



The  
**FIRST PANORAMAS**  
*Visions of British Imperialism*

*Denise Blake Oleksijczuk*

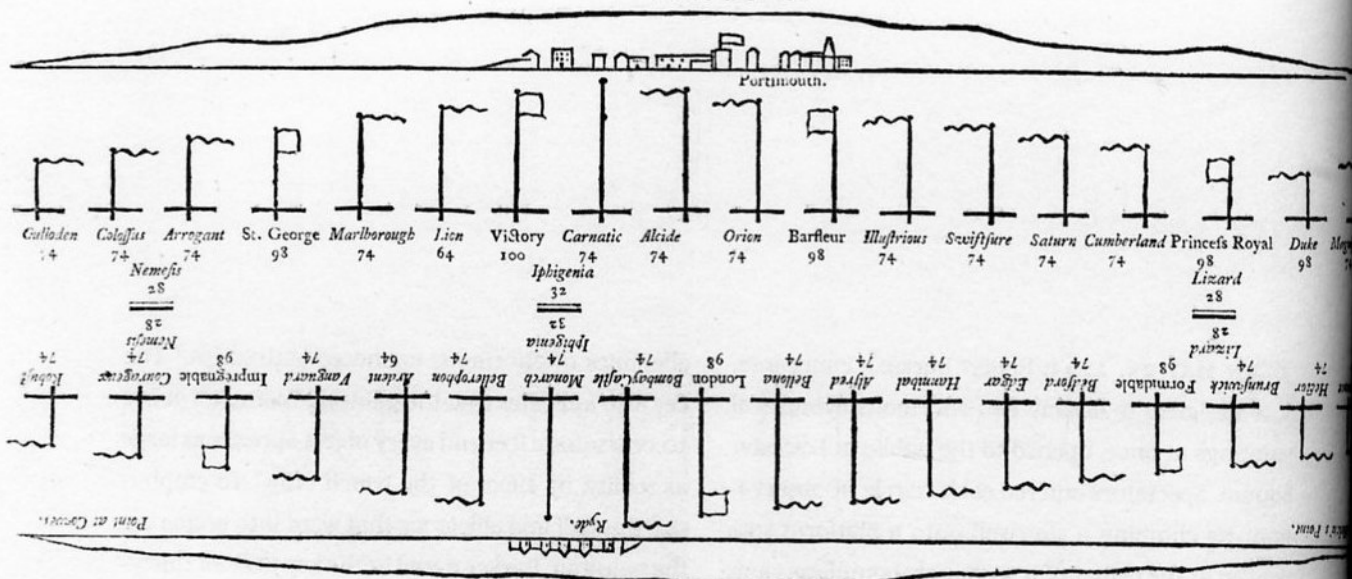
## THE KING AND QUEEN VISIT THE PANORAMA

ON MAY 25, 1793, Robert Barker's Panorama, designed to display two enormous cylindrical paintings at once, opened to the public in Leicester Square. Spectators entered each "circle of observation" by climbing a stairwell onto a platform suspended at the center of a seemingly boundless view. For the opening exhibition Barker displayed a scene in the large circle that represented an event that had taken place two years earlier: the assembly of the Grand Fleet of the Royal Navy, the aggregate of the nation's naval power, while it lay off Spithead, the naval port of Portsmouth, in 1791.<sup>1</sup> While the painted image is no longer extant, an idea of its appearance can be drawn from the descriptive sheet, or key, given to spectators to orient themselves inside the painting (Figure 3.1), as well as accounts from those familiar with the view. According to the information on the key, the viewpoint of the picture was the frigate *Iphigenia*, situated in between the two par-

allel lines of enormous anchored battleships.<sup>2</sup> The key also indicates that the painting "contains above 10,000 square feet and every object appears as large as reality, by effect of the pencil only." To emphasize the skill and efficiency that went into preparing the painting, Barker noted in the key that all thirty-six battleships were "true portraits" that had been painted in just four months.

