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## Belle-Île, Rain Effect—Claude Monet's Sublime Seascape

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A month has passed since I arrived here. I am working away on painting. This is a quite primitive place. The rocks are uncanny, the colors of the sea almost unbelievable. But I am utterly thrilled. I am having some trouble with my work. That is, I am used to painting the Channel. I'm trying to paint with my usual techniques, but I'm not used to this ocean. (WL709)

—Letter from Claude Monet to Gustave Caillebotte, October 11, 1886; Kervilahouen

The sea is unbelievably beautiful, and the rocks are fantastic. This seashore is called La côte sauvage ("the savage coast"). I am totally absorbed in this space, with its disquieting ambience. That is, here I am pushing, like it or not, to transcend what I have achieved thus far. To be frank, painting this dark, frightening setting requires bracing myself; painting here is extremely difficult. As you have said, I may be *l'homme du soleil*, the man of the sun. But I should not content myself with just that evaluation. (WL727)

—Letter from Claude Monet to Paul Durand-Ruen, October 28, 1886; Kervilahouen<sup>1</sup>

Claude Monet (1840–1926) created *Belle-Île, Rain Effect* (W1112) (fig. 1)<sup>2</sup> while on Belle-Île-en-Mer, an island about fourteen kilometers offshore from the Quiberon Peninsula, on the southern shore of Brittany, in western France. Ugly, dark reefs dot the surface of the sea, and in torrential rains they are clouded with white; strong winds on the sea produce white-capped waves and heavy storms. While Monet created this painting in relatively bright colors, the effect is far different from our image of that artist as painting light-filled natural landscapes. It is a dismal scene in bad weather.

Belle-Île-en-Mer is an island in the department of Morbihan, in the administrative region of Brittany. Its area is 84 square kilometers, and it has a population of 5,200. The island is twenty kilometers long, northwest to southeast, and about nine kilometers wide. This tableland-type island has a maximum elevation of 71 meters and an average elevation of 40 meters above sea level (according to its official website).<sup>3</sup> Its size is close to that of Izu Oshima in Japan. The main community on the island is Le Palais, on its northeast coast. A ferry connects it to Quiberon on the mainland. The island is known for a fort built in the seventeenth century and for the wondrous caves in which Alexander Dumas has Porthos, one of the heroes in his *The d'Artagnan Romances*, *The Vicomte of Bragelonne: Ten Years Later* (1851), hide. As a painting subject, it had been known only for *Storm along the Belle-Île Coastline* (1851; Musée des Beaux-

Arts de Quimper by Théodore Gudin (an official Painter of the Fleet) and similar works. Prior to Monet, there had been few opportunities for landscape painters to take note of it.<sup>4</sup>

From his Impressionist period on, Monet constantly depicted scenes with sunlight on water, but the seascapes he had been particularly fond of were on the gentle, scenic coast of Normandy. After being discovered by artists in the 1830s, Normandy attracted many painters with its beautiful scenes overflowing with light. In 1847, when the Paris-Le Havre railway line opened, the Normandy coast's accessibility aroused the interest of the general public in the sea, and the seaside became thronged with people. As a result, from the 1860s on, hotels, casinos, and villas were built there. The coast swiftly developed into a tourist destination. Monet, increasingly depressed by observing those changes, began searching in the 1880s for a new location where he could confront nature, unspoiled and fresh. After traveling here and there, he was able to discover the landscape that was his heart's desire in the island Belle-Île-en-Mer, Brittany.<sup>5</sup> (It was at that time that Cézanne left Paris and made Aix-en-Provence, his home town, his base and continued to make that area's unspoiled landscapes his subject.) What most interested Monet about the island was not Le Palais, the entrance point to the island, or the beaches, Les Grands Sables, on the its east side, but the reefs that floated beneath the sharp cliffs on its northwest side, the untouched Côte Sauvage ("wild coast").

When Monet painted *Belle-Île, Rain Effect*, the island was suffering a long period of wild weather. The torrential rain, pouring down so strongly that it obscured the sky and the rocks in the background, the huge, white rocky reefs revealing themselves, and the whitecaps slamming against them and scattering communicate directly what it was like on the coast in stormy weather. In this painting, he places what is known as la Roche Guibel or Guibel Rock, the distinguishing feature of the inlet Port-Domois, in the center of the composition. Other rocks are placed in front and in back, as though almost on top of each other, to create a sense of perspective as, in his rough but precisely calculated brushwork, he creates a sense of dynamism in the painting. With this work, Monet clearly distinguishes himself from the Monet whose forte was sun-drenched natural landscapes. During his ten-week stay in Belle-Île, Monet, working with great concentration, produced thirty-nine paintings, including this one. This essay considers the meaning of Monet's time on Belle-Île and of the works—especially *Belle-Île, Rain Effect*—that he created there.

## 2. Prior Research on Monet's Time on Belle-Île and the Artist's Letters

Monet's 1886 stay on Belle-Île and his work from there are well known from the writing of French journalist and art critic Gustave Geffroy (1855–1926). Geffroy was the first to discuss the Impressionists as a whole historically and is also known as the author of the earliest biography of Claude Monet, *Claude Monet, sa vie, son œuvre* (1922). In the opening of that book, Geffroy describes in detail his chance encounter with the artist on Belle-Île. In the fourth chapter, he presents his careful study of Monet's work on Belle-Île. That is exceptionally important for discussing Monet and cannot be overlooked. Geffroy, during two weeks on the island, walked with Monet between the rocks, observed the artist painting, and wrote down the day's details every evening. His descriptions in that chapter overflow with immediacy.

