-dimensional experience of the garden. As early as 1897, he described his intentions to Maurice Guillemot, who related the following description in an article written a year later:

Imagine a circular room in which the dado beneath the molding is covered with [paintings of] water, dotted with these plants to the very horizon, walls of a transparency alternately green and mauve, the calm and silence of all the still waters reflecting the opened blossoms.<sup>68</sup>

The decorative panels he had painted for Durand-Ruel's apartment can perhaps be seen as a precursor to this decorative scheme. The project took on a new purpose when Clemenceau, then prime minister, suggested that Monet donate some of these panels to the state. Originally, Monet had intended to build an octagonal pavilion on his own property to house the *Waterlily Decorations*.<sup>69</sup> Monet's desire to capture the ambience of his water garden is expressed in the following conversation with Roger Marx:

It would have produced the illusion of an endless whole, of a wave with no horizon and no shore; nerves exhausted by work would have relaxed there, following the restful example of those still waters, and to anyone who would have lived in it, that room would have offered a refuge of peaceful meditation in the middle of a flowering aquarium.<sup>70</sup>

In 1914, Clemenceau's suggestion gave the project a public significance. While World War I raged on around him, Monet labored on his giant canvases in the special studio constructed for that purpose, fighting his own personal battle against a lack of supplies, old age and the cataracts that were clouding his vision in both eyes. Monet's desire to offer his final masterpiece as a peace offering to a war-weary nation can be seen in the fact that the artist chose to present the first completed panels on the day the armistice was declared. He wrote the following letter to Prime Minister Clemenceau:

Dear and great friend, I am just about to finish two decorative panels that I want to sign on the day of victory, and am writing to ask you to offer them ...to the state. It is not much but it is the only way I have to be part of the victory.<sup>71</sup>

Moreover, it was not only the painted panels that concerned Monet; he also



had strong opinions about the architecture in which they were to be displayed. Recent discoveries by Robert Gordon and Charles Stuckey have brought to light the long battle that Monet fought with French authorities over the the spatial environment which would house the panels.<sup>72</sup>

At Monet's request, the architect Louis Bonnier, who had designed Monet's second studio, was engaged in October 1920. The architect met with Monet shortly thereafter in order to learn the artist's ideas, for Monet had made the provision an appropriate space one of the conditions of the gift. Originally, the pavilion was to have been located in the garden of the Hotel de Biron, which had recently been designated as the Rodin Museum. Rene Gimpel relates the following discussion with Monet about these plans in October, 1920:

I'm going to give the Hotel de Biron twelve of my last decorative canvases, each measuring some four and a half square yards, but they'll have to build the room as I want it, according to my plan, and the pictures will leave my house only when I am satisfied with the arrangements. I'm leaving these instructions with my heirs, for I've painted these pictures with a certain decorative aim, and I want it to be attained.<sup>73</sup>

Louis Bonnier's notes attest to the fact that Monet played an active role in the design of the pavilion, "Each day Monet has a new idea," wrote the harassed architect.<sup>74</sup> Monet's first conception of the pavilion was an elliptical space. Two days after their initial meeting, Bonnier wrote the painter with several arguments against the ellipse:

...Also the elliptical form is little accentuated and resembles a circle so closely that it gives the impression of indecision. To accentuate the long axis of the ellipse would only accentuate the disadvantage of the different viewing angles and distances that I discussed earlier. Finally, and this has an important impact on construction and cost, the elliptical form complicates the framing and roofing very seriously. I have designed and offer you a second hypothesis, a circle, which would eliminate the problems, unify the viewing angles and distances.<sup>75</sup>

He proceeded to draw plans for a pavilion described in the press as follows: (Fig. 12)

In this construction, which will be in the form of a rotunda, the twelve canvases will be spaced along the wall end to end, in such a way as to produce for the eye, in a series, the impression of only a single canvas. The series will be separated by relatively narrow gaps, which will provide passage for those entering and leaving....The glass ceiling will be high enough so that between the lower part of the glass and the canvases there will be a space wide enough for M. Claude Monet to fill with decorative motifs....The artist even intends to decorate the vestibule leading into the rotunda with a large composition.<sup>76</sup>

However, Monet objected to Bonnier's plan because he found the circular form "too regular," comparing it to a circus.<sup>77</sup> Reminding everyone concerned with the project of his condition that the building must meet his specifications before he would relinquish the panels, Monet insisted upon a return to the elliptical form, perhaps because it was closer to the shape of his water garden. The twelve panels destined for the pavilion represented the actual appearance of the pond, as Gustave Geffroy affirms:

Each one of these panels, about four meters long by two meters high, is conceived to be placed beside others. The ensemble represents the perimeter of the pond and should be placed at the bottom of the walls of the exposition room, in order to be seen from above by the spectator, exactly as the surface of the water and the frame of the banks is seen in reality.<sup>78</sup>

By juxtaposing photographs of the original panels that were photographed in Monet's studio from 1917 to 1920, Gordon and Stuckey have reconstructed the original sequence: a view of the perimeter of the eastern end of the pond as if one were standing on the small island of irises in the middle of the water.<sup>79</sup> (Fig. 13) Circling the wall above the panels was to have been a frieze of wisteria garlands like those which crowned the Japanese Bridge. Moreover, Monet intended that the pavilion represent the spiritual dimension of the pond as well as its physical

appearance. Lit by skylights, the panels would have been viewed under ever-changing natural conditions. The vestibule was intended to serve as a transition from the everyday world to the peaceful contemplation of the watery paradise.

Unfortunately, this plan was never built although it represented "the clearest expression of Monet's idea of a circular, nearly unbroken space in which the visitor could find himself totally enfolded by the paintings."<sup>80</sup> Rather than build a new structure, the government proposed adapting an existing building to hold the panels. With Monet's approval, the Orangerie at the end of the Tuileries Gardens was selected as the new site. In December 1921, Bonnier was replaced by Camille Lefevre as the architect in charge of the project. The new plan consisted of a series of two oval rooms and a vestibule, which was destroyed in later museum renovations. (Fig. 14) Although the new scheme required additional panels and a reworking of those already completed, Monet agreed to accept this plan and signed the act of donation on April 12, 1922. Unfortunately, Monet's original intention of giving the public an experience of his own private paradise is not represented so clearly in the Orangerie suite as in the original conception of a single panoramic decoration. Perhaps Monet finally agreed to compromise his architectural vision because his eyes were failing rapidly, and he feared he would not be able to complete the series of paintings.

The *Waterlily Decorations*, in their architectural setting, represent the fusion of the arts of painting and gardening in a panoramic decoration that evokes the paradise the artist had developed over forty years of garden design at Giverny. (Fig. 15) As Roger Shattuck observes, "He was painting to the second power, painting within painting. The scenes he observed around the lily pond and along the flowerbeds were already painted--that is, created by his landscape gardening."<sup>81</sup> The next chapter will trace the evolution of Monet's garden from a two-dimensional

painting motif into a three-dimensional paradise which, in turn, determined the form of the paintings.

## Chapter 3

### Design Evolution: 1883-1920

*My garden is a slow work, pursued with love. And I am not going to hide that I'm proud of it.<sup>82</sup>*

Monet's gardening experiences prior to his move to Giverny may have influenced the evolution of his own personal style of gardening. Like many middle-class Frenchmen, Monet's introduction to horticulture coincided with his move to the Paris suburbs in 1871. He rented two different houses over the years he lived at Argenteuil, a small town on the Seine west of Paris; both houses were suburban cottages with small gardens, typical of the developments built by real estate speculators in the latter half of the nineteenth century.<sup>83</sup> (Fig. 1) There is no indication how much latitude Monet was given in designing his two gardens at Argenteuil, but the presence of tender flowers such as dahlias would indicate that he must have routinely planted and maintained the beds. Paintings of his first garden at Argenteuil, where he lived from 1871 to 1873, reveal the highly urban concept of garden design that he had brought with him from his experience with the parks of Paris and London. In canvases such as *The Luncheon* and *The Bench* (Fig. 16), both painted in 1873, elegantly dressed figures are featured in a setting reminiscent of Second Empire parks, with their wide, curving paths and oval flowerbeds. (Fig. 17) Monet's artifice in disguising the size of his small property in order to make it appear more spacious can be seen by comparing Monet's painting, *A Corner of the Garden with Dahlias* (1873), with Renoir's view of Monet painting the scene. (Figs

18,19) Whereas Monet's composition is cropped to give the impression of portraying a corner of a large park, Renoir's view shows the suburban context of the small garden in close proximity to the neighboring cottage. In the fall of 1873, Monet moved to a second residence in Argenteuil. This garden had a lawn bordered with beds of dahlias, gladiolas, hollyhocks, well-defined and neatly edged, which serves as a setting for paintings such as *The Gladiolas* of 1876. Other paintings, however, represent the garden as a more intimate and informal setting for family life. (Figs. 20, 21) Works such as *In the Garden* signal a change in attitude toward the role of the garden; the artist seems to be shifting away from the model of the public park to a conception of the garden as a more intimate and private space.

In 1876, Monet was commissioned to paint four panels depicting the estate of the Hoschede family, the Chateau de Rottembourg, at Montgeron outside of Paris. The scenes he chose to include reveal his evolving tastes. One panel shows turkeys on the lawn behind the chateau, another portrays a hunting scene in the park and two focus on the estate pond. *Corner of the Garden* displays a colorful jumble of dahlias and roses at the water's edge (Fig. 22), while another canvas focuses on the water itself, portraying the still surface reflecting the tall trees that guard the privacy of this remote spot.

Increasingly, then, at Argenteuil the artist shows evidence of a growing appreciation of the garden as a private, personal retreat rather than a public theatre. At the same time, the human figure recedes in importance in the garden canvases as the foreground fills with glowing masses of flowers. The years at Argenteuil were fertile ones for Monet's artistic activity. Other painters, such as Renoir and Manet, visited and painted there. Together they evolved the style recognized by art historians as Impressionism, as their explorations of plein-air

painting led to a preoccupation with capturing the optical effects of sunlight brightened their palettes, distancing them from the Realism of Courbet. An art critic who was a contemporary of Monet's pointed out the parallel evolution of Monet's ideas on painting and gardening at Argenteuil:

At last this garden will furnish flowers to paint between landscape expeditions; swatches of tones as varied for a subtle and attentive eye as an entire forest. It's astonishing how many things a small garden can offer a great artist. The garden at Argenteuil contained the seed of the fairyland garden of Giverny, where ten years later the greatest splendors of color would begin to appear and multiply in an almost fantastic progression. We consider this garden at Argenteuil as an important element, a decisive milestone in the painter's work. It and the banks of the Seine are, in our eyes, more than the most judicious theories and most animated and fascinating discussions among comrades, the determining factors in the evolution and transformation of Monet.<sup>84</sup>

As Parisian industry and inhabitants increased development pressures on Argenteuil, Monet moved further west along the Seine River to a more rural location, the town of Vetheuil. In 1898, he rented a small house on the northwest edge of town, which included "grounds in the English style," an orchard and a garden that sloped down to the Seine.<sup>85</sup> During this period of personal struggle and tragedy, Monet supported two families under his roof at Vetheuil: his own and that of his former patron Ernest Hoschede, who had suffered bankruptcy. When his first wife Camille died in 1878, Alice Hoschede stepped in to care for Monet's two children as well as her own six. The garden seemed to provide solace for the artist in his troubles, and he portrayed it in a series of sun-drenched canvases dating from 1881. (Fig. 23) By this time, his taste seems to have been set in a preference for informal masses of bright, simple flowers, such as the sunflowers that appear in garden and still-life paintings of the period. In 1882, financial problems forced the joint Hoschede-Monet household to leave Vetheuil, moving further west along the Seine to Poissy, where Monet was unhappy and began immediately to look for a better place to settle.

In April, 1883, Monet moved his large family to the house he had rented at Giverny. (Fig. 24) One of the initial attractions of the property was the large adjacent garden, filled with blossoming apple trees.<sup>86</sup> (Fig. 26) A central lane lined with spruce and cypress trees divided the orchard. Beneath the trees were flowerbeds stiffly edged by clipped boxwood, which was quickly removed by the new residents.<sup>87</sup> Monet immediately set about replanting the ornamental beds with the flowers he needed to paint a series of decorative panels commissioned by Paul Durand-Ruel, his art dealer, to whom he wrote, "Then I was absorbed in gardening in order to cultivate on bad days."<sup>88</sup> (Fig. 25) The contents of these panels probably reflect the earliest plantings Monet made in the Giverny garden: white, pink and red poppies, Japanese anemones, jonquils, tulips, sunflowers, chrysanthemums, dahlias, yellow and white marguerites, gladioli, pink and white azaleas, Japanese lilies, Christmas rose and cup-and-saucer vine.<sup>89</sup> The character of the orchard in these early years is captured in the painting *Spring 1886*, which shows two of the Hoschede girls sitting under a flowering canopy of apple blossoms. Another early view of the garden, *The Peonies* (1887), reveals that the orchard was gradually being underplanted with ornamental beds. The earliest view of the central path, painted in 1888, features Germaine Hoschede gathering flowers. It appears likely that Monet settled on a successful planting scheme for the beds bordering this path very early on, and its appearance changed little over the ensuing decades. (Fig. 27) Octave Mirbeau describes the sequence of blooms in an article published in 1891: the border was dominated by irises in spring, followed by California poppies interspersed with hollyhocks in summer. The central path achieved its full glory in September, when the thick mats of nasturtiums burst into flame-colored blooms beneath masses of violet asters, which were, in turn, surmounted by dahlias, Japanese anemones and sunflowers.<sup>90</sup>



In 1890, Monet purchased the property. With improved financial conditions and a new sense of permanence, Monet embarked on an ambitious program of design changes, which transformed the appearance and function of the garden over the next decade. (Fig. 29) In 1891, Monet wrote to the poet Stephane Mallarme to apologize for failing to visit him in Paris, "But then, I must admit, I am reluctant to leave Giverny, especially now that I am arranging the house and garden to my taste."<sup>91</sup> In 1892, he added a greenhouse to the property and hired a staff of six gardeners. The orchard shrank in extent as Monet prepared a new series of flowerbeds flanking the central path. Concern over the progress of this work preoccupied the painter while he was in Rouen finishing the Cathedral series. Several letters to Alice in March ask about progress in removing tree stumps and installing the new trellises, probably referring to the structures east of the central path.<sup>92</sup> Concurrently, he was engaged in purchasing a tract of land across the railroad tracks from his house. In March, 1893, he applied for permission to detour water from the local stream into his pond with a series of sluices and to build two small footbridges. In a letter to the Prefect, he expained his intention to cultivate aquatic plants "in order to please the eye and also to serve as a painting motif."<sup>93</sup> Work on the water garden began in the summer after Monet, having overcome the objections of neighboring farmers, finally secured the necessary permits on July 28, 1893. Meanwhile, work continued on the upper garden as well. The west side of the orchard was also undergoing alterations; next to the greenhouse, a series of rectangular beds was formed. The remnant of orchard next to the central walk was being transformed gradually, through the selective cutting of trees, into a lawn area interspersed with round flowerbeds. (Fig. 29) A two-meter high wall of Clematis Jackmanni superba separated the lawn area from the flowerbeds.<sup>94</sup> In 1897, the old farmhouse on the

west side of the property was enlarged and converted for use as Monet's second studio.

Monet recorded the results of his first efforts at garden design in a series of paintings that were exhibited in 1900. As early as 1896, he wrote, "I am thinking about what I will do at Giverny as soon as the garden is in flower."<sup>95</sup> The garden paintings present a naturalistic record of its appearance following Monet's intensive design efforts of the preceding decade. (Figs. 4, 31) The earliest views of the pond, without any waterlilies, date from 1895. In the same year, he painted the central path of the flower garden, the last time that a human figure appears in the garden canvases. The *Japanese Bridge* series of 1899-1900 depicts the lush vegetation that disguised the small size of the pond. (Fig. 30) He also continued to paint views of the central path; several canvases portray the long beds of purple iris, while others were painted in September, when the plantings described earlier were at the height of their glory.

Indeed Monet seems to have orchestrated the succession of blooms to accommodate his use of the garden as a motif for painting. The upper garden reached its peak in May, when the irises, peonies and poppies were in bloom. June through August, the water garden took center-stage as the warm weather induced the waterlilies to full flower. The painter's attention turned to the central path in September for the flowering of nasturtiums, asters and dahlias.