The *View of the Grand Fleet Moored at Spithead* allowed Britain's greatest technological achievement, the "ship of the line,"<sup>3</sup> to be joined to the Panorama's new technology of vision.<sup>4</sup> Barker's picture displayed these ships, each carrying from seventy-four up to one hundred cannons, at anchor in two parallel rows extending over a distance of six miles between the town of Ports Down and the Isle of Wight in southwest England. Built with great skill in the nation's shipyards, each massive ship provided living quarters for hundreds of men. The activities

No. I.  
FORTS DOWN.



No. II.  
ISLE OF WIGHT.

PANORAMA,  
LEICESTER-SQUARE,  
(BY ROYAL PATENT)

Is open every Day (Sundays excepted) from —Admittance One Shilling.

THE present Subject is a View of the Grand Fleet, moored at Spithead, being the Russian Armament in 1791, taken from the Centre, together with Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, and entire surrounding Objects.—The Painting, by Mr. BARKER, contains above Ten Thousand square Feet, and every Object appears as large as Reality, by Effect of the Pencil only.

DIAMETER OF THE BUILDING IS NINETY FEET.—PICTURE PAINTED IN OIL IN FOUR MONTHS.

*Ships of the Line are Thirty-six, and are true Portraits.—The centre Frigate, where Company are supposed to stand, is the IPHIGENIA.*

Figure 3.1. Robert Barker, View of the Grand Fleet Moored at Spithead, 1793. Letterpress, 7.9 x 9.6 inches. Reproduced by permission of the Guildhall Library, City of London. Copyright reserved.

of Britain's navy were a subject of popular interest to Britons who could read the "Ship News" column in the daily newspapers for the itineraries of naval ships.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, as one early-nineteenth-century writer describes, the launch of a new battleship, which typically drew huge crowds, was tied to the nation's well-being:

All the days of battle and nights of danger which she had to encounter, all the ends of the earth which she had to visit, and all that she had to do and suffer for her country, rose in awful presentiment before the mind, and when the heart gave her a benediction, it was like one pronounced on a living being.<sup>6</sup>

When launched, each ship was christened with a name that it never gave up, even if captured.<sup>7</sup> Thus several ships with French names, such as *Alcide* and *Barfleur*, are listed on Barker's key for this panorama.

The assembly of British battleships at Spithead—called the Russian Armament—was part of the attempt to pressure Catherine the Great, empress of Russia, to agree to peace with the Ottoman Empire over territorial disputes that affected Russia's access to the Black Sea.<sup>8</sup> Mustering the fleet—which was preparing to depart for Ochakov, a fortress on the Black Sea captured by the Russians in 1788—to coerce Russia into compliance with Britain's wishes was a very unpopular political maneuver contrived by the British prime minister, William Pitt. After many debates in Parliament, it was voted down, and the Russian Armament was ultimately

disbanded.<sup>9</sup> However, Barker's view of the British fleet assembled in 1791 was exhibited at the Panorama at Leicester Square just a few months after Britain had declared war on Revolutionary France in February 1793. In this changed political context, Barker's panorama at once drew on the strong nationalist sentiments generated by the war with France and in turn provided support for them.

On May 24, the day before the public opening of the Panorama and its *View of the Grand Fleet*, London newspapers reported that King George III, Queen Charlotte, five of the princesses, and Lord Harcourt as the lord in waiting were the first visitors to what was to become one of London's most celebrated exhibitions.<sup>10</sup> As holder of the patent for the invention and proprietor of the Panorama, Barker was present for the royal visit, as was his son Henry, the painter of the massive canvas. Standing on the platform in the Panorama's interior, which was built up to look like the poop deck of the *Iphigenia*, the king and queen, along with the other spectators, beheld the *View of the Grand Fleet*. In July 1791, before the Russian Armament was disbanded, George III had been scheduled to perform a review of the fleet.<sup>11</sup> Although the review never took place, the king's role as the fleet's supreme commander may have had a bearing on his comportment during his visit to the Panorama two years later.<sup>12</sup> Henry Barker described the royal visit in his diary:

The king asked many questions; and when answered, turned round to Lord Harcourt, to whom he gave the

answer verbatim, always beginning with "He says" so-and-so. His majesty had a large gold-headed cane, which he pointed with, and sometimes put into my hand, making me stoop down in a line with it, to be informed of an object so small that I could not otherwise understand him.<sup>13</sup>

