

STEFFI ROETTGEN

*German Painters in Naples and Their
Contribution to the Revival of Antiquity,
1760–1799*



In the second half of the eighteenth century, a number of painters of note from German-speaking countries found employment in Naples for a variety of reasons. The political prerequisites included the conquest of the city by Charles of Bourbon, a son of Isabella Farnese and King Philip V of Spain. In 1734 the Spanish prince had been crowned king of the Two Sicilies as Charles VII. His marriage four years later to Maria Amalia of Saxony-Wettin, a daughter of Augustus III, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, ultimately resulted in a readjustment of Europe's dynastic framework, but initially it produced a new correlation between two quite different cultural spheres.¹ The exchanges between Saxony and Naples proved to be remarkably fertile, in spite of, or perhaps exactly because of, these discrepancies.

The reign of Charles VII saw the beginning of the officially controlled excavations of the Vesuvian towns. Their documentation in the form of illustrated publications, in spite of the many difficulties involved, triggered an artistic reorientation that was greatly advanced—especially in German-speaking Europe—by Johann Joachim Winckelmann's observations on this "new antiquity" and on the problematic aspects of the excavations.² These factors are more closely intertwined than is apparent at first sight. I shall attempt to retrace the chapters and stages of this cultural transfer and consider its art-historical consequences.

At the outset, the marriage between Charles and Maria Amalia entailed the importation of Saxon court culture, leading to the establishment of the first Capodimonte porcelain factory in 1742 and to the creation of porce-

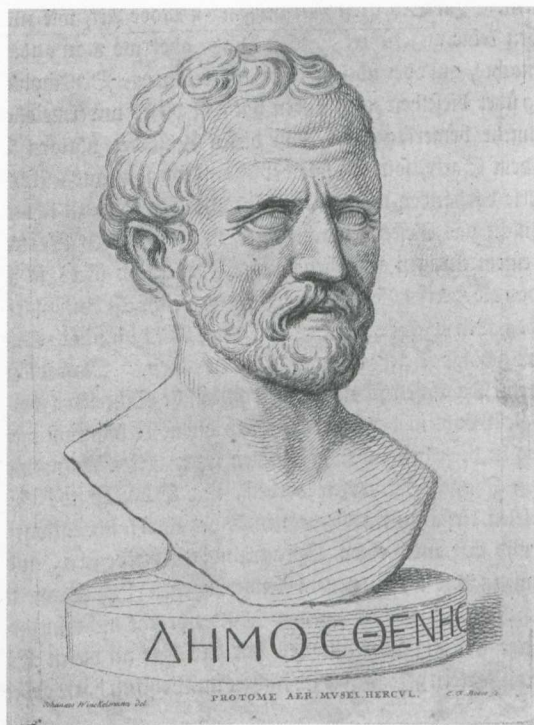
lain cabinets in the royal residences, followed by commissions to Anton Raphael Mengs, the Saxon court painter then living in Rome, for portraits of the royal family and an altarpiece for the chapel in the royal palace at Caserta.³ During the negotiations to bring Mengs to Naples, which dragged on from 1755 to 1758, the painter became concerned that the Dresden court might intend to "lend" him to Naples without additional compensation. In these years, a friendship of far-reaching intellectual consequences developed between Mengs and Winckelmann, who had arrived in Rome in 1755 supported by a Saxon pension. One of the tasks that the Dresden court had assigned to Winckelmann concerned Naples, perhaps in the expectation that the dynastic link between the two courts would result in preferential treatment for the antiquarian: Winckelmann was instructed to travel there immediately in order to examine the new discoveries and to compile a report for Dresden.⁴

The implementation of this plan turned out to be fraught with difficulties, so that Winckelmann's first of four trips to Naples took place only in March 1758.⁵ He first visited Portici, staying with Padre Antonio Piaggi, a former scribe from the Vatican Library who was busy unrolling carbonized papyrus scrolls and making them legible.⁶ The first letter Winckelmann wrote after his arrival was addressed to his friend Mengs in Rome and described the paintings of the so-called Basilica at Herculaneum, including *Chiron and Achilles* and *Marsyas and Olympus*, which were illustrated in the newly published first volume of *Le antichità di Ercolano esposte*.⁷ The letter bears eloquent testimony to the power of Winckelmann's first encounter with the ancient paintings,

Jakob Philipp Hackert, *The Great Theater of Pompeii*, 1793, gouache (tempera)
Klassik Stiftung Weimar

1. C. F. Boëce (Christian Friedrich Boëtius) after a drawing by Anton Raphael Mengs, *Bust of Demosthenes*, engraving, from Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Sendschreiben von den Herculanischen Entdeckungen an den hochgebohrnen Herrn ... Heinrich Reichsgrafen von Brühl* (Dresden, 1762), 96

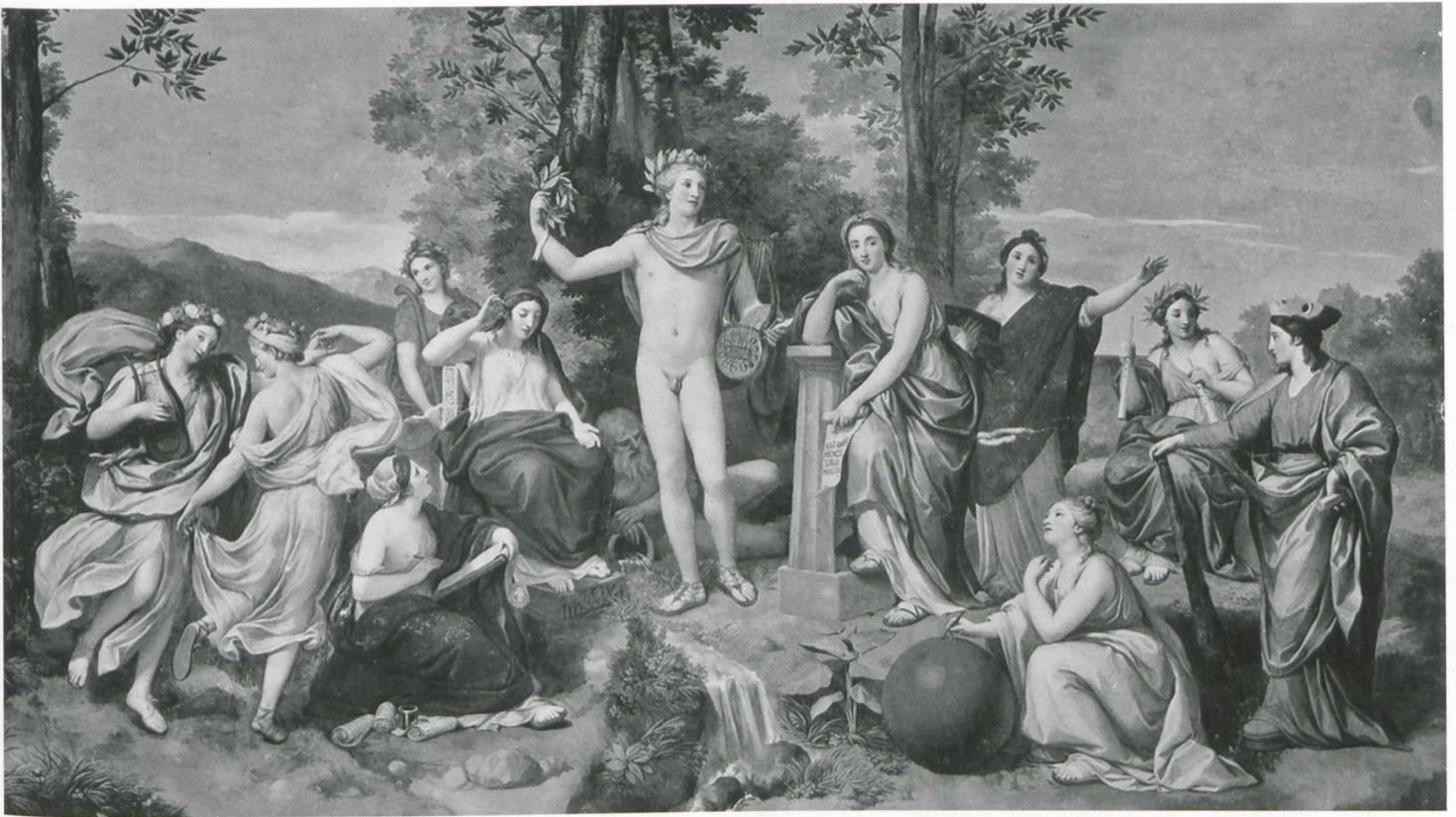
Research Library, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles (87-B21232)