In its design, moreover, the garden reflected the aesthetic principles of his paintings from this period. Monet's method of painting, like his approach to gardening, evolved, not from theory, but in response to his commitment to the rendering of objective reality as it appeared at the moment of perception. To accomplish this goal, Monet abandoned the traditional compositional devices of western painting in favor of a process described below by William Seitz:

Monet composed magnificently, but because of his direct method, untraditionally. It should go without saying that he did not choose a subject or a vantage point at random....But having made these commitments, he did not materially alter the relative positions that the stable landscape elements would have taken on a photographer's ground glass....By its very nature, moreover, outdoor painting brings about unique means of compositional unification that make conventional devices unnecessary.<sup>96</sup>

In order to reproduce the quality of natural outdoor light, Monet and the Impressionists developed new approaches to the use of color. Whereas traditional theories on the use of color, based on Aristotle, stressed contrasts of value, which defined form and created the illusion of depth, the Impressionists adopted a spectral palette of bright colors, meaning pure, unmixed pigments, based on a progression in hue from warm to cool rather than dark to light.<sup>97</sup> Since these pure colors all fall in the middle to light value range (the addition of black would be necessary to darken the value), Impressionist canvases tend to lack the spatial definition and structure traditionally provided by value contrast. Recognition of this problem led to the "crisis" of the 1880s, when the unity of the Impressionist group broke down as painters searched for individual solutions to the dilemma caused by their mutual experiments of the 1870s.<sup>98</sup> Clement Greenberg provides further insights into the nature of the problem facing Monet in the 1880s:

The broken, prismatic color of full-blown Impressionism tended to make the balance between the illusion in depth and the design on the surface precarious.... The dilemma could be solved only by impaling oneself on one or the other of its horns: either the illusion in depth had to be strengthened at the expense of the surface or vice versa.<sup>99</sup>

Whereas Cezanne led a return to three-dimensional structure, Monet stubbornly persisted in the search for brighter color and light which came to dance on the surface of his canvases in the remarkable innovation of his *Waterlily Decorations*. Greenberg summarizes the achievement of Monet's experiments at Giverny, "What

the avant-garde missed in Late Impressionism was light-and-dark structure; but there is nothing in artistic experience which says that chromatic, 'symphonic' structure cannot take its place."<sup>100</sup> Since Monet moved to Giverny in the 1880s, the development of the garden must be viewed in the context of his lonely struggle to resolve these artistic issues. Robert Herbert comments on the psychological shift reflected in a change of subject matter at this time:

In the 1880s, Monet's subjects change drastically. The sociable motifs of the 1860s and '70s gradually ebb away, and we more frequently see images of loneliness and of nature's sublime powers..."<sup>101</sup>

In his paintings as well as in the living palette of his garden, Monet sought to heighten the effect of color, increasing its intensity by continuing to use a palette of bright hues and arranging them in such a way as to create maximum contrasts. On painting trips to the Riviera and to Holland, Monet challenged his palette to express the vivid hues he saw in the landscape. Years later, he expressed his admiration for the Dutch bulb fields to the Duc de Treviso:

Tulips are beautiful but impossible to render. When I saw them, I said to myself that painting couldn't succeed at it.... Don't you like the bulb fields, do you find too much formal regularity? As for me, I admire them and when the flowers in blossom are picked and then thrown into a heap and in the canals one suddenly sees yellow patches floating like colored rafts in the reflection of the blue sky....<sup>102</sup>

The juxtaposition of bright hues in these canvases proved to be quite shocking even to Monet's admirers.<sup>103</sup> The qualities that Monet admired in the bulb fields were reproduced in the rectangular beds of Monet's garden, which, like the Dutch fields, were each planted with flowers of a single hue. Furthermore, Monet tended to select flowers in vivid rather than pale colors. His garden was dominated by oranges, reds, and purples rather than pastel shades. Moreover, the perceived brightness of the colors themselves was heightened by their juxtaposition in contrasting complementary

pairs. It is difficult to determine whether Monet achieved this effect through familiarity with contemporary color theory<sup>104</sup>, as he might have known it from reading Delacroix's *Journal*, or by instinct or experiment. The combination of violet aubrietias bordering beds of yellow tulips or leopard's bane or the contrast of red nasturtium flowers emerging from a swell of green foliage produced an effect so dramatic that it made one visitor think of Wagnerian opera:

You can set your imagination free and picture yourself as a Parsifal; helpless in the intoxicating wiles of the Flower Maidens, or, among the flaming spears of gladioli, that you are a Siegrid about to discover the sleeping Valkyrie amidst the dazzling profusion.<sup>105</sup>

Monet sought to "paint pure sensations as distinct from conceptualizations."<sup>106</sup> To illustrate the point, Monet once remarked that he wished he had been born blind and then gained sight suddenly so that he could paint what he saw without being prejudiced by familiarity. He once advised the American painter, Lila Cabot Perry, as follows:

When you go out to paint, try to forget what objects you have before you, a tree, a house, a field or whatever. Merely think, here is a little square of blue, here an oblong of pink, here a streak of yellow, and paint it just as it looks to you, the exact color and shape, until it gives your naive impression of the scene before you.<sup>107</sup>

The design of the flower garden reflects that same quality of naive perception, as one views it as an overall pattern of color and texture rather than focusing on discreet and identifiable forms and objects. As in Monet's painting, the distinct boundaries of forms are obscured in the complex web of brushstrokes which interweave layers of brushstrokes. Robert Herbert has analyzed the painstaking process which Monet developed in the 1880s in order to achieve his complex color harmonies:

First he defined the major parts of the composition in a rather thin

scumbling of color which was often allowed to show through here and there to help form the color of a given area. Next came a complicated series of strokes, with drying time between applications. Some of these were texture strokes....These were allowed to dry, over time reckoned in days rather than hours. Their direction and their texture retained the vital quality of spontaneity and expression, even though some of them were subsequently hidden in other colors. The surface colors were applied in very thin coatings....Some were deliberately mixed on the canvas while still wet, but most of them were applied over dry surfaces, one at a time.<sup>108</sup>

This process for achieving "studied spontaneity" provides insights into Monet's planting design as well. He displays a marked preference for plants that creep, twine or ramble, thereby causing an obliteration of boundaries and an intermingling of colors and textures that appears spontaneous, but, of course, was carefully planned. One observer commented:

Although the paths are straight, no rigid line marks their boundary; the gardeners have orders to let the flowers grow as they please--some climb and others ramble, and it is necessary to make various detours to avoid the nasturtiums which wander with their tufts of flowers into the middle of the paths.<sup>109</sup>

The compositional innovations of Monet's painting are also reflected in the garden design. Andrew Forge describes the lessons that Monet may have learned from the Japanese prints he collected:

Traditional western drawing stresses the boundaries of things, the projection of solids, the hollowing of voids and a general separation of forms from their background field. Equally, traditional drawing stresses a self-contained wholeness in the pictorial structure itself which, through its rhythmical ordering of forms and its concentration upon central points of focus, seems to evoke something like an ideal anatomy....Monet turns away from all this and in its place he embraces an overall, inclusive glance which locates each visible surface, background and foreground, figure and field in a matrix of color patches.<sup>110</sup>

Monet's compositional methods provided startling revelations to his contemporaries. At the Impressionist exhibit of 1877, Monet showed seven different views of the Gare St. Lazare, demonstrating that there was no single best view of a

subject. Charles Moffett has commented on the importance of this innovation, "Perhaps no other idea has had such widespread importance for the history of modern art."<sup>111</sup> Moreover, Monet's daring challenge to the pictorial conventions of western art had even wider implications for the art of garden design, which had been dominated for centuries by the compositional techniques of landscape painters like Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa. Claude's formula consisted of dividing the picture into parallel planes of fore, middle and background. To emphasize the perception of depth, the view was usually framed by a tree on one side, which threw a dark shadow or "coulisse" over the foreground plane. The middle ground usually contained a body of water which served to gather the light in front of a distant landscape glowing in the background. Devices such as bridges were used to lead the eye in a sequence through the planes of the picture.<sup>112</sup> (Fig. 32) At the beginning of his book on the picturesque, Christopher Hussey recounts how startled he was to discover the degree to which he and his generation had been conditioned to see the landscape in terms of picturesque scenery: (Fig. 33)

Forthwith the picturesque became the nineteenth century's mode of vision. So long as the convention was accepted, there was no question of its aesthetic origins or values....Only when the eye has learnt to see the qualities stressed by painters with other conventions, whether Giotto or Cezanne, are we jogged out of the picturesque habit and enabled to view it as a phase.<sup>113</sup>

Monet's gardens offer that challenge to our expectations even today; tourists often have difficulty finding the "right" views to photograph.<sup>114</sup> As Monet recognized, "Claude Lorrain was no master of mine."<sup>115</sup> By the end of his career, Monet had resolved the question of how to create depth in an Impressionist painting by compressing the middle and backgrounds until they floated on the mirror-like surface of his pond. As Clement Greenberg observes, "Toward the end of his life, Monet

began to make his pictures all foreground."<sup>116</sup> In the flower garden, the dominant foreground experience was raised into three dimensions through the prevalence of tall plants or vines raised on supports. While walking down the narrow side aisles of the gardens, one would literally be enclosed by the "forest" of flowers. (Fig. 9) Furthermore, like many of his canvases, Monet's gardens, especially the flower garden, offered few framed perspective views or focal points. Monet's paintings of the gardens reveal his method: like at the Gare St. Lazare, he painted the same garden scene from a variety of points of view. (Fig. 34) In this respect, the water garden is more conventionally composed than the flower garden because the Japanese Bridge provides a typically picturesque focal point. Consequently, it is the most often photographed view of Giverny. Yet Monet himself was dissatisfied with this aspect of his water garden; in 1901, he enlarged and redesigned the pond because he had discovered the the 1893 design offered only a single interesting perspective, focusing on the bridge, for painting.<sup>117</sup>

From 1901 to 1906, Monet engaged in large-scale improvements to the water garden. (Fig. 35) The streambed of the Ru was diverted, and the pond redug and enlarged. The banks were then replanted; two additional willows were added, one to the south end of the bridge and another at the eastern end of the pond. In contrast to the lush, dense planting of grasses and aquatic plants around the banks of the smaller pond, the larger body of water had a much simpler planting scheme: narrow strips of lawn sloped down to the water, punctuated at intervals by iris, agapanthus or other aquatic plants. Hybrid water lilies developed by Maurice Toulouse-Marliac populated the pond with their bright flowers: pink, yellow, white, lavender, purple and blue. Special soil was brought in to create a habitat appropriate for the cultivation of rhododendrons and azaleas at the eastern shore of the pond. A more



complex path system offered a variety of spatial experiences through the new design. For example, a rose-covered archway marked the entrance to an outer circuit along the stream, affording views of the meadows Monet loved to paint. A trellis destined to support mauve and white wisteria was also added to the Japanese bridge at this time. In 1906, Monet planted the grove of various species of bamboo which played such an important role in shaping the spatial quality of the new design. Monet began painting the pond immediately. (Fig. 36) The 1905 series of the *Japanese Bridge* took advantage of the new longer view from the east. (Fig. 37) In the 1890s series paintings of poplars and haystacks, Monet began to concentrate his artistic efforts on capturing the effects of changing light conditions. Monet relates nature of his inquiry in the following passage:

...the more I continue, the more I see that a great deal of work is necessary in order to succeed in rendering that which I seek: "instantaneity"...the same light spreading everywhere.<sup>118</sup>

Perhaps the artist discovered that it was in the mirrored surface of his lily pond that he could perceive most clearly the "instantaneous" qualities he was seeking to capture, for most of the canvases exhibited in 1909 focus on the water's surface, featuring the waterlilies and the reflections of light and passing clouds. (Fig. 38) Inspired perhaps by the larger water surface offered by the new configuration of the pond, Monet's painting moved to the surface of the canvas in a celebration of the two-dimensional decorative potential of his artistic medium.

Following the 1909 exhibit, Monet engaged in a last phase of design that involved changes to both flower and water gardens. The damage from the disastrous flood of 1910 undoubtedly provided some of the motivation for the redesign. From January through March, the water garden was entirely submerged, and flood water covered the lower half of the flower garden as well for part of that time.<sup>119</sup> After

the flood receded, Monet reshaped the banks of the pond into the sinuous curves necessary for the panoramic *Waterlily Panels* that were beginning to preoccupy him. (Fig. 3) He also added a fourth weeping willow next to the first one planted on the north bank.<sup>120</sup> Three of these four willows were featured in a series of canvases painted from 1916 to 1918. (Fog. 39) The simple arch of roses was expanded into an elaborate flowering bower over the boat landing, which provided the aging artist with one of his favorite places to sit and reflect.

At this time, Monet also made further alterations to the upper garden as well. He began building the third studio on the site of the former chicken coop, which entailed many changes to the eastern side of the property. In fact, the design of this area was still somewhat unresolved at the time of Monet's death in 1926.<sup>121</sup> It was during this period that he finally removed the spruce and cypress trees, which shaded the plantings along the central path.<sup>122</sup> Around 1920, he installed the series of rose arches that were featured in a final series of paintings of the central path views in 1922. (Fig. 40)

In 1883, Monet had moved to Giverny, seeking the isolation of his retreat in the country in order to work out the implications of his commitment to rendering "immediate sensation." At Argenteuil and Vetheuil, he had begun to experience the garden as a refuge and to recognize the value of flowers as a painting motif. The purchase of the Giverny property in 1890 offered the artist the opportunity to experiment with the overall design of the garden, applying to this living canvas the techniques of Impressionist painting. His growing mastery of three-dimensional design, however, transformed the two-dimensional pattern of color and texture into an environment so special that it began to determine the evolution of his painting.

Ever since I turned sixty, I had always had at the back of my mind a

plan to take each of the categories of motifs I had worked on over the years and to create a kind of synthesis ...all of my former impressions and feelings. I had abandoned the notion because it would have taken a lot of traveling...and nowadays traveling tires me. And besides, I wanted to stay put here, where I'm happy. I've grown used to the flowers in my garden in the spring and to the waterlilies in my pond in the summertime; they give flavor to my life everyday. So I had abandoned the project. My cataract causes me to return to it. I had always loved the sky and the water, greenery, flowers. All these elements were to be found on my little pond.<sup>123</sup>

In *The Waterlily Decorations*, Monet achieved the desired synthesis by fusing the art of painting with the three-dimensional art of design. Ironically, this synthesis liberated the painter from the need to provide the illusion of depth in a two-dimensional canvas. Set within the spatial structure provided by the architecture, the painting surface could be just that: a chromatic symphony, to paraphrase Greenberg, in two dimensions. This innovative artistic synthesis was inspired by an equally unique garden, which itself fused elements from many design traditions into a new artistic creation. To appreciate fully the unique achievement of the gardens at Giverny, one needs to understand them within the framework of nineteenth-century culture and the heritage of French garden design.

## Chapter 4

### The Context of Monet's Garden: Tradition and Innovation

*One must know a place thoroughly before one can paint it. That's why I stay here in the country where I was born. I know it...it is difficult to get the spirit of a new land.<sup>124</sup>*

In addition to representing a synthesis of many arts, such as painting, architecture, and poetry, Monet's garden blends elements from diverse design traditions into a unique and personal paradise. The originality of this creation lies in the union of traditional elements into a design ordered by the aesthetic perceptions of a great painter. Once again, Arsene Alexandre provides a first-hand evaluation of the historical context of the Giverny gardens:

Monet's garden has nothing in common with the Parc Monceau or Kew Gardens near London. I do not want to slander Kew Gardens or the Parc Monceau because, along with the garden at Versailles, they are delightful in their own way. But the garden at Giverny, which bears them no resemblance at all, is astonishing. It is not overly sophisticated in the least. One cannot see any rounded flowerbeds arranged to look like bouquets or Italian mosaics. It has none of the conventionally picturesque style....Monet's idea had been to create a garden like no other in arrangement and extent.<sup>125</sup>

In fact, however, Monet's garden was not an isolated phenomenon but rather drew on a rich heritage of French garden design. Indeed, the two contrasting sections of the Giverny property, the flower garden and the lily pond, can be seen to reflect the two strong traditions of French design: the former reflects the formal geometry of seventeenth-century baroque gardens while the latter resembles more

closely the spirit of the picturesque tradition. William Seitz has pointed out a similar dualism in the French artistic tradition, which Monet continued in his own alternation between architectural and organic forms as motifs in his paintings, "The concurrent existence of two stylistic poles, the one rectilinear and the other curvilinear and free, is a historic characteristic of French painting."<sup>126</sup>

France first achieved international fame in the field of garden design with the style perfected by Andre Le Notre (1613-1700) in the reign of Louis XIV. Out of the thirty-five estates that he worked on, including Versailles and Vaux-le-Vicomte (Fig. 42), certain common traits emerge to characterize the style. Carved out of the forests on the flat topography of northern France, Le Notre's gardens were organized around a dominant central axis projecting through the architecture of the chateau into the landscape beyond, often extending to infinity. Cross-axial paths divided the garden into geometrically ordered compartments of "parterres de broderie" alternating with bosques of trees planted on a grid or quincunx arrangement. From the highest terrace near the chateau, the garden stretched as a carpet patterned by the intricate designs made by clipped boxwood hedges and colored gravel. Instead of the cascades of Italian Renaissance gardens, the dominant water elements of Le Notre's designs were flat planes of water, in canals or water parterres, that reflected the restless drama of the sky. In the molding of living material to the laws of geometry and optical illusion, Le Notre's gardens have come to serve as a paradigm for man's control over nature.

The use of an axial spine to organize the gardens of Giverny, a characteristic the dated from the property's previous ownership, links Monet's garden with the heritage of seventeenth-century design. Monet himself extended the axis as a means of connecting the water garden to the upper garden, further emphasizing its

hierarchical role by embellishing the central path with rose arches and the Japanese bridge with a crown of wisteria. As at Versailles, the axis served as a ceremonial public promenade. The geometry of the upper garden, moreover, is closely tied to the architecture of the residence, as in Le Notre's designs. Monet's garden features a still, flat plane of water whose mirror-like quality recalls the water parterres of the earlier tradition. Monet's design, however geometric its conception, lacks the rigid formality of Vaux or Versailles, largely because he eschewed the use of clipped boxwood to define the geometric divisions, selecting plants that were likely to overrun the edges of the beds. While sharing some formal characteristics with Le Notre's designs, Monet is more closely allied with the philosophy of the the English Landscape Garden.

Indeed, the countrymen of Jean-Jacques Rousseau were not far behind the English in calling for a new style of gardening to reflect changing views of nature and politics. As Dora Wiebenson points out in *The Picturesque Garden in France*, the reaction to this strict symmetrical ordering system followed quickly upon the death of the Sun King in the simpler, more irregular designs of the Regency period.<sup>127</sup> In the 1720s, The French philosophers Montesquieu and Voltaire carried reports of the new English gardening style practiced by Lord Burlington's circle back from their trips to England in the 1720s.<sup>128</sup> The close association of the French picturesque garden with the philosophical ideas of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment was illustrated in the design of Rene Louis de Girardin's estate of Ermenonville, where Rousseau lived for the last months before his death in 1778. In fact, the philosopher's tomb forms one of romantic monuments of the park. As in England, the picturesque garden in France was experienced on a meandering circuit which presented a sequence of views which were carefully composed according to the

principles used by landscape painters like Claude Lorraine. Since the picturesque garden was based on aesthetic principles of landscape painting, the painter often replaced the architect as garden designer. Like his English counterpart William Kent, Hubert Robert (1733-1808), a French landscape painter, became one of the leading exponents of the new style. As "Designer of the King's Garden," he reshaped the Baths of Apollo at Versailles into a picturesque grotto housing Girardon's sculpture of Apollo being bathed by nymphs<sup>129</sup> and participated in the creation of Marie-Antoinette's rustic retreat, Le Hameau.<sup>130</sup> The degree to which the new style of garden was associated with oriental exoticism can be seen in the fact that the French used the term "jardin anglo-chinois" to describe the style.

<sup>131</sup> William Chambers' writings about the Chinese garden as well as his design for Kew Gardens inspired a proliferation of Chinese features as scenic focal points in French gardens.<sup>132</sup> In his book *China and the Gardens of Europe*, Ostvald Siren notes: "They [the French] were even more interested than the English in Chinese decoration, which might take the form of pavilions, bridges, tents and the like...."

<sup>133</sup> In 1775, the park around the Chateau de Bagatelle outside of Paris was designed to include many Chinese features in order to please the Prince de Ligne, a sinophile, who insisted: "When I make use of the expression 'The English garden,' it should be remembered that this is a conventional phrase; for it is rather the Chinese garden."<sup>134</sup> The Parc Monceau, as originally designed by Carmontelle in 1778, also contained an interesting Chinese attraction: a "jeu de bague," a kind of merry-go-round with dragons instead of horses, equipped with servants in Chinese costume.

Since the very philosophical ideas that lay behind the development of the picturesque garden bore their political fruit in the French Revolution, it is not surprising that the "jardin anglo-chinois" became the preferred style in post-

revolutionary France.<sup>135</sup> Returning noblemen as well as the new aristocracy created by Napoleon rushed to refurbish their properties according to the fashionable taste. A new factor in the picturesque garden under the First Empire was the increased number of botanical specimen imported from all over the world. Napoleon took an active role in this process, sending out exploratory expeditions of natural scientists to gather new species. Unusual species of plants and animals found on confiscated royal properties were inventoried and relocated to the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, enlarged and redesigned to serve as a public institution in the natural sciences. In 1804 alone, more than 6200 species were added to the national collection from a South American expedition.<sup>136</sup> Napoleon and the Empress Josephine incorporated numerous exotic specimen into the design of the picturesque park at their residence Malmaison.