In contrast, Queen Charlotte told Henry "that the sight of the picture made her feel sea-sick."<sup>14</sup>

Henry's short narrative, which highlights the king's concern with identifying details in the picture and the queen's more visceral response, has often been cited as testament to the high degree of realism achieved in the painted vista.<sup>15</sup> However, this description of the royal visitors' reactions to the new purpose-built Panorama building also suggests that the Panorama encouraged at least two different modes of visual address. As the art historian Peter de Bolla explains, a viewer's insertion into visuality "includes the somatic locations of a particular body in determinable real space—as well as the imaginary sitings of the specific ideologies of the individual, be they inflected by class or gender, within the virtual space of visuality."<sup>16</sup> He reminds us that insertions into the sitedness of looking are interactive processes, and as such they can reinforce or undermine social status as well as gender attributes.<sup>17</sup>

According to several accounts, of which Barker's anecdote is the first, looking at the painting hanging in the circular enclosure of the panorama often produced the sensation of seasickness.<sup>18</sup> It is my contention that the anecdote of Queen Char-

lotte's corporeal reaction corresponds to the gendered discourse of sensibility that came into play in response to the new mode of visual perception set in place by the panorama. Taking Barker's diary entry as a textual representation of two ways of seeing in the panorama, I argue in this chapter that Barker's account of the king's and queen's reactions was rooted in a cleavage in the panorama's structure of representation, a split that his account of the royal visit relates directly to gender. The panorama enabled two modes of perception: a static mode in which the viewer perceives depth by focusing on one perspective point, and a mobile, haptic mode of visuality, in which the observer confronts the objective qualities of the panorama's multiperspectival construction. The chapter proposes that the differences between the two processes of seeing produced new meanings, especially with respect to the female spectator of refined sensibility. Moreover, it contends that these new meanings had import for a new conceptualization of the self.

The anecdote of the royal visit to the *View of the Grand Fleet* is used here as a focal point of a local and detailed study of how the discourses of gender, the royal body, visuality, and imperialism came together and were transformed by the Panorama. To explore the cultural significance of the king's and queen's insertion within the Panorama's visual field, I address three overlapping issues: the intersection of the discourses of sensibility and gender in relation to elite society in eighteenth-century Britain; the different ways in which perspective

could function in relation to the static and the mobile spectator; and the differing effects that the spatiotemporal disjunction of standing on the Panorama's observation platform in Leicester Square at the center of an illusionistic view of the Royal Fleet at Spithead could have on the identities of the king and queen, as well as other spectators.

### *Seeing and Feeling*

Barker's description of the royal visit has been repeated in nearly every historical account of the Panorama.<sup>19</sup> Its suggestion that the queen was literally fooled by the artist's skill into mistaking an image for the real thing has never been questioned. In his manuscript Barker represented the king as a rational and analytic man engaged in translating what he saw into discourse, whereas the queen appeared as a woman with highly receptive senses, given the visceral effect that she said the image provoked in her. While the king's attention to the small and precise objects in the distance denoted conventional behavior before a perspective view, it was the queen's physical response to the ensemble—the suggestion that she experienced a kinesthetic hallucination—that conveys the idea that the Panorama's verisimilitude was of an order never before witnessed, as contemporary accounts attest.

Barker's report suggests that the queen, by appearing to be affected by the sway of an anchored ship, confounded illusion with reality because she did not merely see the picture with her eyes but *felt*

it with her entire body. This was only the first of many such stories, all of which can be traced back, as Richard Altick suggests, to Pliny's account of the competition between Parrhasios and Zeuxis:

Parrhasios and Zeuxis entered into a competition, Zeuxis exhibiting a picture of some grapes, so true to nature that birds flew up to the wall of the stage. Parrhasios then displayed a picture of a linen curtain realistic to such a degree that Zeuxis, elated by the verdict of the birds, cried out that now at last his rival must draw the curtain and show his picture. On discovering his mistake he surrendered the prize to Parrhasios, admitting candidly that he, Zeuxis, had deceived only the birds, while Parrhasios had deceived himself, a painter.<sup>20</sup>