which he dated to the time of Nero. The young Achilles was drawn with a “maestria insuperabile,” Winckelmann reported, praising its “franchezza” and “fiducia propria a gran maestri” as well as its “pastosità” and “morbidezza,” which he likened to the work of Correggio. At the same time, he reflected upon the reasons why the artist had only partially followed nature when depicting the shadows. Like most of his contemporaries, Winckelmann concluded from the white areas emerging from underneath the paint losses that the paintings had not been executed in fresco.⁸ Discussion about the technique and artistic qualities of the paintings at Herculaneum, further advanced by Charles-Nicolas Cochin le jeune and the comte de Caylus, marks a methodological and art-historical turning point.⁹ The ancient works were now viewed in relation to Renaissance and contemporary art.¹⁰ Since access to the royal museum at Portici and to the excavation sites was severely restricted, Winckelmann’s scholarly findings caused a sensation. The reports he sent to Dresden were published in 1762 and 1764 and contributed to a surge in publicity for the Neapolitan exca-

vations in German-speaking Europe.¹¹ The interest of German intellectuals and amateurs was also stimulated by *Mémoire historique et critique sur la ville souterraine découverte au pied du Mont-Vésuve*, published anonymously in 1748 in Paris and translated into German in 1749.¹²

Winckelmann’s letter to Mengs provides an accurate impression of their discussions on the subject of painting in antiquity, which prepared the artist for a stay of several months in Naples. He arrived from Rome in autumn 1759 to paint the portrait of the young King Ferdinand IV.¹³ Winckelmann and Mengs had previously planned to spend time together in Naples, and in December 1759 the antiquarian was still hoping to be able to visit the painter there in the spring.¹⁴ Winckelmann wanted to illustrate some of the works of art at Portici in his *Sendschreiben*—as the first published report to the Dresden court came to be known—and he anticipated that Mengs’ privileged position at the Neapolitan court would enable him to circumvent the ban on drawing the works in the museum. But the restrictions were rigorously enforced, even for Mengs, and he was able to produce furtively only one drawing after the bust of Demosthenes. Winckelmann published an engraving of Mengs’ drawing in the *Sendschreiben* (fig. 1).¹⁵ Beyond this, we know rather little about Mengs’ first stay in Naples. He was accompanied by his wife and by his assistant, Anton Maron, who was subsequently his brother-in-law. The party stayed with Bernardo Galiani, the publisher of an edition of Vitruvius that Winckelmann criticized,¹⁶ and Mengs cultivated the aforementioned erudite clergyman Antonio Piaggi.¹⁷ The artistic fruits of the seven months in Naples are difficult to pinpoint. What we do know is that during the stay Mengs finished the large painting *Augustus and Cleopatra*,¹⁸ and that immediately after his return to Rome he began the *Parnassus* in the Villa Albani (fig. 2).¹⁹ The fact that Mengs completely revised his original concept for the ceiling fresco reveals the indelible imprint of his visit to Naples. The most important change was

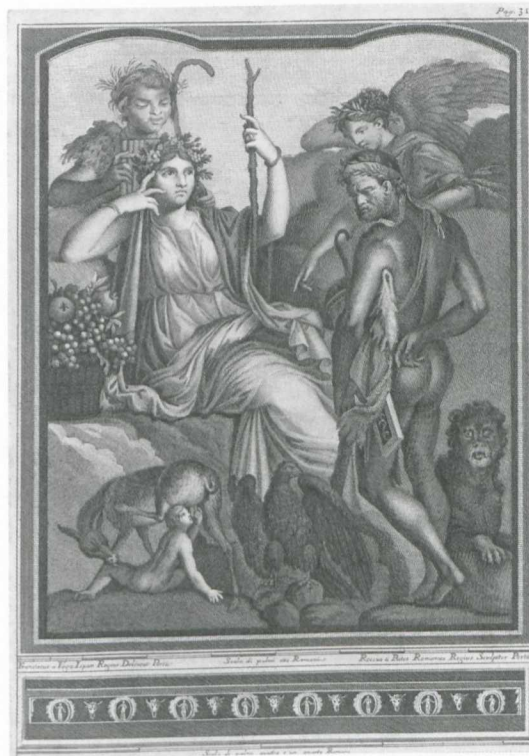


2. Anton Raphael Mengs, *Parnassus*, 1760/1761, fresco, detail showing Mnemosyne

Villa Torlonia-Albani, Rome; photograph Alinari Archives, Florence

3. *Hercules with the Child Telephos and the Personification of Arcadia*, engraving, *Le antichità di Ercolano esposte*, volume 1, *Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano e contorni incisi con qualche spiegazione* (Naples, 1757), plate 6

National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, Mark J. Millard Architectural Collection

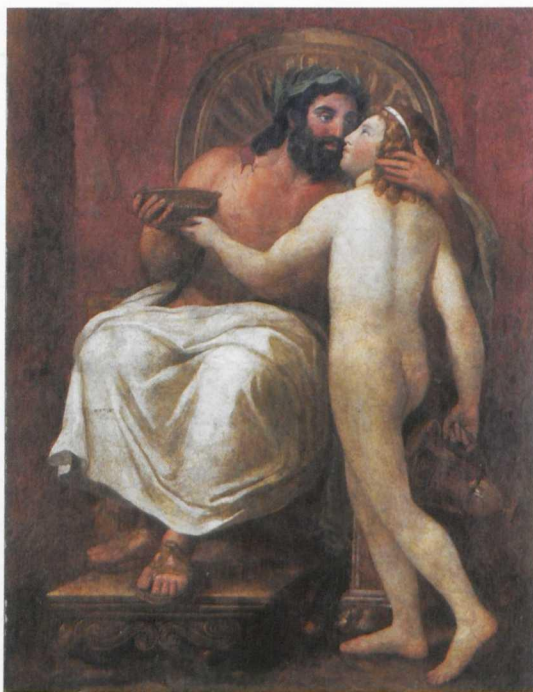


the addition of Mnemosyne, mother of the Muses, a figure clearly inspired by a personification identifiable as Arcadia in the painting *Hercules with the Child Telephos* from the Basilica at Herculaneum, seen here in the engraving from the *Antichità* (fig. 3).²⁰

The most obvious, but not unproblematic, indication of Mengs' engagement with ancient paintings was the forgery of *Jupiter Kissing Ganymede* (fig. 4).²¹ It appeared in Rome in September 1760, a few months after his return from Naples.²² This is not the place to discuss the history and reception of this perhaps too famous work praised enthusiastically by Winckelmann,²³ but it is evident that Jupiter's pose and drapery echo the same model as the Mnemosyne from the Villa Albani *Parnassus*. Winckelmann's observation about the ancient painters' technique of depicting shadows was simultaneously taken into account and "corrected" by Mengs: the short, sharp shadows of the feet are clearly visible, but Jupiter's right arm also casts a shadow, which can be discerned