Claude Monet, like the men who live by the port, wore work boots, sweaters, and a *cire* or hooded waxed windbreaker. Sometimes a gust of wind would take his palette and brush out of his hands. He tied his easel to a rock to stabilize it. The artist addressed his work with resolution, as though he were painting on a battlefield [...]. Monet developed his ability to depict every shape of the land, every state of the air, the water's peacefulness and violence flower due to Belle-Île. Until then, in his work in western France, he had exclusively painted the plains of Vetheuil and the cliffs of Normandy. Here he presented himself battling with a natural world unknown to him [...]. Monet, painter of the sea, was also the painter of the air and the sky. It could not be otherwise. These paintings are viewed as a whole. All the forms and all the light stimulate, encounter, mutually influence each other, their colors and reflections penetrating each other.<sup>6</sup>

Geffroy reported on the Belle-Île paintings that Monet showed at the sixth *Expositions internationales de Peinture*, Salon de 1887 in the newspaper *La Justice* (June 2, 1887).<sup>7</sup> His 1922 monograph the presented more fully developed thinking about Monet. It is known that his writing elevated the public evaluation of Monet's Belle-Île series. These writings by Geffroy were the starting point for research, including academic research, on Monet's Belle-Île paintings, with art historians who studied Monet's oeuvre comprehensively addressing it in many ways.<sup>8</sup>

As prior research for this essay, research that focused specifically on Monet's stay in Belle-Île and raised it to a higher level, I would mention the series of essays and monographs by Denise Delouche. Delouche first contributed her essay entitled "Monet et Belle-Île en 1886" to the *Bulletin des amis du musée de Rennes* in 1980. She then published her research in more fully developed form as *Monet à Belle-Île* in 1992 and published a revised edition under the same title in 2010. Delouche, who specializes in the history of modern art in Brittany, carefully followed Monet's footsteps on Belle-Île, beginning by gathering thorough information on the places where he painted on Belle-Île and his motifs and compared his activities and results before and after that stay. She comparatively examined his activities on Belle-Île and the thirty-nine works he produced there, making their significance clear.<sup>9</sup>

Michèle Bardoux, Lucette Leroy, and Carlette Portier had their *À Belle-Île avec Claude Monet en 1886, 12 septembre – 25 novembre* published by the Société historique de Belle-Île-en-Mer in 2007. In it, they give a detailed description of Monet's time on the island, referring to publications by Geffroy and Delouche. But it is the inclusion of many rare contemporary photographs as historical documents concerning Belle-Île that makes their book extraordinarily important.<sup>10</sup>

The most recent research on this topic is Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer's "Le Grand Tout: Monet on Belle-Île and Impulse toward Unity," which was published in the September, 2015, issue of *The Art Bulletin*. The author points out, concerning Monet's choice of Belle-Île as his working site in 1886, that, as in his moving to Vétheuil and spending five years working there, Monet was gradually growing to dislike the modernization of the city and was seeking unsullied landscapes far from it as his subject. The choice of Belle-Île was the climax of those actions. Rather than the city expressed in Monet's Impressionist period works, his strong interest in the countryside was connected to painters' yearnings for primitive subjects in the 1870s and 1880s. She argues that Monet sought to depict the timeless in these paintings.<sup>11</sup>

There have been many essays about the Ishibashi Foundation's *Belle-Île, Rain Effect* written between 1953, when the painting was placed on deposit with the Bridgestone Museum of Art and 1984, when it was donated to the foundation, including the commentary by Omori Tatsuji in 1985 in *Bridgestone Museum of Art, Ishibashi Foundation: Masterpieces from the collection: Modern European painting and sculpture*. In recent writings, Kagawa Kyoko contributed "Claude Monet's 1886 Stay in Belle-Île," on the relationship between Monet and Geffroy and on the history of the painting, to *Museum Report* of Bridgestone Museum of Art for fiscal 2015.<sup>12</sup>

Delouche, Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, and other researchers on Monet in Belle-Île have all relied extensively on the large volume of letters that Monet wrote while in Belle-Île. Of them, Daniel Wildenstein included seventy-five at the end of the 1979 edition of his catalogue raisonné (WL684–758). These are letters that Monet sent to Alice Raingo Hoschedé, his friends Renoir, Caillebotte, and Morisot, the art dealers Paul Durand-Ruel and Georges Petit, and the art critics Geffroy and Octave Mirbeau.<sup>13</sup>

A notably large number of those letters are to Alice Hoschedé, who was looking after of Monet's home in Giverny while he was away. After Monet's wife Camille died in 1879, Alice Hoschedé cared for his children and gradually came to play a vital role in his life. Monet made it a habit to write her almost every day, late in the evening, despite being exhausted after having worked all day. He wrote about the changing weather, the arrival of storms or clear skies, and whether his work was going well. He asked for additional canvases, sent her his love, and tried to sooth her jealousy and her worries about money. To us, what is especially important in those letters is what he says in detail about his frame of mind and his feelings about his work, his efforts and their results. Monet had long continued to engage in en plein air painting directly from nature. Here, however, he was having his pigments and canvas, and he himself, almost blown away by violent winds, continuing to work as his hands grew numb and his face froze in the cold, facing harsh weather day after day, as these letters

describe in detail.

## 2. The End of Impressionism and a Turning Point for Monet

Paris in the latter half of the nineteenth century. After the Franco-Prussian War came the Paris Commune (1870–71), bringing chaos and ruin to Paris. Then a republican government took shape with the establishment of the Constitutional Laws in 1875, which defined the form that government would take. The resulting Third Republic led to victory for the concept of a parliamentary democracy, and Paris welcomed its maturity as a civil society. Effort was also put into recovering from the damage the city had suffered. But the authoritarian, anti-democratic movement led in 1886 by General Georges Boulanger and other disturbances broke out, causing serious political crises. With society unsettled, the lives of artists were also far from stable.<sup>14</sup>

During this turbulent period, the Impressionists continued to hold the independent exhibitions they had begun in 1874. In 1883, Paul Durand-Ruel held solo exhibits of the work of Monet, Renoir, Pissarro, Sisley, and other Impressionists. The individual artists were gradually becoming famous, but the group was falling apart. The eighth Impressionist exhibition, held in 1886, brought together young artists, with a focus on seven Neo-Impressionists, with Degas, who had not taken part in the seventh exhibition, in 1882, the central figure. It was held from May 15 to June 15 in an apartment on the Rue Laffitte. Of the initial members of the Impressionists, only three, Degas, Pissarro, and Morisot, took part. That was de facto the final Impressionist exhibition.