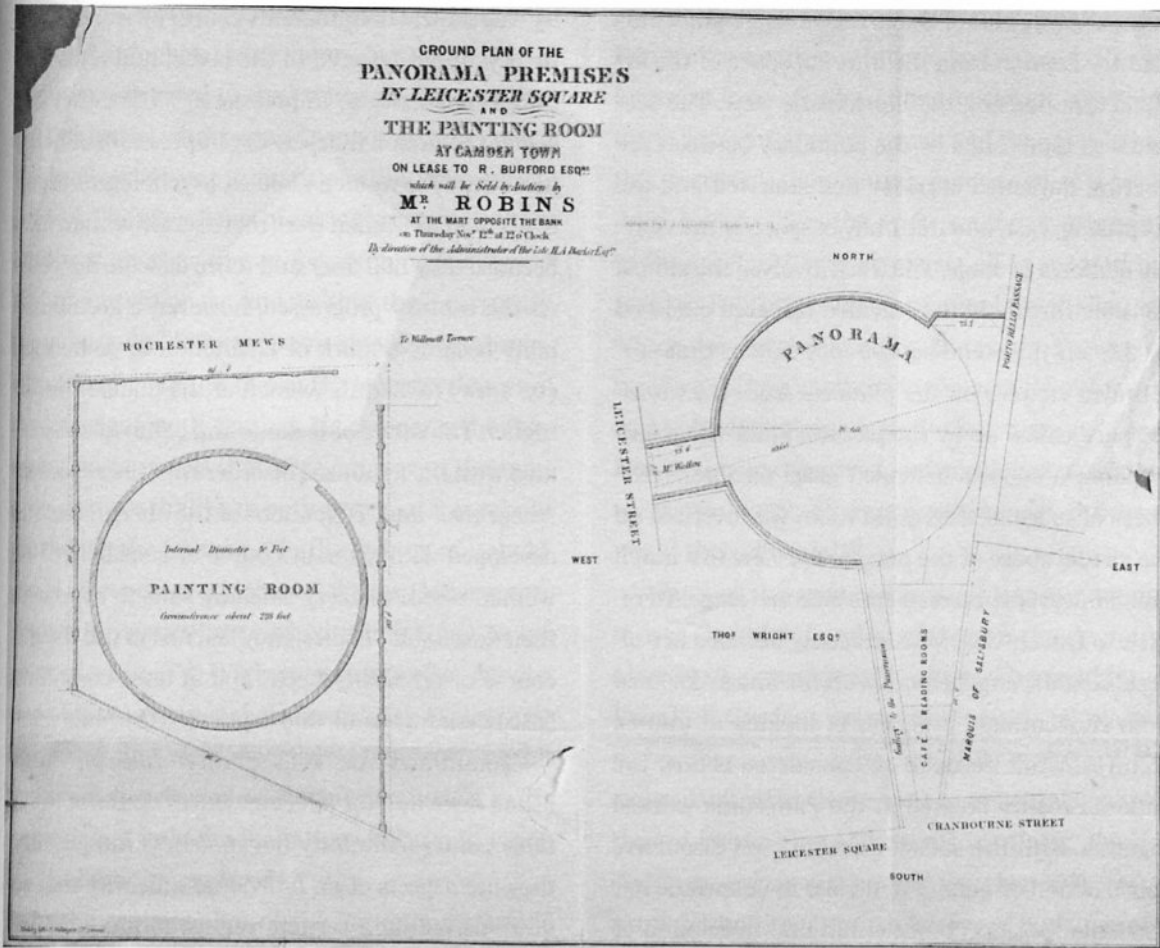
Pliny's story provides a way to reevaluate the report of the king's and queen's very different responses to the Panorama's illusionary devices; it allows us to consider Barker's diary entry as a modern parable, one that has similarly been repeated up to the present. A comparison of the Pliny and Barker parables reveals that they both imply two competitions rather than one. In the ancient story, the explicit competition between Parrhasios and Zeuxis is intimately connected to the implicit comparison between a bird's and an artist's ability to distinguish between nature and a painted likeness. In the modern parable, the explicit and implicit competitions are reversed, placing greater emphasis on the observers. Given the late-eighteenth-century British propensity to measure modern improvements against antiquity's achievements, Henry Barker's rival might

be seen as the ancient painter Parrhasios. With regard to the competition set up between observers, in contrast to Pliny's description of an animal and a man responding in the same way to two different images, Barker compares the differing responses of a man and a woman to the same image. Hence, in Barker's story, George III, whose eye is apparently not deceived, plays the role of the inquisitive, perceptive spectator, while Queen Charlotte occupies the place of either the inferior painter who mistakes the painted curtain in Pliny's account for a real one or the duped bird foolish enough to be caught trying to nibble at painted grapes.