Monet's love of nature, seen in the curvilinear forms of the water garden as well as his avid interest in botany, can, then, be understood as a reflection of another tradition in French garden design. In spirit, certainly, both gardens partake of the picturesque tradition in landscape design. Ironically, however, Monet the painter rejected the application of the Claudian compositional formula in his canvases and carried that revolt into the garden as well. Rather than offering a sequence of "framed" scenic views, Monet removed the compositional boundaries and focal points from the design of the flower garden. The "private" areas flanking the central path, especially, present an abstract pattern of color and texture that recomposes endlessly, depending on the spectator's point of view. In emphasizing the role of flowers and color in garden design, however, Monet was not original; his attitude was typical of Second Empire parks and gardens.

In the proliferation of public gardens that resulted from Baron Haussman's



urban projects of 1850-1867, the two traditions of French design were acknowledged and accorded a role in the Paris park system. In his book, *Les Promenades de Paris*, Adolphe Alphand, appointed by Haussman to supervise the construction of the new parks, discussed the attributes of both styles. Like the English designer Humphrey Repton, he advocated the use of the more regular, geometric style in the vicinity of architecture, like a residence, with the irregular picturesque park in outlying areas.<sup>137</sup> Among Parisian parks, the geometric parterres of the Tuileries and Luxembourg Gardens, as well as a section of the Jardin des Plantes, were retained and embellished. The new parks, however, were designed in the picturesque style, simplified and purged of its excess of architectural follies. In fact, Alphand criticized earlier French efforts at the picturesque for their overabundance of monuments: "Constructions were multiplied through ostentation rather than taste."<sup>138</sup> The Bois de Boulogne, for example, was redesigned by molding the topography and carving spaces from the forest to create a sequence of landscape features and recreational areas: two lakes, a meadow, a racetrack, etc. In the Bois de Boulogne, Vincennes, Parc Monceau and other new parks, the use of beautiful and unusual botanical specimen replaced architectural fantasies in providing interest and variety to the design. The English garden writer, William Robinson wrote the following description of the redesigned Parc Monceau, which had been purged of many exotic elements. (Fig. 44):

This is on the whole the most beautiful garden in Paris, and well shows the characteristics of horticultural decoration so energetically adopted in the city. It is not large, but exceedingly well stored, and usually displays a vast wealth of handsome and exotic plants in summer....What first excites the admiration of the visitor used to the monotonous and highly toned type of garden now seen so much with us is the variety, beauty of form and refreshing verdure which characterizes this garden--good qualities that are so often absent in too many of our own.<sup>139</sup>

For the first time color effects of herbaceous plants and flowers assumed an important role in the French garden. Alphand stated that "the landscaper should also be a colorist."<sup>140</sup> He proceeded to signal the role that flowers should play in park design: "Finally, flowers, whether employed in borders or in beds, form one of the principal ornaments of the picturesque garden."<sup>141</sup> He described the two principal forms of flowerbeds: "corbeilles," round or elliptical "baskets" or beds filled with brightly colored annuals, or herbaceous borders around masses of trees and shrubs. The former practice resembles the English system of carpet-bedding, a standard feature of English parks and gardens espoused by Loudoun's *Suburban Gardens and Villa Companion* of 1839.<sup>142</sup> Annual plants such as petunias, coleus, and cannas were arranged in these beds, which were carved out of lawn areas, in patterns ranging from unichrome masses, concentric bands of different colors, or more elaborate patterns. (Figs. 45,46) William Robinson railed against the practice as he saw it employed in Parisian parks:

There is one feature in the Bois de Boulogne which cannot be too strongly condemned--the practice of laying down here and there on some its freshest sweeps of sloping grass enormous beds containing one kind of flower only. In several instances...may be seen hundreds of one kind of tender plant in a great unmeaning mass, just in the positions where the turf ought to have been left free for a little repose between the very successful permanent plantations.<sup>143</sup>

Robinson was more enthusiastic in his description of the use of herbaceous plants, often more hardy varieties, as borders around shrub and tree masses. (Figs. 47, 48):

One of the most useful and natural ways of diversifying a garden, and one that we rarely or never take advantage of, is abundantly illustrated here [in the Parc Monceau]. It simply consists in placing really distinct and handsome plants alone upon the grass to break up the monotony of clump margins of everything else. They may be placed singly or in open groups, near the margins of a bold clump of shrubs or in the open grass, and the system is applicable to all kinds of hardy, ornamental subjects....<sup>144</sup>

French gardeners were familiar with William Robinson's espousal of the "wild garden," more naturalistic groupings of hardy perennials as an alternative to carpet-bedding in the picturesque park. Edouard Andre, a landscape architect employed by Alphand, mentioned Robinson's book *The Wild Garden* (1870) in his own gardening manual, *L'Art des jardins*, published in 1879. Andre, while also giving instructions on the proper construction of basket-like beds, advocated increased use of plants native to the French countryside. The interesting and unusual features of exotic plants could sometimes be harmful to the overall design, he explained: "But this richness is often harmful to the art of gardens. It contributes to considering trees exclusively for their individual beauty and not for the effects obtained by their association in masses. It leads more readily to gardening rather than landscape design."<sup>145</sup> He suggested incorporating into the garden principles derived from observing the indigenous landscape: "Everyone has seen the effect produced in our countryside by majestic or picturesque groups of our native vegetation, but no one thinks of reproducing them."<sup>146</sup> His book lists native plants suitable for inclusion in the garden and recommends that they be employed in naturalistic groupings, "against a background mass of trees and shrubs, a profusion of flowers flourish in luxuriant disorder."<sup>147</sup>

The Impressionist painters have left a record of Second Empire parks in their canvases. Monet himself painted the Jardin de l'Infante, the Tuileries and the Parc Monceau, where the Monet children were taken to play.<sup>148</sup> It is interesting to note, however, that Monet never chose to portray the picturesque focal points of Parc Monceau, such as the romantic ruins of a colonnade. (Fig. 43) Instead, his paintings feature simple elements of the design, such as paths, lawns and flowers. (Fig. 17) Monet's early gardening efforts at Argenteuil reveal his familiarity with the planting

design trends of Second Empire parks. Gradually his taste shifted away from basket-style beds in favor of the more natural borders of hardy perennials espoused by William Robinson.<sup>149</sup> Among the list made by Jean-Pierre Hoschede of the plants which his stepfather refused to include in his Giverny garden are the tender annuals most commonly "bedded out" in the typical garden of the period: for example, cannas, petunias, French marigolds, ageratum, and coleus were excluded along with double-flowered varieties and plants with variegated or colored foliage.<sup>150</sup> Although there is again no evidence of direct influence, Monet's planting design principles at Giverny bear a remarkable resemblance to the ideas expressed by Edouard Andre in *l'Art des jardins*. Monet's plantings in both gardens illustrate the "luxuriant profusion" recommended by Andre. Moreover, Jean-Pierre Hoschede points out that a significant percentage of the plants in Monet's garden were indigenous species, such as foxglove, epilobium, lily-of-the-valley, marsh marigold, Solomon's seal, yellow iris, globeflower, thalictrum and wild arrowhead.<sup>151</sup> Particularly in the water garden, he tended to group plants into patterns based on natural association. The border of the pond, for instance, was planted with aquatic species of iris, marsh marigold, arrowhead, etc. The dominant species of woody plants that frame the pond were those that would be found naturally in such a landscape: poplars, willow, alder, ash and tamarisk. When Monet enriched the plantings with exotic species, he generally chose those that fit into such a grouping, such as the hybrid waterlilies and bamboo. In another area of the water garden, he grouped woodland plants such as holly, kalmia, rhododendrons and ferns. Probably this degree of concern for achieving a natural effect was unusual in the middle class garden of the time. Monet often used species that even William Robinson suggested were inappropriate for ornamental use, such as field poppies and sunflowers.

In many respects, however, Monet fell squarely into the category of middle-class urban dwellers who moved to the suburbs in search of better living conditions within easy reach of the city's cultural and social attractions. The history of Argenteuil, where Monet had his first garden, is typical of many towns around Paris; following the extension of the railroad line from Paris to Argenteuil in 1851, the population doubled over the next twenty years, with new industries following the work force.<sup>152</sup> The migration of middle-class Parisians out of the congested city center encouraged real estate speculators to buy up large tracts of farm land and large estates, dividing them up into lots for single-family housing.<sup>153</sup> The small lots attached to these suburban cottages provided urban dwellers with an unprecedented amount of space for horticultural endeavors, which often combined both utility and ornamental gardens. A contemporary observer recorded in 1860, "One of the most pronounced characteristics of our present Parisian society is that everyone in the middle class wants to have his little house with trees, roses, dahlias, and his big or little garden...."<sup>154</sup> In fact, the middle-class citizens of France were impassioned by gardening to an unprecedented degree at this time, as evidenced by a proliferation of horticultural exhibitions, books and periodicals.<sup>155</sup> Alongside the traditions of "jardins potagers," vegetable and fruit gardens typical of the French countryside, and the elegant gardens and parks of the gentry, grew a phenomenon of modest ornamental gardens among the middle class.

Even when Monet moved out of suburban Argenteuil into a rural setting, his garden displayed the suburban mixture of ornament and utility. As he progressively transformed the orchard into a flower garden, his property stood out as increasingly unusual in the rural countryside. The attitude towards Monet's ornamental horticulture on the part of local farmers can be seen in their objections to Monet's

projected pond improvements on the grounds that the waterlilies might poison their cattle downstream.<sup>156</sup> Yet even the final phase of the flower garden design, when the family's laying hens had been replaced by exotic peacocks, bears the formal imprint of its agricultural heritage: The walled "clos" with its simple geometric beds and remaining gnarled apple trees continued the cultural traditions of French rural life.

Monet also participated in the general enthusiasm of the bourgeoisie for Japanese culture, which, in the mid-nineteenth century, replaced the earlier fascination with China. The trend, known as "japanisme," boomed after the opening of Japan to western trade by Admiral Perry in 1854. France signed a trade agreement with Japan in 1858, and the Universal Exposition of 1867 introduced the French public to Japanese art, notably the Japanese *ukiyo-e* color print, which depicted scenes from nature and everyday life. Interest in the Japanese garden was expressed by middle-class Frenchmen in their passion for plants and flowers associated with Japan: poppies, peonies, irises and above all, chrysanthemums.<sup>157</sup> Private gardens of wealthier citizens, such as Albert Kahn, often included more elaborate Japanese elements: temples, statuary and bridges. Monet, like many artists of his time, was an early admirer of Japanese art; he acquired his first Japanese print in 1871 and continued to add to his collection until almost 200 prints lined the walls of his home.<sup>158</sup> This affinity for Japanese culture appears in the garden design also, particularly in the water garden, where plantings of iris and bamboo, the arched footbridge and the trellis of wisteria evoke an oriental ambience.<sup>159</sup> Monet's contemporaries also noted the Japanese elements in the design:

The overall aspect of the garden--and particularly the little green bridge--has caused it to be named the "Japanese Garden." Mr. Hayashi, the Japanese commissioner to the 1900 World's Fair, was also struck by the resemblance, which Monet maintains is quite unintentional.<sup>160</sup>

Several critics have suggested that Monet designed the garden, particularly the bridge, based directly on a print in his collection, *Wistaria at Drum Bridge* by Hiroshige.<sup>161</sup> (Fig. 49) Aside from Monet's disclaimer, the fact that the above print was not found in Monet's collection at the time it was catalogued and the differences between the actual bridge and the one represented in the print would cast doubt on the possibility of a cause-effect relationship between the two. Monet did, in fact, see an exhibition of Japanese prints held at the Durand-Ruel Gallery in Paris during the winter of 1893, when he was planning his new water garden.<sup>162</sup> In fact, information about Japanese gardens was available to French public through many sources: in addition to the images provided in Japanese prints, photographs and verbal descriptions in travel accounts were widely available. Japanese gardens were also featured in the Paris Universal Exhibitions of 1889 and 1900.<sup>163</sup> Monet's garden is most profoundly oriental in its embodiment of the fundamental principles of Japanese gardening rather than in the imitation of isolated elements. First of all, he shared the Japanese reverence toward the beauty of nature, as he once observed:

They (the Japanese) are a profoundly artistic people. I once read something that struck me: a bricklayer was building a wall, and he placed a rose in front of him so that from time to time he could look at it and inhale its scent as he worked, and as his wall progressed, he would move the rose so that it was always there in front of him. Don't you find that charming?<sup>164</sup>

Josiah Conder's book *Landscape Gardening in Japan*, published in 1893, encouraged western gardeners to adopt the spirit of Japanese garden design rather than to repeat isolated details since "some may hold that landscape gardening should be typical of the scenery and of the soil and regard the servile imitation of a foreign style as unnatural and purposeless...."<sup>165</sup> Although Monet probably had not read

Conder's book, which was written in English, his water garden seems to embody the attitudes underlying Japanese garden design. Kirk Varnedoe has pointed out the parallel between Monet's contemplative use of his water garden and the Japanese practice derived from the traditions of the Taoist painter-poets in China.

<sup>166</sup> Moreover, Conder indicates that the elements of the Japanese garden derive from an abstraction of the native landscape.<sup>167</sup> Monet's gardens also reflect aspects of the landscape that he spent a lifetime exploring, observing and paintings in all seasons and hours of the day. At the end of his life, Monet confessed his enduring fascination with the familiar scenes:

The Seine! I have painted it throughout all my life, at every hour, in every season, from Paris to the sea...I have never grown tired of it, for me it is always new.<sup>168</sup>

Certain elements of the landscape of the Seine basin, which repeatedly attracted the painter's eye, may have suggested aspects of the garden design, replacing the "artificial hills, rocks, lakes, torrent beds and cascades" of the traditional Japanese garden.<sup>169</sup> For instance, the monochromatic fields of red poppies nestled into the green hills may have suggested the arrangement of complementary colors in the unichrome beds of the flower garden. The watery meadows of yellow and purple iris are also reflected in the cultivated plantings of the garden. Moreover, the linear shape of the water garden, its curved banks lined with iris and ringed by stately poplars and willows, is reminiscent of the many canvases depicting the backwaters of the Seine. (Fig. 50, 51) Through his creative genius as a painter and designer, Monet was able to translate elements of Japanese art and culture into a French idiom.

The true originality of Monet's garden is its synthesis of diverse trends. This unity is no simple achievement, combining as it does, many contrasting elements. In



its form, the garden unites formal geometry with the meandering curve, axial organization with random, unfocused patterns, intimate enclosure with the suggestion of infinite expanse. The plantings evoke oriental exoticism while remaining deeply rooted in the native landscape, creating an air of careless profusion through the daily ritual of solicitude for minute detail. The principle of contrast so permeates the design that one can hardly speak of Monet's garden in the singular, feeling compelled to use the plural noun. The flower garden represented the inverse of the water garden, "the former," according to Arsene Alexandre, "is the world of colors, the latter is the world of nuances."<sup>170</sup> The passage from one to the other entailed an emotional journey from "exaltation to repose."<sup>171</sup> Finally, the garden, by incorporating the principles of two-dimensional painting into a three-dimensional form that appealed to all the senses, enlarged Monet's artistic vision to encompass a new dimension--the poetic intimation of "correspondences" between sensory phenomena and universal harmonies. A further analogy to poetry offers a deeper insight into the value of Monet's achievement at Giverny. It is the tenuous balance between the contrasting elements in the design that makes it truly poetic, in the sense that the movement of New Criticism in twentieth-century American literature used the term. Poetry differs from all other forms of expression, according to Cleanth Brooks in his influential essay "The Heresy of Paraphrase," in its emphasis on irony and paradox, devices which express the essential structure of a poem, which is "a pattern of resolved stresses," comparable to the stones of an arch.<sup>172</sup> Poetry cannot be paraphrased, Brooks says, because its essence lies in the fragile balance between form and meaning, statement and context, held in dynamic tension, for poetry like gardening is a temporal art. Monet's garden was a unique artistic creation because it, too, was poetic in its embrace of paradox, its fusion of diverse

elements through the power of the painter's eye. A garden, however is more ephemeral than a poem, its balance changes with the fading of a single flower or the passage of a cloud. It was Claude Monet, perhaps more than anyone, who taught his own and succeeding generations how to see the fleeting effects of atmospheric changes on the landscape, causing familiar scenes to take on a fresh beauty, renewed in the instant of changed perception.

## Chapter 5

### The Legacy

*My garden is my most beautiful masterpiece.*<sup>173</sup>

What then is the legacy of Monet's ephemeral masterpiece? Fortunately, moments of its glory are preserved in the paintings that inspired its design and that it, in turn, inspired. These canvases record the painter's exploration of the phenomenon of perception as it was continually redefined in the dialectic of painting and garden design. Monet's lifelong quest to understand the interaction between perception and artistic expression is summarized in a letter he wrote to his wife from Rouen, while he was painting the cathedral: "...every day I add and surprise something that I hadn't known how to see before."<sup>174</sup> The evolution of the garden design, like the paintings, traces the pursuit of "direct sensation" from its roots in the Realism of Courbet, who once gave the following advice to his students:

The beautiful exists in nature and may be encountered in the midst of reality under the most diverse aspects. As soon as it is found there, it belongs to art, or rather to the artist who knows how to see it there.<sup>175</sup>

By the time Monet settled at Giverny, he had learned to see the beauty of flowers, whose pure, bright colors challenged the painter to adopt a spectral palette. In his first design changes to the garden, Monet translated the two-dimensional innovations of the Impressionist canvas, which portrayed the world the artists had learned to see as a pattern color and texture. The garden design confirmed his commitment to direct sensation even as he tested its limits in the series paintings of the 1890s, which reflect a growing preoccupation with the instantaneous effects of light on the

surface of the poplars, haystacks and facades that were the ostensible subjects of the paintings. On the shimmering surface of his lily pond, Monet was able to capture that perception of reality as constant change. As Monet focused increasingly on the contemplation of that reality, he created around him a sensory paradise that could screen out competing sensations. In the process of creating this three-dimensional space, his perception of the world changed again, moving beyond the two-dimensional realm of the painter's vision to include all the senses, through which he apprehended harmonious patterns beyond the unstable reality he could see.