Monet himself gradually became renowned as the leading Impressionist and continued to forge ahead with his own work. He had not taken part in the fifth Impressionist exhibition, in 1880, and even experimented with returning to exhibit in the Salon that year. He also skipped the sixth Impressionist exhibition, in 1881, but joined the seventh exhibition, in 1882, at which he showed thirty-five works. In 1883, Paul Durand-Ruel held a large solo exhibition of Monet's work at a new building on the Boulevard de la Madeleine, displaying fifty-six works. After the success of that exhibition, he had in mind putting Monet's work on the American market and exhibited more than 40 works by Monet at the American Art Association gallery on Madison Square in New York City.<sup>15</sup>

Monet left Paris to live in Vétheuil, in the lower reaches of the Seine, in 1878. His wife, who was seriously ill, their children, and Alice Hoschedé (the wife of Ernest Hoschedé, who had been Monet's patron before going bankrupt), and her children accompanied him. Monet had long led the Impressionist group, but from that period on was putting some distance between himself and the activities of the group members. He was thinking about how to develop his own work and traveling in search of new themes. While affirming and reinforcing the Impressionist style, he experimented with diversifying his subject matter. In December of 1883, he visited the Mediterranean coast for the first time, with Renoir. After visiting Cézanne, in Aix-en-Provence, Monet and Renoir went to the northern Italian Mediterranean coast, the area known as the Italian Riviera. In January, Monet returned there by

himself and spend three months in Bordighera, on the Riviera. There he depicted that region's distinctive sparkling light and atmosphere. In 1883 to 1886, he made regular trips to Étretat on the northern coast of France to paint. In 1886, he also visited the Netherlands, to paint the tulip fields in full bloom.<sup>16</sup>

Until Monet found his way to Belle-Île, he had, while seeking new subjects, mainly depicted peaceful, bright scenes. Light flooding a setting was consistent with the scenes of modern life that he sought to depict. Monet, painting light-filled scenes in bright colors, was recognized as *l'homme du soleil*, "the man of the sun" and that that image of him was becoming, unintentionally, fixed. As the quotation at the beginning of this essay indicates, the artist himself seems to have felt at least somewhat uncomfortable with that state. That may have been why he began his travels in search of a new style. Athanassoglou-Kallmyer has pointed out, however, from analyzing the content of Monet's letters to Alice Hoschedé, that he had long yearned for utter solitude. Placing himself in an untouched natural environment, he hoped, while being true to nature, to achieve scenes that were his alone, not similar to anyone else's work. The artist's journey to Belle-Île fulfilled that wish.<sup>17</sup>

## 3. Monet on Belle-Île-en-Mer

In a letter Monet wrote to Berthe Morisot in the summer of 1886 (in late July or early August), he stated, "I have been very eager to go Brittany" (WL676). In a letter to Théodore Duret from about the same time, he wrote, "I may now make a major journey to Brittany, but a simple trip with cane in hand!" (WL677). He may have been interested in Brittany because his mentor, Eugène Louis Boudin, often visited there.<sup>18</sup> Renoir's stay there in the 1880s may also have aroused Monet's interest. *Voyage en Bretagne: Par les champs et par les grèves* (Over Strand and Field: A Record of Travel Through Brittany), the novelist Gustave Flaubert's record of his travels in Brittany, which had just been published the previous year, of which Monet had a copy in his study, may also have influenced him. Monet's initial plan was to spend the first ten days on Belle-Île and then visit the writer Octave Mirbeau on the island of Noirmoutier before continuing down Brittany's seacoast to Saint-Malo.<sup>19</sup>

Monet arrived on Belle-Île on September 12, 1886 and initially stayed at the Hôtel de France in Le Palais, a port. First, he explored the island for two days. He was not attracted to the scenes of the port community around Le Palais. On the fifteenth, he found a place to stay in Kervilahouen, a small village on the opposite side of the island. During his brief search of the island, he had discovered the shore known as the La côte sauvage ("the savage coast") and decided to base himself as close to it as possible. Monet rented a rather spacious room from a fisherman named Marec who also managed a bistro and prepared food. In his letter to Alice Hoschedé dated September 14, he wrote

As for myself, I'm happier than I was, I've seen some wonderful sights and I'm going to stay on the island; I leave town tomorrow morning and will be moving into a little hamlet of eight or ten houses, near the area known as la Mer Terrible, which is aptly named: there isn't a tree within miles,

and the rocks and caves are fantastic; it's as sinister as hell, but quite superb and since I don't believe I could ever find anything like this anywhere else, I want to try and do a few paintings here; so tomorrow I set to work. (WL686)

In his next letter, dated September 16, he wrote, "I plan to finish two or three works in two or three weeks" (WL687). His September 24 letter says, "If the weather does not change, I think I will be able to leave the island a week from now" (WL692). At that time, Monet seems to have assumed that he would simply be able to paint scenes in fair weather, as usual. But the weather on Belle-Île took a turn for the worse right after that. The violent changes of the weather characteristic of islands in the Atlantic Ocean, with hail and wild storms, disappointed him and showed him the menace of the natural world. He wrote about the water frequently in his letters. Even on the occasional sunny day, the winds on the tableland-type island were always strong. In his September 27 letter to Alice, he said, "The weather is still fine, but there's a devil of a wind which is hampering me in my task; I'm having to tie everything, canvases and parasol, down" (WL697).

In October, the weather was even rougher. The storm season had arrived. He saw scenes of the waves wildly striking the rocks, smashing and collapsing. Monet began to realize the setting presented striking difficulties for his work. At the same time, shaken by scenes that made him sense a threat, he gradually became fascinated. He began painting utterly different scenes depending on the time of day and the weather. The result was that Monet extended his stay six more times and, in the end, spent ten weeks there. In his October 30 letter to Alice, he wrote,

But you know my passion for the sea, and here it's particularly beautiful. With my experience and my unceasing observation I have no doubt that if I carried on for another few months I could do some excellent work here [...]. Just one look at those blue-green depths and its terrifying ways (I'm repeating myself) and I'm hooked. I'm absolutely mad about it, in other words [...]. (WL730)

Monet himself seems to have thought that, even so, he could complete his work on the island without delay, but with everything battered by the unsettled weather, things did not go as he'd hoped. On November 8, he wrote Alice, "Here a good day of work, superb weather, but inevitably I approach the end [...]. Ultimately, I will have to complete these in my atelier, with you nearby" (WL739). On the following day, the ninth, he wrote Durand-Ruel, who was urging him to send his works quickly, as follows:

You ask me to send you what I have finished; nothing is finished and you know very well that I can't really judge what I've done until I look over it again at home and I always need a short break before I can put in the final touches to my paintings. I'm still working a lot. Unfortunately with the constant bad weather, I'm having some difficulty in finding the effects again in many of my motifs, so I'll have a lot to do once I get back to Giverny. (WL741)