4. Anton Raphael Mengs, *Jupiter Kissing Ganymede*, 1760, fresco transferred to canvas

Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome; photograph Alinari Archives, Florence, permission of Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali



5. Angelica Kauffmann, *Portrait of John Byng*, 1765, oil on canvas

Private collection



on his torso.²⁴ Moreover, the classicizing accessories—footstool, sandals, bowl, and jug—may have convinced Winckelmann that he was looking at an ancient work, leaving aside the composition's dependence on the *Marsyas and Olympus* reproduced in the *Antichità*, skilfully blended with a quotation from Raphael's fresco *Jupiter Kissing Amor* in the Loggia di Psiche in Agostino Chigi's Roman villa, known today as La Farnesina.²⁵

The archaeological influence on the revival of antiquity reflects a widespread tendency of these years, as an oblique glance at Joseph-Marie Vien's famous adaptation of an ancient genre scene confirms.²⁶ When it was shown in the Paris Salon of 1763, *The Seller of Cupids* was extolled by Diderot.²⁷ Successful as it may have been in the area of the neoclassical decorative arts, for ambitious painters the *manière antique* based on the exact imitation of ancient paintings remained merely a staging post en route to a deeper appropriation of the principles derived from the pictorial and formal repertory the Vesuvian excavations had brought to light.

It was presumably her interest in the recently excavated works that prompted Angelica Kauffmann to visit Naples from July 1763 to April 1764, in addition to other factors such as the chance to cultivate new patrons among the city's diplomatic and courtly elite. The strategy was a success, since the artist's newly acquired Neapolitan contacts paved the way for her move to Britain.²⁸ Most of Kauffmann's sitters in Naples were British, among them John Byng, who was portrayed against a backdrop of Portici and the smoking Vesuvius (fig. 5).²⁹ On the table lies volume 2 of the *Antichità*, opened at the engraving of the Muse Urania from the celebrated cycle of the Muses from the Pompeian Praedia of Julia Felix.³⁰ At the top of the facing left-hand page, the words "merita di essere guardata con riflessione" (merits being looked at with reflection), while technically part of the text describing the engraving, are so prominent that they acquire programmatic meaning (figs. 6 and 7). Wendy Roworth has argued convincingly that this applies in two respects: from

52 TAVOLA VIII.
merita di essere guardata con riflessione.

merito a quel letto tridolore, che dalla figura fin-
circolare sotto il nome di Segna. Si vuole anche sapere
che la sedia qui dipinta pareggiarsi corrispon-
dere alla bellissima locustatoria, di cui fu menziona-
to nell' antica storia di Agricola cap. 78. e che da Ter-
renzio si spiega per sedia di sposo, e da Plauto. Et
sibi non calceum l'istruca per un letto di nozze da il-
ludere; mostrando il letto dove, che quella specie non
non corrisponda alla maniera di scrivere di Agricola.
Le parole di Suetonio son queste: Eoq; cibum mero-



TAVOLA IX.



6. *Le antichità di Ercolano esposte*,
volume 2, *Le pitture antiche*
d'Ercolano e contorni incisi con
qualche spiegazione (Naples,
1760), 52

National Gallery of Art Library, Wash-
ington, Mark J. Millard Architectural
Collection

7. *Muse Urania*, engraving, *Le*
antichità di Ercolano esposte,
volume 2, *Le pitture antiche*
d'Ercolano e contorni incisi con
qualche spiegazione (Naples, 1760),
53, plate 8

National Gallery of Art Library, Wash-
ington, Mark J. Millard Architectural
Collection

8. Angelica Kauffmann, *Giovinetta*
penserosa, 1766, etching
Angelika Kauffmann Museum,
Schwarzenberg



M. Ange² Kauffman dipinto, e inc. a Ven^a 1766.

the viewpoint of the sitter, who considered himself fortunate to obtain one of the sought-after copies of the *Antichità*, the phrase appears to comment on his study of Naples and its ancient art;³¹ and from Kauffmann's perspective, by contrast, the message becomes a motto for her encounter with the ancient paintings of Herculaneum. A case in point is an engraving from 1766 of a pensive young woman (fig. 8), dressed like the Urania from the *Antichità* and similarly posed but in reverse (see fig. 7).³² Striking a balance between idealization and naturalism, this depiction epitomizes the principles underlying careful reflection on ancient models as recommended in the passage from the *Antichità*.

Byng, who was never to return to his home country, also commissioned a pair of Greek and Roman historical subjects from Kauffmann: *Chryseis Returning to Her Father* and *Coriolanus Persuaded by His Family to*



9. Angelica Kauffmann, *Bacchus Finding Ariadne on the Island of Naxos*, 1764, oil on canvas
Kunstbesitz der Landeshauptstadt Bregenz

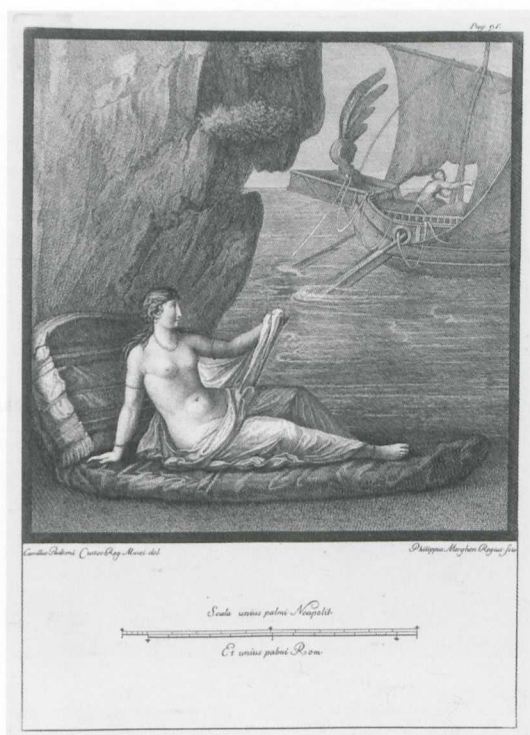
Spare Rome.³³ The pendants, completed in 1765, reflect Kauffmann's experience in Rome, where painters such as Batoni, Mengs, Nathaniel Dance, and Gavin Hamilton were composing history paintings of ancient subjects in Nicolas Poussin's classicizing footsteps. But her clumsy, awkward figures lack the precise draftsmanship and painterly qualities that the Roman clientele had come to expect from their artists. It is obvious that Kauffmann had not yet developed the graceful personal style that characterizes her later history paintings. Although this style, particularly effective in ancient subjects with a lyri-

cal flair, evolved during her years in Britain, the delicate female figures clad in light, finely draped fabrics, as well as the putti and children that later became her trademarks, all demonstrate the lessons learned through careful reflection on the ancient paintings from Herculaneum and their engravings.