Monet's legacy is the record of his attempts to learn "how to see the beautiful in nature." Like Wassily Kandinsky, whose response to seeing one of Monet's Haystacks series for the first time was a new awareness of the power of abstract form in art, we can recognize through Monet's garden "...the unsuspected power...of the palette, which surpassed all my dreams."<sup>176</sup> Through it, we can learn to see the world as a rich pattern of color and texture that recomposes from moment to moment in response to changes in light, offering an alternative to the picturesque view of the landscape as a series of framed perspectives. Furthermore, the gardens at Giverny demonstrate the archetypal power of the "paradise garden," offering, as it does, a three-dimensional experience with rich potential for stimulating all the senses and nourishing the spirit. We might apply Clemenceau's words, which assess the value of the *Waterlily Decorations*, to the lessons we can learn from the garden that inspired them:

This is the fragile, yet irresistible masterpiece of the world's sated ecstasy, meeting the highest pitch of the senses. The supreme fulfillment of a vision of art, upon which Monet, smiling, left the sensual languor of a final brushstroke.....Thus does Monet present us with the abundance of a new vision which calls upon the natural evolutions of our organs of sight to grasp the artist's translation of the energies of the universal sensibilities.<sup>177</sup>

# Appendix

## Design Characteristics of Plants

PERENNIALS	Period of Bloom	Flower Color	Height	Habit	Texture	Other
Botanical name Common name	April May June July August September October Nov.-Mar.	White Yellow Orange Red Pink Violet Purple Blue	less than 2' 2' to 6' 6' or more	Upright Mounded Creeping Climbing	Dissected Large Linear Pointed	Fragrance
<u>Aconitum napellus</u> Monkshood	■ ■	■	■	■		
<u>Anchusa italica</u> Bugloss	■ ■ ■	■	■	■		
<u>Anemone japonica</u> Japanese Anemone	■ ■	■ ■	■	■ ■	■	
<u>Aquilegia sp.</u> Columbine	■		■	■ ■	■	
<u>Aubrietia deltoides</u> Aubrietia	■ ■	■	■	■		
<u>Bocconia cordata</u> <sup>1</sup> Plume poppy	■ ■	■	■	■	■	
<u>Caltha palustris</u> Marsh marigold	■ ■ ■				■	
<u>Callimaris incisa</u>	■ ■	■	■			
<u>Campanula portenschlagiana</u> Wall campanula	■ ■ ■		■	■		
<u>Centaurea montana coerulea</u> Cornflower	■ ■ ■ ■		■			
<u>Clematis</u> 'Jackmanni superba'						
<u>Clematis montana</u> Montana clematis	■	■	■	■		■
<u>Delphinium elata</u> Larkspur	■ ■	■ ■	■	■	■	

<sup>1</sup> now called Macleaya cordata

	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	Nov-Mar.	White	Yellow	Orange	Red	Pink	Violet	Purple	Blue	less than 2'	2' to 6'	6' or more	Upright	Mounded	Creeping	Climbing	Dissected	Large	Linear	Pointed	Fragrance
<u>Dianthus plumarius</u> Pinks																												
<u>Doronicum caucasicum</u> Leopard's bane																												
<u>Echinops ritro</u> Globe thistle																												
<u>Epilobium angustifolium</u> Rosebay willowherb																												
<u>Eremurus robustus</u>																												
<u>E. himalaicus</u> Foxtail lily																												
<u>Erigeron acer</u> Fleabane																												
<u>Eryngium amethystinum</u> Sea Holly																												
<u>Eulalia japonica</u> <sup>2</sup> Eulalie grass																												
<u>Gelsemium sempervirens</u> Carolina jessamine																												
<u>Geranium pratense</u> Cranesbill geranium																												
<u>Helleborus niger</u> Christmas rose																												
<u>Helianthus latiflorus</u>																												
<u>H. sparsifolius</u>																												
<u>H. multiflorus</u> Sunflower																												
<u>Helenium autumnale</u> Sneezeweed																												
<u>Heliopsis scabra</u> Heliopsis																												

<sup>2</sup> now Miscanthus sinensis



	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	Nov.-Mar.	White	Yellow	Orange	Red	Pink	Violet	Purple	Blue	less than 2'	2' to 6'	6' or more	Upright	Mounded	Creeping	Climbing	Dissected	Large	Linear	Pointed	Fragrance
<u>Saxifraga</u> 'Painter's Despair' Saxifrage									■								■			■								
<u>Thalictrum flavum</u> Meadowrue		■	■						■			■					■						■					
<u>Trollius europaeus</u> Globeflower		■	■						■								■			■								
<u>Tropaeolum tuberosum</u> Nasturtium											■						■				■							
<u>Verbascum</u> sp. Mullein			■	■	■	■			■								■			■				■				
<u>Viola cornuta</u> Pansy	■						■							■			■			■							■	
<u>Wistaria chinensis</u>	■								■								■			■	■		■			■		
<u>W. multijuga</u> Wisteria		■										■					■				■	■		■				



## ANNUALS

## Period of Bloom

## Flower Color

## Height

## Habit

## Texture

## Other

Botanical name Common name	April May June July August September October Nov.-Mar.	White Yellow Orange Red Pink Violet Purple Blue	less than 2' 2' to 6' 6' or more	Upright Mounded Creeping Climbing	Dissected Large Linear Pointed	Fragrance
<u>Antirrhinum majus</u> Snapdragon	■ ■ ■		■	■		
<u>Argemone sp.</u> Prickly poppy	■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■	■ ■	■	■	
<u>Aster sp.</u> Aster	■ ■ ■	■	■	■		
<u>Calendula officinalis</u> Pot Marigold	■ ■ ■ ■	■	■	■		
<u>Cheiranthus cheiri</u> Wallflower	■	■	■	■		■
<u>Dahlia 'Etoile de Dijon'</u> <u>D. colerette</u> Dahlia	■ ■ ■ ■ ■ ■	■	■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■ ■		
<u>Digitalis purpurea</u> Foxglove	■ ■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■	■	■		
<u>Escholtzia californica</u> California poppy	■ ■ ■ ■	■ ■	■	■ ■ ■	■	
<u>Geum chilense</u> Geum	■ ■ ■ ■ ■	■	■	■ ■ ■	■	
<u>Gynerium argenteum</u> <sup>3</sup> Pampas grass	■	■	■	■	■	
<u>Ipomea sp.</u> Morning glory	■ ■ ■ ■	■	■	■		
<u>Lavatera trimestris</u> Tree mallow		■ ■	■			
<u>Layia platyglossa</u> Layia	■	■	■	■		■

<sup>3</sup> now Cortaderia selloana

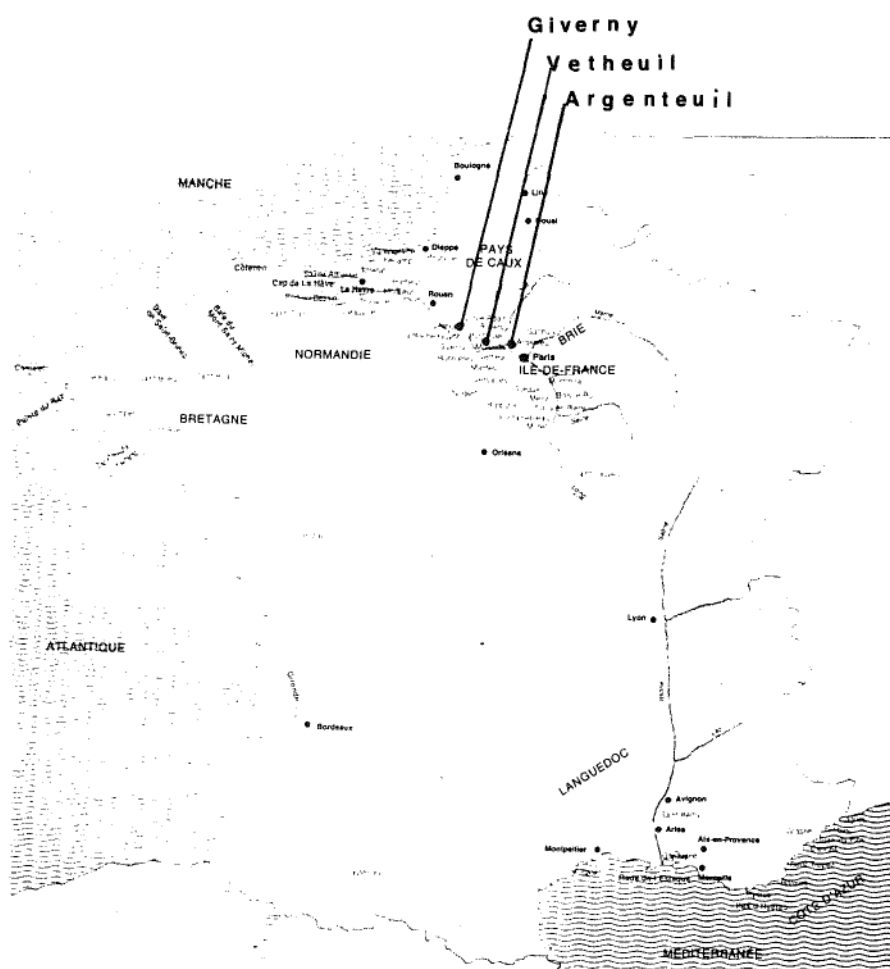


**BULBS**      Period of Bloom      Flower Color      Height      Habit      Texture      Other

Botanical name Common name	April May June July August September October Nov.-Mar.	White Yellow Orange Red Pink Violet Purple Blue	less than 2' 2' to 6' 6' or more	Upright Mounded Cresping Climbing	Dissected Large Linear Pointed	Fragrance
<u>Crocasmia x crocosmaeflora</u> Montbretia	■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■	■		■	
<u>Crocus sp.</u> Crocus	■                      ■	■                      ■	■			
<u>Gladiolus sp.</u>	■ ■ ■		■	■		
<u>G. primulinus</u> Gladiolus	■ ■ ■		■	■		
<u>Iris aurea</u>	■ ■ ■	■	■	■	■	
<u>Iris delayi</u>	■		■	■	■	
<u>I. fulva</u>	■	■	■	■	■	
<u>I. germanica</u>	■ ■ ■		■	■	■	
<u>I. gigantea</u>	■	■	■	■	■	
<u>I. kaempferi</u>	■ ■ ■	■                      ■ ■ ■	■	■	■	
<u>I. monieri</u>	■ ■ ■	■	■	■	■	
<u>I. montspur</u>	■ ■ ■	■	■	■	■	
<u>I. ochroleuca</u>	■	■	■	■	■	
<u>I. pallida</u>	■ ■ ■		■	■	■	
<u>I. pallida dalmatica</u>	■ ■ ■		■	■	■	■
<u>I. pseudo-acorus</u>	■ ■ ■	■	■	■	■	
<u>I. pumila</u>	■		■	■	■	
<u>I. sibirica</u>	■ ■ ■	■	■	■	■	
<u>I. spuria</u>	■ ■ ■	■ ■ ■	■	■	■	
<u>I. stylosa</u>		■	■	■	■	■
<u>I. virginica</u> Iris	■		■	■	■	

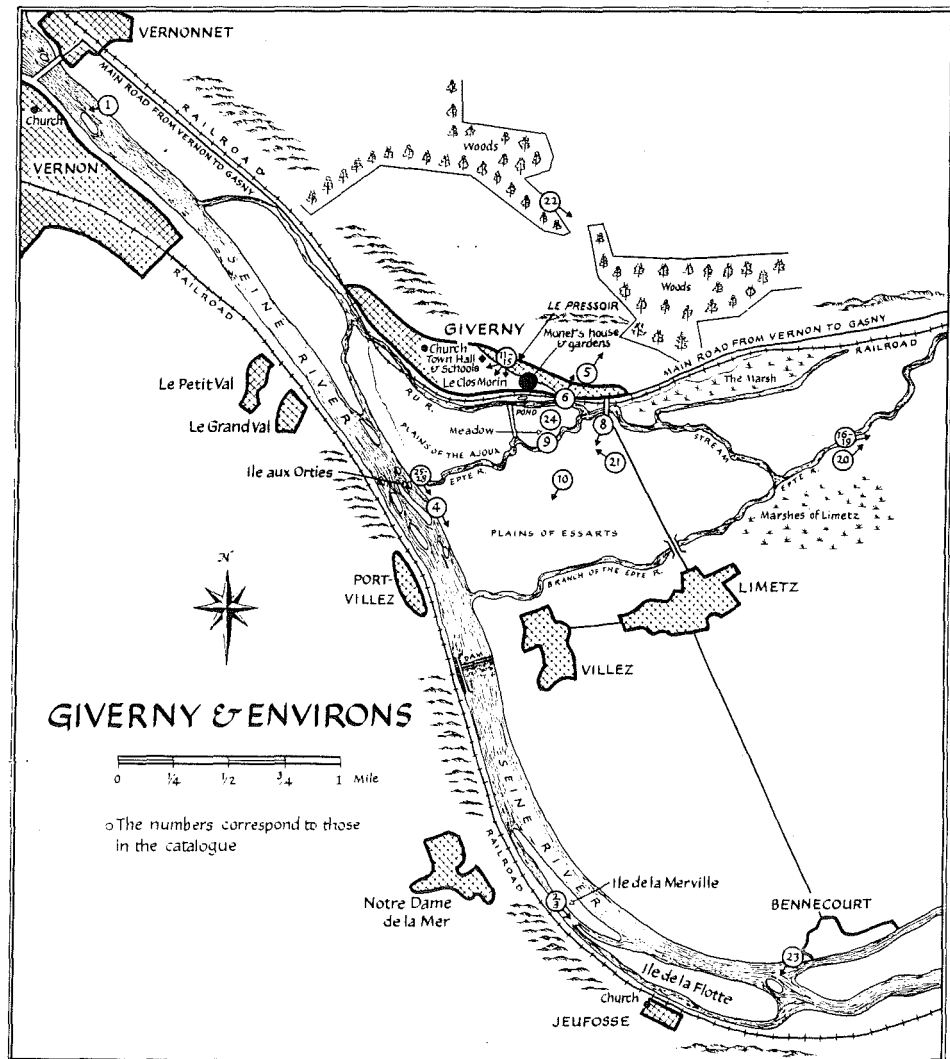
<u>Lilium auratum</u> Gold-banded lily		■	■ ■	■	
<u>L. testaceum</u> Nankeen lily	■	■ ■	■ ■		
<u>Narcissus poeticus</u> Poet's narcissus	■	■	■	■	■
<u>N. pseudo-narcissus</u> Trumpet narcissus	■ ■	■	■	■	■
<u>Tigridia pavonia</u> Tiger flower	■ ■	■ ■	■	■	■
<u>Tulipa</u> Early tulip	■		■	■	■
Rembrandt tulip	■		■	■	■
Darwin tulip	■		■	■	■

## Illustrations



**Figure 1:** Locations of Monet's residences.  
 Source: *L'Impressionisme et le paysage français*, 1985.

Figure 2: Location Map. Source: *Monet's Years at Giverny*, 1978



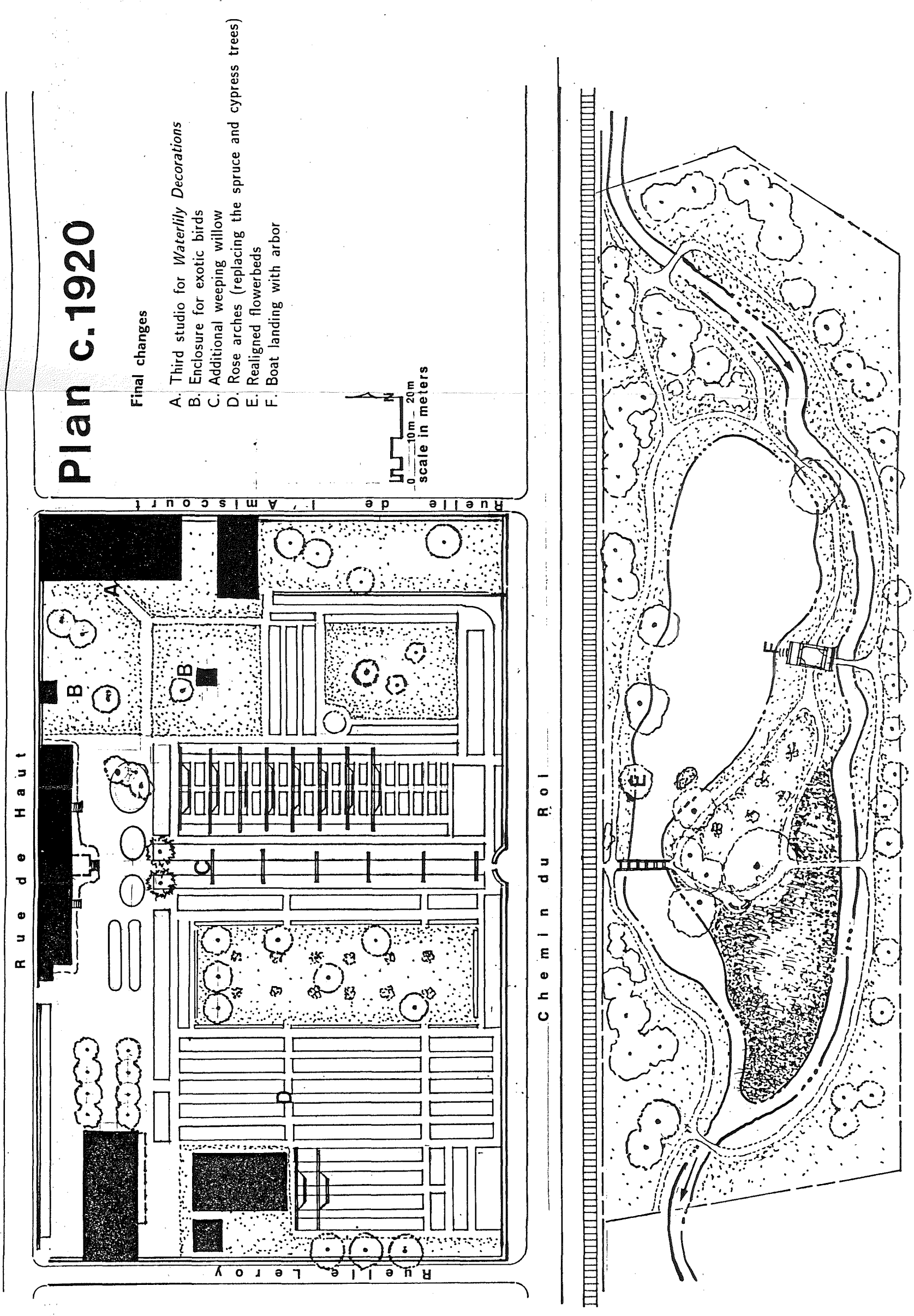
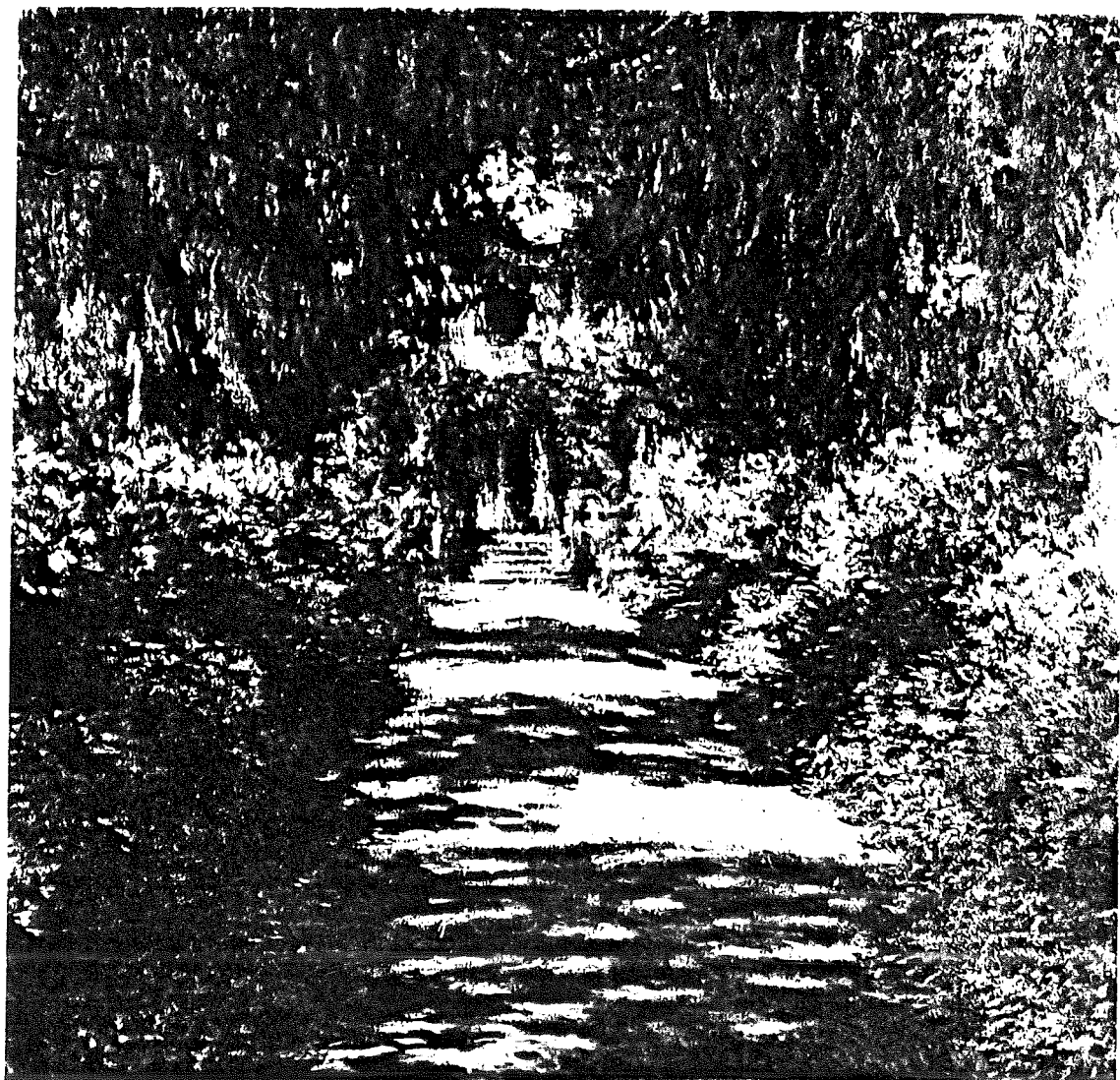