#### 4. Encounters on Belle-Île: Russell, Geffroy, and Mirbeau

Monet was basically on his own during his time on Belle-Île, but he had opportunities to meet several people. The first encounter was with the Australian painter John Peter Russell (1858–1930). They spent September 7 to 28 together. After studying in London, Russell attended Fernand Cormon's private painting school, starting in 1885. In 1886, he met and became friends with Louis Anquetin, Émile Bernard, and Vincent van Gogh. That year, Russell visited Belle-Île in search of his own painting subjects. He was staying near La côte sauvage with Marianna Antoinetta Mattiocco, whom he would later marry, having arrived before Monet, as we know from Monet's September 18 letter to Alice (WL688). During Monet's early search for subjects to paint on Belle-Île, Russell's presence seems to have been particularly significant. Monet's discovery of the caves on La côte sauvage, an important motif, was apparently guided by Russell. Russell, having seen Monet at work, told his friend Vincent van Gogh about it and also later described it in detail to Henri Matisse. After spending two weeks with the younger painter, Monet swiftly accelerated the speed at which he painted.<sup>20</sup>

What is seen as an even more important chance meeting there was with Gustave Geffroy. They spent the second to the eleventh of October together. Geffroy was active as a journalist from 1880 on and was writing regular articles for *La Justice*, a daily newspaper published by Georges Clemenceau. Geffroy described that encounter quite dramatically, writing about it in eight articles published in *La Justice* from October 17 to November 3.<sup>21</sup> It is said that his meeting Monet in Marec's hostel on October 2 was completely accidental.

The third person Monet encountered there was the journalist and playwright Octave Mirbeau (1848–1917). That was not accidental: Mirbeau had a clear objective of interviewing the painter. Monet had apparently come to know Mirbeau in November, 1884, at the home of Paul Durand-Ruel. Mirbeau, who covered the arts for the newspaper *La France*, was preparing a series on contemporary artists, interviewing Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, Degas, Renoir, and Monet, and came to meet Monet for that purpose. Monet was pleased that Mirbeau had come to see him and that they could meet again on Belle-Île, but he also immediately began to regret losing the time he needed during the busy latter half of his stay, as we can see from his letters. His letters communicating his enjoyment of Mirbeau's bringing his wife to call also frequently upset Alice and was a source of discord between them. Monet, immediately after completing his work on Belle-Île, called on Mirbeau, who was staying on the island of Noirmoutier, relatively nearby, before returning to Giverny. Mirbeau is known as having boosted Monet's reputation thereafter. For example, in the opening to the catalogue for the 1889 *Claude Monet – Auguste Rodin* exhibition, Mirbeau, in several pages introducing Monet, touched on Monet's Belle-Île paintings.

His depictions of the wild seas at Belle-Île and the gentle seas at Bordighera make me forget, again and again, that they are paintings on canvas. I felt that I was lying on the shore.<sup>22</sup>

## 5. *Belle-Île, Rain Effect* and the Belle-Île Group of Paintings

Port-Goulphar was a location at which Monet painted during his stay at Kervilahouen. It was a few hundred meters away from the village. In Brittany, the word *port* does not simply indicate a port or harbor; it means, rather, an inlet. Port-Goulphar, with its rocky reefs and precipitous cliffs, and Port-Coton, with its soaring, pointy, rocks and other features, provided motifs for Monet. At about the same distance from his hostel in Kervilahouen, but to the left, Monet found another motif, Port-Domois. In the center of that inlet is the rock mentioned earlier, the Guibel Rock. Monet secured five important sites, include those three (fig. 2). On Belle-Île, Monet painted not a single ship, human being, or even the birds he mentioned in his letters. He painted only the rocks and the sea. There is no human presence. Except for *Portrait of Poly* (W1122), only of three of the scenes in the thirty-eight paintings show traces of human habitation. One is the village of Domois, with houses on upland in the distance. The other two are scenes he painted from his room.

What captured Monet's heart about the Belle-Île coast was, it would seem, the shape of the rocky reefs raising their heads, almost menacingly, from the surface of the sea. The rocks intersect, emphasizing their rough verticality in contrast to the horizon. He depicted, with rough brushwork and nearly primary colors, their irregular surfaces alternating with the billowing waves. The fundamental power of nature is indicated, as though nature had feelings, through his coarse, abstract, touch. As will be described in detail later, these were pointed out as the forerunners of Fauvism, which would emerge twenty years later. Monet, who himself was conscious of a major distancing from his previous work, wrote to Durand-Ruel that "I do not know if what I bring home from here will to everyone's taste, but this coast is my passion" (WL7115). Monet, with the cliffs at Dieppe, the huge massifs at Étretat, or the thaw of the ice at Vétheuil, had long presented images that communicate his awe of nature. But the expression of the scenes in the Belle-Île paintings make us feel that those emotions have burst out. Through these experiments, Monet attempted to transcend the Impressionist paintings that he had been producing for some time.

In the center of the Artizon Museum's *Belle-Île, Rain Effect* (W1112) is depicted the Guibel Rock, which rises in the middle of the Port-Domois inlet. In his October 9 letter to Alice, Monet wrote that while being distressed by the rough weather, "To relax, I produced a *pochade* of the effect of the rain" (WL707). The term *pochade* means a study for a painting. The effect of the rain, "rain effect," is consistent with the title recorded in Wildenstein's catalogue raisonné: *Belle-Île, effet de pluie*, but that is not evidence that they were the same work. But that letter overlaps with the work that Geffroy described being done in bad weather and the date of the letter corresponds to the period when Geffroy was there.

In the early part of his stay on Belle-Île, Monet painted Port-Domois from various angles and in all sorts of weather. Of those works, eight depict the Guibel Rock in the center. Of them, five have Port-Goulphar and the cliffs of Radenec in the distance and the Guibel Rock from an angle facing north.<sup>23</sup>

*The Guibel Rock, Port-Domois* (W1106), private collection (fig. 3)  
*Rocks at Belle-Île* (W1107), Musée des Beaux-Arts, Reims, France (fig. 4)

*Port-Domois* (W1108), Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut (fig. 5)

*Port-Domois at Belle-Île* (W1109), private collection (fig. 6)  
*Belle-Île* (W1110), Musée Rodin, Paris (fig. 7)

Looking at the three works, we can see the large opening in the Guibel Rock. In W1106, W1107, and W1108, the sky is clear and the surface of the sea is calm. In W1109, it is cloudy and waves are cresting. Dark clouds brood over the scene in W1110, but the sea is relatively calm. Monet has presented variations at different times of day and under different weather conditions.

In the next two works, the opening in the Guibel Rock is not visible. The scene has been depicted facing to the west.