When considered as a modern version of Pliny's tale, Barker's account on one level affirms the wide consensus among late-eighteenth-century writers that women's weakness, both of body and of mind, was the basis of the female character, intellect, and social situation.<sup>21</sup> Aristotle's complementary opposition of female memory and imagination to male discursive and speculative reason was at that historical moment being recast as an opposition between the female understanding of concrete details and the male command of abstract principles.<sup>22</sup> As the science historian Lorraine Daston elaborates, female intellectual traits were understood to differ significantly from those of the male in that the former were "corporeally grounded, largely determined by women's allegedly cold, moist bodily complexion. Sensory impression, stamped upon the brain as a seal upon wax, therefore adhered more easily, distinctly, and durably in the soft, humid

female matter than in that of the hot, dry male."<sup>23</sup> Within these terms, the mobility and sensitivity of female organs presumably enabled Queen Charlotte to seize the painting with her entire body and not simply her eyes. The queen's "feminine" sensitivity to the image's illusionistic power would have been regarded as typical. Because the king's and queen's reactions in Barker's anecdote accorded perfectly with the characteristics that many held were grounded in the authority of nature itself,<sup>24</sup> the narrative not only was a testament to the high degree of realism achieved in the painting, but more importantly, served to both forge and enforce gender identities.

The panorama's mimetic charge was achieved both through lifelikeness and through the construction of a space where the spectator was separated from the outside world. This too can be linked to the competition between Parrhasios and Zeuxis, for, as Norman Bryson emphasizes, the enduring interest in the classical tale over the centuries depends less on a simple opposition between the real and the not real (real grapes here, painted grapes there) than on the kind of space in which the paintings were exhibited.<sup>25</sup> For Bryson, it is critical that the ancient painting competition occurred in a public theater, because the fictional reality that theaters construct depends on a series of thresholds that viewers are required to pass through before they engage with the illusionistic decoration. The first threshold is traversed on leaving the outside world for the built space of the theater; next, there is the threshold of



the auditorium where “the conditions of the real world, the world of the auditorium, are suspended, and the space of reality yields to that of fiction.”<sup>26</sup> Lastly, there is the final threshold where the painting’s illusionistic space reconfigures the space of the stage, like a play within a play.<sup>27</sup>

While not a public theater, the Panorama as a unique public space likewise set in place a series

of interconnected spaces through which the viewers were made to pass before finding themselves surrounded on all sides by a spectacular, three-dimensional painting lit by natural light. In the Panorama, three thresholds gradually separated the viewer from the conditions of the world outside (see Figure 3.2, a ground plan of the building). The first was the boundary that marked the external space

Figure 3.2. *Ground Plan of the Panorama Premises in Leicester Square, 1864.* Engraving, 15.6 x 19.5 inches. John Johnson Collection Entertainments Folder 5 (5). Copyright 2006 Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.



of the everyday life of the streets of late-eighteenth-century London from the internal space of the architecture housing the illusionistic view. The second was established by the boundary between the narrow, darkened corridor and stairwell and the surprising, vast, and naturally lit space of the viewing platform or stage. The third involved the almost invisible threshold that divided the area enclosed by the ten-thousand-square-foot canvas that surrounded viewers on the platform from the interior space called up by the picture. Since the painted panoramic vista extended in all directions, the physical space of the round room was overlaid on the virtual space of the perspective view to a much greater degree than on a conventional stage. To return to Queen Charlotte, precisely because her alleged somatic engagement with the image deviated from conventional practices of looking at framed pictures, what needs to be considered is how the fictional reality created in the Panorama worked together with the social, cultural, and discursive construction of gender and class to determine her particular position both within and in relation to the visual field.