During her stay in Naples, the young Angelica Kauffmann had made the acquaintance of Johann Friedrich Reiffenstein, who was then experimenting with the creation of encaustic paintings and whose portrait she etched while on a visit to Ischia.³⁴ On the recommendation of Reiffenstein, she met Winckelmann after her return to Rome. The antiquarian sat for her while preparing his *Sendschreiben* for publication.³⁵ This connection supports Bettina Baumgärtel's hypothesis that Kauffmann's *Bacchus Finding Ariadne on the Island of Naxos*, dated 1764 (fig. 9), could be read as a poetic paraphrase of Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*.³⁶ In the text, Winckelmann employs Ariadne, abandoned by Theseus, as a metaphor for his attempt to provide a historical account of ancient art: "Just as a beloved stands on the seashore and follows with tearful eyes her departing sweetheart, with no hope of seeing him again, and believes she can glimpse even in the distant sail the image of her lover—so we, like the lover, have as it were only a shadowy outline of the subject of our desires remaining. But this arouses so much the greater longing for what is lost."³⁷ Convincing as it may seem, the suggestion that Kauffmann owed her fascinating pictorial idea to the antiquarian becomes plausible only when the painting from Herculaneum (shown here in the engraving from the *Antichità*), which Winckelmann describes almost literally, is taken into account: it shows the distraught Ariadne on a daybed, her gaze pursuing the retreating ship (fig. 10).³⁸ One of Winckelmann's letters testifies to the deep impression left on him by the young, cosmopolitan artist, and his portrait by her hand seems to indicate that she was in turn stimulated by the conversations with him.³⁹ Apparently they discussed the subject of grace, which

10. *Ariadne Abandoned by Theseus at Naxos*, engraving, *Le antichità di Ercolano esposte*, volume 2, *Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano e contorni incisi con qualche spiegazione* (Naples, 1760), plate 14

National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, Mark J. Millard Architectural Collection



Winckelmann compared to water in that it “is perfected by having less taste of its own.”⁴⁰ The open book on which he rests his hands is propped up on an ancient relief of the Three Graces.⁴¹

In 1782 Kauffmann returned to Naples, and during an audience at court she was given a commission by Queen Maria Carolina for a very large portrait of the royal family.⁴² Set in an English landscape park with a minimum of formality in poses and attire, the group portrait of the royal couple and their flock of children, finished in 1784, speaks of Maria Carolina’s openness to neoclassical ideas and natural simplicity. The monumentalized family idyll is rounded out by a harp, a pram, and an ancient krater placed on a cippus.

Apart from governing his kingdom, Ferdinand IV’s chief interest was hunting, as it had been for his father, Charles VII.⁴³ It therefore fell to his wife to assume the mantle of cultural mediator, a task to which Maria Carolina devoted herself with even more zeal than Charles’ wife, Maria Amalia. When Maria Carolina left Vienna in 1768 for her marriage to Ferdinand IV, her mother, the

empress Maria Theresa, admonished her never to forget her German birth, and indeed she always followed this precept, whether in the acquisition of books for her private library or in favoring German-born artists.⁴⁴ In December 1781, by inviting Friedrich Heinrich Füger, then holder of a scholarship at the Vienna Academy in Rome, to decorate her library at Caserta, she intended obviously also to establish an up-to-date neoclassical style in Naples.⁴⁵ Füger had been a pupil of the Mengs-trained Nicolas Guibal, court painter in Stuttgart; later, in Leipzig, he had studied under Adam Friedrich Oeser, one of Winckelmann’s first teachers in art history during his stay in Dresden (1748–1755).⁴⁶ Füger had spent several years in Rome, studying initially under Mengs, and he had come to Naples at the invitation of the Habsburg envoy Anton Franz Lamberg (1740–1825) in order to visit the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii. The Biblioteca Palatina at Caserta, the library that he decorated for the queen, who covered the expenses for Füger and his collaborator Andreas Nesselthaler out of her private budget, can be called the earliest and purest expression of the neoclassical style in Naples.⁴⁷ The question of whether he also drafted the complex program for the four large wall paintings is still unresolved.⁴⁸ Though Füger refers to the commission in a letter of October 1781 to Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz, he does not mention any iconographic details.⁴⁹ However, his previous training with Oeser, who was deeply interested in the invention of modern allegories, seems to support the hypothesis of Füger’s decisive contribution to the iconographic program of the library.⁵⁰ Certainly Maria Carolina, a supporter of Freemasonry—Füger later became a Mason—took an active interest in the program, whose precise iconographical meaning remains unclear.⁵¹ *Revelation of Truth* (fig. 11) features several significant motifs from the symbolic language of Freemasonry.⁵² In the right-hand section of the picture can be distinguished the Muse Clio, indicating to the approaching figures of Marcus Aurelius, Epaminondas,



11. Friedrich Heinrich Füger, *Revelation of Truth*, 1782–1783, tempera and fresco

Palazzo Reale, Caserta, Biblioteca Palatina

Socrates, Homer, and Phidias the obelisk on which their names are inscribed. The two figures closing the group bear the idealized features of Mengs and of Raphael, whose likeness seems to have been borrowed from a portrait of the young painter who appears here in the role of a new Raphael. The pendant painting, the so-called *Parnassus*, depicts a procession of the Graces headed by Apollo and Abundance (fig. 12).⁵³ They are greeted by peasants, shepherds, fishermen, and mothers. This appears to be an allusion to the *topos* of the Golden Age. The two narrower wall paintings are devoted to allegories: *Poetic Inspiration* and *Rebirth of the Fine Arts* (figs. 13 and 14). Even though Füger's style was defined by French academic classicism,⁵⁴ the wall paintings in the Biblioteca Palatina at Caserta provide substantial evidence that he carefully scrutinized the paintings at Pompeii and Herculaneum. The friezelike disposition of the figures hugging the picture plane is reminiscent of Pompeian wall decorations such as the celebrated frieze in the Villa of the Mysteries, while the elongated forms of the faces and their exaggerated eye shapes also recall ancient models recorded in the *Antichità* (figs. 15 and 16). Furthermore, both the painting technique, a mixture of fresco and tempera, and the mon-

umental simplicity of the library's decorative scheme reflect Pompeian influences.⁵⁵ Having completed the library's decorations in 1783, Füger returned to Vienna, where a successful career as an academy instructor, history painter, and portraitist awaited him.⁵⁶ Wall painting played no role in his subsequent career, which might have taken quite a different turn if he had decided to remain in Naples.

The next German painter to settle in Naples was Jakob Philipp Hackert, who was appointed court painter in 1786.⁵⁷ On his previous visits in 1770, 1772, and 1774, he had discovered the Arcadian beauty of the Campania Felix, the epithet applied since antiquity to the province of Naples, and he had also discovered the marketability of paintings of the eruption of Vesuvius.⁵⁸ Hackert first came to the attention of Ferdinand IV in 1784, when the king ordered four gouache landscapes for his study in the palace at Caserta.⁵⁹ A commission for large oil paintings with views of the ports, the royal estates, and hunts followed. The artist's work for the court also included wall paintings at the Casino Reale in Cardillo and the hunting lodge at Fusaro as well as encaustic paintings for the Bagno di Maria Carolina in the Belvedere at San Leucio near Caserta in



12. Friedrich Heinrich Füger,
Parnassus, 1782–1783, tempera
and fresco
*Palazzo Reale, Caserta, Biblioteca
Palatina*

13. Friedrich Heinrich Füger,
Rebirth of the Fine Arts,
1782–1783, tempera and fresco
*Palazzo Reale, Caserta, Biblioteca
Palatina*



14. Friedrich Heinrich Füger, *Poetic Inspiration*, 1782–1783, tempera and fresco
 Palazzo Reale, Caserta, Biblioteca Palatina

