



Carlos Idrobo

## Sensing Boundaries on Foot

Experiencing Limits of Mobility through Nineteenth Century European Art

### ABSTRAKTI / ABSTRACT

*This article examines the material and socio-cultural mechanisms by which everyday urban and rural walking is controlled, regulated, limited, or affected, as seen through the lens of nineteenth century visual arts with support of literary and historical accounts. Inspired by the interdisciplinary research on walking, I discuss three cases of different cultural and historical backgrounds and examine therein the instances in which the experience of walking cannot fully take place, or its movements are shaped or controlled by real or imaginary forces, either external or internal, or even by other modes of transportation: 1) C. G. Carus' socially constrained travelling in Italy in 1828, leading up to his painting Erinnerung an Neapel, 2) the history of the Pont Neuf and the use and regulation of Paris footways through lithographs and 'impressionist' paintings in the Third Republic, and 3) the motif of the 'riinkunaita' (round-pole fence) in lithographs, landscape paintings and photographs during the Golden Age of Finnish Art. Thus, art objects are considered as both artworks and historical documents that illuminate the imaginary and actuality of historical events related to migration, bordering processes, and control of mobility.*

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urban walking, rural walking, window view, footways, fences

## Introduction

Since Romanticism, one of the most prevalent ideas associated with walking has been that of freedom, and along with it, an experience of expansion, transformation and overcoming, conveying a sense of limitlessness. In one form or another, it is present in all the English authors in Belloc's *Anthology for Walkers* (1911). Therein, in his seminal walking essay *On going a journey* (1821), William Hazlitt writes: "The soul of a journey is liberty, perfect liberty, to think, feel, do, just as one pleases. We go a journey chiefly to be free of all impediments and of all inconveniences; to leave ourselves behind, much more to get rid of others."<sup>1</sup> For many German Romantic writers and artists, both the motif and practice of wandering in nature were not only an aspiration for freedom, but also a medium for their own self-presentation and identity as wanderers. This phenomenon was shaped by the pursuit of a national identity amidst the political and social turmoil triggered by the Napoleonic Wars (1789–1815), with echoes in other Romantic movements across the globe.<sup>2</sup> The visual arts translated these ideas into a certain way of seeing, reading and consuming landscapes, through motifs and topoi like the summit experience (*Gipfelerlebnis*),<sup>3</sup> which excelled in epitomising this boundless freedom.

In this article, I will not challenge this constellation of ideas and associations; walking has indeed been used as an act of political dissent and expression of liberty during the long nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Instead, through the lens of the visual arts, I will attempt a reversal of this way of thinking and examine walking from the point of view of the material or socio-cultural aspects that limit, control, or affect everyday mobility, both in urban and rural contexts. Attention will be given not to questions of large-scale mobility (like mass migrations) but of the mechanisms and restrictions of movement on the experiential level of walkers. Thus, this research puts the act of walking at the centre of analysis to inquire about the instances in which it cannot fully take place, or its realisation is shaped or even controlled by forces real or imaginary, external or internal. For this purpose, it is important not to separate this experience from that of modernity nor to avoid its irony: that it cannot exist without considering other modes of transportation and their regulation, or even the development of the very surface on which walking takes place. I will argue that the act of walking is concomitant to the experience of sensing boundaries on foot, perhaps much as when Thoreau's perambulation of the bounds of his hometown turned out to be an experience of confinement within the boundaries set by his own official survey of Concord's boundary markers.<sup>5</sup>

As such, this article is inspired by the interdisciplinary study on walking, thus profiting from research in multiple disciplines like history, social anthropology, geography, literature, and migration studies, but with its basis in art studies. It is my contention that artistic imagery illuminates other aspects of mobility and its limits beyond textual sources, but at the same time, it needs to be complemented with historical accounts that provide a better sense of the lived experiences of actual people. Thus, for the analysis and interpretation of images, I introduce to art studies a sort of '*chronotope* of movement control'<sup>6</sup> through which limits on mobility (movement control, regulations, and restrictions) may be revealed, allowing the insight that sensing a place through the temporal act of walking is sensing its boundaries on foot—boundaries that are physical, social, and cultural. Through this approach, I will discuss three cases in which I aim at blurring the contrast between privilege vs poverty, urban vs rural, modernity vs backwardness, fluidity vs immobility. In the context of the passport system implemented during the Napoleonic Wars, I will first examine a portion of Carl Gustav Carus' (1789–1869) working trip to Italy in 1828, leading up to his painting *Erinnerung an Neapel*, and show how his privileged way of travelling was constrained by a tight schedule that brought about a conflict between his identities as court doctor for the

Royal family of Saxony and as artist for whom walking freely was essential. Through lithographs and caricatures, as well as paintings by ‘impressionist’ artists like Monet, Renoir, and Pissarro, I will then revisit the history of the Pont Neuf in Paris and discuss how its features like the footways anticipated urban developments and regulations that later strongly impacted urban walking. And finally, I will discuss rural mobility in Finland in the context of enclosure practices and their regulation, by following the visual story of a type of fence called *riinkuaita* during the “Golden Age” of Finnish Art. While these cases involve a variety of cultural and geographical contexts as well as decades of historical changes, they follow a rather unorthodox sequence that is only revealed through the visual and experiential level of walking: a mode of travel that leads to an experience of the world through a window frame, a view from the window that invites the observation of pedestrian flow constricted to city footways, and from urban walking to rural mobility in a countryside fragmented by fences that break the expansiveness of landscapes.

## Irony of a privileged traveller

Perhaps his expectations as an artist were too high, as he embarked on one of the greatest adventures of his life. In 1827, the polymath Carl Gustav Carus was appointed as one of the personal physicians to the Royal House of Saxony, and the next year he went on a journey to Italy and Switzerland as part of the entourage of Prince Friedrich August (1797–1854). It was a long round-trip of five and a half months: from Dresden to the Austrian crown territories of Lombardy-Veneto, the Grand Duchies of Parma and Tuscany, the Papal States, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the Kingdom of Sardinia, Switzerland, the Grand Duchy of Baden, the Kingdoms of Württemberg and of Bavaria, and back to the Kingdom of Saxony —staying all the way in “exquisite accommodation in prestigious, representative buildings,”<sup>7</sup> enjoying exclusive dinners and the café culture.

45

During this trip, the true experience of wandering in nature was rather limited. By all accounts, Carus in (mostly urban) Italy was no wanderer but a business traveller and a kind of elite, modern intellectual tourist,<sup>8</sup> visiting art collections, libraries, historical sites, buying or collecting souvenirs, books, art catalogues and brochures, as well as exchanging knowledge with peers or capturing motifs in drawings or oil sketches, all in a very tight schedule. His experience of Italy was like Goethe’s in 1786: a coach traveller, rider, halted reader of travel brochures and maps. But unlike Goethe, who travelled alone and on stagecoaches, Carus moved around extensively in private and royal coaches placed at his disposal. The whole entourage travelled in a group of several cars, and Carus and company mostly went in a big, comfortable, closed Landau coach<sup>9</sup> [2, 6, 105]<sup>10</sup> with backseats for valets, pulled by 4 to 8 horses with postilions, and occasionally in an open chaise [3, 6, 164, 268] (possibly a Berline), depending also on the wagons that their hosts and hostesses put at their disposal for short trips; they also stopped at posting stations to change horses.

Around this decade, better coaches and improvements in roadbuilding increased the travelling speed from 4 to 6 km per hour on average, allowing distances of over 100 km in a day to be covered. Between departure on 1 April and arrival on 13 August, Carus and company travelled almost 5000 km. As Maurer points out, one of the benefits of travelling with the Prince was not having to go through customs<sup>11</sup> (or passport) controls at the borders. Often, the delegation of a Kingdom or Duchy would escort them out to their next destination or come up to meet and lead them into the capital, as when Leopold, the Prince of Salerno, came to meet them some 40 kilometres north of Naples (around Capua), along with a Neapolitan battalion and a band playing music in Janissary style, before escorting them into Naples, on 4 May [185].