### *Seeing the World*

In view of the theatrical, unreal space established within the Panorama, we might initially understand Queen Charlotte's response to the painting as a highly internalized—perhaps even feigned—performance that conformed with socially accepted standards of the “feminine.” The notion of sensibility

was central to eighteenth-century psychological theory, and it referred to the perceptual and emotional sensitivity to impressions.<sup>28</sup> Once they accepted the notion that sensory impressions adhered more firmly to women's bodies, psychologists began to argue that women were more sensitive than men because they had finer and more delicate nerves.<sup>29</sup> As the century progressed, however, a keen sensibility became a mark of distinction in polite society, a way to identify women of the middle class or higher. The range of feelings and behaviors associated with the feminized disorders of “the vapours,” “megrims,” and “crisptions of the nerves” were all developed within the discourse of sensibility.<sup>30</sup> As women began to carry smelling salts to cope with their “excitable” bodies, they learned to use the discourse of sensibility, because it at once communicated their high rank and captivated the male sex.<sup>31</sup>

“Femininity” or “masculinity” is never established once and for all. Femaleness does not inevitably confer femininity nor maleness masculinity; they are aspects of an individual's identity that require perpetual assertion, renegotiation, and performance.<sup>32</sup> For example, in the late eighteenth century, because she refused to display an exaggerated and pious sensibility, Mary Wollstonecraft was derided as an “unsex'd female,” that is, not a female at all.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, intellectual males and dandies also took on the claims of sensibility to distinguish themselves from the manly virtues of commercial or navy men.<sup>34</sup>

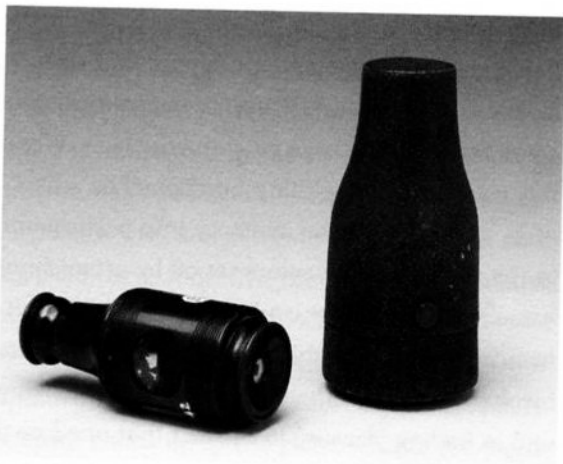
During the late eighteenth century, testing one's sensibility in stimulating situations that produced

dizziness or vertigo became popular pastimes. According to Stephan Oettermann, spectators in London were attracted to the Panorama because during this period what people "sought was the edge, a tingle of excitement in situations that were easy to control. The experience of taking something to the limit was another reason for climbing the towers and mountain peaks and visiting their surrogate, the panorama."<sup>35</sup> Oettermann identifies the discovery of the horizon as one of the key experiences of the late eighteenth century. He compares the Panorama to carousels that were popular at the same time, stating that they both provided a symbolic tour along the horizon. "To the dismay of upholders of decency everywhere," writes Oettermann, "ladies in particular relished riding them to the point of nausea."<sup>36</sup> While women as well as dandies were free to express their sensations of dizziness or nausea that were reported so frequently at this time,<sup>37</sup> such a display of the human body's frailty suggests not only the limitations of human vision but the limits of gendered identity.

In the cross-section of the Panorama rotunda drawn by its architect, Robert Mitchell (Figure 1.1), of all the fashionably dressed people depicted, two-thirds are women. While such a representation does not necessarily imply that more women frequented the Panorama than men, it nevertheless conveys the idea that the Panorama was a respectable place for women to visit. Free to walk around on a central platform, viewers would crisscross one another's sight lines to look at any part of the painting's circumference. Just as the painting could be

seen from all points on the compass, within the Panorama each spectator's body could also be looked at from all sides. Other spectators inevitably came between another's gaze and the view. When this occurred, the painting functioned as a backdrop, transforming the audience into participants in the spectacle, into actors set off by astonishing scenery. For those who could afford the shilling entrance fee, spectatorship in the public Panorama involved watching others in the activity of looking and in finding pleasure in the fact that one's own body was being observed and positioned in relation to specific social, economic, and gendered categories of the individual.<sup>38</sup>