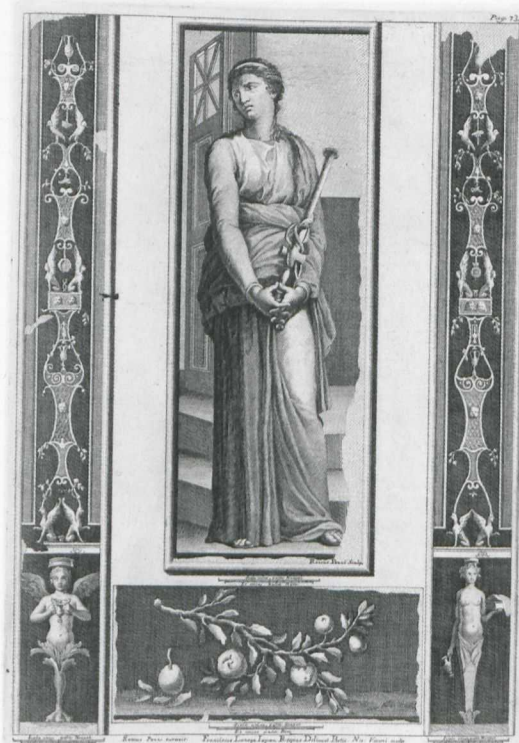
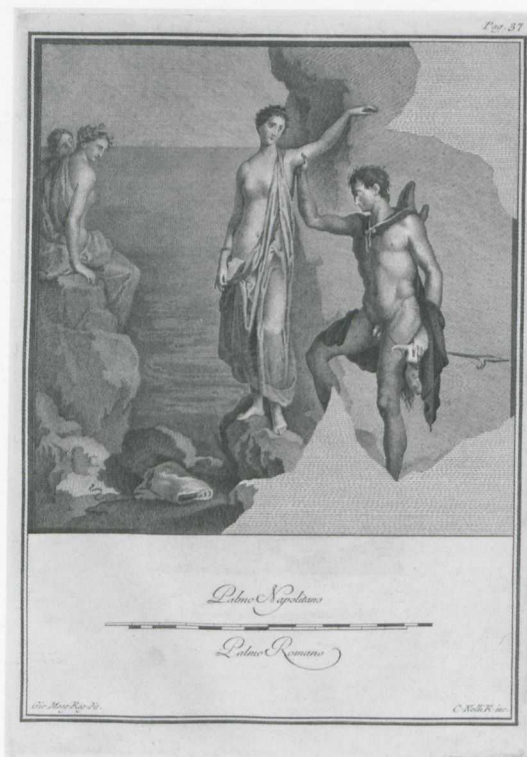


15. *Liberation of Andromeda*, engraving, *Le antichità di Ercolano esposte*, volume 4, *Le pitture antiche di Ercolano e contorni incisi con qualche spiegazione* (Naples, 1765), plate 7

National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, Mark J. Millard Architectural Collection

16. *Medea Meditating*, engraving, *Le antichità di Ercolano esposte*, volume 1, *Le pitture antiche di Ercolano e contorni incisi con qualche spiegazione* (Naples, 1757), plate 13

National Gallery of Art Library, Washington, Mark J. Millard Architectural Collection





17. Jakob Philipp Hackert, *The Great Theater of Pompeii*, gouache (tempera), 1793
Klassik Stiftung Weimar

1793 and for the Villa Favorita at Herculaneum.⁶⁰ In his compositions, Hackert fused the scenic beauty of Naples and its surroundings with an idealized image of tranquil country life. The shepherds and flocks of Campania and the picturesque ruins of the Vesuvian towns (fig. 17) became a projection space for an idyllic notion of the simplicity of Homer's and Virgil's worlds.⁶¹ Hackert also assumed the role of an artistic director for the Neapolitan court. In Friedrich Anders (or Andres), who had studied under Mengs in Rome, he recommended to the Neapolitan court an experienced restorer of ancient painting,⁶² and in 1787 it was Hackert who organized the transport of the Farnese collection of antiquities from Rome to Naples, which provided the main impetus for the creation of the Museo Nuovo dei Vecchi Studi, later called the Real Museo Borbonico and now the Museo Archeologico Nazionale.⁶³ Goethe, who had arrived in Naples in February of the same year, considered the painter "the driving force behind this enterprise."⁶⁴

At Hackert's instigation, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein, who had accompanied Goethe to Naples, was appointed director of the Accademia del Disegno in 1789. Since 1772, as part of its attempts to renew local painting, which was still caught in the wake of Solimena's influence, the Neapolitan court

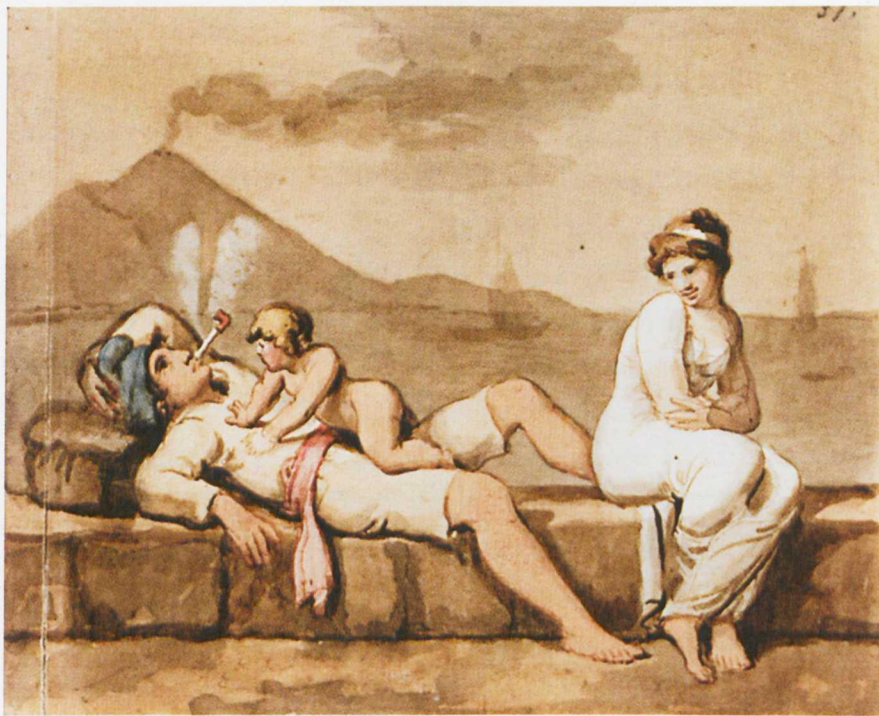
had been in protracted negotiations to entrust this task to foreign artists.⁶⁵ The first step was Tanucci's proposal to confide the reorganization of teaching to Mengs, who passed the winter of 1772/1773 in Naples.⁶⁶ To extend Mengs' stay, Ferdinand IV asked Charles III, in Madrid, then Mengs' employer, to give the German painter permission to do some work in the royal palace at Caserta.⁶⁷ Some years later the Neapolitan court offered Mengs the position of director of the academy, but, as Mengs' biographer Giuseppe Niccolo Azara recorded, the letter arrived just eight days after his death, in July 1779.⁶⁸ Although this first attempt failed, it may have been a factor in Ferdinand's appointment, ten years later, of another German as director of the Accademia del Disegno.

Implementing a syllabus based on academic principles, Tischbein labored for eleven years to renew Neapolitan art, with limited success. He adhered to the principles of academic neoclassicism, but it seems that he had less interest in promoting the study of the nude than Mengs, who was deeply convinced that this aspect of academic training was essential to the formation of an accomplished artist. Indeed, the surviving corpus of Tischbein's drawings includes no academic nudes.⁶⁹ In spite of his comprehensive academic knowledge and remarkable literary erudition, the artistic legacy of Tischbein's Neapolitan years was rather slim, especially in painting.⁷⁰ Some of his major works, such as *Goethe in the Campagna*, *Iphigenia and Orestes*, *Amazons Riding*, and *Castor and Pollux*, though completed in Naples, were conceived and begun when he was still in Rome.⁷¹ It seems indeed that his main activity during the Neapolitan period consisted in copying antique examples and in studying and sketching everyday life in Naples. The surviving drawings in Naples collections are, however, quite modest.⁷² Fleeing by boat, together with Hackert, before the French invasion of Naples in March 1799, he was forced to leave behind his collection of ancient vases—now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna⁷³—as well as his larger

18. Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein, *Iris Serving Hera*, c. 1800, graphite and watercolor
 Museumslandschaft Hessen, Kassel, Graphische Sammlung



19. Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein, *The Family of a Fisherman with Vesuvius in the Background*, before 1806, black chalk, pen and brown ink, and watercolor
 Reproduced from Christie's Inc., *Drawings by J. H. W. Tischbein* (New York, January 22, 2003), 123



canvases, the famous portrait of Goethe among them. It was only when Tischbein had reestablished himself in Germany that the impressions and materials gathered in Naples really bore fruit in his art, with far-reaching consequences.

