FOR JULIE JONES

A meticulous and probing reader who significantly broadened the Journal’s scope

FOR BRUCE CAMPBELL

An exceptional designer who lavished his talents on this publication
Contents

Adam by Tullio Lombardo

Adam by Tullio Lombardo
Luke Syson and Valeria Cafà

Ancient Sources for Tullio Lombardo’s Adam
Valeria Cafà

The Treatment of Tullio Lombardo’s Adam: A New Approach to the Conservation of Monumental Marble Sculpture
Carolyn Riccardelli, Jack Soultanian, Michael Morris, Lawrence Becker, George Wheeler, and Ronald Street

A New Analysis of Major Greek Sculptures in the Metropolitan Museum: Petrological and Stylistic
Lorenzo Lazzarini and Clemente Marconi

Hellenistic Etruscan Cremation Urns from Chiusi
Theresa Huntsman

Redeeming Pieter Coecke van Aelst’s Gluttony Tapestry: Learning from Scientific Analysis
Federico Carò, Giulia Chiostrini, Elizabeth Cleland, and Nobuko Shibayama

Trade Stories: Chinese Export Embroideries in the Metropolitan Museum
Masako Yoshida

A Greek Inscription in a Portrait by Salvator Rosa
Michael Zellmann-Rohrer

Honoré de Balzac and Natoire’s The Expulsion from Paradise
Carol Santoleri

Another Brother for Goya’s “Red Boy”: Agustín Esteve’s Portrait of Francisco Xavier Osorio, Conde de Trastámara
Xavier F. Salomon

Nature as Ideal: Drawings by Joseph Anton Koch and Johann Christian Reinhart
Cornelia Reiter

A Buddhist Source for a Stoneware “Basket” Designed by Georges Hoentschel
Denise Patry Leidy
Manuscript Guidelines for the Metropolitan Museum Journal

The Metropolitan Museum Journal is issued annually by The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Its purpose is to publish original research on works in the Museum’s collection. Articles are contributed by members of the Museum staff and other art historians and specialists. Submissions should be emailed to: journalsubmissions@metmuseum.org.

Manuscripts are reviewed by the Journal Editorial Board, composed of members of the curatorial, conservation, and scientific departments. To be considered for the following year’s volume, an article must be submitted, complete including illustrations, by October 15. Once an article is accepted for publication, the author will have the opportunity to review it after it has been edited and again after it has been laid out in pages. The honorarium for image costs is $300, and each author receives a copy of the Journal volume in which his or her article appears.

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ABBREVIATIONS

MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin
MMJ Metropolitan Museum Journal

Height precedes width and depth in dimensions cited.
Over the last ten years, The Metropolitan Museum of Art has acquired a substantial and representative collection of works by the circle of German and Austrian artists living in Rome about 1800, most notably Joseph Anton Koch (1768 – 1839) and Johann Christian Reinhart (1761 – 1847). Both artists devoted themselves to landscapes in a Neoclassical style that picture an idealized nature as a reflection of a higher spirituality. They held a key position in the revival of landscape painting and drawing about 1800—not only in the rich painted and graphic oeuvre they left behind but also in their personal influence as critical guides to the events in the art world unfolding around them. They functioned as promoters of the next generation of artists, for whom the ideal classicism of Koch and Reinhart served as a starting point for the development of a genuine Romantic conception of landscape.