Starkly different was the experience of common folk and servants travelling to or through the same Italian cities as Carus, in a time when a bureaucratised passport system to control the mobility of the population was in force across continental Europe. External and internal passports, visas, identity documents and residence permits, initially introduced during the Napoleonic Wars, continued in times of peace, although with several problems of standardisation and prone to manipulation and forgery. One purpose was the ‘good riddance’ of bandits, vagrants, potential revolutionaries, and ‘illegal’ immigrants. On the experiential level of everyday life, the general perception of this system around 1828 in Frankfurt, for instance, was that of a burden for honest people, but a necessary protection against crooks.<sup>12</sup>

These burdens are thoroughly illustrated in the case of Domenica Saba, an unmarried 30-year-old Venetian servant, whose internal passport application has been discovered in research by Andrea Geselle. Submitted to the *Direzione Generale di Polizia* on the 7 December 1822, the application stated that Domenica Saba had “the opportunity to take up position as a servant-girl in the house of the merchant firm of Isach Tedesco and Sons in Verona.”<sup>13</sup> To her advantage, being a single adult meant that she did not depend on a husband to issue written permission to travel, and since she was not leaving the crown territories, only an internal passport was needed, which was free of charge for servants at the time. She was also wise enough to submit her application to the local chief of police in Cannaregio, who knew her personally and could vouch for her good record. Assuming that she eventually took to the road and reached her destination, her trip of just over 100 km entailed travel by a designated route making mandatory stops at Padua and Vicenza. At the gates of Padua, the traveller had to hand over her passport to the financial officer, who verified her visa and then sent her passport to the passport office in the city, where a new visa to Vicenza would have been issued. At every point of entry or exit, showing the passport was mandatory. Once at her destination in Verona, she would have received a *carta di permanenza* (residence permit) after handing over her passport and showing up at the passport office within 24 hours of her arrival.<sup>14</sup>

The case of Domenica Saba illustrates a system that was mostly in place to control the mobility of poorer classes, at least during the first half of the nineteenth century, before the opening of railways in the 1840s and 1850s, which led to the collapse of the passport system<sup>15</sup> and the increase in range of people’s mobility. Considering this system and re-reading Carus’ travels, which took place scarcely 5 years later, and specifically tracing the same places where Domenica had to stop and present her passport, one cannot but reassert how privileged Carus was. While Domenica was living in the *sestieri* (district) of Cannaregio,<sup>16</sup> Carus stayed two nights (10 and 11 April 1828) on the second floor of one of the former palaces of the Giustinian family, with a wonderful view towards the Grand Canal and the Church of San Giorgio Maggiore [43].<sup>17</sup> From here, he strolled or travelled by gondola to different sites, visited churches to see art collections, and bought souvenirs at the Piazza San Marco [57]. On 12 April, Carus and company travelled by boat through the Venetian Lagoon to the mouth of the Brenta river, and from there by coach along the river to Padua where they stopped for 2 ½ hours of sightseeing. From Padua they went to Vicenza, where the Austrian regiment had prepared a musical evening [64]. The next day, departing early at 5 in the morning, they left for Verona, where they arrived five hours later having covered almost 60 km. Here Carus again saw more church art collections. After Verona, the group went to Parma and stayed 3 nights. Their hostess was Marie Louise, the Duchess of Parma, former Empress of the French, and widow of Napoleon. There was no trace of border controls.

It is true that Carus was entirely aware of his privilege, of having access to private art collections, of being attended by valets and servants in all the places he went along with the Prince. He himself saw this pomposity as somewhat exaggerated—a coach pulled by 8 horses was after all quite an unusual sight [185]. On one occasion, as he was riding through the streets of Florence in a very elegant (perhaps open)

carriage pulled by 4 horses and with two well-dressed valets, he found humorous how people came to salute him reverentially, as if he were the Ruler of Florence! [105] Repeatedly though, his movements were not decided entirely by himself, but constrained by an official programme dictated by others. For this reason, he often wished either to be alone or in the company of friends or men of science and was always happy to be excused from attending fancy dinners, making his escape for an evening walk. And here is where the irony of his apparently borderless travelling experience unfolded, for he frequently writes about not having enough time to study an artwork, or paint for long hours, or simply take detours from the tight schedule. As Maurer<sup>18</sup> accurately points out, Carus often repeated the formula “Es hätte ein schönes Bild gegeben” {It would have been a nice picture}, meaning that he could not take back home a painted landscape but its literary description, a landscape of memory or at most a spoken sketch of vanishing scenes. On the 10 May 1828 in Napoli, Carus writes in his travelogue: “I see more and more how this trip is basically just turning and flipping (pages) through the essential beauties of Italy, which puts me in a position to design a travel plan that suits me better in the future.” [209]

Moreover, Carus spent quite a lot of time travelling in a closed Landau wagon—a moving fortification [185]—or sitting down indoors while writing or drawing sketches. His experience of the landscape was thus very often a fixed view through the frame of a window, albeit with two different temporalities and two forms of landscape production: the view from the coach window features a shaky frame with a fast-changing landscape, whereas the view from a room had stable elements (railings, window, or door frame) with a relatively stable landscape that changed slowly with the passing hours. Most of Carus’ spoken mini sketches<sup>19</sup> were concisely written down afterwards, while the oil and pencil sketches were made in situ. It is also worth noticing that the miniature character of his spoken sketches also corresponds to the small oil paintings he did afterwards, based both on memory and written descriptions. In a way, Carus the physician/scientist—even Carus the art historian—captured mental images while in motion (despite the tight schedule), but Carus the artist, for whom the experience of walking freely in nature was essential to his artistic life, as he once professed,<sup>20</sup> was often a stroller in private gardens or housebound to a view from the window. And this latter experience is precisely what he channelled in one of his most famous paintings from this time, a view from the balcony window in Naples [Figure 1],<sup>21</sup> where he stayed for several days (4-6 and 10-20 May) at the Casino Reale del Chiatamone. It is perhaps a simple rendition within an otherwise more complex spectrum of window scenes in Carus’ œuvre.

His own reaction to this view as he entered the room [187] has been forever linked to this small painting, made a year or two after his return to Dresden. Often overlooked is how he describes this corner room as a ‘cell’ {*Zell*}, for which, however, he felt blessed. For what it lacked in space to move around inside was compensated by two windows, one to the east with a view towards Mount Vesuvius and one to the south with a French door from which he could see a small harbour, the Castel dell’Ovo and the island of Capri in the distance—places he managed to visit later during his stay. The light and the sounds and the smell of the sea would come in. Had he wished, Carus would have had no need to be in touch with the real Napoli and might remain undisturbed, for this Casino Reale had even a garden surrounded by walls. He could have lived “a life in Naples without Naples.”<sup>22</sup>

While Carus was never truly bound to this room, his painting—constructed from memory and supported by an oil sketch of the Castel dell’Ovo—does confront the viewer with a ‘fixed gaze’<sup>23</sup> that can escape neither interior nor exterior. There is a sense of bordering experience, circumscribing the beholder. The first border is the golden frame of the painting itself, setting a physical barrier between the viewer and the art object. The second border *in* the image is composed of few elements: a red curtain hanging placidly, indicating the lack of wind; a leaning guitar with a blue strap evoking the sea and the songs of the fishermen who gathered in the evenings;<sup>24</sup> the partially opened green window; and the railing.

The third border is the partially seen brick wall of the bridge connecting the land and the Castel, which the eye cannot follow. Instead, it jumps to the massive building that also partially blocks the horizon. Not only is the landscape somehow fragmented, but so is the experience of the viewer in front of the artwork, who needs to collect and connect all the pieces. Every element becomes one of these pages that the artist swiftly flipped during a speedy journey, coming together in one single view, and inviting the viewer to inhabit a calm mid-day moment.



Figure 1 Carl Gustav Carus, *Erinnerung an Neapel* (ca. 1830)  
Oil on canvas, 28,4 × 21,3 cm (Frame size: 34 × 27 × 4,5 cm)  
Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin (Inv. No. FNG 59/92)

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## Constraints of the flow

As it happens, one might need to stay immobile to appreciate better how other people move. A fixed view from the window does offer the rare chance to see from a vantage point the temporality of a given scene unfolding in front of our eyes. Between the late 1860s and early 1900s, the group of artists that initiated the rather diverse 'impressionist' movement turned their gaze to contemporary life in both rural and urban settings during a time of notable changes. A common urban theme among painters like Renoir, Monet, Manet, Caillebotte, and Pissarro was the aerial view of different boulevards, streets, bridges, quays, and gardens, most notably in Paris after the massive renovations under the tutelage of Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann, Prefect of the Seine between 1853 and 1870.