From 1791 onward, Tischbein worked for Sir William Hamilton, the British envoy to Naples, creating drawings of his second collection of vases, which would be lost on the

way back to England.⁷⁴ According to Hamilton's instructions Tischbein's drawings should be limited to "simple outline of the figures without unnecessary ornaments or colouring" (fig. 18).⁷⁵ While Tischbein was still in Naples, the *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases* was published in four volumes containing 240 plates, together with iconographical descriptions, an enterprise which exerted considerable influence on neoclassical outline drawings all over Europe.⁷⁶ Independently of the Hamilton project and while still in Rome, Tischbein had begun already around 1787 to make drawings after vases, cameos, and other ancient pieces, which he was planning to publish as a Homeric picture book. After many difficulties and a great deal of wasted effort, his *Homer nach Antiken gezeichnet*, augmented by explanatory texts by Christian Gottlieb Heyne, was published in several installments and editions from 1801 to 1823. It was never completed, as Hildegard Wiegel has shown,⁷⁷ but in this book, both archaeological scholarship and the arts gained a highly useful reference work.

Although such reproductions were undoubtedly Tischbein's most influential contribution to the revival of antiquity, his eleven years in Naples were to produce another late but highly original result: his forty-four oil paintings in the series known as the *Idylls*, executed in Oldenburg in 1819–1820 but conceived in 1787 in collaboration with Goethe.⁷⁸ The two friends had envisaged a joint project, with Tischbein supplying the illustrations and Goethe the poetry. When the painter attempted to revive the scheme in 1821, he sent his watercolor sketches to the poet in Weimar. These and other sketches, such as those for the so-called *Sibylline Books*, bear witness to Tischbein's highly idiosyncratic reception of the art of the ancient Vesuvian towns.⁷⁹ The seemingly naive approach manifest in these vernacular scenes (fig. 19), staged with great simplicity and a minimum of figures, is in fact based on a detailed knowledge of the formal principles of ancient painting. Those that evoke a mythical world (fig. 20) employ the same stylistic and expressive means as the paintings

20. Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein, *The Cumaean Sybil in a Grotto with Vesuvius Erupting by Night*, before 1806, black chalk, pen and brown ink, and watercolor
 Reproduced from *Christie's Inc., Drawings by J. H. W. Tischbein* (New York, January 22, 2003), 131



21. Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein, *A Father and His Son on the Beach during the Eruption of Vesuvius*, 1794, black chalk, pen and gray ink, and watercolor with white heightening
 Klassik Stiftung Weimar



of quotidian Arcadia. Tischbein's reminiscences of the contemporary world of the south had been transfigured by the distance in years and latitudes in the same way as his view of the ancient world (fig. 21).

If the revival of antiquity on the Bay of Naples might be compared to a polyphonic chorus, German voices had a persistent part in it from 1760 to 1799, including major artists of two generations who promoted neo-classical ideals and principles all over Europe through the widespread reputation and distribution of their works from Dresden to Madrid or from Vienna to London and St. Petersburg. Dynastic relationships between the northern European courts and the court of Naples gave these artists the opportunities to become involved in the spreading influence of ancient art conceived as a new model for experiencing art within modern culture and everyday life. Their efforts in imitating antique models provided a long-lasting incentive for the promotion of "Pompeian taste" in the north.

NOTES

1. Christoph Rodiek, "Obelisk und Katafalk," in *Dresden und Spanien: Akten des Interdisziplinären Kolloquiums der Technischen Universität (TU) Dresden* [June 1998], ed. Christoph Rodiek (Frankfurt am Main, 2000), 25–39.
2. Fausto Zevi, "Gli scavi di Ercolano," in *Civiltà del '700 a Napoli, 1734–1799*, ed. Denise Maria Pagano and Mariella Utili, 2 vols. (Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples, 1980), 2:58–68; Max Kunze, "Zu Winckelmanns Schriften über Herkulaneum und Pompeji," in *Pompeji 79–1979*, ed. Max Kunze, *Schriften der Winckelmann-Gesellschaft*, vol. 11 (Stendal, 1982), 25–39. For Winckelmann's published letter and report, see Carol C. Mattusch, ed. and trans., *Johann Joachim Winckelmann: Letter and Report on the Discoveries at Herculaneum* (Los Angeles, 2011).
3. Alvar Gonzales Palacios, "Le arti decorative e l'arredamento alla corte di Napoli: 1734–1805" and "La Real Fabbrica della Porcellana a Napoli," in Pagano and Utili 1980, 2:76–95, 126; Steffi Roettgen, "I soggiorni di Anton Raphael Mengs a Napoli e a Madrid," in *Arti e civiltà del Settecento a Napoli*, ed. Cesare De Seta (Bari, 1982), 153–179.
4. Winckelmann to Hieronymus Dietrich Berendis, July 25, 1755; see Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Briefe*, 4 vols., ed. Walther Rehm, vol. 1, 1742–1759 (Berlin, 1952), 180 (114) (volume cited subsequently as *Briefe*, 1).
5. The dates of Winckelmann's four stays in Naples were February 23, 1758, to the end of April 1758; January 16 to February 18, 1762; February–March 1764; and September 19, 1767, to November 19, 1767. The best account of Winckelmann's life in Naples, his relations to the court of Naples, and the intellectual circles he frequented there is still Carl Justi, *Winckelmann und seine Zeitgenossen*, 3 vols. (1866–1872; 5th ed. Cologne, 1956); see 2:199–273.
6. Justi 1956, 2:216–219.
7. *Le antichità di Ercolano esposte*, vol. 1, *Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano e contorni incisi con qualche spiegazione* (Naples, 1757), pls. 8 and 9 (volume cited subsequently as *Antichità*, 1); Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, 9109, 9151.
8. Winckelmann to Anton Raphael Mengs, March 11, 1758, see *Briefe*, 1:336–339; see also Zevi 1980, 59.
9. Christian Michel, ed., *Le voyage d'Italie de Charles-Nicolas Cochin, 1758*, facsimile edition, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 145 (Rome, 1991); Charles-Nicolas Cochin and Jérôme Charles Bellicard, *Observations sur les antiquités de la ville d'Herculanum par messieurs Cochin le fils et Bellicard*, ed. Edith Flamarion and Catherine Volpilhac-Augier (Saint-Étienne, 1996); M. le comte de Caylus [Anne-Claude-Philippe de Tubières de Grimoard de Pestels de Levis] and M. [Michel-Joseph] Majault, *Mémoire sur la peinture à l'encaustique et sur la peinture à la cire* (1755), facsimile ed. (Puteaux, 1999). On the latter see Zevi 1980, 63–64; and Joachim Rees, *Die Kultur des Amateurs: Studien zu Leben und Werk von Anne Claude Philippe de Thubières, Comte de Caylus (1692–1765)* (Weimar, 2006).
10. Zevi 1980, 63.
11. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Sendschreiben von den Herculanischen Entdeckungen an den hochgebohrnen Herrn ... Heinrich Reichsgrafen von Brühl* (Dresden, 1762); Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Nachrichten von den neuesten Herculanischen Entdeckungen an den hochgebohrnen Heinrich Fuessli aus Zürich* (Dresden, 1764). See also Stephanie-Gerrit Bruer and Max Kunze, eds., *Herkulanische Schriften Winckelmanns*, vol. 2, parts 1 and 2 of *Schriften und Nachlaß / Johann Joachim Winckelmann* (Mainz, 1996) and Adolf H. Borbein and Max Kunze, eds., *Briefe, Entwürfe und Rezensionen zu den Herculanischen Schriften*, vol. 2, part 3 of *Schriften und Nachlaß / Johann Joachim Winckelmann* (Mainz, 2001). English translation: Carol C. Mattusch, trans. and ed., *Johann Joachim Winckelmann: Letter and Report on the Discoveries at Herculaneum* (Los Angeles, 2011).
12. Zevi 1980, 68.
13. Steffi Roettgen, *Anton Raphael Mengs, 1728–1779*, vol. 1, *Das malerische und zeichnerische Werk* (Munich, 1999), 200–202 (cats. 132, 134).
14. Winckelmann to Berendis, December 12, 1759, in *Briefe*, 1:58.
15. Though the engraving by Boëtius is inscribed *Joannes Winckelmann del.*, the drawing was made by Mengs, according to two letters of Winckelmann dated October 16, 1762: *Briefe*, ed. Walther Rehm, vol. 2, 1759–1763 (Berlin, 1954), 265, as well as August 12, 1763, 337 (volume cited subsequently as *Briefe*, 2); see also Roettgen 1999, 471–472 (Z 138). The reason for this omission was probably Mengs' concern at being named the author of a forbidden copy.
16. Berardo Galiani, ed., *L'architettura di M. Vitruvio Pollione* (Naples, 1758) (Latin and Italian).
17. Winckelmann to Mengs, March 11, 1758, in *Briefe*, 1:337.
18. Roettgen 1999, 157–161 (cat. 105); see color plate in Steffi Roettgen, ed., *Mengs: La scoperta del neoclassico* (Fondazione Palazzo Zabarella, Padua; Venice, 2001), 270.
19. Roettgen 1999, 397–403 (cat. 304), see color plate 15.
20. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, 9008.
21. Roettgen 1999, 164–167 (no. 108), color plate 7.
22. Steffi Roettgen, "Storia di un falso: Il Ganimede di Mengs," *L'arte illustrata* 54 (1973): 256–270.
23. Winckelmann to Johannes Wiedewelt, December 9, 1760, in *Briefe*, 2:107 (377); see also Roettgen 1973, 267.
24. In his letter to Mengs, dated Portici, March 11, 1758, largely devoted to the characteristics of some paintings from Herculaneum such as *Chiron and Achilles* and *Marsyas and Olympus*, Winckelmann observes: "Ma quello che non si può capire, è che le figure, le quali