The graphic work of the Tirol native Joseph Anton Koch from different periods and in various genres is particularly well represented in the Museum’s collection. He was unquestionably one of the most important practitioners of Neoclassical landscape painting and drawing. The son of a landless laborer in the Lechtal in Tirol (Austria), Koch received decisive assistance from the bishop of Augsburg, who, after being apprised of the boy’s early demonstration of a talent for drawing, made it possible for him to receive proper artistic training. During his years at the Hohe Karlsschule in Stuttgart from 1785 to 1791, Koch was stirred by the ideas of the French Revolution. Rejecting the restrictive and outmoded teaching methods, he left the school in 1791 for Strasbourg. There he first moved in Jacobin circles but soon distanced himself from them and set out on travels through Switzerland, where, over several years, he produced a large number of landscape studies from nature that served as a reservoir of motifs for his later works. After going to Italy and briefly staying in Naples, he settled in Rome in 1795, where he received his mail at the Antico Caffè Greco in the Strada Condotti. There he joined the circle around Johann Christian Reinhart, the Danish-German painter Asmus Jakob Carstens (1754–1788), and the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844). He spent the greater part of his life in Rome, where, with his pronounced, outgoing personality, he became the center of the German artists’ colony. Something of that personality is expressed in an outstanding portrait of Koch by the Swiss artist and sometime coworker in Koch’s atelier Hieronymus Hess (1799 – 1850), which is now also in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 1).

Koch, born in 1768—as is noted on the drawing—belonged to a generation that chose to ennoble the empirical image of nature with idealized compositions and the incorporation of narratives, generally drawn from classical mythology.

The first of his works to be discussed here is a gouache of a southern coastal landscape that is impressive for its large size and ambitious staffage (Figure 2). The landscape represents—in idealized form—the town of Vietri sul Mare, on the Gulf of Salerno, south of Naples. This sheet clearly reproduces the view, executed from nature, that is now in the Kupferstichkabinett of the Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien in Vienna (Figure 3). The Viennese drawing made on site and the idealized New York view are immediate reflections of Koch’s response to the magnificent coastal landscape south of Naples. Its lush vegetation and classic blocklike architecture already presented a consummate harmony that was suited to Koch’s purposes. He rightly saw this stretch of coastline as the perfect incarnation of Nicolas Poussin’s (1594–1665) artistic ideal, one to which he subscribed and hoped to revive informed by his own vision.

In its essentials the drawing in the Metropolitan follows the composition of the 1795 study: the trees as a repoussoir on the left; on the right, a towering mountain peak; and particularly the idealized, geometric southern architecture in the middle ground. The sheet is inscribed in pen and brown ink at the bottom left of the mount—doubtless with an eye to a

In its imposing format and detailed execution, the New York sheet must surely be considered a final work. It captivates the viewer with its effective coloring, in part a pastose application of watercolor, especially evident in the atmospheric light of the sunset. The unpeopled landscape in Vienna has here been enlivened with a richly evocative staffage that primarily occupies the foreground. On the left three women dancing the tarantella are caught in graceful movements—an obvious allusion to the classical motif of the Three Graces. They are flanked by shepherds in contemplative poses who are following their performance. The group of musicians behind them appears considerably smaller and plays only a subordinate role. The bacchanalian *vita activa* of the southern natives is juxtaposed to the *vita contemplativa* represented by the pair of monks walking on a stone road on the right. The radiant youth of the dancing figures contrasts on numerous levels with the advanced age of the reflective monks. With these figural additions Koch elevated this stretch of coastline to an ideal, symbolic plane, forming in the interplay of human figures, inventively designed architecture, and natural spaces an almost cosmic-seeming image of earthly life.

Koch—along with Reinhart and Jacob Wilhelm Mechau (1745–1808)—is rightly considered one of the discoverers of the untouched villages outside Rome in the Sabine and Alban Hills, which he explored from the beginning of the century together with his artist colleagues on numerous art treks. The harmonious hill formations in Rome’s environs were for Koch, who was concerned most of all with creating a clearly structured landscape space in his pictures, a virtually ideal source of motifs.