Many of the new commercial entertainments in late Georgian London played on the deceptive aspects of perspectival realism. The redesigned Vauxhall Gardens extended its vistas by placing perspective views at the end of its pathways. Because audiences demanded increasingly sophisticated lighting and illusionistic effects, theater design moved away from traditional interior sets toward dramatic painted backdrops of buildings and landscapes in perspective.<sup>39</sup> A spectator who commented on Philippe Jacques de Louthembourg's *Eidophusikon* (Figure 2.4) recalled that "the scenes which he described were so completely illusive, that the space appeared to recede for many miles, and his horizon seemed as palpably distant from the eye, as the extreme termination of the view would appear in nature."<sup>40</sup> Some critics even felt compelled to argue for the return of the sparse sets of Shakespearean theater, fearing that such spectacular



scenography would divert attention away from the actors' performance of the play.<sup>41</sup> And it is true that in his "theater" Loutherboung had eliminated the actors.

A central element of these entertainments was the opportunity to observe and be observed. In conventional theaters, there was an aisle called "fop's alley" along which gentlemen could walk while talking to each other, surveying the house and admiring the women, while the women were expected to sit gracefully and not walk around the house.<sup>42</sup> Edward Francis Burney's painting of Loutherboung's Eidophusikon—the exhibition of transparent theatrical scenes that took place on Lisle Street, Leicester Square in 1781, and which was exhibited again in 1793 at Spring Gardens—portrays a man standing at the right in the image using opera glasses, presumably to inspect the view in greater detail.<sup>43</sup> The "pemoscope" was a particular type of eighteenth-century opera glass (Figure 3.3).<sup>44</sup> Its

secret side opening allowed for the covert observation of other spectators, positioning the observer as a voyeur whose clandestine surveillance is disguised by his apparent focus in a different direction. The pemoscope's existence attests to the growing interest in examining how people presented themselves in public. In this culture of gendered sensibility, the excitement of seeing a woman's reaction to the visual spectacle evidently could surpass that of the spectacle of illusion itself.

The access of women to these new public spaces was not uncontested. A limited sphere implied restricted experience and restricted activity, and these two vital aspects of life were increasingly important to an individual's intellectual development at the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>45</sup> As growing numbers of women began to enjoy the city's new entertainments, religious reformers were at the forefront of the struggle to confine women to the home. In texts that extolled female chastity and modesty, an idealized domestic sphere was constructed and evoked based on a complete separation of the home and the world. As the literary historian Elizabeth Bennett Kubek argues, "The growth of new public places open to women as well as to men in London posed a threat to a settled patriarchal order, which saw visual consumption as the most morally dangerous manifestation of desire for women, both as subjects and objects."<sup>46</sup> Religious moralists warned that the security of the state depended on women's "virtue." There was a fear that if licentiousness and infidelity spread among women, society would be

Figure 3.3. Ivory jealousy glass (pemoscope), with fish-skin case, ca. 1750. Copyright Science and Society Picture Library / The Image Works.

contaminated, and "all would be corruption and disorder."<sup>47</sup> By the end of the century, the increasing concern about passing on wealth and bloodlines to the next generation impelled several novelists, female as well as male, to encourage their virtuous heroines to reject the city's pleasures.<sup>48</sup> They reasserted the domestic role of women in response to the perceived threat to society of women circulating in public spaces.