*Figure 2. Claude Monet, Pont Neuf (1871)  
Oil on canvas, 53,34 × 73,03 cm  
Dallas Museum of Art (Inv. No. 1985.R.38)  
The Wendy and Emery Reves Collection  
Open Access Image*



*Figure 3. Pierre-August Renoir, Pont Neuf (1872)  
Oil on canvas, 75,3 × 93,7 cm  
Courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington (Inv. No. 1970.17.58)  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Collection  
Open Access Image*

Among these locations, the Pont Neuf, which connects the Île de la Cité from both sides of the Seine in two separate spans, held an interesting position. In the late 1860s, both Claude Monet and Pierre-Auguste Renoir began to depict Parisian scenes from a ground-level perspective, but their paintings of the Pont Neuf (1871 and 1872, respectively) acquired a bird-like view [Figure 2 & Figure 3]. Art historians have emphasised the timing of their appearance as two opposite approaches to the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71) and the violent upheavals at the Commune (May 1871): while both renditions foreground walking as a theme alongside other modes of transportation, Monet's study features a rather sombre, sketchy, grey urban scene on a rainy day, where each pedestrian walks alone, interacting only with their own reflections on the pavement. This intimacy and sense of loneliness is paradigmatically achieved both by shrinking the width of the street and widening the footway, thus increasing the space that pedestrians could occupy for themselves along the public highway. Renoir's, on the other hand, is sunny, placid, crowded, spatially accurate. It is also uneventful. Nothing seems to be really happening but the movement of people from different walks of life: women alone or with children, couples, policemen, military, street vendors, dogs, carriages, horse-drawn omnibuses. The temporal structure of this painting is key. It is known that Edmond Renoir, the painter's brother who is depicted twice in the painting with straw hat and walking stick, went down to the bridge to chat with people, so that Auguste could better capture them on canvas from a café window on the second floor.<sup>25</sup> The outcome of an hours-long process is the simultaneity of people who might have never passed each other but nonetheless traversed the same space at different times. But then again, the uneventfulness of Renoir's depiction of the Pont Neuf paints several interconnected walking histories hidden in plain sight. For this, it is worth considering the bridge's history and features, which anticipated some urban renovations around the Haussmannisation of Paris.<sup>26</sup>

50

Finished under Henry IV in the early seventeenth century, the Pont Neuf was the first bridge without buildings on top to feature a separate carriageway with raised footways on each side. These two aspects were supposed to allow passers-by to contemplate the river. At ground level though, the story was different. Reading Pierre Lacroix's *Physiologie du pont Neuf* (1840)<sup>27</sup> together with the visual arts, it is possible to recreate the experience on the bridge. For a long time, it was mostly frequented in daylight but avoided at night due to violence and thievery, even after increased security and the installation of lanterns. Its footways were not reserved exclusively for pedestrians {*piétons*}, as there were merchants selling all kind of things. Charlatans, haberdashers, resellers, confectioners, and booksellers occupied the public way and transformed it into a place of commerce. Indeed, depictions of the seventeenth and eighteenth century show an incredible number of tent shops on each side of the raised wooden footways, which blocked the view to the river [Figure 4 & Figure 5]. Even the equestrian statue of Henry IV, erected around 1614 and heading the *Île de la Cité*, was protected by a high fence that blocked access to the entire platform. Most of the people were simple onlookers {*badauds*} standing still with gaping mouths in front of the boutiques, while behind them pickpockets visited their pouches with silky fingers, causing little trouble. From one end to the other, the bridge was a glowing concert hallway of trumpets, pipes, drums, and lutes, along with songs and laughs and cries, while puppeteers presented their theatre of marionettes [342–343].



Figure 4. Antoine Aveline, *Vüe et perspective du pont Neuf à Paris* (1st-half 18th century)  
Etching, 53 cm long (Montage 48 x 60 cm)  
CC0 Paris Musées | Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris

51



Figure 5. Nicolas Guérard, *L'embaras de Paris* (1715)  
Etching, 20,5 x 31,4 cm  
CC0 Paris Musées | Musée Carnavalet, Histoire de Paris (Inv. No. G.31882)

The Pont Neuf became so crowded that the expression ‘*l’embaras de Paris*’ {the embarrassment of Paris} was coined, effectively giving birth to the genre of caricature and graphic satire. A 1715 etching by Nicolas Guérard suggests that walking in Paris was dangerous and every pedestrian needed to be alert and listen to the noise of the horses and carriages, otherwise getting injured, crippled or killed by a coach was always possible.<sup>28</sup> But according to Lacroix, under Louis XV (1710–1774), despite some street entertainment, the bridge began to lose its appeal: “The people were becoming less like onlookers, less lazy, less gullible; the Revolution was being prepared in the lower classes as well as in the social summits.” [345] Before and soon after the Revolution, it was also a place for the display of power and identity: recruiters walked around proudly, with bravado, luring young men into joining the army; imperial processions with elegant postillions and coaches pulled by 8 horses<sup>29</sup> took place during remarkable events, like the Coronation of Napoleon (2 December 1804) and the entrance of Louis XVIII (3 May 1814).

Around the time Lacroix wrote his piece, the Pont Neuf was emptied of all the things that made it unique. Boot polishers and dog groomers took the place of *charlatans-opérateurs*,<sup>30</sup> policemen the place of recruiters; armed soldiers guarded the statue of Henri IV, where singers, buffoons and puppeteers used to perform. In addition, the raised wooden footways were lowered and replaced with other materials,<sup>31</sup> access to the equestrian statue was gradually permitted, and the tent shops reappeared as boutiques built between the arches. Lacroix put it bluntly: “Once the Pont Neuf was an endless spectacle, nowadays it is just another bridge to cross without stopping.” [347]<sup>32</sup> Once a site of competing interests, trying to capture the attention of passers-by, the bridge had become pedestrian,<sup>33</sup> i.e., prosaic, ordinary, unremarkable. By the time Renoir and Monet painted their views, the bridge had regressed to its basic function of river crossing, thus gradually shifting from a *place* of trade and social encounter to a *space* of circulation. It had become mono-functional, its footways less diverse, no longer arousing the gaze. The Third Republic then began to develop its regulations on a national scale, presenting itself as a Republic of order.<sup>34</sup> But the Pont Neuf became pedestrian mostly because of urban transformations and regulations of the public highway and city services. New bridges were built (1852–1862) to ease vehicular and foot traffic, as well as parks, boulevards, and openings towards the riverfront. Streets were opened, straightened, aligned, and widened<sup>35</sup> by tearing down old working-class medieval buildings and displacing their residents. The narrow, crooked streets with uneven ground and smelly alleyways through which ‘flâneurs’ used to stalk women—enjoying the thrill of losing sight of their object of desire, only to find it afterwards at the next turn—were no more. The city could breathe, get daylight. The metaphor of the city as a living organism expanding its limits and changing ways of living triumphed. As Studeny argues: “A kind of sympathetic theory that guides the relationship between the blood and urban veins imposes a tyranny of fluidity. The physiological metaphor dominates representations, it claims the reign of movement.”<sup>36</sup>

The motivations behind these transformations have been thoroughly researched. Suffice it to say that in terms of sewers, water distribution, public highways, and lighting, Paris was about one century behind London.<sup>37</sup> Above all, questions of water, sanitation, and health became urgent matters after the Cholera epidemic of 1832. Authorities understood that to tackle these issues they also needed to address the problems of paving and of increasing foot and vehicular traffic.<sup>38</sup> To that effect, it is worth examining two connected aspects: the street profile and the walkways. These are significant because they refer to the material aspects that come in tactile contact with pedestrians.<sup>39</sup> Thus, it matters not only what people do on the streets, or how their mobility is regulated: the very the surface on which their actions take place is also significant.

The boulevards were the first urban spaces to be regulated. Ordinances of 1763 and 1766<sup>40</sup> stipulated that carriages and horses should drive in the centre of the public highway at walking speed, while foot traffic should flow against the aisles {*contre allées*}. This regulation, however, was probably difficult

to follow in the old narrow medieval streets, which featured a split carriageway with a concave profile or V-shape, i.e., with the cross slope or camber towards a gutter in the middle through which rainwater ran and mud accumulated—among other things! It created the perfect conditions for skirmishes involving carriages, carts, and their users, because of the physics of movement towards the centre and because the muddy ditch could make horses slip.<sup>41</sup> Pedestrians had to look constantly at the ground to avoid getting dirt on their shoes. Walking along the street meant staying near the facades of houses, and to cross, people made a leap over the stream {*ruisseau*} or shouted ‘*passsez payez*’ to a scraper {*décrotteur*} nearby. [Figure 6] The scraper would come, put a specially devised plank over the gutter, help the passer-by, and charge them a fee for his services. The expression ‘*tenir le haut du pavé*’, which means to have an elevated social position, to belong to the high-class, originated from this context. It literally means to ‘hold on to the higher part of the street’. Thus, the bourgeoisie and the nobles would walk alongside the buildings, while the lower-class had to yield that space and give them the right of way by going towards the gutter.