*The Rocks at Belle-Île* (W1111), whereabouts unknown (fig. 8)  
*Belle-Île, Rain Effect* (W1112), Artizon Museum, Ishibashi Foundation, Tokyo (fig. 1)

The next work was painted from the opposite side, with the opening in the Guibel Rock.

*Belle-Île* (W1113), whereabouts unknown (fig. 9)

W1113 is painting with rough brushwork, but depicts a sunny scene. Compared with other works by Monet, the touch is coarse; compared with the other seven paintings of the Guibel Rock, it seems to have the roughness of an oil sketch. W1111 and W1112 show the surface of the sea in a storm. The grim impression of the sea in the rain and the uncanny rocks are features they share with W1110 in the Musée Rodin. Among them, *Belle-Île, Rain Effect* is depicted in extreme weather, with pouring rain and strong winds. In it, bright colors are still used for the rough sea in strong winds, but our eyes are drawn to the intensity of the artist's touch and the colors, and we sense the tension in the composition. Yet comparing it with the actual scene from Port-Domois facing the Guibel, we realize that the artist reproduced the actual scene nearly accurately (fig. 10).

As in his series of paintings of Port-Domois, Monet often depicted the same scene from different angles or at different times of day while on Belle-Île. Multiple works with the same motifs are seen from different angles and capture changes in effect depending on the time of day or the weather. Paul Tucker observed, on that point,

His campaign in Brittany [...] marked a subtle change in Monet's orientation [...]. The paintings also explore a relatively limited number of motifs and do so with an equally restricted number of compositional options [...]. These limitations [...] also appear to have forced him to be even more exacting in his description of natural phenomena – the action of the sea, the way the light danced upon the water, or the interplay of shadows and reflections cast by the craggy black rocks [...].<sup>24</sup>

To express the effects of atmosphere and sea multiple times from the same spot meant that he had to limit his number of



viewpoints and choices of location. The changeable weather characteristic of Belle-Île at that season and, above all, the wild changes in the state of the sea gave new developments to Monet's paintings. It is still too soon to use the word "series" of his various works on Belle-Île. But it may be that the idea of a series had begun, unconsciously, to develop in his heart. In his October 30 letter to Alice, he wrote,

But I do know that to paint the sea really well, you need to look at it every hour of every day in the same place so that you can understand its ways in that particular spot; and this is why I am working on the same motifs over and over again, four or six times even [...]. (WL730).

Thus, in his works painted at the same spot on Belle-Île are works that present the relationships between light and shadow, some scenes filled with sunlight, others, contrasting, under dark, stormy skies. This technique, which Monet discovered while on Belle-Île, he subsequently made into a systematic style.

Later, when Monet was working on his *Haystacks* series, he wrote in an October 7, 1890, letter to Geffroy,

I am absorbed in creating a series with various effects of light. But recently the sun sets early, so I cannot keep up. But as I proceed with these paintings, I realize that "l'instantanéité" that I seek—to express the light glowing everywhere, and "l'enveloppe"—will require much greater effort (WL1076).

In this letter, Monet uses the term "l'instantanéité" (instantaneousness, immediacy) for what he was seeking. That is recognized as a key word in his series. He also wrote "l'enveloppe" (that which envelopes the surroundings). That is what Monet called what envelopes the ambience, the surroundings. To put it another way, it means the effect of light on the atmosphere enveloping his motif. In his works on Belle-Île, he, one might say, was already incorporating that effect in his paintings.<sup>25</sup>

## 6. Sublime Seascapes

Monet's interest grew through his day-by-day observations of the sea at Belle-Île. The times when rough weather and high winds struck inspired to exaltation, almost giddiness. In his October 23 letter to Alice, he wrote as follows:

I tend to like soft, gentle colors, but I have to work hard to paint darkly, to depict this sinister, tragic scene. I think you've seen dark paintings of Britany, but this is the reverse: with the most beautiful tints in the world, this sea today under a leaden sky, and I used green to the extent that I could not capture that strength. (WL721)

The artist's decision that he had to paint that effect that is indicated in his October 26 letter to Alice:

It is absolutely necessary that I complete these paintings. I am actually satisfied with them and do not believe I am mistaken. That is why I should not despair. I have to battle on, even at the risk of suffering some sudden downpours. (WL723)

Seascapes in stormy weather call to mind Claude-Joseph Vernet (1714–1789). As an artist who created paintings expressing his reverence for nature, which goes beyond the boundaries of human knowledge, and his experience of the sublime, he suggests connections with Monet and with the early Romantic painters. In particular, J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851) produced a series of stormy seascapes that Monet must have known about.<sup>26</sup> Looking back at the history of landscape painting in early modern and modern France, one must not forget the work of the Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), the great maestro of seventeenth-century Classicism. Poussin's *Winter or the Flood* (1660-64) (fig. 11) was the last of his *Four Seasons* series (1594–1665). This work, the subject of which is taken from the Flood narrative in the Old Testament, contrasts with Poussin's bright, serene, and rather rigorous works depicting his characteristic ideal landscapes. In *Winter or the Flood*, however, he shifts his gaze to vast, coarse, dangerous, and mysterious images or darkness, the abyss, and isolation. That, as a "sublime scene," had a huge influence on Neo-Classicism, from his day on to the early nineteenth century and then to Romanticism. The comparison between the spring, summer, and fall paintings in his *Four Seasons* series of scenes under clear skies and the dismal winter painting established a striking contrast. We can find the same effect in Monet's paintings of Port-Domois. That an Impressionist genius would paint, at the end of the nineteenth century, a painting that embodies the concept of the sublime, contrasting with his works arousing sense of delightful sensations, gentle pleasures, and joy, and that a Classicist master pictorialized the Romanticist concept of the sublime make us consider the possibility that those events were not unrelated in the history of French landscape painting. Monet's discovery of the Belle-Île scenes may have been random, but these works by the "classic" maestro of the Impressionists have in common the representation of the "sublime" in landscape paintings, in a contrasting style, with that of the seventeenth-century landscape painting maestro, Poussin.<sup>27</sup>

## 7. Exhibition and Sale of the Belle-Île Paintings

After returning home from Belle-Île in late November, 1885, Monet spent the winter completing his Belle-Île landscapes in his atelier, as he had told Durand-Ruel he would. The finished paintings were later shown in several exhibitions. Among them, the most important were the *6th International Exhibition*, held in May and June, 1887, and the *Claude Monet – Auguste Rodin* joint exhibition with Rodin in 1889. Both were held at Georges Petit's gallery, not Durand-Ruel's.<sup>28</sup> Monet had been dubious for some time about Durand-Ruel's plan to show his work in the United States. In a letter dated January 22, 1886, he wrote, "I want to believe that your hopes for America would be successful, but I would rather have my paintings known, and sold, here" (WL651). On his part, Durand-Ruel may have thought that the Belle-Île paintings were not characteristic of Monet and may not have been interested in them.