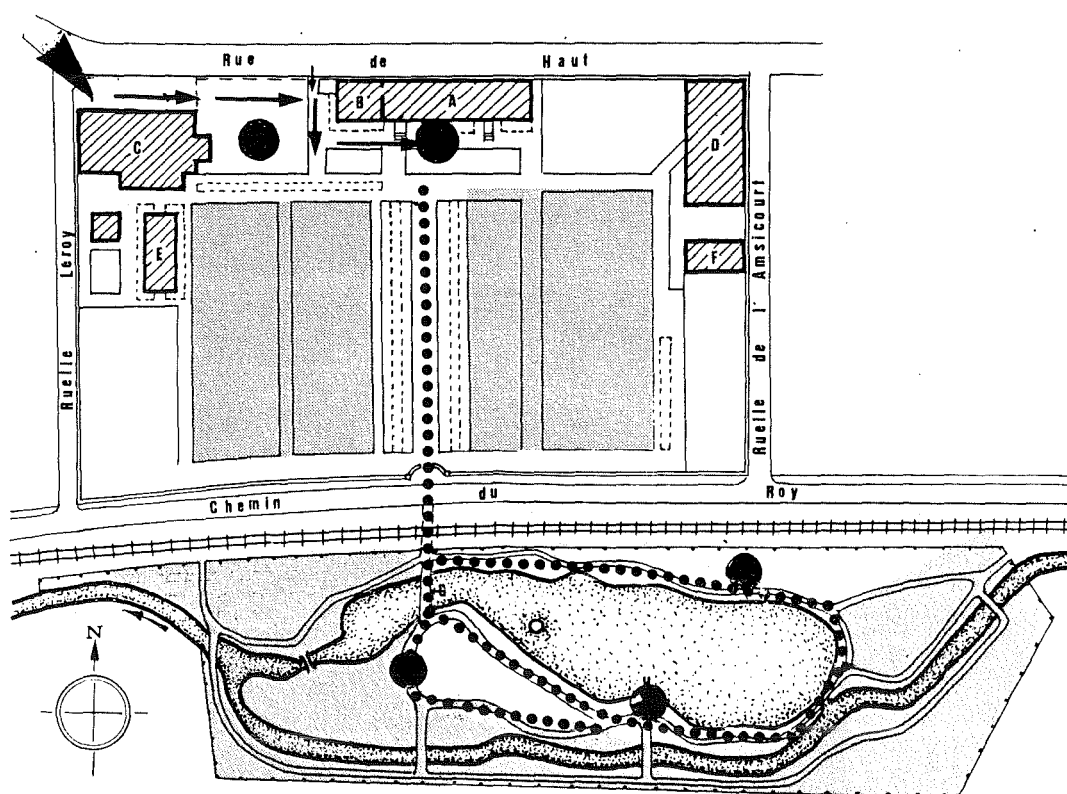
Figure 3: Plan of Monet's Garden c. 1920

Figure 4: *The Garden at Giverny, 1902*





**Figure 5:** Public vs. Private Areas of the gardens.  
Source: Wildenstein IV



**Public/Private Areas**



Entry sequence



Public circuit



Private areas



Places to pause or sit

**Figure 6:** Monet giving guests a tour of the water garden. June, 1920





Figure 7: Monet showing guests his favorite view of the pond. June, 1920

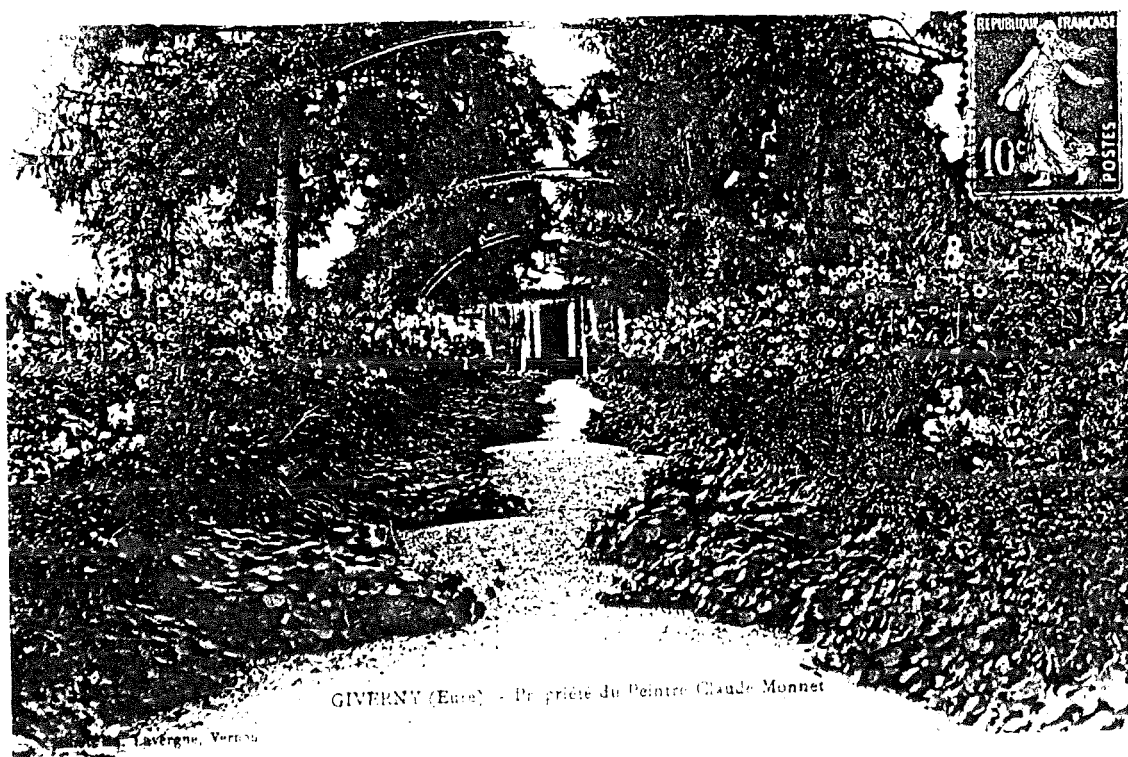


Figure 8: The central path with nasturtiums.



Figure 9: Monet among his "forest of flowers." c. 1908

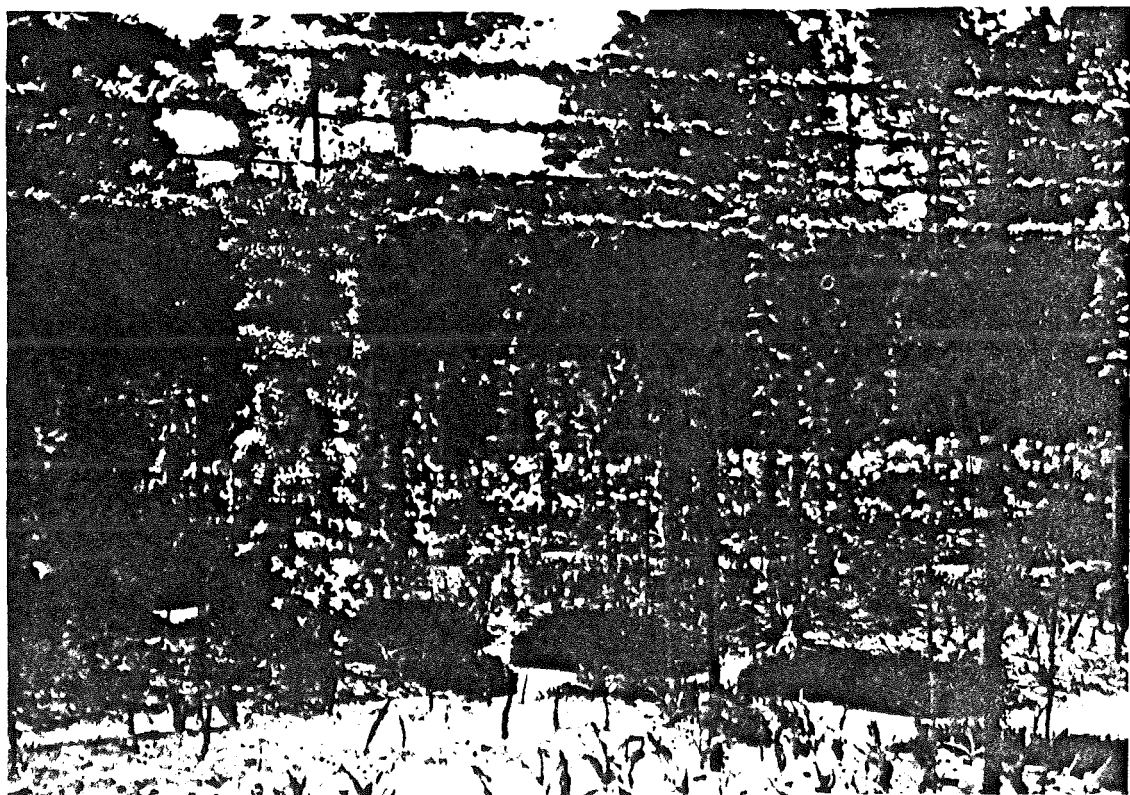
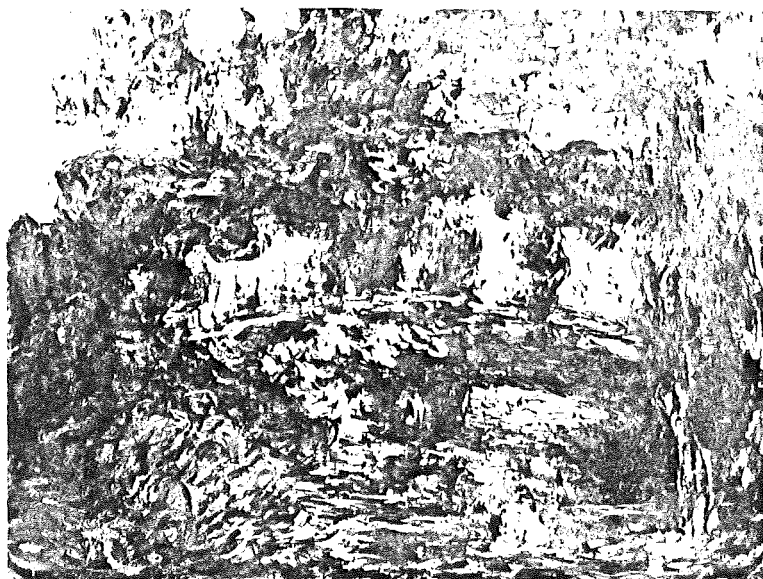


Figure 10: Trellises with Clematis montana.

**Figure 11:** *The Japanese Bridge, 1918.*



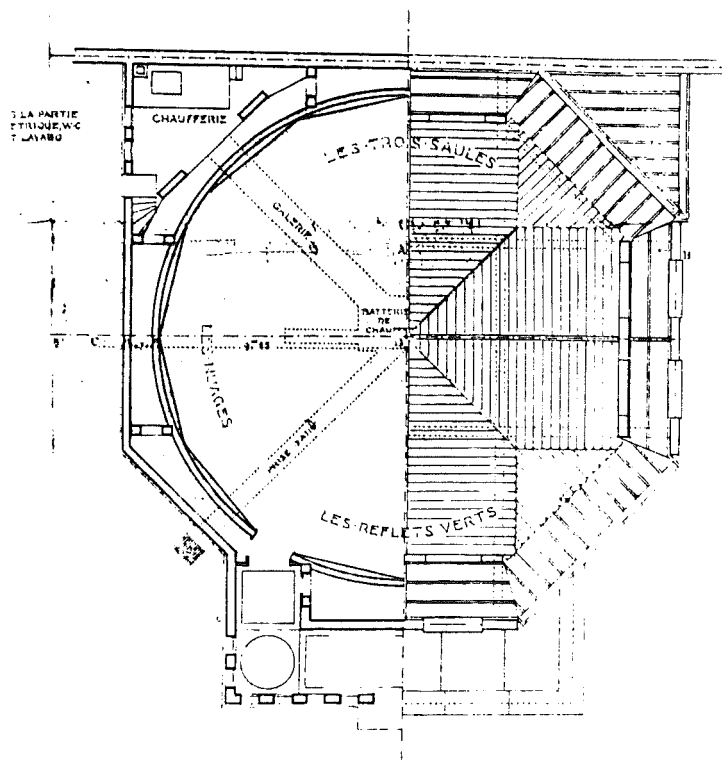


Figure 12: Plan for pavilion to house *Waterlily Decorations*.  
Louis Bonnier, architect.

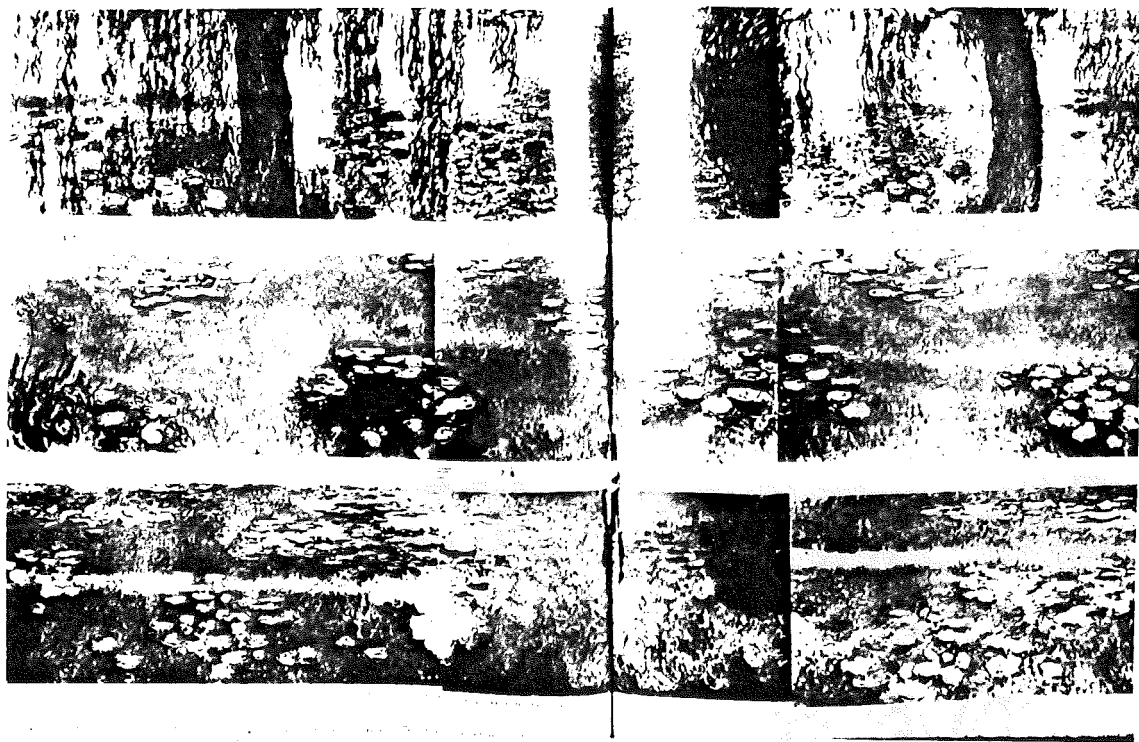


Figure 13: Reconstruction of the original *Waterlily* panels, 1917-20.

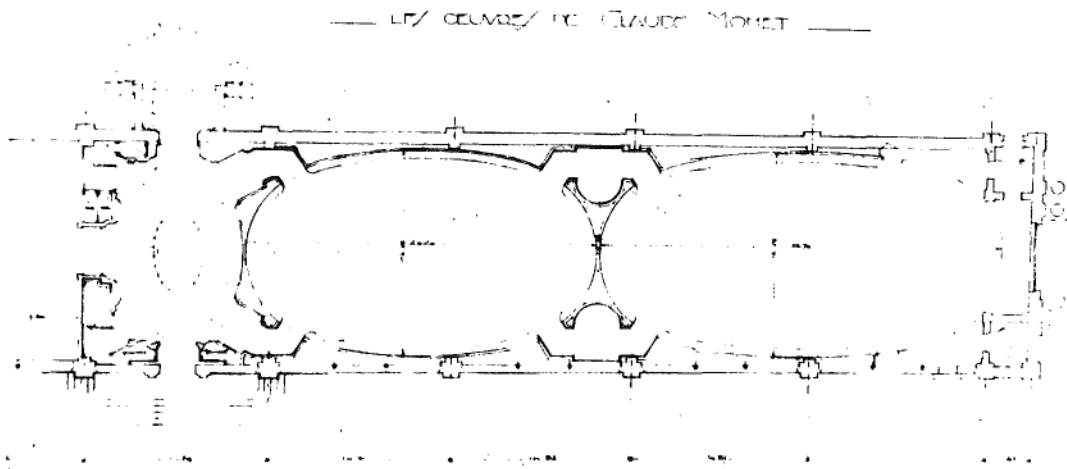


Figure 14: Plan for Waterlily suite in the Orangerie Museum.  
Camille Lefevre, architect.