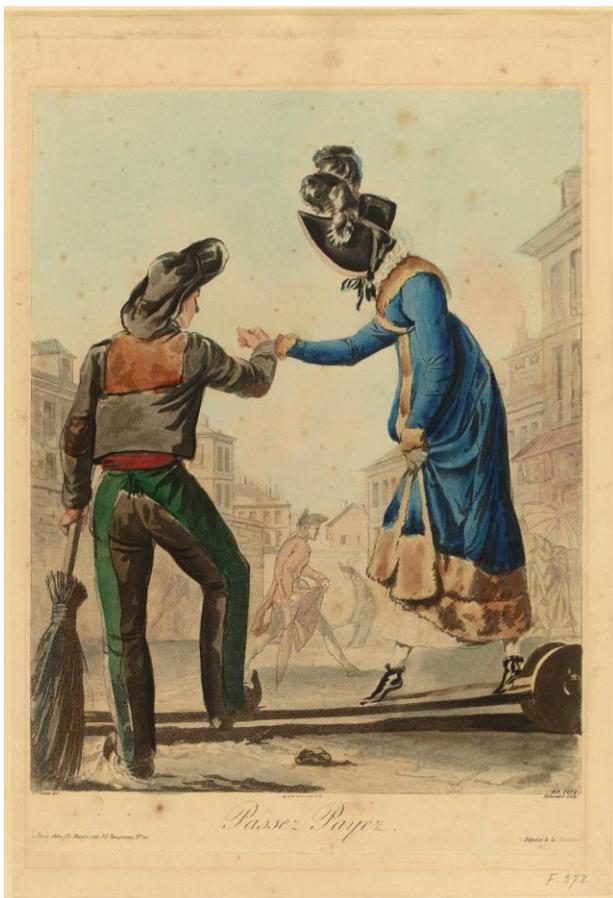


Figure 6. Philibert Louis Debucourt (engraver), *Passez payez* (1818)

Coloured Print, 20,5 × 31,4 cm

CCO Paris Musées | Musée Carnavalet, *Histoire de Paris*  
(Inv. No. G.1171)

The unsanitary conditions of these roads led in the 1830s to the important association of roadmaking with the service of water and sewage, for which changing the street profile to a convex shape was a priority.<sup>42</sup> The curved street featured on each side gutters and elevated footways with borders in granite to prevent splashing by passing vehicles, as the Pont Neuf anticipated. Throughout the long-nineteenth century, roadmaking companies experimented with several materials and techniques for coating the streets. Old pebbles were replaced by square granite blocks, which were often used during the revivals of the barricades on the Parisian streets,<sup>43</sup> raising the roadway into a new border wall to be defended at all costs and transforming the urban space into a place of political dissent. The luxurious wooden roads that resembled parquet appeared in 1832 but became more common in 1881. Asphalt or bitumen appeared in 1835–1837 in certain boulevards but were too expensive to produce and implement widely at the time.<sup>44</sup> Here too the satirical series *L'embellissement de Paris* (1844?) by the lithographer Frédéric Bouchot offers a visual critique of how these urban innovations affected pedestrians [Figure 7 & Figure 8], including street furniture like bushes and advertising columns {*colonnes moresques*}.

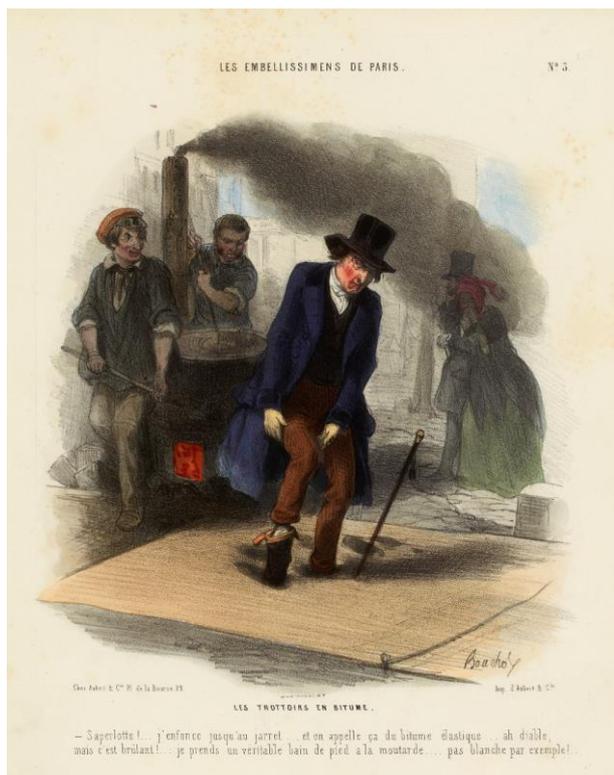


Figure 7. Frédéric Bouhot, *Les Trottoirs en Bitume*  
 No. 3 de l'album *Les Embellissements de Paris* (1844?)  
 Lithograph, 35,6 × 27,6 cm  
 CC0 Paris Musées | Musée Carnavalet, *Histoire de Paris*  
 (Inv. No. G.10447)



Figure 8. Frédéric Bouhot, *Les Arbres: fagots des quais et boulevards*  
 No. 11 de l'album *Les Embellissements de Paris* (1844?)  
 Lithograph, 35,6 × 27,6 cm  
 CC0 Paris Musées | Musée Carnavalet, *Histoire de Paris*  
 (Inv. No. G.10455)

With the creation of footways {*trottoirs*}, the act of walking was then officially reframed into a specific zone of the urban landscape. Besides the *trottoirs* of the Pont Neuf, the first pavements appeared in 1781 at the rue de l'Odéon (Theatre) where there were many shops of luxury items,<sup>45</sup> connecting walking to the contemplation of shop windows. Between 1825–1830 they were built by the municipality in front of cafés, restaurants, operas, and theatres. They became a straight, safe passage for pedestrians, with a smooth, clean surface—like a dance floor—which spared people from constantly looking at the ground, and allowed them to wear lighter, fancier shoes and increase their walking speed. Once the gaze was free from the waste on the streets, it allowed people to see and be seen, slowly ending the surreptitiousness of anonymous alleyway ‘flaneurs.’<sup>46</sup> Above all, the gaze could now focus on the storefronts of boutiques<sup>47</sup> or private houses.

Consequently, the new walkways became a sort of border between private and public interests, boundaries on which pedestrians moved, oscillating between their public persona and their private life. For this reason, the question of circulation, hygiene, public order, and defence of private property of the upper classes came to the fore. Assuring pedestrian circulation from point A to B became a priority. The efficiency of that circulation superseded the social use of streets.<sup>48</sup> As Amato contends, authorities chose to “supress vagrancy, unlicensed itinerancy, illegal assembly, rebellious marching, strikes, and other forms of threatening pedestrian behavior, which they identified with the dark and dangerous underclasses.”<sup>49</sup> Indeed, in Police Ordinances of 1828 and 1831, street acrobats, singers, jugglers, dancers, organ players, and itinerant musicians were regarded as an obstruction of the public highway,<sup>50</sup> increasingly so as they

attracted more people around them. They were then required to apply for a certificate of good behaviour and morals from the police. The spectacle on the street was to be controlled in both form and content to preserve mobility and morality.<sup>51</sup> The cleansing of streets needed to be mirrored in the interior life of urbanites, who should be able to regulate themselves through implicit rules of conduct and internal discipline.<sup>52</sup> A new set of urban virtues emerged to ensure that footways remained a clean space for continuous movement. Punctuality became a modern virtue, wasting time a scandal,<sup>53</sup> saving time an imperative. A stalled being or object could be regarded as an obstruction, and the freedom of idleness, of not moving,<sup>54</sup> appeared at odds with these urban virtues. Still during the Third Republic, individuals (mostly low-class) occupying the public space without moving could be controlled, jailed, or sent into exile on the account of vagrancy. Thus, they were compelled to move on, to keep walking, to remain in motion.<sup>55</sup> Suspicious idleness was morally objectionable. The tyranny of fluidity and repetition, of symmetry and synchronicity, of speed and punctuality threatened the disappearance of the diverse city in favour of a more homogenous urban landscape.<sup>56</sup>

Of course, despite all the ordinances and control mechanisms for regulating the use of the *voie publique* and the *trottoirs*, Renoir's depiction of the Pont Neuf [Figure 3] offers a view into the remnants of the well-known chaotic behaviour of nineteenth-century Parisians.<sup>57</sup> Carriages, omnibuses and horse-riders drive close to each other without staying in their lane. The town sergeant<sup>58</sup> left to the central axis of the composition appears simply to watch over the fruit and vegetable merchants pushing their cart, unbothered by the two boys and the cocoa drink merchant {*vendeur de coco*} standing still on the carriage-way. Years later, the forty-year-old Renoir continued his observations of "ordinary people doing ordinary things, to ordinary objects"<sup>59</sup>—the mass of everyday life movements—during his trip to Italy in 1881, where again from a second floor vantage he painted day and evening views of the Bay of Naples (exaggerating the size of Vesuvius) with a technique of diagonal brush strokes developed while studying the ancient frescos of Pompeii; a view perhaps of a slower pace of life unfolding. On the bright side, from the 1870s in Paris there was a genuine interest in protecting pedestrians, although their right of mobility was prioritised, respected, and enforced against other modes of transportation only towards the end of the century.<sup>60</sup> Fast-forward thirty years, and one of Pissarro's renditions of the same bridge in 1902 tells a different story: carriages and horse-drawn omnibuses—taken out of circulation the same year<sup>61</sup>—run in their assigned lane, while anonymous pedestrians circulate in a very orderly manner. [Figure 9] Between Renoir's and Pissarro's paintings of the Pont Neuf, there is a transition from the lyrical subjects of old times, with their discontinuous movements at odds with newer forms of transportation, into the abstract speedy entities of modernity in perennial motion.