In the catalogue for the *6th International Exhibition*, in 1887, ten of the fifteen works by Monet on display were from Belle-Île. This exhibition was a rare group exhibition bringing the Impressionists' work together. Monet also showed his 1877 *La Gare Saint-Lazare* landscape painting, thus indicating the

connections between past and present and the development of his style.<sup>29</sup> Looking at Gustave Geffroy's and Octave Mirbeau's responses, it seems that he was sure of some success, but he was concerned about the reactions of his fellow painters and of other critics.

In fact, evaluations of the Belle-Île paintings were divided. The artist Camille Pissarro rated them harshly as "dark Monet," criticizing their rough style, their savageness, and their lack of painterly polish.<sup>30</sup> The critic and novelist Charles-Marie-Georges Huysmans wrote as follows in the June, 1887, issue of *Revue Indépendante*:

Claude Monet showed a series of tumultuous landscapes, steep, violent seas, with fierce tones under raging skies. They are far from the superb seascapes that M. Durand-Ruel owns and that make Claude Monet the greatest painter in the world [...]. The savagery of this painting, seen from a cannibal's eye, baffles at first, but, before the power it it presents, before the faith that animates this painting, before the powerful breath of that man who painted it, one can but submit to the sinister seduction of this rough art.

Huysmans' friend Alfred de Lostalot wrote, in the June, 1887, issue of the art journal *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*,

Claude Monet, more violent, more excessive than ever in his touch and color, has achieved the power to reduce the viewer to silence. The colors are wild, the brushwork brutal, but his discipline is perfect and thus the feeling of nature emerges freely amidst an impression of grandeur.<sup>31</sup>

Next, a group of Belle-Île paintings was included in the 1889 *Claude Monet – Auguste Rodin* exhibition. In this joint exhibition, Monet exhibited 145 works. In between landscapes of Étretat and Antibes were thirteen of his Belle-Île works (RM74–76, 79–80, 83, 86, 89–90, 91/16, 93, 95, 96). Compared with his Vétheuil-period works, of which he showed fourteen, almost as many, the artist, we can infer, placed emphasis on his Belle-Île results. The Belle-Île paintings included were three of Port-Coton (RM91/16, 95, 96), one of Port-Goulphar (RM79), two of Port-Domois (RM80, 89, 90), and two of the five he painted during wild storms in October (RM74, 75). The works thus covered all the locations at which he painted on Belle-Île. Geffroy wrote the catalogue text about Rodin, while Mirbeau wrote about Monet, as quoted above. That essay was a revision of a critique of Monet published in *Figaro* on March 10, 1889, and attempted a positioning of Monet's paintings.<sup>32</sup>

Paul Durand-Ruel eventually purchased only four of the Belle-Île works in 1887. Monet was thus able to have other art dealers handle the sale of the other Belle-Île paintings. Georges Petit had held the earliest exhibition of Belle-Île paintings, but did not help much in selling them. Theo van Gogh's Boussod, Valadon & Cie art dealership, however, contributed greatly to their sales. At the time, due in part to the urging of Theo's older brother Vincent, who was then living in Paris, Theo purchased and sold large numbers of Impressionist paintings. In particular, in the brief period between 1886 and 1888 he handled nine of Monet's works, including some of the Belle-Île paintings. He also added, quite early, Belle-Île paintings to his personal collection.

Later, Paul Durand-Ruel's gallery bought in some Belle-Île works over the course of several years and Boussod, Valadon & Cie purchased several more of them. Individuals who bought them include the Russian collector Sergei Shchukin and the Japanese collector and art dealer Hayashi Tadamasu. Among Monet's fellow artists, the collection Gustave Caillebotte bequeathed to the state at his death included *La côte sauvage*, which, after being in the collection of the Louvre, is now in the Musée d'Orsay.

What of the Ishibashi Foundation's *Belle-Île, Rain Effect*? It was not shown in the series of exhibitions described above. According to Wildenstein's catalogue raisonné, this painting was first exhibited at an art exhibition held in Saint-Brieuc in 1891. It waited to be exhibited again until 1917, in the *19th Century French Paintings exhibition* at the Galerie Paul Rosenberg, and 1924, in the *Monet* exhibition at the Galerie Georges Petit.<sup>33</sup> In terms of the painting's provenance, after it was sold to Boussod, Valadon & Cie in 1887, it was acquired by Wilhelm Hansen in about 1918 and then Matsukata Kōjirō in 1922. Subsequently, it was placed on deposit with the Ishibashi Foundation in 1954 and donated to the foundation in 1984.<sup>34</sup> *The Rocks at Belle-Île* (W1111), which has almost the same composition, was purchased by Durand-Ruel in March, 1887, and sold at auction in New York in 1948. *Belle-Île* (W1110) was given by Monet to Rodin at the time of their joint exhibition. It was donated to the French state in 1916 and is now in the custody of the Musée Rodin.<sup>35</sup>

## 8. After Monet's Visit to Belle-Île

How should we position the thirty-nine paintings, including *Belle-Île, Rain Effect*, that Monet created during his ten-week stay on Belle-Île within his oeuvre of some two thousand paintings? In terms of his career, these works, like the paintings he produced in Bordighera, while produced over a short period of time, are from a time when Monet had decided to refashion his paintings and carried out that intention. The magnificent, yet harsh scenes at Belle-Île's Côte Sauvage, the dizzying changes in the atmosphere: Monet responded to them sensitively and was stirred to create paintings in a new style. Monet did not discard the basics of Impressionism: using different types of brushwork, clear, simple, tones, clear compositions. But his subject was not limited to peaceful spaces filled with light. At times, he addressed scenes that, with dark clouds hanging low and violent rain attacking, are quite intimidating. While not losing sight of the structure of a scene that should be expressed in his richly vital touch and other fundamental characteristics, he was seeking a new audacity in his compositions. The landscape paintings from Belle-Île both anticipate his later *Haystacks* and cathedral series and also, stylistically, foreshadow the free touch and dark palette of his abstract style in depicting the waterlilies.