Figure 15: Photograph of *Waterlily Decorations* in the Orangerie. c. 1930.



Figure 16: *The Bench*, 1873.



Figure 17: *Parc Monceau*, 1876



Figure 18: *A Corner of the Garden with Dahlias*, 1873.

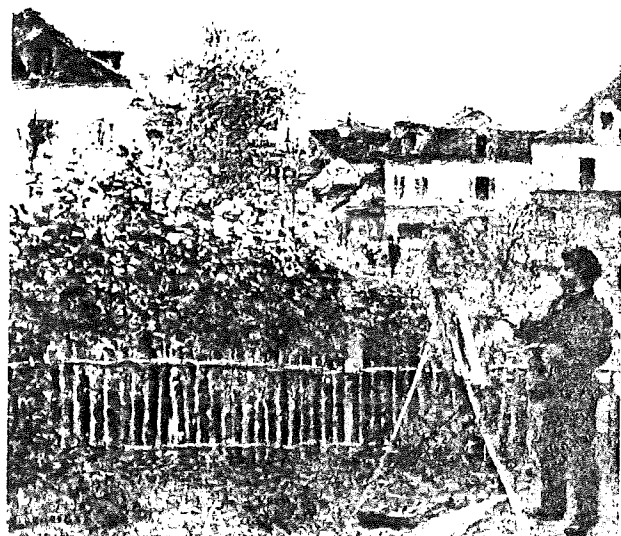


Figure 19: Auguste Renoir, *Monet Working in his Garden at Argenteuil*, 1873.





Figure 20: *In the Garden*, 1875



Figure 21: *Camille with Child in the Garden*, 1875

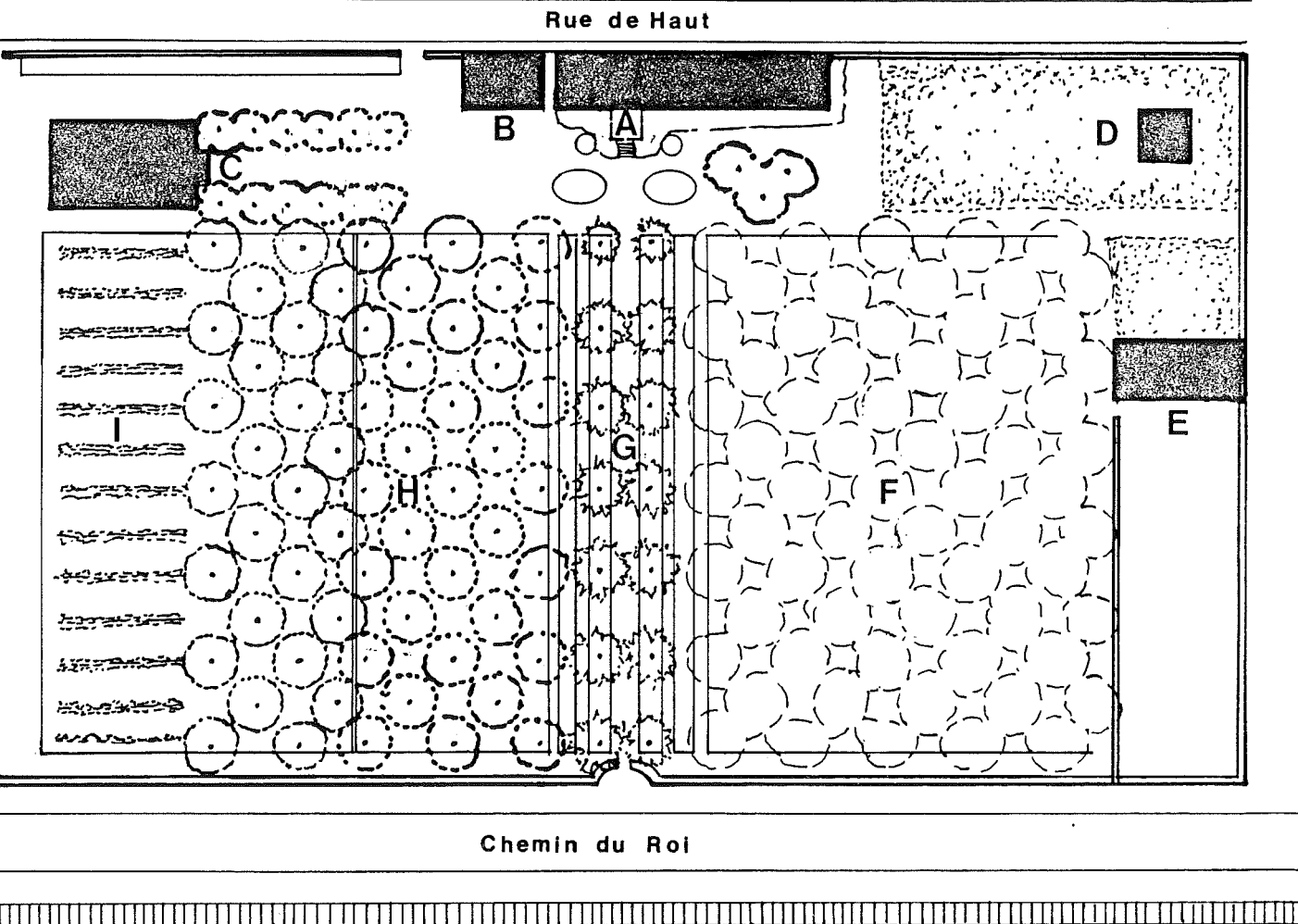
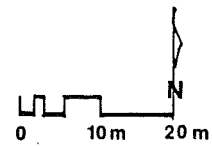


Figure 22: *Corner of the Garden*, 1876.



Figure 23: *The Garden at Vetheuil*, 1881.

# Plan c.1883



## Existing conditions

- A. House
- B. Barn
- C. Farmhouse
- D. Chicken run
- E. Farmhouse
- F. Orchard (conjectural)
- G. Central path lined with flowerbeds
- H. Orchard
- I. Vegetable garden (conjectural)

Figure 24: Plan of Giverny property, c. 1883



Figure 25: Decorative panels commissioned by P. Durand-Ruel, 1882-85.

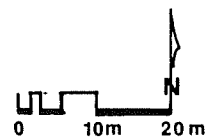


Figure 26: West side of flower garden, c. 1885

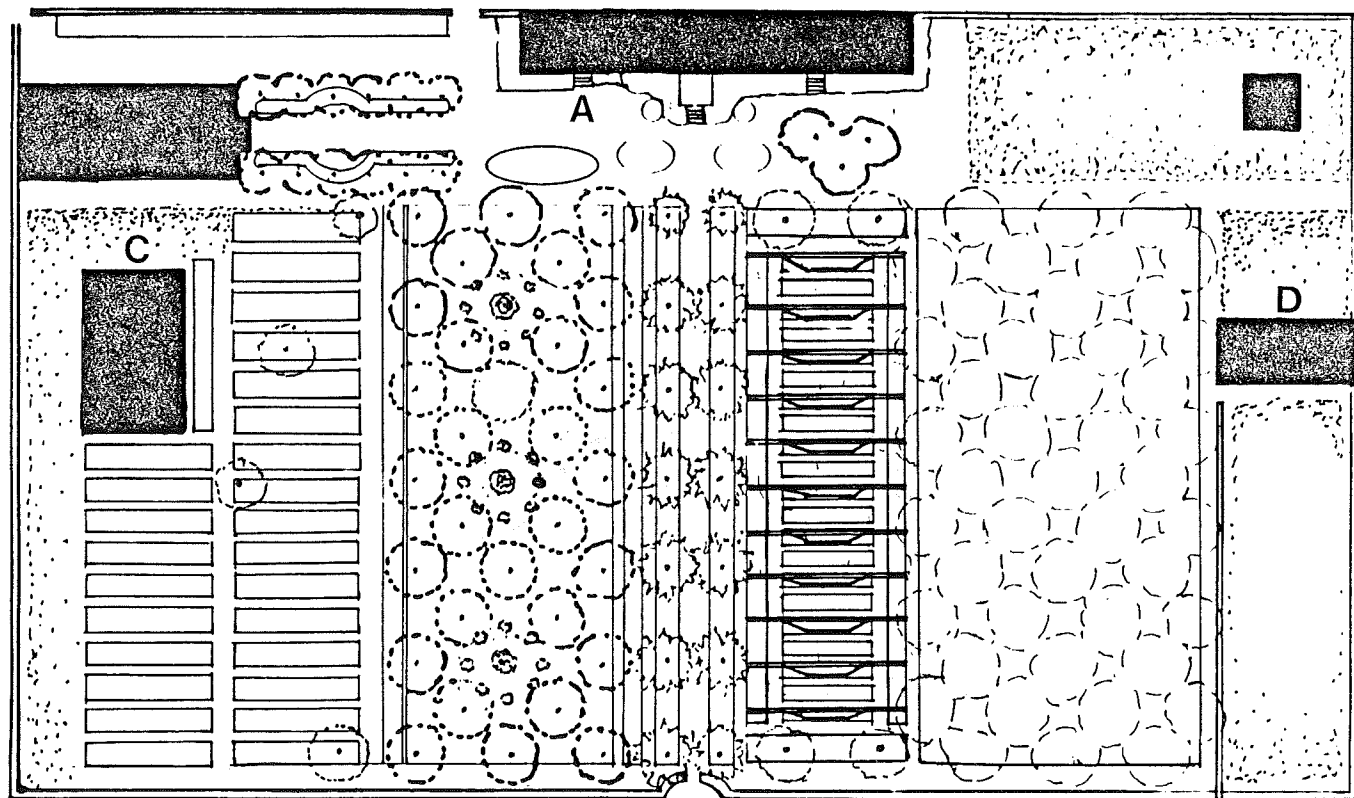


Figure 27: Central path, c. 1892

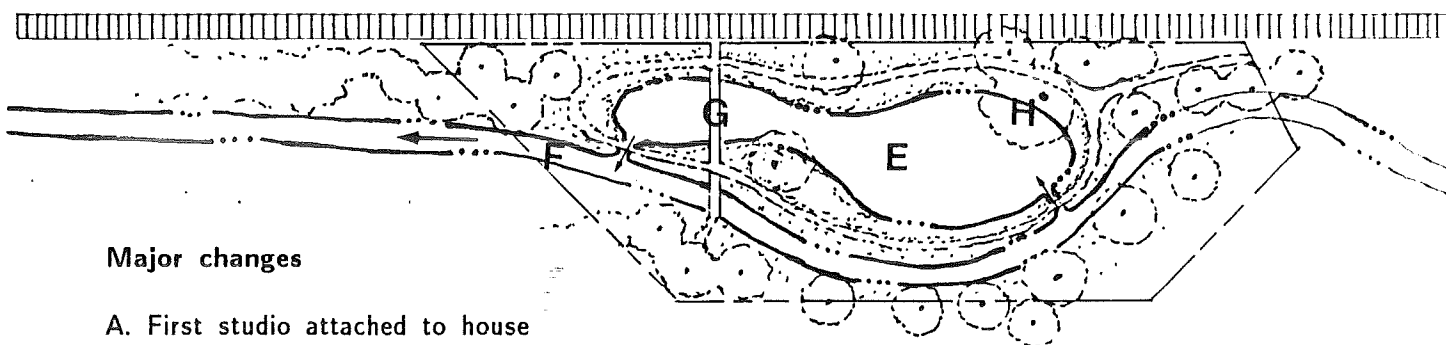
# Plan c. 1900



Rue de Haut



Chemin du Roi



## Major changes

- A. First studio attached to house
- B. Second studio
- C. Greenhouse
- D. Head gardener's house
- E. Waterlily pond
- F. The Ru
- G. Japanese bridge
- H. Weeping willow

Figure 28: Plan of Monet's garden, c. 1900



Figure 29: West side of garden, c. 1903



Figure 30: Waterlily pond, c. 1895

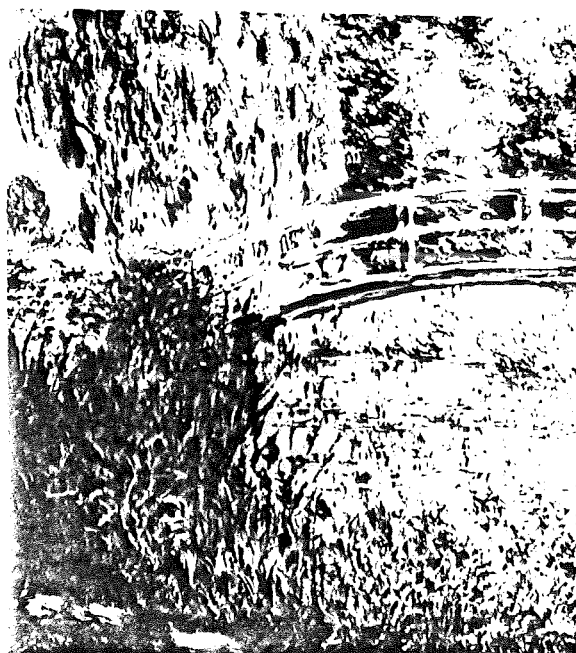
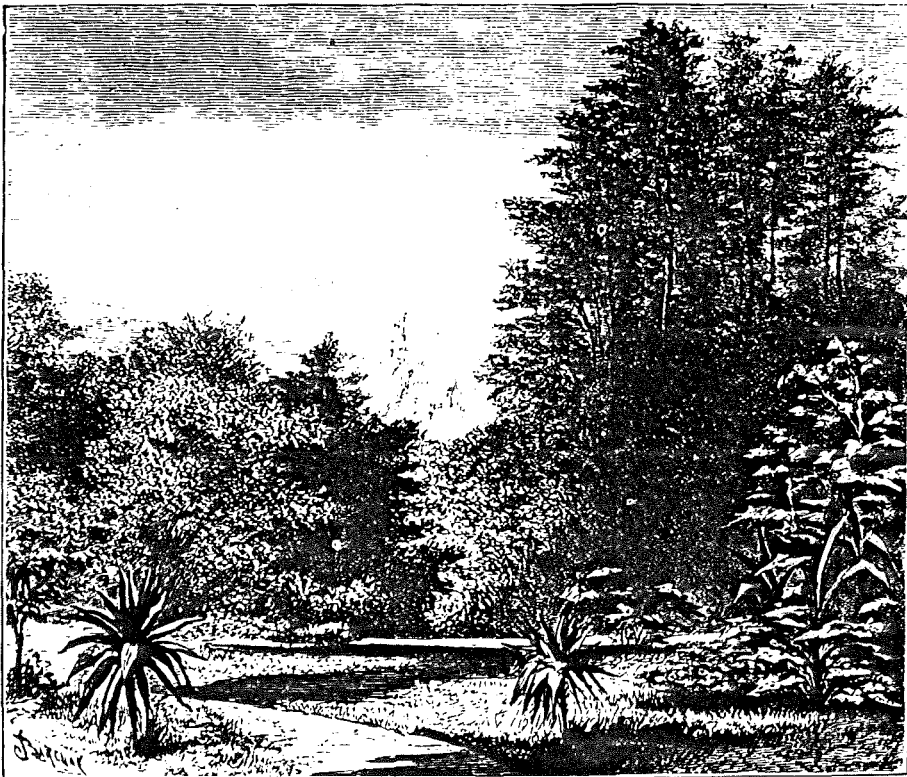


Figure 31: *The Japanese Bridge*, 1900



**Figure 32:** Claude Lorraine, *The Ford*.



**Figure 33:** Illustration of picturesque scene,  
from E. Andre, *l'Art des Jardins*, 1879.

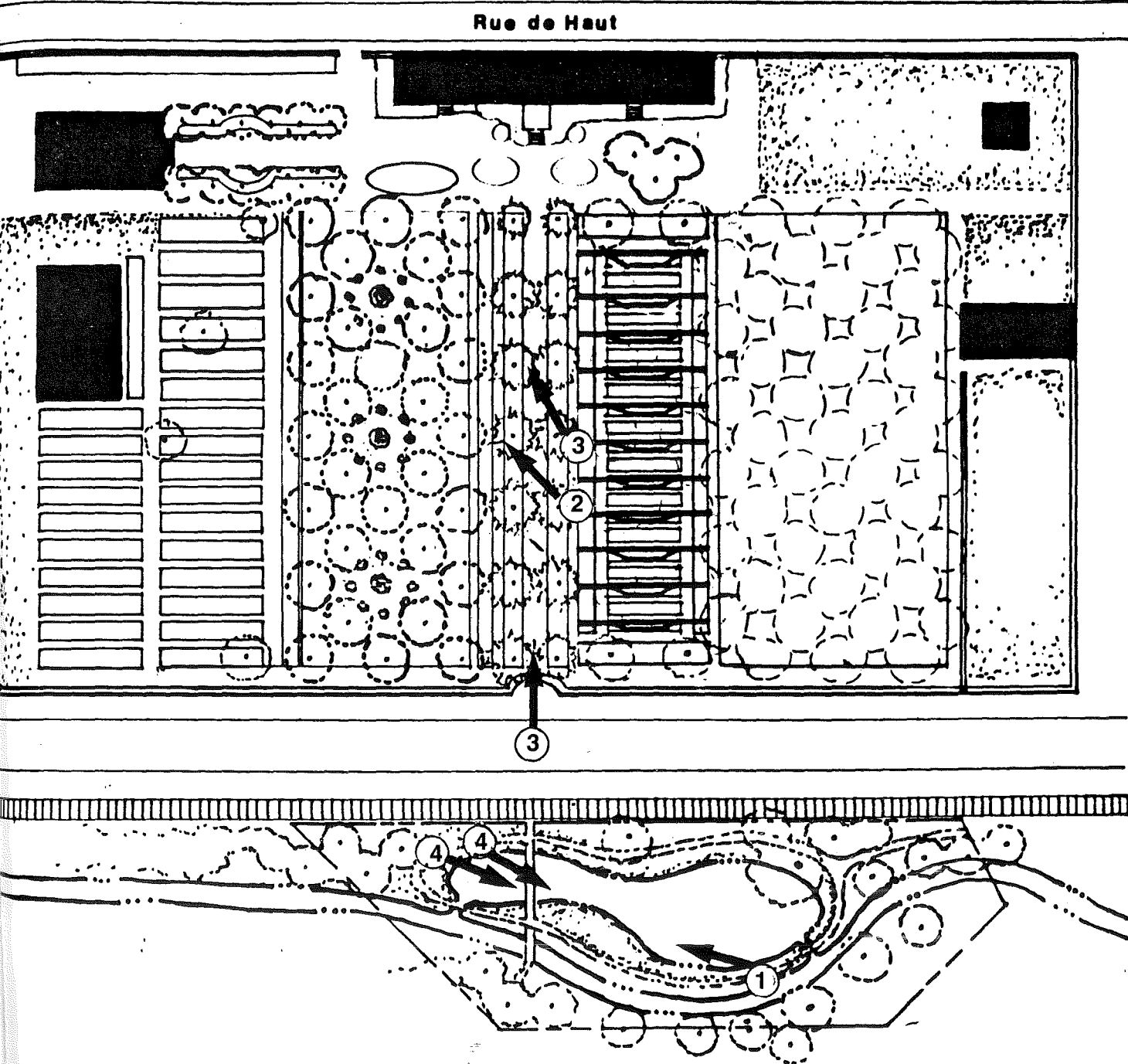


Figure 34: Viewpoints of Paintings: 1890-1900

1. 1895 Japanese bridge series
2. 1895 Central path view
3. 1900 Central path series (irises in bloom)
4. 1899-1900 Japanese bridge series