Figure 9. Camille Pissarro, *Pont Neuf* (1902)  
Oil on canvas, 55,3 × 46,5 cm  
© Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest (Inv. No. 205.B)

## Breaking the expansiveness

And then the city was too big and the idea of a simpler, supposedly easier life, free of the constraints of timetables and work schedules, “withdrawing from the material concerns of the everyday,”<sup>62</sup> not having to run to catch the tramway or the train, was increasingly alluring. Rousseau’s rural solitude returned as a possible antidote to the poison of city life—its noise, poor housing, crime, congestion,<sup>63</sup> the unfulfilled political promises. When Paris doubled in size with the annexation of nearby villages beyond the old walls in 1859–1860, it became too difficult to traverse by foot, walking its boundaries no longer possible. But at least Paris was more diverse in its population, and even more so with the network of *chemins de fer*, through which the modern city built new forms of gates—the train stations.<sup>64</sup> They opened the city to the world, facilitating the *Expositions Universelles* (1855, 1867, 1878, 1889 and 1900) while simultaneously allowing the growing middle-class to extend their world beyond even the picturesque countryside of their own nation. The World Fairs held in major cities opened Europe to the arts and crafts of the distant lands of Asia, the Islamic World and Latin America.

But for the sedentary urbanite with little time, other forms of engagement with the outside world became available. With the gaze free from the ground, an urban walker could stop by a shop of lithographs, see images of a distant countryside or a tropical landscape, and let their imagination take over.<sup>65</sup> From the 1820s onwards, the migration of images across Europe accelerated at an incredible pace thanks to the proliferation of travel literature and guidebooks with maps, historical surveys, illustrations, and paintings, as well as postcards and photographs. Through different ‘*picturesque viems*’, ‘*voyages pittoresques et romantiques*’, ‘*malerische Wanderungen*’ of England, France, Germany, Switzerland, Scandinavia, and the Americas, urban residents were taken on a national-identity-building journey through words and images of each town or region of their home country, or given a glimpse of other nations, peoples, and traditions. A new form of international competition among nations emerged not only through technological advances, but also through the idealisation of their own landscapes. Their contemplation had become a leisure activity, perhaps equal to the proliferation of maps, which were both “distillations of experience and invitations to experience.”<sup>66</sup> Thus, paintings and drawings conveyed both experience and imagination of places, welcoming the viewer to fictional walks into an expansive landscape and to perform self-exploration in an idyllic nature. But this idyllic landscape had little to do with the common folk that populated it. Because of this, it is easy to overlook the minor details hidden in plain sight or rendered invisible through the artistic—editing—process in picturesque views that infuse the topography of a place with imaginary ideals and make invisible the very elements that affect the actual experience of movement through the land.

One of these publications was *Finland framställt i teckningar* {*Finland depicted in drawings*}<sup>67</sup> by Zacharias Topelius (1818–1898), completed between 1842–1852 in Swedish, when the country was the autonomous Grand Duchy of Finland under Imperial Russian rule. In these lithographs, one specific element has been rather diminished, so as not to obstruct the gaze in freely wandering the landscape without major obstacles: a kind of round-pole fence known as ‘*riuknaita*’, with its characteristic diagonal design. This is due mainly to the perspective and standpoint of the beholder. However, at least one case tells otherwise: Pehr Adolf Kruskopf’s sheet (No. 34) of the ironworks community of Fiskars, its preliminary print, and a watercolour and pencil sketch. [Figure 10, Figure 11 & Figure 12] First, the perspective has been modified by changing the overall proportions, raising the viewpoint, increasing the depth of the middle ground, thus giving the composition a less flat appearance. Second, the two women riding a rather modest single-horse carriage, occupying the centre of the composition, have been replaced by two men



Figure 10 Pebr Adolf Kruskopf,  
Fiskars Ironworks (1830–39)  
Watercolour and pencil on paper, 20,5  
× 34,5 cm  
Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki  
(Inv. No. AI 472:153)  
Copyright free



Figure 11. Kruskopf, Fiskars (1837)  
Lithograph, 30 × 39 cm  
Finnish Heritage Agency, Helsinki  
(Inv. No. HK18910608:1.4)  
CC BY 4.0



Figure 12. Kruskopf, Fiskars (1846)  
No. 34 in Finland framställt i teck-  
ningar  
Lithograph, 13 × 20 cm  
Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki  
(Inv. No. C III B II 245:101)  
Copyright free

side the road on the right of the sketch, first reduced in size, was then edited out of the final print, replaced by bushes and three young trees, which in turn replaced three bigger trees that were further away, next to the Stenhuset or Manor House, thus bringing more balance to the view, a less peasant look, and more access to the heart of the industrial site. Even passers-by contemplating the ‘man-made’ lake and dam were added.

While the illustrations in Topelius’ book succeed at showing how fencing was a widespread phenomenon across Finland, they do not fully grasp its agricultural, cultural, and social function, nor how it relates to modern ideas of control and limits of mobility.



Figure 13. Erkki Mikkola, *Village Road in North Karelia* (1925)

Photograph, 9 × 12 cm

Finnish Heritage Agency, Helsinki (Inv. No. KK5065:167)

CC BY 4.0

Following the most important land reform under the Swedish Empire, the so-called Great Enclosure or Division {*Isojako* in Finnish, *Storskiftet* in Swedish} of 1757,<sup>68</sup> the old enclosure practices in Finland saw many changes, which in turn affected village life. The main purpose of this reform was to dismantle narrow plots of scattered fields and combine them into larger entities, to create a more cohesive and efficient system for food production.<sup>69</sup> It entailed a rather mandatory cooperation and the standardisation of farming methods, work schedules, and the size, number and divisions of blocks per farm, thus resolving matters of land, fences, and gates.<sup>70</sup> While its regulations were strict, many peasants embraced the system, as they sought to negotiate between the needs of the community and their own interests in a pragmatic way. Alongside tilling, sowing, and harvesting, fencing was an essential, but material- and time-consuming, task. The construction of about 100 m of dense fence required around 600 young trees and nine days of work.<sup>71</sup> Thus, having common perimeters between farms was an economical and practical solution for saving material, as well as time in building, maintaining, and repairing. Most importantly, the

enclosures brought to the countryside a form of regularity and orderly division that mirrored the development of wooden towns and their methodical urban structure (grid plans),<sup>72</sup> i.e., a rural modernity that followed secular administrative procedures. Visually speaking, it was not unusual to see 1 km of straight fence or 2 km of perimeter fence around a farm, or farms with alleys between crop fences to lead the cattle to pasture, transforming the rural landscape into a borderscape of sorts, which varied according to region, population density and wealth. Photographs from amateur and professional photographers of the 1890s onwards evidence that these kinds of enclosures were in use even past the mid-twentieth century. [Figure 13 & Figure 14] A photograph from 1906 by the collector and researcher of Finnish folklore Jussi Lukkarinen portrays, for instance, the first foot mail carrier Antti Riikonen (nicknamed ‘Posti-Antti’) of the Paihola village in Kontiolahti (North Karelia region nowadays), with hat, beard, letter bag, and smoking pipe. One can imagine him walking long distances along a sparsely populated eastern rural borderscape fragmented by dense fences, opening and closing wooden gates, perhaps not able or allowed to take shortcuts through farms on his way to deliver letters.