Hannah More, in her treatise *Strictures concerning the Modern System of Female Education*, which saw several editions in the late eighteenth century, reviled the climate of the age in which women want to learn "accomplishments" that have public display as their object. Using a derisive tone, she fulminates: "Seeing the world! Knowing the world! Standing well with the world! is spoken of as including the whole sum and substance of human advantages. They hear their education almost exclusively alluded to with reference to the *figure* it will enable them to make in the world."<sup>49</sup> Men, on the other hand, More asserted, are more suited for the public exhibitions on what she calls "the grand theatre of human life." For, unlike women, their character does not suffer from being always employed in the constant commerce of the world.<sup>50</sup> Yet what More saw as a natural ability in men was in fact due to a gradual development that led commercial men to adopt personalities and behavior best suited to the practice of mercantile capitalism.<sup>51</sup>

For women faced with the choice between the virtues of the home and the contamination of the

world, the Panorama may have represented an intermediate zone. By going to the Panorama, women could gain access via a simulated representation to geographic locations they would normally never see in real life. Positioned inside the *View of the Grand Fleet* and thus amid the waves on the British battleship *Iphigenia*, the presumed female characteristics of sensibility and impressionability could potentially respond to what one eighteenth-century commentator on women's traits referred to as the broad experience and strenuous activity of the "always active man . . . nourished on mountain peaks, at the edge of volcanoes, at sea, in battlefields, or in the midst of ruins."<sup>52</sup> In view of the exclusion of women from important public spaces—even women as highly placed as Queen Charlotte—the Panorama may have offered a kind of access.

An attempt to incorporate spectators within the visual field of another large-scale painting took place in Paris during the same period. The art historian Ewa Lajer-Burcharth has discovered that during the exhibition of the painter Jacques-Louis David's large-scale history painting *The Intervention of the Sabine Women*, to a paying public at the Louvre for five years beginning in 1799, a full-length mirror was placed in front of the vast canvas to allow spectators, some of whom were dressed in modes that emulated the costumes of ancient Greece, to measure themselves against their ancient counterparts.<sup>53</sup> The goal was to enhance the illusion of interpenetration, of confusion between

the painted bodies and the visiting crowd.<sup>54</sup> The organization of the interaction between the painting and the mirror, as Lajer-Burcharth argues, "aimed at mobilizing the corporeal *participation* of a specific sector of the audience in the production of meaning."<sup>55</sup> During a period of post-Revolutionary anxiety, the specular illusion of the total body cast onto the painting's surface established not a sense of what one *was* but what one "*wanted to become*."<sup>56</sup> Such complex and unusual circumstances for viewing art can be compared with the experience of being situated at the center of a painted vista in the Panorama. Both viewing situations placed beholders in the midst of a representation that forced them to reflect on their place in the world. Like a mirror, the panorama's form made viewers self-conscious; the image stood as a backdrop against which observers could try to identify themselves. David's mirror invited female spectators to cast themselves into the scene to derive satisfaction, and perhaps even inspiration, from seeing themselves in the heroic role of the Sabines of antiquity. In contrast, the Panorama placed spectators at the center of Britain's Russian Armament in 1791, prepared for a naval review by the king and poised for action against the maritime forces of Catherine the Great of Russia. Thus, in a way that rivaled other forms of representation, the panoramic vista depicting the masculine domain of Britain's Royal Navy allowed men and women alike the vicarious pleasure of occupying a viewpoint normally reserved for the king.

### *Gender in Perspective*

But the viewer's perception and judgment of *what* was seen in the panoramic apparatus was dependent on *how* it was seen. From yet another perspective, the conflicting responses to the *View of the Grand Fleet* by the king and the queen may derive from the extraordinary spatial effects of a heterotopia. Michel Foucault defines a heterotopia as an enclosed site composed of heterogeneous spaces that "have the curious property of being in relation with all the other sites, but in such a way as to suspect, neutralize, or invert the set of relations that they happen to designate, mirror, or reflect."<sup>57</sup> Describing the ship as the greatest reserve of the imagination, Foucault acknowledges it as a heterotopia par excellence: "The boat is a floating piece of space, a place without a place, that exists by itself, that is closed in on itself and at the same time given over to the infinity of the sea."<sup>58</sup> As a place simultaneously mythic and real, a heterotopia's meaning is arrived at through its peculiar attribute of referring to the space outside its boundary in such a way as to define that space's particular lack. Thus the heterotopia stands as a "countersite" that allows for the recognition of a problem with the conventional spaces of lived experience. The notion of a heterotopia provides a way to approach what I call here the Panorama's dual nature, that is, its two-fold structure of representation, which depended on whether a viewer was static, taking in one perspective view, or mobile, confronted with a series