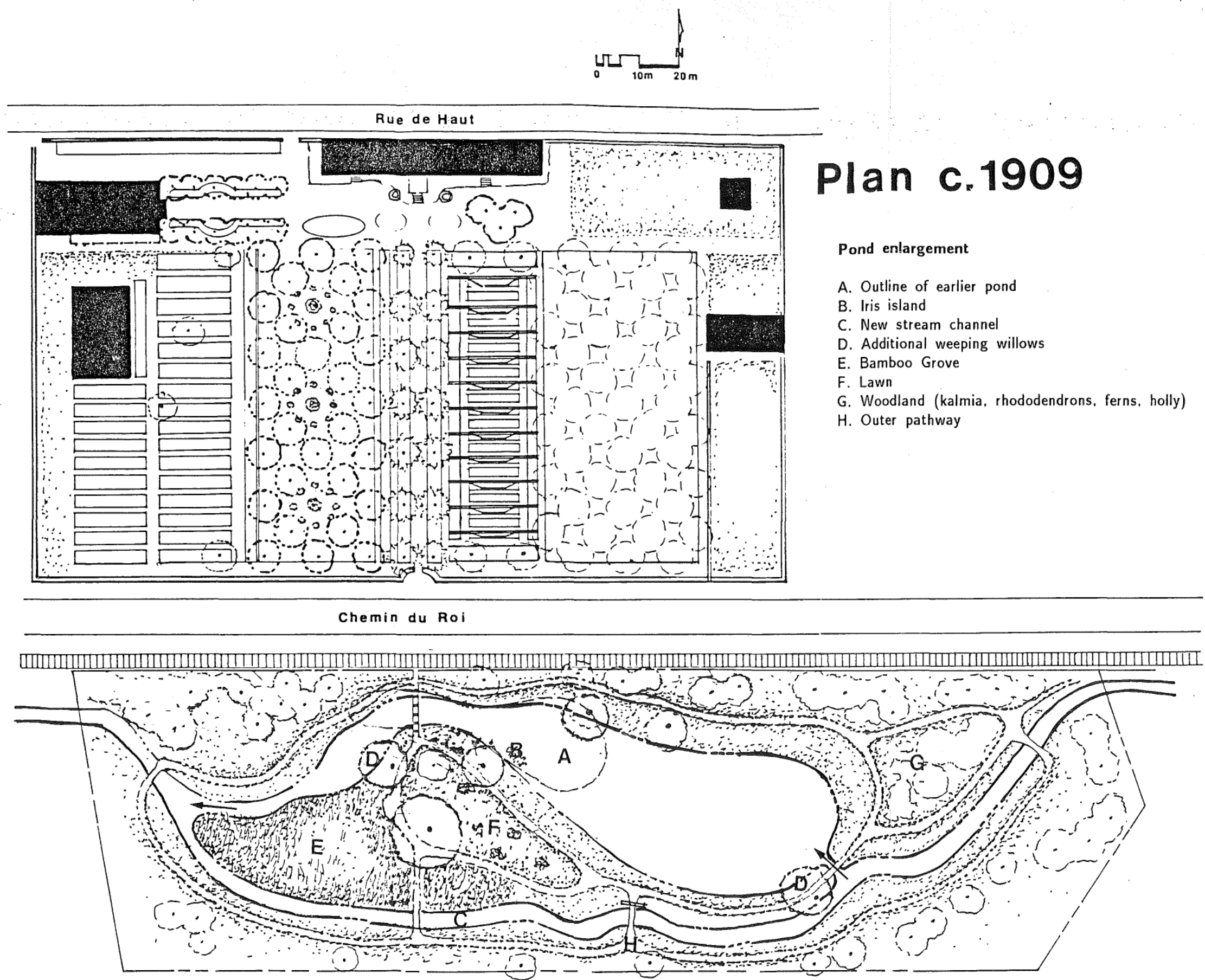
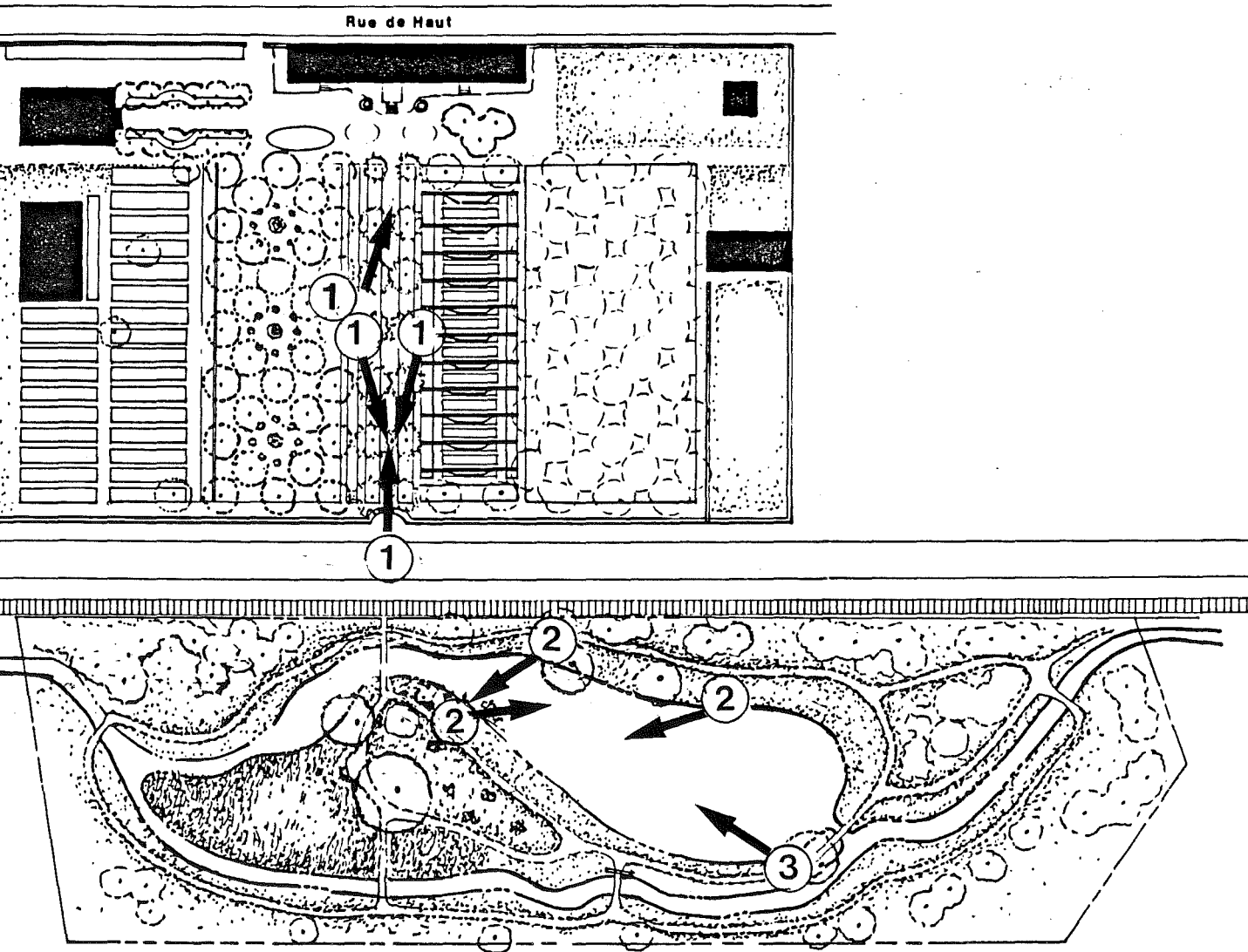


Figure 35: Plan c. 1909.





**Figure 36: Viewpoints of Paintings: 1901-1909**

1. 1902 Central path series (September)
2. Waterlily series (also painted from other unidentified points)
3. 1905 Japanese Bridge series



Figure 37: View from east end of enlarged pond, c. 1909.



Figure 38: *Waterlilies*, 1904

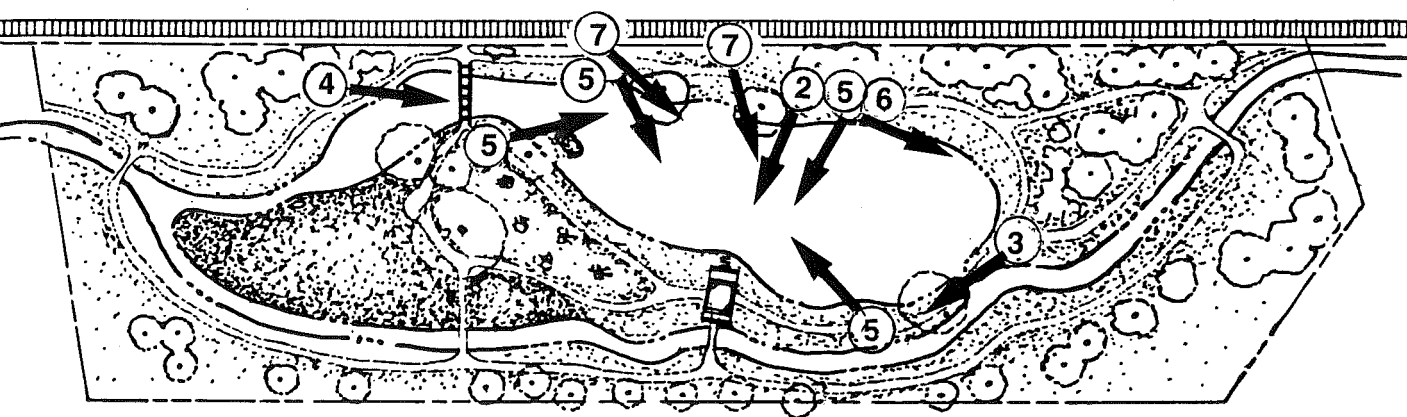
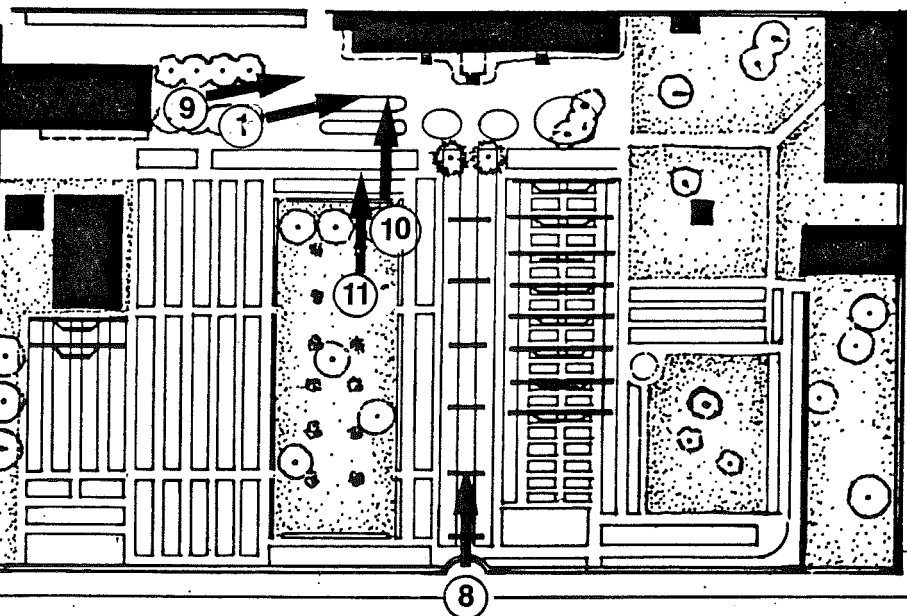


Figure 39: Viewpoints of Paintings: 1910-20

1. 1912 Views of house
2. 1913 *Flowering Arches*
3. 1914 *Path with Irises*
4. 1918 Japanese bridge series
5. 1917-1920 Waterlily panels (original twelve)
6. 1918 Corner of Pond
7. 1918 Weeping willows
8. 1920-22 Rose Arches series
9. 1922-24 *House from Rose Garden*
10. 1925 *House amid the Roses*
11. 1925-26 *House Seen Through the Roses*



Figure 40: The central path with rose arches, c. 1926.



Figure 41: Monet standing in front of the house, c. 1922.

Figure 42: Vaux-le-Vicomte

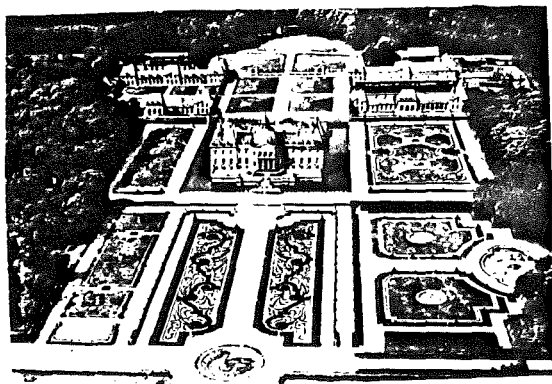
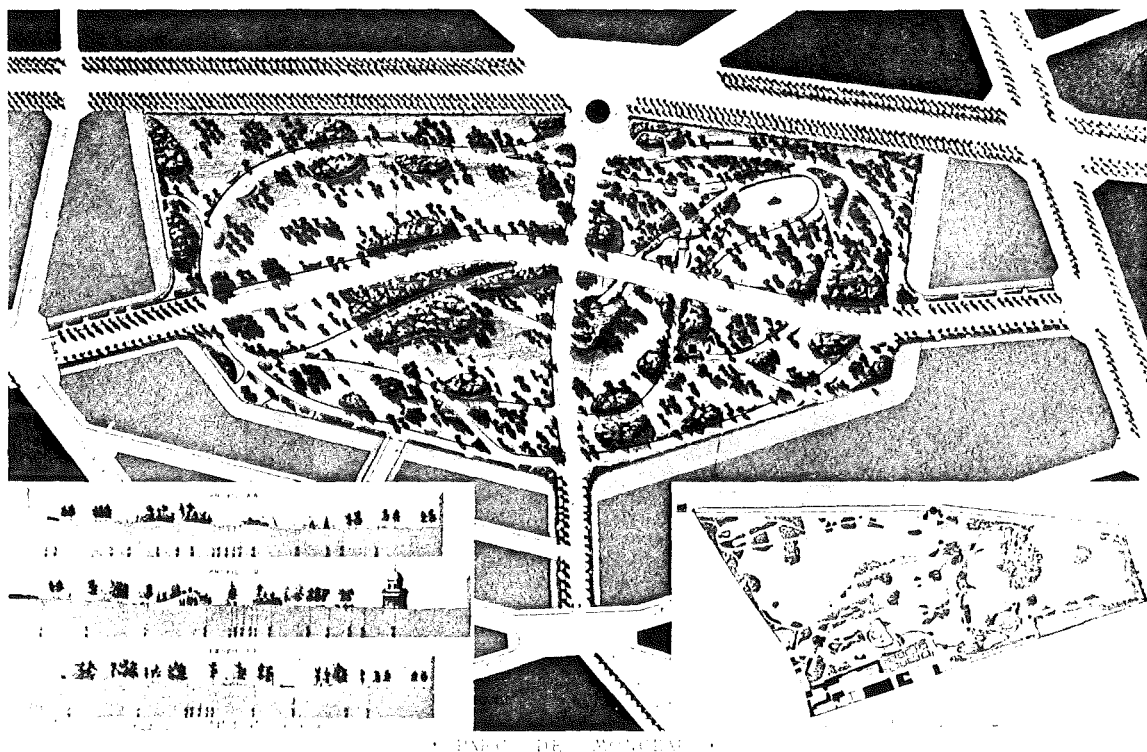


Figure 43: Parc Monceau, perspective view of the Naumachie, c. 1873  
from A. Alphand, *Les Promenades de Paris*



Figure 44: Plan view of Parc Monceau, from Alphand, 1873.



## CORBEILLES D'UNE SEULE ESPÈCE.

*Premier printemps.*

*Alyssum saxatile.* — Planter en septembre.  
*Arabis alpina.* —  
*Cheiranthus Cheiri.* — Semer en octobre.  
*Malcolmia maritima.* — Semer en septembre.  
*Myosotis alpestris.* — Planter en septembre.  
*Nemophila insignis.* — Semer en septembre.  
*Silene pendula.* —  
*Tulipa præcox.* — Planter en octobre.  
*Viola tricolor.* —

*Été.*

*Ageratum cælestinum.*  
*Begonia discolor.*

*Begonia tubéreux variés.*  
*Calceolaria rugosa.*  
*Canna variés.*  
*Chrysanthemum frutescens.*  
*Coleus Verschaffelti.*  
*Dianthus sinensis var.*  
*Fuchsia, div. variétés.*  
*Heliotropium peruvianum var.*  
*Hibiscus Rosa sinensis.*  
*Iresine Lindeni.*  
*Pelargonium zonale, div. variétés.*  
*Petunia violacea.*  
*Salvia splendens.*  
*Verbena hybrides.*

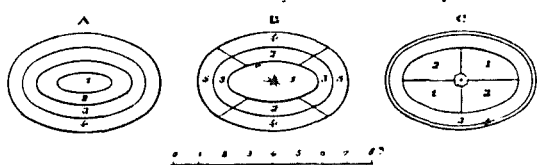


Figure 45: Basket-style flowerbeds  
from E. Andre, 1879.

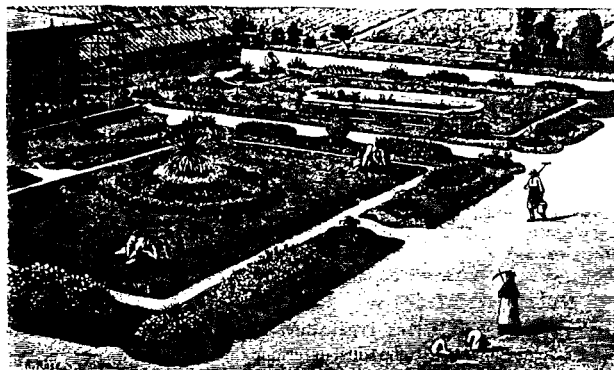


Figure 46: View of basket-style beds,  
from E. Andre

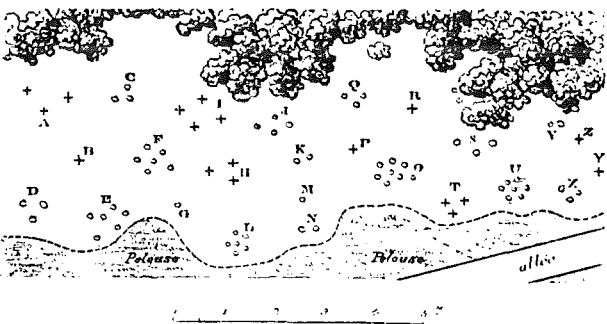


Figure 47: Plan of perennial border,  
from E. Andre



Figure 48: Sketch of perennial border,  
from E. Andre.