Figure 14. Jussi Lukkarinen, Antti “Posti-Antti” Riikonen (1906)  
 Photograph, 14 × 9 cm  
 Finnish Heritage Agency, Helsinki (Inv. No. KK4878:325)  
 CC BY 4.0

Fencing became a cultural practice for the temporal organisation of life in the village. The *riukuaidat* not only protected field crops from free-range grazing livestock and wild animals, but also held the community together around a common village fence. Each farm participated in its construction according to their tax rates and shared the responsibility of its maintenance, which took place during the growing and grazing season, i.e. between May Day {*vappu*} and Michaelmas {*mikkelinpäivä*} (29 September).<sup>73</sup> Even if a farm did not share a common fence with others, its inhabitants needed to participate in the maintenance of the village fence.<sup>74</sup> The basic principle was that if anyone failed at doing their part, it affected others. Moreover, neighbouring villages could eventually share a common perimeter fence, which not only saved time, but also implied that their order of cultivation had to be interdependent. And the bare fact that the fences were made entirely of wood<sup>75</sup> suggested a different temporality that rendered borders unstable. In this sense, fencing became a form of dynamic bordering process, overlapping with other natural border markers and man-made boundaries like gates, which could also be shared with another village and regulated in their opening and closing times: opened in winter, closed by spring before taking the cattle to the pastures. A painting by Berndt Lindholm of a perhaps more wealthy and populous area in the region of Häme [Figure 15] shows how fences mediated human relations through the image of a boy and a girl or young woman talking over a fence connected to a wooden gate, which possibly

gave access to the village. The cattle have not yet been taken to pasture and the road shows signs of cart traffic. The painting suggests that—far from being mere instruments of agricultural division and cultural segregation—these porous fences became a place of encounter with the other around common routines.



Figure 15. Berndt Lindholm, *Hämäläinen maisema* (1896)

(*Landscape from Tavastia*)

Oil on canvas, 107 × 154 cm

K.H. Renlund Museum, Kokkola (Inv. No. 3)

Photo: Joni Virtanen | KHRTM

CC-BY-ND

Towards the turn of the twentieth century, the story of the *riukuaita* in the visual arts reached the most unexpected of outcomes. It happened against the backdrop of the development of a Finnish “national landscape” featuring lakes surrounded by forests, first by the generation of male and female artists who in the 1850–1860s studied at the Kunstakademie Düsseldorf, like W. Holmberg, F. Churberg, H. Munsterhjelm, and B. Lindholm, then succeeded by those who studied in Paris during the Belle Époque 1880–1890s, like E. Järnefelt, A. Gallen-Kallela, P. Halonen, V. Westerholm, H. Schjerfbeck, and V. Soldan-Brofeldt.<sup>76</sup> Contrary to the popular mid-nineteenth-century French landscape artists, who depicted identifiable topographical views of monuments and geographical sites, thus abandoning the *motif*, i.e., “the preference for relatively anonymous scenes lacking distinctive topographical features,”<sup>77</sup> this second generation of Finnish artists embraced it. Inspired by the ‘impressionists’, they depicted intimate forest and lake scenes, tending to raise the horizon line of their landscapes, thus accentuating the world here and now in relation to nature. Among these motifs was precisely the *riukuaita*, and they all used it in several of their works, most notably Fanny Churberg in *Metsänsisusta* (*Forest interior*, 1871–72) and Hjalmar Munsterhjelm in *Lähestyvä ukonilma* (*Imminent thunderstorms*, 1870–1879).

There are, however, two paintings by Eero Järnefelt (1863–1937) worthy of comment: *Metsämaisema* (*Forest landscape*, 1885) and *Kesäyön kuu* (*Summer Night Moon*, 1889), painted before and after his studies in Paris. [Figure 16 & Figure 17] In contrast to the vantage point of his most famous landscapes from the Koli hill, these two paintings place the viewer at ground level and offer two different experiences. The latter, with its open gate, invites the viewer to reach the farmhouse and seek protection for the night by following a path made by walking. The former, though apparently simpler, is much more complex. It has been said that, over the years, Järnefelt's weakening eyesight prompted him to develop a style less focused on details and more on the character of his subjects.<sup>78</sup> But in this small painting, the then-22-year-old artist completes the story of enclosure practices in just a few thick brush strokes: the almost-continuous horizontal and diagonal brush strokes that form the grass and the *riukuaita* in the foreground reflect the spatial order imposed on the landscape by the human hand. Beyond the protective barrier of the fence, the short brush strokes in all directions echo the wilderness and the world of natural, fearful creatures. The painting limits the movement of the viewer by placing her on the side of the familiar territory of the human realm against unknown, untamed nature. It shows visually how bordering processes also played a role in differentiating against the utmost other—a landscape full of inhuman mystical creatures.<sup>79</sup>



Figure 16. Eero Järnefelt, *Metsämaisema* (1885)  
(*Forest Landscape*)

*Oil on canvas, 17,5 × 20,5 cm*

*Järvenpää Art Museum (Inv. No. EJ D 20)*

© *Courtesy Järvenpään taidemuseo | Matias Uusikylä*



Figure 17. Eero Järnefelt, *Kesäyön kuu* (1889)  
(*Summer Night Moon*)  
Oil on canvas, 62 × 79,5 cm  
Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki (Inv. No. A V 4372)  
Copyright free



Figure 18. Julius Ailio, *Paavo Tianien with his wife* (Early 1900s)  
Photograph, 15 × 11 cm  
Finnish Heritage Agency, Helsinki (Inv. No. KK1758:6)  
CC BY 4.0



Figure 19. Frans Viljamaa, *Aune Laaksonen sitting on a round-pole fence* (ca. 1920)  
Mäntsälä museum services (Inv. No. FV\_0712)  
Photo: Mäntsälä | Frans Viljamaa  
CC BY-NC-ND 4.0

And finally, the *riukuaita* experienced a shift from being a visual element that confirmed location (being in), identity (being from), and identification (being like) with the countryside, to the very symbolic expression of belonging. It is hard to say if it began with Albert Edelfelt (1854–1905), who in some of his late paintings used this type of fence as the background of the event in the image, as in *Mansikoita* (*Wild strawberries*, 1890), or metaphorically<sup>80</sup> in the famous *Suru* (*Grief*, 1894)—a painting based on a photograph, as well as echoing the poem *På Värnamo marknad* by Carl Snoilsky—to separate the sad couple in the foreground from a Spring scene with birch trees and lake, or in *Solveig II* (1893), where a young girl stands leaning on a fence between her and the viewer. During the same decade, though, a rather unexpected cultural practice started to develop within portrait photography. Like Edelfelt, photographers, both male and female, amateur and professional, portrayed individuals or families in the countryside with the fence in the background [Figure 18]. Later, people had their portrait taken sitting on the fence, looking at the camera or to the horizon, against a forest background, placing themselves between the two realms of humanity and nature [Figure 19]. The *riukuaita*—once an essential component of the enclosure practices, once an artefact that broke the expansiveness of the landscape and created rural borderscapes, also found its way into the cities, where photographers like the Norwegian Georg Nyblin (1859–1931, Turku), the Swede Axel Strandberg (1870–192?, Helsinki), and the Finnish Augusta Olsson (1878–1954, Uusikaupunki)<sup>81</sup> used variations of the *riukuaita* as a prop to recreate a rural setting in their ateliers. [Figs. Figure 20, Figure 21 & Figure 22] Strandberg’s portrait of a young woman in black holding a fence and looking into the horizon has the award-winning seal ‘Paris 1900’, meaning it was exhibited in the Finnish pavilion at the *Exposition Universelle* of 1900, where Finland, after scattered participation in previous exhibitions, was finally able to present its architecture, design, and culture as a *Gesamtkunstwerk*.<sup>82</sup> In a single image, the poetic expression of rural life became the manifestation of a Finnish identity and its aspiration for autonomy, built from the many echelons of the Golden Age of Finnish Art.



Figure 20. Georg Nyblin, *Family portrait*  
 Studio photograph, 9 × 6 cm  
 Salo Historical Museum (Inv. No. MERV241)  
 Meritalo museum collection  
 CC BY-ND 4.0



Figure 21. Axel Strandberg, *Portrait of a Young Lady* (Late 1890s)  
 Studio photograph, 9 × 6 cm  
 Salo Historical Museum (Inv. No. MERV361)  
 Meritalo museum collection  
 CC BY-ND 4.0



Figure 22. Augusta Olsson, *Yrjö Nylander, little boy* (Early 1900s)  
 Uudenkaupunki museum (Inv. No. AUG5323)  
 Photo: Uudenkaupungin museo | Augusta Olsson  
 CC BY-ND 4.0

## Conclusions

In this article, I have examined a wide variety of mechanisms by which the everyday experience of urban and rural walking may be seen as controlled, regulated, limited, or affected, when viewed through the lens of the visual arts with supporting literary and historical accounts. This attempt placed art objects like paintings, lithographs, and photographs into the challenging—albeit debatable—position of being both artworks and historical documents, which blurs the boundaries between lyrical and historical subjects. In this sense, they oscillate between the imaginary and the actuality of historical events related to migration, bordering processes, and control of mobility. While not entirely historical documents or accurate depictions of the topography of a given place, they depart from urban and rural landscapes invariably tied to visual and narrative memories. In other words, they tell a historicity imbued with the artistic freedom of reshaping the landscape, mainly for the sake of revealing their character at a particular moment in time or presenting them in a different light. From the perspective of the artist, the modification of the landscape becomes both the projection of self into the landscape and the artistic shaping of that projection. For the beholder, the contemplation of artistic depictions becomes the contemplation of the self or of the other.