- fanno l'ombra in giù, cioè i piedi, non fanno ombra sul campo della pittura." (*Briefe*, 1:206, 338.)
25. *Antichità*, 1, pl. 9, and Roettgen 1973, 263 (fig. 8).
26. The ancient wall painting (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, 9180) is reproduced in *Le antichità di Ercolano esposte*, vol. 2, *Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano e contorni incisi con qualche spiegazione* (Naples, 1760), pl. 7 (volume cited subsequently as *Antichità*, 2). See figs. 16 and 17 in the essay by Nancy Ramage in this volume.
27. Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "Love Fleeing Slavery: A Sketch in the Princeton University Museum," *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University* 65 (2006–2007): 12–21.
28. Helmut Swozilek, ed., *Memorie storiche di Maria Angelica Kauffmann Zucchi riguardanti l'arte della pittura da lei professata scritte da G. C. Z. [Giuseppe Carlo Zucchi] Venezia MDCCCLXXXVIII* (Bregenz, 1999), 47–48.
29. The Collection of Wrotham Park, Hertfordshire, reproduced as a color plate in Wendy Wassyng Roworth, *Angelica Kauffmann: A Continental Artist in Georgian England* (The Royal Pavilion, Brighton; London, 1992), fig. 10.
30. *Antichità*, 2, pl. 8.
31. Roworth 1992, 20–21.
32. See Bettina Baumgärtel, ed., *Angelika Kauffmann 1741–1807: "Eine Dichterin mit dem Pinsel"* (Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf; Ostfildern, 1998), 414.
33. Roworth 1992, 33–36, color plates in Baumgärtel 1998, nos. 26, 27.
34. Baumgärtel 1998, no. 15.
35. The portrait of Winckelmann is signed and dated 1764 (color plate in Baumgärtel 1998, cat. 21); see also Winckelmann to Heinrich Füssli [Henry Fuseli], July 13, 1764; see *Briefe*, ed. Walther Rehm, vol. 3, 1764–1768 (Berlin, 1956), 47–48 (volume cited subsequently as *Briefe*, 3).
36. Baumgärtel 1998, no. 25, 134.
37. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, English translation, *History of the Art of Antiquity*, trans. Harry Francis Mallgrave (Los Angeles, 2006), 351.
38. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, 9047.
39. Winckelmann to August Hermann Francke, August 18, 1764; see *Briefe*, 3:54–55.
40. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, "Von der Grazie in den Werken der Kunst," in *Kleine Schriften, Vorreden, Entwürfe*, ed. Walther Rehm (Berlin, 1968), 158.
41. Baumgärtel 1998, 129.
42. Baumgärtel 1998, 33, 276–285.
43. See Goethe's comment in the diary of his Italian journey (February 25, 1787): "Der König ist auf der Jagd, die Königin guter Hoffnung, so kann's nicht besser gehen" (The king is off hunting, the queen is expecting; things couldn't be better). *Italienische Reise*, in *Goethes Werke: Autobiographische Schriften*, vol. 3, ed. Herbert von Einem and Erich Trunz (Munich, 1974), 184.
44. "Vous n'oublieriez jamais d'être née Allemande" (Alfred von Arneth, *Geschichte Maria Theresia's* [Vienna, 1863–1879], 7:552); Giuseppe de Nitto, *Biblioteca Palatina, Palazzo Reale, Caserta* (Rome, 1994); and Gian Marco Jacobitti and Anna Maria Romano, *Il Palazzo Reale di Caserta* (Naples, 1994), 66–70.
45. Fernando Mazzocca, "Il Regno di Napoli: La corte," and Enrico Colle, "Il Regno di Napoli: Decorazioni d'interni e manifatture," in *Il Neoclassicismo in Italia: Da Tiepolo a Canova*, ed. Francesco Mazzocca et al. (Palazzo Reale, Milan, 2002), 241–250.
46. Michael Wenzel, *Adam Friedrich Oeser: Theorie und Praxis in der Kunst zwischen Aufklärung und Klassizismus* (Weimar, 1999); Justi 1956, 1:397–408.
47. Annalisa Porzio, "Gli affreschi di Füger nella Biblioteca Reale di Caserta," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Raffaello Causa*, ed. Pierluigi Leone de Castris (Naples, 1988), 343–349. On the expenses, see Robert Keil, *Heinrich Friedrich Füger, 1751–1818: Nur wenigen ist es vergönnt das Licht der Wahrheit zu sehen* (Vienna, 2009), 52–53.
48. Pancheri proposed recently the name of Johann Melchior Edler von Birkenstock, friend of Füger and later his brother Mason in Vienna; see Roberto Pancheri, "Heinrich Füger in Italia," in *Casa di Re: La Reggia di Caserta fra storia e tutela*, ed. Rosanna Cioffi and Giovanna Petrenga (Milan, 2005), 35–42.
49. Eduard Leisching, *Die Bildnis-Miniatur in Oesterreich von 1750 bis 1850* (Vienna, 1907), 270.
50. Keil 2009, 56.
51. Keil 2009, 52–59, 228–230.
52. Rosanna Cioffi Martinelli, *La Cappella Sansevero: Arte barocca e ideologia massonica* (Salerno, 1987), 116–120. Pancheri indicates as a possible reference also the frontispiece of Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, engraved after a drawing by Charles-Nicolas Cochin le jeune and published in 1771 (Pancheri, 2005, 38). The four wall paintings are reproduced in color in Keil 2009, pls. 10–13.
53. This painting bears the signature of the artist and the date 1782; see Keil 2009, 54.
54. Keil 2009, 50.
55. Illustration in Cioffi 1987, 344.
56. In 1790 he painted a portrait of the Marchese di Gallo, then ambassador of the Bourbon court at Vienna; see Roberto Pancheri in Mazzocca et al. 2002, 485–486.
57. Bettina Werche, "Jakob Philipp Hackert als königlicher Hofmaler in Neapel und Caserta (1782–1799)," in *Jakob Philipp Hackert: Europas Landschaftsmaler der Goethezeit* (Klassik Stiftung Weimar; Ostfildern, 2008), 183–221 (volume cited subsequently as *Klassik Stiftung Weimar* 2008).
58. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia ovvero descrizione di diverse imagini cavate dall'antichità, e di propria invenzione*, ed.