These hills, the central feature of Koch’s landscape art, can also be seen in an outstanding work owned by the Metropolitan Museum. This pen drawing was once thought to be a view of the hill town Paliano, south of Olevano, but has now been identified, based on the unique silhouette of the tower that surmounts the hill, as Civitella (present-day Bellegra) (Figure 4). As is so often the case in Koch’s work, there exists a number of other versions of the motif: three oil paintings—one in Erfurt, one in Vienna’s Belvedere (Figure 5), and a third in a Vorarlberg private collection—as well as several drawings, including the preliminary drawing for the oil paintings, already squared off, in the Kupferstichkabinett, Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien, Vienna. According to Christian von Holst, the New York drawing is probably identical to the sheet mentioned in Otto R. von Lutterotti’s monograph on the artist as *Landscape between the Volscian and Alban Hills.* This drawing might be a more finished repetition of the composition after at least one of the paintings was completed. It is remarkable for the freedom of its pen lines, which again and again achieve a great density in the internal forms, mainly through hatching. The drawing’s elements of close hatchings recall those found in Koch’s series of twenty etchings, *Vedute Romane,* published in 1810 (see Figure 7). The considerable vitality of the drawing, which spreads across the surface of the paper like a pattern, identifies this sheet as a fully finished work of art destined for sale.

Yet another sheet in the Metropolitan is also directly related—this time in terms of motif—to Koch’s etchings of Roman views. The detailed drawing of the ruins of the emperors’ palaces on the Palatine Hill in Rome (Figure 6), squared in graphite for transfer to another format, essentially corresponds to the motifs depicted in number 18 of the series (Figure 7). There, by showing the ruins of the imperial palaces, Koch devoted himself to an emblem of ancient Rome. The New York drawing agrees in detailed motifs to the etching of the same name, but in a considerably larger format. Possibly Koch captured all the particulars of the view in this enlarged version so as then to be able to transfer them—with the aid of the grid of squares—to the smaller etching. In any case, the drawing’s perfection is striking, especially in its massive substructures that seem almost geometrical in their regularity. Koch included an imposing view of the Baths of Maxentius, the Baths of Severus, and, in the distance in the middle, the Torre della Milizie standing in front of the Forum of Trajan. On the right, one recognizes the tall campanile of...

Santa Francesca Romana. In front of it are the four arches of the Aqua Claudia, and, behind them, very small, the Arch of Constantine. The Capitol is visible in the background on the left. The detailed staffage in the foreground of the New York drawing features idyllic, carefree rural life—a wayfarer with a dog, a woman with a child, and, on the right, a group of musicians and a woman dancing.

The Vedute Romane were produced mainly for financial reasons. Prints were, on the one hand, a medium in which an artist might formulate his ideas independent of commissions, and, on the other—thanks to the ease with which they could be reproduced—offered the potential for highly lucrative sales of large editions.

Koch must have considered the series a success, since again and again he referred back to its landscape prospects, especially in later paintings. This was typical of him, for he frequently resorted to compositions that he had once worked out to his satisfaction and employed them in new contexts. Koch also used the motif of print number 18 in his series Vedute Romane (Figure 7) in a watercolor in Dessau, View from Santa Balbina of the Ruins of the Palaces of the Caesars in Rome, a pendant to the watercolor in Frankfurt-am-Main, View from the Monastery San Isidoro of Saint Peter’s in Rome.


A fourth drawing by Koch in the Metropolitan Museum is related to an extensive decorative commission. *The March of Silenus* (Figure 8) can clearly be associated with Koch’s designs for the Roman House in Leipzig of the publisher Hermann Härtel. Härtel sojourned in Rome from 1829 to 1831 and, impressed by the Nazarene frescoes in the Casa Bartholdi and the Casino Massimo, planned to have his new garden pavilion, erected in the years 1832 to 1834, decorated with wall paintings by German artists. In late 1832 the commission was awarded to three artists of similar sensibilities: Bonaventura Genelli (1798–1868), Friedrich Preller (1804–1878), and Koch. Koch and Genelli knew each other during the time Genelli was in Rome, from 1822 to 1832. Koch was obliged to deliver only preliminary drawings for his contributions; it was planned that Preller would execute them.

From surviving correspondence between Koch and Genelli in which the subjects were coordinated, we learn that Koch was highly delighted with the commission. The last stage in his preparations were seven watercolors of historical-mythological landscapes that have been lost since World War II. Koch had followed the advice of his friend Genelli in his selection of subjects: Apollo among the Shepherds, the Abduction of Hylas, Diana and Actaeon, Silenus and His Followers, the Death of Orpheus, Nessus’s Rape of Deianira, and Chiron Teaching Achilles to Play the Lyre. They were largely themes from Greek mythology in which landscape played a considerable role.