We saw this first in Carus' fragmented experience of a landscape as seen from his hotel room, which echoed the irony of a free Romantic walker/artist feeling the confinement imposed by his other persona's tight travelling schedule, bounding him somewhat temporarily to a house or to closed carriages. To that effect, Carus' case reinforces the idea that Romantic travelling on foot cannot be properly understood without the consideration of other modes of transportation. On the other hand, his privileged mode of travel through Italy, against the backdrop of a strongly regulated passport system, allowed him to glide over the bordering processes that created inclusion and exclusion, belonging and non-belonging, that affected common folk like the servant-girl *Domenica Saba*.

The concrete physical immobility conveyed in the view from the window became an invitation to visualise, beyond its frame, how pedestrian mobility unfolded in a great metropolis like Paris. Through several images, we were able to see how the Parisian urban walker began to experience limits of mobility according to (moral) hygiene and self-control, a life regulated and organised to specific zones of the *voie publique* and within time structures (train hours, work schedules) that changed diversified places into mono-functional spaces of perennial circulation. This urban walker might have seen and imagined in distant rural settings a less contrived way of moving around. But as shown, the case of rural Finland and its enclosure practices presented a compartmentalised landscape at odds with the urban idyllic visions of the countryside. Indeed, Finnish villages—with notable differences between more densely and sparsely populated areas—were becoming more modern, fragmented by fences into rural borderscapes, organised by regulations that attempted to arrange the countryside into a more efficient space for agricultural production. They were paradoxically contracted inside the expanse of a vast wilderness. In a very simple but effective way, the discussed paintings, drawings, and photographs reflect what the enclosure practices as bordering process entailed for everyday rural mobility: the paradigmatic experience of being outside in the countryside but still inside and outside of the regulated place of the village. Precisely here, the question of enclosures through the *riuknaita* culminated in the expression of an identity that had come to terms with the natural realm beyond the fence.

Consequently, in reflecting on the limits of mobility through the lens of the arts, one should consider how the interactions between visible and invisible elements of urban and rural landscape (i.e.

the private or public use of their materiality and their cultural, social or political regulation and implementation) establish a temporal dynamism that renders space into place or vice versa. Fences are thus transformed from spatial divisions into places of encounter and expression of mutual belonging with humans and nature; footways transformed from a place of spectacle into a space of circulation where loitering is a threat to the flow; and confinement in a hotel room into an occasion to own oneself in the landscape of the foreign other.

\*

<sup>1</sup> Published in *The Footpath Way, An Anthology for Walkers*, ed. Hilaire Belloc (London: Sidgwick & Jackson Ltd., 1911), 19–20.

<sup>2</sup> See the contributions in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Art*, ed. Michelle Facos (Newark: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2019).

<sup>3</sup> Hans Joachim Neidhardt, “Das Gipfelerlebnis in der Kunst um 1800,” in *Studien zur deutschen Kunst und Architektur um 1800*, ed. Peter Bethausen (Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1981), 94–117. See also Chapter 5 of my book, Carlos Idrobo, *Das, was von uns weggeht – Abwesenheit, Zeit und das Wandermotiv in der deutschen Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim: Olms Verlag, 2019), 177–216.

<sup>4</sup> See a resumé in the Introduction to *Walking Histories 1800–1914*, eds. Chad Bryant, Arthur Burns and Paul Readman (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), 10–12.

<sup>5</sup> Julien Nègre, “Perambulating the Village: Henry David Thoreau and the Politics of ‘Walking,’” in *Walking and the Aesthetics of Modernity: Pedestrian Mobility in Literature and the Arts*, eds. Klaus Benesch & François Specq (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016, 229–240), 234.

<sup>6</sup> Term suggested by Gulddal by reference to Bakhtin’s concept of ‘chronotope of the road’ in literature history. See Jesper Gulddal, “Passport plots: B. Traven’s *Das Totenschiff* and the Chronotope of Movement Control,” *German Life and Letters* 66:3 (July 2013), 293.

<sup>7</sup> Golo Maurer, *Italien als Erlebnis und Vorstellung – Landschaftswahrnehmung deutscher Künstler und Reisender 1760–1870* (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2015), 120. My translation.

<sup>8</sup> On the figure of the tourist, see Nelson Graburn, “Key figure of mobility: the tourist,” *Social Anthropology* 25:1 (Feb. 2017): 83–96.

<sup>9</sup> There is no indication whether this model was convertible, i.e., with retractable roof.

<sup>10</sup> References to Carus’ first volume (of two) of his travelogue (*Reise durch Deutschland, Italien und die Schweiz, im Jahre 1828*. Leipzig: Verlag von Gerhard Fleischer, 1835) are indicated by square brackets and page numbers directly in the body text. Translations are my own.

<sup>11</sup> Maurer, *Italien*, 120.

<sup>12</sup> See the individual contributions of Andreas Fahrmeir, Andrea Geselle, and Leo Lucassen in *Documenting Individual Identity: The Development of State Practices in the Modern World*. Princeton, eds. Jane Caplan and John Torpey (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002). Also Michael Schubert, “The Creation of Illegal Migration in the German Confederation, 1815–1866,” *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 34:4 (2019): 527–545; and Andreas Fahrmeir, “From Economics to Ethnicity and Back: Reflections on Emigration Control in Germany, 1800–2000,” in *Citizenship and Those Who Leave: The Politics of Emigration and Expatriation Green*, eds. Nancy Green and François Weil (Baltimore: University of Illinois Press, 2007, 176–192), 179.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in Geselle, in Caplan and Torpey, *Documenting*, 199. Geselle shows that in Lombardy and Veneto the passport system was meant to constrain the departure of inhabitants and the entry of foreigners (204), and that venturing to areas where one was not known personally would have created suspicion and the risk of becoming an ‘illegal migrant’ (206). Travel documents were also expensive (depending on the issuing authority) and valid only for one year.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 201f.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 212, 216; see also the seminal work by John Torpey, *The Invention of the Passport Surveillance, Citizenship, and the State* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

<sup>16</sup> Primarily populated by the working class and where the Venetian Ghetto was located, until Napoleon Bonaparte removed restrictions on the mobility of the Jewish community.

<sup>17</sup> Ca’ Giustinian is nowadays home of La biennale di Venezia.

<sup>18</sup> Maurer, *Italien*, 121.

<sup>19</sup> Maurer speaks of ‘verbally sketched landscape miniatures’ or ‘word-sketches’ (*Italien*, 121, 124). An example from his stay in Bologna: “In the evenings shone the sun one last time through the clouds and formed a rainbow above my Cypress trees.” [103].

<sup>20</sup> Letter No. 2 from Carus to Regis, 22 November 1814, SLUB Dresden, permanent link: <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id488743397/43> Accessed 16.2.2021.

<sup>21</sup> The official German title is *Balkon in Neapel*, but I reproduce the name given by Maurer because the idea of memory is key.

<sup>22</sup> Maurer, *Italien*, 126.

<sup>23</sup> For more on this concept and the motif of the window in Carus’ œuvre, see Johannes Grave, “Der «fixierte Blick»: Bildtheoretische Implikationen des Fensterbildes bei Carl Gustav Carus,” in *Carl Gustav Carus, Bd. 2: Wahrnehmung und Konstruktion: Essays (Katalog)* (Berlin/Dresden: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), 201–210. See also Idrobo, *Was von uns weggeht*, 83–90, and the seminal essay by Josef Adolf Schmoll, “Fensterbilder: Motivketten in der europäischen Malerei,” in *Beiträge zur Motiwkunde des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ludwig Grote (München: Prestel-Verlag, 1970), 13–165.

<sup>24</sup> Carus, *Natur und Idee* (Katalog), 115 (Birgit Verwiebe).

<sup>25</sup> Nancy Forgione, “Everyday Life in Motion: The Art of Walking in Late-Nineteenth-Century Paris,” *The Art Bulletin*, 87:4 (Dec. 2005): 667.