A decade after Monet left Belle-Île, in 1896, Henri Matisse (1869–1954) visited John Russell at Belle-Île-en-Mer. Russell, after encountering Monet, had made his home on the island from 1888 until the death of his wife, Marianna, in 1908. He hoped that other artists would work on the island and received the young artists who visited there kindly. Matisse had received his education in the traditional manner, having studied at the Ecole nationale des beaux-arts under Gustave Moreau, but

visiting Belle-Île brought about a major change in his style. Initially he, like Monet, was perplexed by the wild scenes there, but from his second visit the following year, he seems gradually to have begun to respond to the scenes of life enfolded within the storms. In that development, Monet's teachings may have contributed, via Russell. The paintings that Matisse produced during his 1896 visit and his repeat visit a year later are clearly different. His 1896 depictions of the coast are painted using an academic style with a relatively dark palette. His 1897 works have bold compositions in lively brushwork and sophisticated, bright colors, in contrast to the heavy colors he had used until then. Ann Galbally wrote, in the catalogue for the *Belle-Île: Monet, Russell, Matisse in Brittany* exhibition at the Art Gallery of New South Wales,

Matisse is angry because he is placed implacably against the sterile, suffocating Beaux-Arts system in which he had been trained. It is a necessary anger which drives him to break with the old to create a new art of personal expression through the use of colour and simplified, decorative form.<sup>36</sup>

Matisse and his colleagues showed paintings at the Salon d'Automne with forceful colors, using primary colors extensively, and a forceful touch. The critic Louis Vauxcelles called them the "fauves," wild beasts. As mentioned earlier, the style of Monet's Belle-Île-period style had, it must be pointed out, qualities that foresaw Fauvism. Here we can discover the point of contact between Monet and the establishment of new styles of painting at the beginning of the twentieth century.

(Chief Curator, Artizon Museum, Ishibashi Foundation)  
(Translated by Ruth S. McCreery, The Word Works)