*The March of Silenus* closely resembles a drawing of the same subject in Vienna (Figure 9) and probably represents a later repetition of it. Both drawings most likely repeat the watercolor made in 1832–33 for Härtel’s Roman House. The Vienna drawing is sketchier, especially in the graphite underdrawing that is still working out the composition, whereas the New York sheet can essentially be seen as a fair drawing. In Greek and Roman mythology, sileni, frequently surrounded by maenads, were hybrid creatures, half man and half horse, that were members of the retinue of Dionysus. They stand for unbridled lust and are often pictured, as here, as old men in a state of intoxication. Koch, himself already an old man, reverted to existing compositions, above all in the figural staffage as well as in the landscape surroundings that characterize the compositions. His designs, like Genelli’s, were never realized as wall paintings.

Finally, there is one work in the Metropolitan Museum’s collection that has nothing to do with Koch’s familiar graphic oeuvre with its emphasis on landscape. It is a calendar (Figure 10) that was probably executed as an occasional piece, possibly a present to an artist colleague. The signature on the right side, *I.K./inv.: 1822*, clearly dates the sheet to 1822. Also inscribed on the sheet in the small circular fields are the numbers 28, 30, and 31, and, in an
elongated oval at the bottom edge, the initials of the German names for the days of the week. Beneath these is a silk ribbon threaded through the sheet from the back with the numbers 1 to 31; the ribbon can be shifted so that the numbers accord with their appropriate weekday. The somewhat schematic quality of the figural depictions is probably a reflection of Koch’s inexperience with such subjects and genres. The interest of this calendar sheet lies mostly in its complex and highly associative iconography, which can be briefly sketched as follows. In the center, the mythical figure of Cybele, wearing a crown representing a city wall, is seated on a lion throne. A universal female deity like the late Egyptian Isis, Cybele ruled as mistress of the four elements, who are depicted beneath her. The female figure in the light blue garment on the left and holding a jar represents Water. Next to her kneels a figure in green with a bared bosom, representing Earth. To the right of Earth an allegory of Fire dressed in red points upward. Closing the composition on the right side, a draped Hermes figure hovers as an allegory of Air. The figure of Air follows earlier depictions of Hermes, for example, the sculpture by Giambologna (1529–1608) now in the Louvre, whereas the remaining allegories are free variations on traditional iconography. Arching over this allegorical scene is a cosmic rainbow, in the spandrels of which crouch angelic figures of Day and Night.

The Four Seasons are pictured in the corners, beginning in the lower left with Spring dancing with a floral garland, followed counterclockwise on the lower right by Summer, with reference to its harvest of grain. Fall is pictured in the upper right with baskets overflowing with fruits, and in the upper left is a personification of Winter leaning against an anchor in an antique pose. Once again Koch was borrowing from traditional, easily understood pictorial images in many cases drawn from prints; here, stylistic features suggest his sources were prints from the sixteenth century. In the lozenges bordering the central panel, three on each side, are the months with their specific activities. The ornament that separates the lozenges could be interpreted as a power symbol like a bundle of lightning bolts. Number symbolism appears to play an important role. Particularly in the frame, the numbers three and four predominate; the latter reflects the cosmic principle, whereas the triad symbolizes the Trinity. The principle of the divine is also addressed in the lunette at the top, in which the kneeling angels adore a burst of light, a design that shows Koch to have been influenced by Philipp Otto Runge’s (1777–1810) series of
the Seasons.\textsuperscript{37} The highly allusive iconography was doubtless meant to underscore the notion of cyclical return, and in its mythical-religious allusions it represents a perpetual calendar with any number of references and associations condensed within it.