<sup>26</sup> It is worth emphasising that Haussmann did not revolutionise everything in Paris, nor was he solely responsible. Several urban operations and regulations took place before and after his term: new techniques in roadbuilding, widening of streets, and the separation of stone manufacturing from the paving business in the 1830s. It was a progressive but uneven transformation that resulted in a non-egalitarian distribution of services.

<sup>27</sup> Pierre Lacroix (P.L. Jacob, Bibliophile), “Physiologie du pont Neuf” (1840), in *Curiosités de l’Histoire du vieux Paris* (Paris: Adolphe Delahays, Libraire-éditeur, 1858), 337–347. Subsequent references are indicated by square brackets and page numbers. Translations are my own.

<sup>28</sup> A 1790 pamphlet from an anonymous citizen even proposed banning vehicles from the streets. See *Pétition d’un citoyen, ou Motion contre les carrosses et les cabriolets*. <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k402292>

<sup>29</sup> The number of horses was always more a display of power and status than physical necessity. Elegant carriages for two high-class passengers were often pulled by 4 horses, whereas the bigger omnibus for common folk, introduced in Paris in 1828 as the first mode of mass transportation, was pulled by only 2 horses.

<sup>30</sup> The ‘dentists/surgeons’ of the time.

<sup>31</sup> Most likely a combination of flagstones and sample pavers.

<sup>32</sup> Lacroix uses the expression ‘foire perpétuelle’, which can also be translated more literally as ‘perpetual fair’.

<sup>33</sup> On the use of ‘pedestrian’ as adjective, see Jo Vergunst, “Key figure of mobility: the pedestrian,” *Social Anthropology* 25:1 (Feb. 2017): 19f.

<sup>34</sup> Bernard Landau, “La fabrication des rues de Paris au XIXe siècle: Un territoire d’innovation technique et politique,” *Les Annales de la recherche urbaine* 57-58 (1992): 37f.

<sup>35</sup> Sabine Barles, “La rue Parisienne au XIXe siècle: Standardisation et contrôle?,” *Romantisme* 171:1 (2016): 16.

<sup>36</sup> Christophe Studeny, *L’invention de la vitesse: France, XVIIIe–XXe siècle* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1995), 103. My translation.

<sup>37</sup> Landau, “Fabrication,” 24, 42.

<sup>38</sup> Landau, “Fabrication,” 24; Studeny, *Vitesse*, 214.

<sup>39</sup> Vergunst, “Pedestrian,” 13.

<sup>40</sup> Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris and Renia Ehrenfeucht, *Sidewalks: Conflict and Negotiation over Public Space* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009), 16; also Allan Jacobs, Elizabeth Macdonald and Yodan Rofé, *The Boulevard Book: History, Evolution, and Design of Multiway Boulevards*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002), 76.

<sup>41</sup> Barles, “La rue,” 17.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*; Landau, “Fabrication,” 25.

<sup>43</sup> Landau, “Fabrication,” 32. A good visual example is Godefroy Engelmann’s lithograph *Le noir pavé se replie en barrière* (ca 1830).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 40f.; Barles 2016, “La rue,” 19.

<sup>45</sup> Landau, “Fabrication,” 25.

68

<sup>46</sup> Years later, the gazing flaneur of the Third Republic would have changed the street for the balcony view, as seen in several paintings by Gustave Caillebotte.

<sup>47</sup> Joseph Amato, *On foot: A History of Walking* (New York: New York University Press, 2004), 181.

<sup>48</sup> Nicholas Blomley, *Rights of Passage: Sidewalks and the Regulation of Public Flow* (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2010), 28, 72.

<sup>49</sup> Amato, *On foot*, 180.

<sup>50</sup> Barles, “La rue,” 24–25.

<sup>51</sup> Amato, *On foot*, 183.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.* 196; Blomley, *Sidewalks*, 27.

<sup>53</sup> Studeny, *Vitesse*, 205.

<sup>54</sup> Vergunst, “Pedestrian,” 17.

<sup>55</sup> Lucia Katz, “Habiter dans les asiles de nuit parisiens: Le cas de l’Œuvre de l’Hospitalité de Nuit à la fin du XIX siècle,” *Hypothèses* 16:1 (2013): 62. Also Alix Heininguer and Thomas David, “Mobility and Social Control: French Immigration in Geneva during the Belle Époque,” in *Mobility and Biography*, ed. Sarah Panter (Berlin, München, Boston: De Gruyter, 2015, 131-152), 150. In several nation-states, mostly during the first half of the nineteenth century, ‘travelling artists’ faced the risk of being considered potential vagrants. See also Fahrmeir, “Economics,” 179.

<sup>56</sup> Studeny, *Vitesse*, 199; Landau, “Fabrication,” 32.

<sup>57</sup> Amato, *On foot*, 183.

<sup>58</sup> In 1870, they were renamed as peacekeepers {*gardiens de la paix*}.

<sup>59</sup> Ingrid D. Rowland, *From Pompeii: The Afterlife of a Roman Town* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 211.

<sup>60</sup> Barles, “La rue,” 27.

<sup>61</sup> Studeny, *Vitesse*, 215.

<sup>62</sup> Neil McWilliam, “Roots: Landscape of Nationalism in the Long Nineteenth Century,” In *Companion to Nineteenth-Century Art*, 285.

<sup>63</sup> Amato, *On foot*, 202; Studeny, *Vitesse*, 92.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 206, 215.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 200.

<sup>66</sup> Kent Ryden, *Mapping the Invisible Landscape: Folklore, Writing, and the Sense of Place* (Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1993), 23.

<sup>67</sup> Zacharias Topelius, *Finland framställt i teckningar*, eds. Jens Grandell and Rainer Knapas (Helsingfors: Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland 2011, <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:sls-7228-1552035302>).

<sup>68</sup> Subsequent revisions in 1762, 1775 and 1848.

<sup>69</sup> Kirsi Laine, *Maatalous, isojako ja talonpoikainen päätöksenteko Lounais-Suomessa 1750–1850* (Suomen maatalousmuseo Sarka: Loima 2020), 69f.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 78. A more detailed royal fence decree was not issued until 1802. See also Reino Kallio, *Pohjanmaan suomenkielisten kylien oltermanninhallinto – Tutkimus vuoden 1742 kyläjärjestysohjeen toteuttamisesta* (PhD diss, Jyväskylän Yliopisto, 1982), 140.

<sup>71</sup> Calculations by Janken Myrdal, referenced in Laine, *Maatalous*, 136f.

<sup>72</sup> Henrik Lilius, *Suomalainen puunkaupunki* (Anders Nyborg A/S: Denmark, 1985), 153.

<sup>73</sup> Laine, *Maatalous*, 138.

<sup>74</sup> The 1848 revision of the Great Enclosure ordinance ended the fencing cooperation and allowed farms to become more independent. See Laine, *Maatalous*, 205.

<sup>75</sup> Stone fences were also built, although their construction costs and logistics were higher and challenging. They were common in church yards, however, and could be built collectively by the community.

<sup>76</sup> Albert Edelfelt was already in Paris in the 1870s. For more on Finnish artists in Paris, see Laura Gutman's publications at <https://iclea.net/>.

<sup>77</sup> McWilliam, "Roots," 290.

<sup>78</sup> Annika Waenenberg, "Maisemista maisemaan," In *Taide kantaa: Järvenpään taidemuseon kokoelma*. (Järvenpään taidemuseo 2009, 237-253), 250.

<sup>79</sup> Marko Lamberg, Minna Mäkinen, Merja Uotila, "A Rural Living Sphere," in *Physical and Cultural Space in Pre-industrial Europe: Methodological approaches to spatiality*, eds. Marko Lamberg, Marko Hakanen and Janne Haikari (Nordic Academic Press: Lund, 2011), 303, 309.

<sup>80</sup> Ville Lukkarinen, *Albert Edelfelt ja Runebergin Vänriikki Stoolin tarinat: Pois mielist ei se päivä jää* (Helsinki: Valtion taidemuseo 1996), 47. For more on Edelfelt, see Bertel Hintze, *Albert Edelfelt* (Helsinki: WSOY, 1953).

<sup>81</sup> Source: Kuka kuvasi? Suomen valokuvataiteen museo. <http://kukakuvasi.valokuvataiteenmuseo.fi/>. Accessed 23.3.2021.

<sup>82</sup> Kerstin Smeds, *Helsingfors-Paris: Finlands utveckling till nation på världsutställningarna 1851–1900* (Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland; Suomen Historiallinen Seura: Helsingfors, 1996). Especially Ch. 6 (276–345).