Figure 49: Hiroshige print *Bridge with Wistaria* and Monet's Japanese Bridge.



Figure 50: *Morning on the Seine*

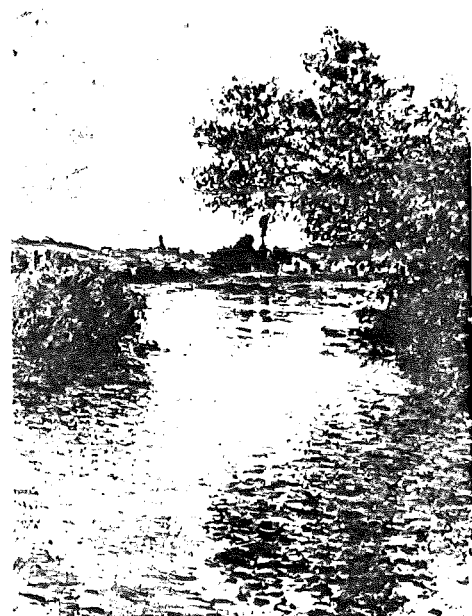


Figure 51: *The Seine at Vetheuil, 1879*





## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Gina Crandall, "When Art Challenges Beauty" *Landscape* 29 (January, 1986), p. 16.

<sup>2</sup>William McCance and H.F. Clark, "The Influence of Cubism on Garden Design," *Architectural Design* (March 1960), p. 114.

<sup>3</sup>Christopher Tunnard, *Gardens in the Modern Landscape* (New York: Scribners, 1938), p. 108.

<sup>4</sup>William C. Seitz, "Monet and and Abstract Painting," *College Art Journal* (Fall, 1956)

<sup>5</sup>Georges Clemenceau, *Claude Monet: Les Nympheas*(Paris,1928), pp. 49-50.

<sup>6</sup>Sacha Guitry, *If Memory Serves* (New York: Doubleday, 1936) tr. Lewis Galantieri, p. 266.

<sup>7</sup>Letter #2685(18 September, 1926), Wildenstein IV, p.426.

<sup>8</sup>Maurice, Kahn, "Claude Monet's Garden," *Le Temps* (June 7, 1904) in Charles F Stuckey ed., *Monet: A Retrospective* (New York: Park Lane, 1986), p.245.

<sup>9</sup>Arsene Alexandre, "Monet's Garden," *Le Figaro* (August 9, 1901) in Stuckey, p. 223.

<sup>10</sup>Marcel Proust, "Splendors," *Le Figaro* (June 15, 1907) in Stuckey, p. 250.

<sup>11</sup>Monet actually had a third garden specifically to provide fresh vegetables and fruit for his table. This garden was located on another property in Giverny, called the "Blue House," purchased for this purpose.

<sup>12</sup>Seitz (1956) in Stuckey, p. 369.

<sup>13</sup>Alexandre, "Monet's Garden," in Stuckey, pp. 220-221.

<sup>14</sup>Letter #1893(1 June, 1909) in Daniel Wildenstein, *Claude Monet, biographie et catalogue raisonne*, Vol. IV (Lausanne-Paris: Bibliotheque des Arts, 1985), p. 377.

<sup>15</sup>Roger Shattuck, "Approaching the Abyss: Monet's Era," *Artforum* 20(March, 1982), p. 37.

<sup>16</sup>Robert Gordon, "The Lily Pond at Giverny: The Changing Inspiration of Monet," *Connoisseur* 184 (November, 1973), p. 164.

<sup>17</sup>Clemenceau in Stuckey, p. 366.

<sup>18</sup>Arsene Alexandre, "News for our Parisian Correspondents," *Courrier de l'Aisne* (June 9, 1904) in Stuckey, pp. 223-224

<sup>19</sup>Letter #1571 (28 September, 1900) Wildenstein IV, p. 349.

<sup>20</sup>Letter #1850(29 April, 1908) in Wildenstein IV, p. 373.

<sup>21</sup>Jacques Salomon, "Chez Monet avec Vuillard et Roussel," *L'Oeil* 197 (May 1971), pp.20-25.

<sup>22</sup>Personal interview with Claire and Jean-Marie Toulgouat, January 16, 1987.

<sup>23</sup>Toulgouat interview.

<sup>24</sup>Clemenceau, p. 51.

<sup>25</sup>Toulgouat interview

<sup>26</sup>Jean-Pierre Hoschede, *Claude Monet ce mal-connu* (Geneva, 1960), p.130.

<sup>27</sup>Marc Elder, *A Giverny chez Claude Monet* (Paris: Bernheim-Jeune, 1924), p. 130.

<sup>28</sup>Letter #1501a(February 1900) Wildenstein IV, p. 341.

<sup>29</sup>Letter #1650(8 February, 1902) Wildenstein IV, p. 360.

<sup>30</sup>Francois Thiebault-Sisson, "Claude Monet's Water Lilies," *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* (June 1927) in Stuckey, p. 289.

<sup>31</sup>Duc de Treviso, "Le Pelerinage a Giverny," *La Revue de l'Art Ancien et Moderne* 51 (January, 1927), p. 46.

<sup>32</sup>Ernest Pouzet, "Le Jardin de Giverny," *Jardinage* 109(1927), p. 100.

<sup>33</sup>C. Joyes, R. Gordon, J.-M. Toulgouat, A. Forge, *Monet at Giverny* (London: Mathews Miller, Dunbar, 1975), p. 25.

<sup>34</sup>Marthe de Fels, *La Vie de Claude Monet* (Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1929), p. 194.

<sup>35</sup>Fels, p. 196

<sup>36</sup>Letter #1285(17 March 1895) Wildenstein III, p. 284.

<sup>37</sup>Gustave Geffroy, *Claude Monet, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris, 1922), p. 443.

<sup>38</sup>Letter #407 (5 February, 1884) Wildenstein III, p.236.

<sup>39</sup>Joyes, Gordon, Forge, Toulgouat, p. 37.

<sup>40</sup>Shattuck, p. 37.

<sup>41</sup>Clemenceau, p. 51.

<sup>42</sup>Rene Gimpel, "At Giverny with Claude Monet" *Art in America* 15(June, 1927), p. 171.

<sup>43</sup>Siegfried Wichmann, *Japanisme: the Japanese Influence on Western Art in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Harmony Books, 1981), p. 231.

<sup>44</sup>Georges Truffaut, "The Garden of a Great Painter" *Jardinage* (November 1924), p. 315.

<sup>45</sup>Marx (1909), in Stuckey, p. 266.

<sup>46</sup>Elder, p. 10.

<sup>47</sup>Evan Charteris, *John Sargent* (New York: Scribners, 1927), p.128.

<sup>48</sup>Felix Breuil, "Les iris pour bords de rivières, étangs et terrains humides," *Jardinage* (October 21, 1913), p.4.

<sup>49</sup>Gaston Bachelard, "Les nymphéas ou les surprises d'une aube d'été," in Helene Adhemar ed., *Hommage a Monet* (Paris: Editions de la reunion des musees nationaux, 1980), p. 30.

<sup>50</sup>Octave Mirbeau, "Claude Monet," *L'Art dans les deux mondes* (March 7, 1891) in Stuckey, p. 159.

<sup>51</sup>Fels, p. 22

<sup>52</sup>Shattuck, p. 39.

<sup>53</sup>quoted in Shattuck, p. 38.

<sup>54</sup>Seitz, p. 43.

<sup>55</sup>Charteris, p. 126.

<sup>56</sup>Lila Cabot Perry, "Reminiscences of Claude Monet from 1889 to 1909," *American Magazine of Art* (March, 1927), p. 184.

<sup>57</sup>Charteris, p. 123

<sup>58</sup>Clemenceau in Stuckey, p. 355.

<sup>59</sup>Geffroy, p. 453.

<sup>60</sup>Robert Gordon and Andrew Forge, *Monet* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1983), p. 109.

<sup>61</sup>Emmanuel Bondeville, "Claude Monet- Claude Debussy," in John Rewald, ed. *Aspects of Monet* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1984), pp. 182, 186.

<sup>62</sup>Richard Shiff, "The End of Impressionism: A Study in Theories of Artistic Expression." *The Art Quarterly* 1 (Autumn, 1978), p. 340.

<sup>63</sup>Lillian H. Hornstein ed., *The Reader's Companion to World Literature* (New York: New American Library, 1973), p. 507.

<sup>64</sup>Anthony Hartley ed., *The Penguin Book of French Verse* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1963), p. 155.

<sup>65</sup>Hornstein, p. 507.

<sup>66</sup>Marx (1909) in Stuckey, p. 267.

<sup>67</sup>Charteris, p. 131.

<sup>68</sup>Maurice Guillemot, "Claude Monet," *La Revue Illustrée* (March 15, 1898) in Stuckey, p. 200.

<sup>69</sup>Georges-Michel Michel. *De Renoir a Picasso* (1954) in Stuckey, p. 295.

<sup>70</sup>Gordon and Forge, p.224

<sup>71</sup>Letter #2287(November 12, 1918) Wildenstein IV, p. 401.

<sup>72</sup>Robert Gordon and Charles F. Stuckey, "Blossoms and Blunders: Monet and the State" *Art in America* 67 (January-February 1979), pp. 102-116.

<sup>73</sup>Rene Gimpel, *Diary of an Art Dealer* in Stuckey, p. 309.

<sup>74</sup>Wildenstein IV, p. 97.

<sup>75</sup>Documentation #297a (5 October, 1920) Wildenstein IV, p. 431.

<sup>76</sup>Francois Thiebault-Sisson, "A Gift of Claude Monet to the State," *Le Temps* (October 14, 1920) quoted in Gordon and Forge, p. 233.

<sup>77</sup>Letter #2406(11 February, 1921), Wildenstein IV, p. 409.

<sup>78</sup>Geffroy, p. 451.

<sup>79</sup>Gordon and Stuckey (1979), pp. 114-115.

<sup>80</sup>Gordon and Forge (1983), p. 238.

<sup>81</sup>Shattuck, p. 37.

<sup>82</sup>Marc Elder, *A Giverny chez Claude Monet* (Paris: Bernheim-Jeune, 1924), p.11.

<sup>83</sup>Paul Tucker, *Monet at Argenteuil*(New Haven, Yale University Press, 1982), p. 127.

<sup>84</sup>Arsene Alexandre, *Claude Monet* (Paris: Les Editions Bernheim-Jeune, 1921), p. 65.

<sup>85</sup>Wildenstein I, p. 94.

<sup>86</sup>Wildenstein IV, p. 20.

<sup>87</sup>Hoschede, p. 58.

<sup>88</sup>Letter #356(5 June 1883) Wildenstein II, p. 229.

<sup>89</sup>Wildenstein II, p. 138.

<sup>90</sup>Octave Mirbeau, "Claude Monet," *L'Art dans les Deux Mondes* (March 7, 1891) in Stuckey, p. 157-159.

<sup>91</sup>Letter #1121(28 July, 1891) Wildenstein III, p. 262.

<sup>92</sup>Letter #1188(15 March, 1893) Wildenstein III, p. 271.

<sup>93</sup>Letter #1219(17 July, 1893) Wildenstein III, p. 275.

<sup>94</sup>J.C.N. Forestier, "Le jardin de M. Claude Monet," *Fermes et Chateaux* (November, 1908), pp. 13-18.

<sup>95</sup>Letter #1337(18 March, 1896), Wildenstein III, p. 290.

<sup>96</sup>William C. Seitz, *Monet* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1960), pp. 27-28.

<sup>97</sup>Richard Shiff, "Impressionist Criticism, Impressionist Color and Cezanne" (Diss Yale 1973)

<sup>98</sup>Shiff (1967), p. 118.

<sup>99</sup>Clement Greenberg, *Art and Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), p. 43.

<sup>100</sup>Greenberg, p. 44.

<sup>101</sup>Robert Herbert, "Method and Meaning in Monet," *Art in America* 67 (September, 1979), pp. 104-105.

<sup>102</sup>Duc de Trevis, "Le Pelerinage de Giverny," *La Revue de l'Art* 27(Feb. 1927), p. 126.

<sup>103</sup>Seitz, p. 32

<sup>104</sup>The color theory theory of M. E. Chevreul, *The Principles of Harmony and*

*Contrast of Colors*, first published in 1839, was influential in the planting designs of Gertrude Jekyll in England. (See Jane Brown, *Gardens of a Golden Afternoon*). The painter Eugene Delacroix was also influenced by Chevreul's theories, which he discussed in his *Journal*. Monet, whose library contains the 1893 edition of the three-volume work, often read aloud from the *Journal* in the evening and could have become familiar with Chevreul's ideas from this source.

<sup>105</sup>Alexandre(1909) in Stuckey, p. 220.

<sup>106</sup>Charles F. Stuckey, "Monet's Art and the Act of Vision," in John Rewald ed., *Aspects of Monet* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1984), p. 109.

<sup>107</sup>Lila Cabot Perry, "Reminiscences of Claude Monet from 1889 to 1909," (March, 1927) in Stuckey, p. 183.

<sup>108</sup>Herbert, p. 102

<sup>109</sup>H.S. Ciolkowski, *Art News* 23(November 8, 1927), p. 1

<sup>110</sup>Joyes-Gordon-Forge-Toulgouat, p. 11.

<sup>111</sup>Charles S. Moffett, *The New Painting: Impressionism 1874-1886* Washington, D.C.: The National Gallery of Art, 1986.

<sup>112</sup>Kenneth Clark, *Landscape into Art*.(London: John Murray (2nd ed.), 1976), p. 128.

<sup>113</sup>Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque* (London: Frank Cass & Co. (2nd ed.), 1967, p. 2.

<sup>114</sup>Personal interview with Gilbert Vahe, head gardener at Giverny (January 19, 1987).

<sup>115</sup>Marx (1909) in Stuckey, p. 266.

<sup>116</sup>Greenberg, p. 44.

<sup>117</sup>Gordon(1973), p. 157.

<sup>118</sup>Quoted in Seitz, *Seasons and Moments*, p. 25.

<sup>119</sup>Unpublished letters of Alice Monet in Jacqueline and Maurice Guillaud ed., *Claude Monet at the Time of Giverny* (Paris: Centre Culturel du Marais, 1983), pp. 275-76.

<sup>120</sup>Wildenstein IV, p. 107.

<sup>121</sup>Personal interview with Gilbert Vahe, head gardener, (January 19, 1987).

<sup>122</sup>Hoschede, p. 58.

<sup>123</sup>Francois Thiebault-Sisson, "Claude Monet's Water-Lilies" in Stuckey, p. 291.

<sup>124</sup>Walter Pach, "The Field of Art: At the Studio of Claude Monet," *Scribner's Magazine* 43 (June 1908), pp. 765-67.

<sup>125</sup>Alexandre (1904) in Stuckey, p. 224.

<sup>126</sup>William C. Seitz, *Seasons and Moments* (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, 1960), p. 26.

<sup>127</sup>Dora Wiebenson, *The Picturesque Garden in France*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), pp. 6-7.

<sup>128</sup>Wiebenson, p. 23.

<sup>129</sup>Ostvald Siren, *China and the Gardens of Europe in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950), p. 114.

<sup>130</sup>Georges Gromort, *L'Art des Jardins*, (Paris: Editions Charles Massin), p. 347.

<sup>131</sup>Wiebenson, p. 57.

<sup>132</sup>Wiebenson, p. 57.

<sup>133</sup>Siren, p. 101.

<sup>134</sup>Siren, p. 141.

<sup>135</sup>Gromort, p. 358.

<sup>136</sup>Marie-Blanche d'Arneville. *Parcs et jardins sous le Premier Empire* (Paris: Librairie Jules Tallandier, 1981), p. 152



<sup>137</sup>Adolphe Alphand, *Les Promenades de Paris*(Paris, 1867-73; rpt.,Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1984),p.41.

<sup>138</sup>Alphand, p. 33

<sup>139</sup>William Robinson, *The Parks, Promenades and Gardens of Paris* (London: John Murray, 1869), pp.48-49.

<sup>140</sup>Alphand, p. 25.

<sup>141</sup>Alphand, p. 27.

<sup>142</sup>Jane Brown, *Gardens of a Golden Afternoon* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1982.), p.27.

<sup>143</sup>Robinson,p.29.

<sup>144</sup>Robinson,p.52.

<sup>145</sup>Edouard Andre,*L'Art des jardins*(Paris: Masson, 1879), p. 556.

<sup>146</sup>Andre, p.557.

<sup>147</sup>Andre, p. 687.

<sup>148</sup>Claire Joyes, *Monet at Giverny* (New York, Vendome Press,1980), p.16.

<sup>149</sup>In spite of the many similarities in their interests and taste, there is not evidence that Monet was influenced by or knew the work of William Robinson or Gertrude Jekyll. Monet, in fact, knew little English; therefore, he would only have had access to their writings in translation.

<sup>150</sup>Hoschede, p. 70.

<sup>151</sup>Hoschede, pp. 66,68.

<sup>152</sup>Paul Tucker, *Monet at Argenteuil*(New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 15.

<sup>153</sup>Tucker, p. 125

<sup>154</sup>Tucker, p. 125.

<sup>155</sup>*L'Impressionisme et le paysage français* (Paris: Editions de la Reunion des Musees Nationaux, 1985), p.215.

<sup>156</sup>Joyes, p. 73.

<sup>157</sup>Helene Adhemar, ed., *Hommage a Monet* (Paris: Editions de la Reunion des Musees Nationaux, 1980), p. 204.

<sup>158</sup>Genevieve Aiken and Marianne Delafond, *La Collection d'Estampes Japonaises de Claude Monet a Giverny* (Giverny: Maison de Monet, 1983), p.15.

<sup>159</sup>Josiah Conder, *Landscape Gardening in Japan* (Tokyo: 1893), p.90.

<sup>160</sup>Maurice Kahn, p.244.

<sup>161</sup>John House, *Monet* (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1981), p. 43.

<sup>162</sup>Gordon and Forge, *Monet*, p. 202

<sup>163</sup>John House, "Monet's Water Garden and the Second Waterlily Series" in Guillaud, p. 152.

<sup>164</sup>Kahn (1904) in Stuckey, p. 244.

<sup>165</sup>Conder, p. vi.

<sup>166</sup>Kirk Varnedoe, "Monet and His Gardens," *New York Times Sunday Magazine* (April 2, 1978), p. 38.

<sup>167</sup>Conder, p. vi.

<sup>168</sup>Elder, p. 35.

<sup>169</sup>Conder, p. vi.

<sup>170</sup>Alexandre (1921), p. 108.

<sup>171</sup>Alexandre (1921), p. 108.

<sup>172</sup>Cleanth Brooks, "The Heresy of Paraphrase" in Hazard Adams ed., *Critical Theory Since Plato* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971), p. 1037.

<sup>173</sup>Hoschede, p. 70.

<sup>174</sup>Letter #1146 (3 April, 1892), Wildenstein III, p. 266.

<sup>175</sup>Quoted in Joel Isaacson, "Observation and Experiment in the Early Work of Monet," in Rewald, *Aspects*, p. 17.

<sup>176</sup>Quoted in Seitz (1960), p. 138.

<sup>177</sup>Clemenceau in Stuckey, p. 366.

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