- Erna Mandowsky (Hildesheim, 1970), 260–263; Jörg Trempler, “Gegen-Arkadien: Zu Hackerts Vesuvbildern,” in *Europa Arkadien: Jakob Philipp Hackert und die Imagination Europas um 1800*, ed. Andreas Beyer et al. (Göttingen, 2008), 164–185.
59. Paolo Chiarini, ed., *Il paesaggio secondo natura: Jacob Philipp Hackert e la sua cerchia* (Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome, 1994), 175–176; see also various essays in Cesare De Seta, ed., *Jacob Philipp Hackert: La linea analitica della pittura di paesaggio in Europa* (Palazzo Reale, Caserta; Naples, 2007).
60. Sergio Attanasio, “Villa Favorita ad Ercolano e la serie dei porti del Regno,” in De Seta 2007, 131–138.
61. Andreas Stolzenburg, “Die archäologische Landschaft: Jakob Philipp Hackerts Reise nach Paestum und Sizilien im Jahr 1777 und die Ausgrabungen in Pompeji,” in *Klassik Stiftung Weimar* 2008, 33–43; Achatz von Müller, “Erinnerung, Idyll, Konflikt, Utopie,” in Beyer et al. 2008, 363–372.
62. Goethe, diary, March 15, 1787; see von Einem and Trunz 1974, 207. For practices of restoration of ancient painting in Naples see Agnes Allroggen-Bedel, “Tanti bei quadri per la Galleria del Re’: Restaurierung und Präsentation antiker Wandmalereien im 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Winckelmann-Gesellschaft, Wiedererstandene Antike: Ergänzungen antiker Kunstwerke seit der Renaissance*, ed. Max Kunze and Axel Rügler (Munich, 2003), 95–112.
63. Federico Rausa, “Quattro secoli di storia di una collezione tra Roma e Napoli,” in *La collezione Farnese*, ed. Carlo Gasparri (Naples, 2009), 13–23.
64. Goethe, diary, Rome, June 20, 1787; see von Einem and Trunz 1974, 352.
65. Rosanna Cioffi, “Dall’Arcadia di Solimena all’Accademia di Tischbein,” in *Roma, “Il tempio del vero gusto”: La pittura del Settecento romano e la sua diffusione a Venezia e a Napoli*, ed. Enzo Borsellino and Vittorio Casale (Florence, 2001), 297–305.
66. Angelo Borzelli, “L’Accademia del Disegno a Napoli nella seconda metà del secolo XVIII,” in *Napoli nobilissima* 9, fasc. 5 (1900): 71–76; C. Lorenzetti, *L’Accademia di Belle Arti a Napoli* (Naples, 1952); Steffi Roettgen, *Anton Raphael Mengs, 1728–1779*, vol. 2, *Leben und Wirken* (Munich, 2003), 328.
67. Mengs to an unknown recipient, March 1, 1773, in Roettgen 2003, 547.
68. Giuseppe Niccola d’Azara, “Memorie concernenti la vita di Antonio Raffaello Mengs,” in *Opere di Antonio Raffaello Mengs, primo pittore del Re cattolico Carlo III*, ed. Giuseppe Niccola d’Azara and Carlo Fea (Rome, 1787), xxxvii.
69. As far as I know none of his nude or drapery studies from the Naples academy have survived.
70. Jörg Deuter, “In Neapel habe ich gute Hoffnung für die Kunst’: Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbeins Neapolitaner Zeit (1787–1799) zwischen Antikenbegeisterung und Kunstindustrie,” in *Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein (1751–1829): Das Werk des Goethe-Malers zwischen Kunst, Wissenschaft und Alltagskultur*, ed. Arnd Friedrich (Petersberg, 2001), 119–133; 3 x *Tischbein und die europäische Malerei um 1800* (Staatliche Museen Kassel; Munich, 2005) (volume cited subsequently as *Staatliche Museen Kassel* 2005).
71. *Staatliche Museen Kassel* 2005, nos. 30, 31, 32, and 76.
72. Marina Causa Picone, “Goethe e i suoi interlocutori,” in *Goethe e i suoi interlocutori*, ed. Annalisa Porzio and Marina Causa Picone (Palazzo Reale, Naples, 1983), 106–313. A large number of drawings in public and private Neapolitan collections published in this catalogue and attributed to Tischbein do not stand up to a critical revision and evaluation of his authorship.
73. Alfred-Bernhard Walcher, “Die Wiener Vasensammlung,” in *Antike Welten: Meisterwerke griechischer Malerei aus dem Kunsthistorischen Museum Wien*, ed. Meinrad Maria Grewenig (Historisches Museum der Pfalz, Speyer, 1997), 21–25.
74. Carlo Knight, *Hamilton a Napoli: Cultura, svaghi, civiltà di una grande capitale europea* (Naples, 2003).
75. Hildegard Wiegel, “Johann Heinrich Tischbein (1751–1829): Vasenwerk,” in *Staatliche Museen Kassel* 2005, 140–147.
76. *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases Mostly of Pure Greek Workmanship Discovered in Sepulchres in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies but Chiefly in the Neighbourhood of Naples ...* (Naples, 1791). Volumes 2–4 appeared in 1795. See Wiegel 2005, 142. On its influence on drawing, see Werner Busch, “Die Neudefinition der Umrißzeichnung in Rom am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts,” in *Zeichnen in Rom 1790–1830*, ed. Margret Stufmann and Werner Busch, *Kunstwissenschaftliche Bibliothek* 19 (Cologne, 2001), 11–44.
77. Wiegel 2005, 143–144.
78. Peter Reindl, ed., *Das Homer-Zimmer für den Herzog von Oldenburg: Ein klassizistisches Bildprogramm des “Goethe-Tischbein”* (Landesmuseum, Oldenburg, 1994); Margret Elisabeth Burscheidt, “Vergegenwärtigung der Antike in Wilhelm Tischbeins Idyllenzyklus,” in *Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein: Goethes Maler und Freund*, ed. Hermann Mildnerberger (Landesmuseum, Oldenburg; Neumünster, 1986), 101–110; *Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein: Aquarelle, Gouachen und Zeichnungen*, ed. Hermann Mildnerberger, *Patrimonia* 274 (Schloßmuseum, Weimar, 2006).
79. Mildnerberger 2006, 29–32.