## Notes

- 1 "Documents: I. Letters," in Daniel Wildenstein, *Claude Monet: Biographie et catalogue raisonné, Tome II: 1882–1886 Peintures* (Lausanne & Paris: La Bibliothèque des arts, 1979), pp. 213–295. In this essay, the letters in the 1979 edition of the catalogue raisonné are indicated with "WL" before the number.
- 2 Wildenstein, 1979, No. 1112, p. 206; *Daniel Wildenstein, Monet: Catalogue Raisonné, Volume III* (Paris: Wildenstein Institute, 1996), No. 1111, pp. 420–421. In this essay, the works in the 1996 catalogue raisonné are indicated with "W" before the number.
- 3 "Belle-Île en Chiffre," accessed at [https://www.belle-ile.com/files/ot-belleile/files/1429\\_8\\_belle-ile\\_en\\_chiffres.pdf](https://www.belle-ile.com/files/ot-belleile/files/1429_8_belle-ile_en_chiffres.pdf). For another source on *Belle-Île-en-Mer*, see Bruno Barbier, *Belle-Île-en-Mer* (Renne: Itinéraires de découvertes, Edition Ouest-France, 2008).
- 4 Théodore Gudin, 1802–1880, Peintre officiel de la Marine, *Tempête sur les côtes de Belle-Île*, 1851, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Quimper. See also Henri Belbeoch & Florence Clifford, *Belle-Île en Art* (Sait-Brieuc: Presse Bretonnes, 1991), pp. 40–41.
- 5 "Introduction: Tourism and Painting", in Robert L. Herbert, *Monet on the Normandy Coast: Tourism and Painting, 1867–1886* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994, pp. 1–7), Ann Galbally, "Mer Sauvage," *Belle-Île: Monet, Russel, Matisse in Brittany*, Art Gallery of New South Wales & Queensland Art Gallery, 2002, p.14. Richard Thomson has written that since the groups of works Monet created at Belle-Île in 1886 and at Creuse in 1889 had a certain consistency and should be considered together. These works contrast with the landscapes he produced on his 1884 and 1888 visits to the Mediterranean and are removed from his familiar scenes of the coast of Normandy; they are the result of his deliberate efforts to expand his range. Richard Thomson, "Emotive Naturalism 1881–1891," in Exh. Cat., *Claude Monet*, Galerie nationales Grand Palais, 2010–2011, pp. 34–47.
- 6 Gustave Geffroy, *Claude Monet: Sa vie son temps, son œuvre* (Paris: Les Éditions G. Crès et Cie, 1922), pp.1–4.
- 7 Gustave Geffroy, "Salon de 1887. VI Hors du Salon – Monet. II," *La Justice*, No. 2696, 2 juin, 1887, pp.1–2.
- 8 Ursula Prunster, "Painting Belle-Île," Exh. Cat., *Belle-Île: Monet, Russel, Matisse in Brittany*, Art Gallery of New South Wales & Queensland Art Gallery, 2002, p. 22.
- 9 Denise Delouche, "Monet et Belle-Île en 1886", *Bulletin des amis du musée de Rennes*, pp. 27–55; Denise Delouche, *Monet à Belle-Île (l'Art en Bretagne)* (Armen: Le Chasse-Maree, 1992); Denise Delouche, *Monet à Belle-Île* (Plomelin: Éditions Palantines, 2006).
- 10 Michèle Bardoux, Lucette Leroy & Carlette Portier, *À Belle-Île avec Claude Monet en 1886, 12 septembre – 25 novembre* (Mairie de Locmaria: Société historique de Belle-Île-en-Mer, 2007).
- 11 Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Le Grand Tout: Monet on Belle-Île and Impulse toward Unity," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. XCVII, No. 3, September 2015, pp.323–341. The title of this essay is from Émile Zola, *L'œuvre*, Chapter 2: "Ah! How beautiful it would be, were we to devote our entire existence to a single work! [...] in one word, the grand total [Le Grand Tout], without high or low, dirty or clean, just as it works," or from the writings of the mathematician and philosopher François-Pierre Gontier Maine de Biran, 1766–1824.
- 12 Unsigned (Omori Tatsuji), "19. Monet (1840–1926), *Belle-Île, Rain Effect*," *Bridgestone Museum of Art, Ishibashi Foundation: Masterpieces from the collection: Modern European painting and sculpture*, 1985; Miyazaki Katsumi, "5. Belle-Île, Rain Effect," *Catalogue of the Ishibashi Foundation Collection* (1), 1996, pp. 14–16; Kagawa Kyoko, "Claude Monet's 1886 Stay in Belle-Île," *Museum News*, Bridgestone Museum of Art, Ishibashi Museum of Art, Ishibashi Foundation, 2015, pp. 78–85.
- 13 Wildenstein, *Claude Monet*, 1979, pp. 275–291.
- 14 Kinoshita Ken'ichi, "The Second Republic and Second Empire," in Shibata Michio, Kabayama Koichi, Fukui Norihiko, ed., *Sekai rekishi taikai Furansu shi 3–19 seki nakaba - genzai* [World history series, French history 3: Mid 19th century to the present] (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan, 1995), p. 79.
- 15 Sylvie Patry, "Durand-Ruel and the Impressionists' Solo Exhibition of 1883," pp. 100–119; Jennifer A. Thompson, "Durand-Ruel and America," Exh. Cat., *Paul Durand-Ruel and The Modern Art Market: Inventing Impressionism*, Musée du Luxembourg, Paris; The National Gallery, London and Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2014–2015, pp. 100–119 and pp. 136–151.
- 16 Paul Hayes Tucker, *Claude Monet: Life and Art* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 114–126; Richard Thomson, "Normandy in the 1880s," "The Mediterranean, 1884–1888," Exh. Cat., *Claude Monet 1840–1926*, Galeries nationales, Grand Palais, 2010–2011, pp. 172–205.
- 17 Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Le Grand Tout," 2015, p. 326.
- 18 André Cariou, *De Turner à Monet: La découverte de la Bretagne par les paysagistes au XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Quimper, 2011, pp. 98–99.
- 19 Delouche, *Monet à Belle-Île*, 2006, p. 29; Athanassoglou-Kallmyer, "Le Grand Tout," 2015, p. 334.
- 20 Ursula Prunster, "Painting Belle-Île," Exh. Cat., *Belle-Île: Monet, Russel, Matisse in Brittany*, Art Gallery of New South Wales & Queensland Art Gallery, 2002, pp. 13–16; Belbeoch & Clifford, *Belle-Île en Art*, 1991, pp. 90–95.
- 21 Delouche, *Monet à Belle-Île*, 2006, pp. 36–38
- 22 Delouche, *Monet à Belle-Île*, 2006, pp. 38–39; Octave Mirbeau, "Claude Monet," in *Claude Monet, A. Rodin*, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris 1889, pp. 25–26. See also Silvy Patin, "Belle-Île-en-Mer (septembre-novembre 1886)," Exh. Cat., *Claude Monet-Auguste Rodin: Centenaire de l'exposition de 1889*, Musée Rodin, Paris, 1889–1990, pp.147–148; "Que de fois, devant ses mers farouches de Belle-Isle, ses mers souriantes de Bordighera, j'ai oublié qu'elles étaient, sur un morceau de toile, avec de la pâte."
- 23 Delouche, *Monet à Belle-Île*, 2006, pp. 56–65; Anon., "Lot Essay" for Claude Monet, *Belle-Île* (1886), (Christie's New York Auction, Impressionist and Modern Art Evening Sale, 4 May, 2011, Sale #2437) (accessed at <https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5433473>).
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- the 1880s," Exh. Cat., *Monet in the '90s: The Series Paintings*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1989, p. 29.
- 25 Mutobe Akinori, "Mone shokan (1980) ni okeru 'shunkansei' to *Tsumiwarai* rensaku ['instantanéité' in Monet's letters (1890) and the *Haystacks* series]," *Bijutsushi*, Vol. 35, no. 1, January, 1986, pp. 15–27; Mutobe Akinori, "Mone no kaiga to jikan [Monet's paintings and time]," *Jissen joshi daigaku bigaku gijutsushi gaku* (20th anniversary commemorative issue), no. 30, March, 2016, pp. 23–42.
- 26 Steven Z. Levine, "Seascape of the Sublime: Vernet, Monet and the Oceanic Feeling," *New Literary History*, Winter 1985, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 377–400.
- 27 See Richard Verdi, "Poussin's 'Deluge': the Aftermath," *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 123, 1981, pp. 389–400; Shimbata Yasuhide, "J. M. W. Turner no *Daikozui*—Mokushi-teki suko no shudai ni miru dento to zoi [J. M. W. Turner's *Deluge*—Tradition and creativity in the subject of the apocalyptic sublime]," Exh. Cat., *J. M. W. Turner 1775–1851, A Tate Gallery Collection Exhibition*, Yokohama Museum of Art, Nagoya City Art Museum, Fukuoka Art Museum, 1997, pp. 177–95.
- 28 Delouche, *Monet à Belle-Île*, 2006, pp. 90–92.
- 29 Pierre Sanchez, *Les Expositions de la Galerie Georges Petit (1881–1934): repertoire des artistes et liste de leurs œuvres*, tome 5 (Dijon: L'Echelle de Jacob, 2011), p. 1408.
- 30 Delouche, *Monet à Belle-Île*, 2006, pp. 92.
- 31 Joris-Karl Huysmans, "Chronique d'art, le Salon de 1887(1), l'Exposition internationale de la rue de Sèze," *la Revue indépendante*, No. 8, juin 1887, p. 352; Alfred de Lostalot, "Exposition internationale de peinture et de sculpture (Galerie Georges Petit)," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, Tome 35, 2e période, Nr. 6, juin 1887, p. 524.; Tucker, *Claude Monet*, 1995, pp. 29–30; Delouche, *Monet à Belle-Île*, 2006, pp. 92–95.
- 32 Exh. Cat., *Claude Monet A. Rodin*, 1889, p. 25, reprinted in Exh. Cat., *Claude Monet-Auguste Rodin: Centenaire de l'exposition de 1889*, Musée Rodin, 1889–90, p. 53. Numbers following RM refer to the numbers of exhibits in this catalogue.
- 33 Sanchez, *Les Expositions de la Galerie Georges Petit*, 2011, p. 1411.
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- 35 Delouche, *Monet à Belle-Île*, 2006, p. 96.
- 36 Ann Galbally, "Mer Sauvage," Exh. Cat., *Belle-Île: Monet, Russel, Matisse in Brittany*, Art Gallery of New South Wales & Queensland Art Gallery, 2002, pp. 13–16. See also Hilary Spurling, "Matisse on Belle-Île," *The Burlington Magazine*, Oct., 1995, Vol. 137, No. 1111, pp. 661–671.

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