In 2008 the Metropolitan Museum acquired one of Koch’s major paintings, \textit{Heroic Landscape with Rainbow} (Figure 11). It occupies a key position in his oeuvre and is a composition that he executed in several versions; the Museum’s painting is the fourth. According to a handwritten label glued on the back, it was purchased directly from the artist by Gustav Parthey in December 1824, the year it was painted.\textsuperscript{38} The monumental version of this picture, developed over a long period and finalized only in 1815, is owned by the Neue Pinakothek in Munich.\textsuperscript{39} The original version from 1805, sketchier, more pastose, is preserved in the Kunsthalle in Karlsruhe.\textsuperscript{40} A simplified replica is in a German private collection.\textsuperscript{41}

The impressive subject, one of the artist’s most original compositions, ultimately looks back to the view of Vietri sul Mare in Vienna (Figure 3) and the large drawing in New York (Figure 2). The view of Vietri is rightly considered to be the origin of his “heroic” landscape. In a letter to Robert von Langer, professor at the academy in Munich, the artist said as much: “It is a region that appears the way one imagines Greece to be. I took the motif from the beautiful region near Salerno on the way to Paestum, with ancient cities on hills in the remarkable light. One also sees the sea with shadowy blue mountains in the distance.”\textsuperscript{42}

It is possible, even with the naked eye, to see detailed underdrawing in spots, the extent and significance of which are fully revealed only by infrared reflectography (see Figure 12).\textsuperscript{43} Such images have for the first time shown how carefully Koch prepared all the details of a composition, even in later versions of an already established pictorial conception. As yet his practice of producing such careful drawings directly on the picture support has not been extensively studied.\textsuperscript{44} In the detail of its preliminary drawing, the Metropolitan Museum’s painting is apparently unusual, for infrared photos of the Karlsruhe and Munich versions do not reveal anything like the same preparation.\textsuperscript{45} The New York underdrawing lends support to the widely accepted appraisal of Koch as first and foremost a draftsman, one whose greatest achievements were in the medium of drawing. This is also indicated by the preponderance of drawings in his total output.\textsuperscript{46} The style of the New York underdrawing and its use of both chalk and wash exhibit Koch’s typical and essentially consistent way of drawing. In other words, through his draftsmanship, Koch had the ability simultaneously to elevate and ennoble the direct impression of nature. In its character and specific execution, it is especially close to the studies in Koch’s sketchbooks, in which he captured landscapes, figures, plants, animals, and so forth directly from nature.

The underdrawing establishes both the overall composition of the painting and all its details. The painting diverges from it only slightly; for example, not all of the sailboats in the left background were taken over into the painting. Beginning in the top left corner, numbers are written along the edges of the canvas, which doubtless stood in for the squaring; that is missing on the underdrawing.\textsuperscript{47} The horizontal edges are numbered from left to right, the vertical ones from top to bottom. In the rational construction of Koch’s composition, we can see even more clearly than in the finished painting the degree of calculation that went into his pictorial inventions. The suggestion of segments of a circle in the bottom corners is like a distant echo of the arc of the rainbow mirrored in the water in the right middle ground. It is above all the artist’s painstaking consideration of form and proportion that gives his picture a distinct aura of the sublime. Evidence of this is visible along the right edge, where small strokes mark the relative proportions of the elongated leaves grouped into individual decorative palmette formations.
The plants in the foreground are described in detail, each leaf precisely rendered (Figure 13), and recall the painstaking plant studies in Koch’s sketchbooks (Figure 14), the most direct evidence of his great skill in drawing and composition allied to his unique design sense. In many of the sketchbook studies, colors and even the names of species are carefully noted. Like the oil painting’s underdrawing, Koch’s sketchbooks document the artist’s characteristic additive concept of art, one that led him to combine with great deliberation separate elements of landscape, mainly based on direct observation, in such a way as to create a vision of a higher order. Microcosm and macrocosm are blended into an idealized image of
humankind in harmony with nature, in the painting bracketed and underscored by the double rainbow that arcs across the entire composition. Again and again one sees in the sketchbooks close-up studies of rock formations, some of which appear in the foreground of this painting, evidence of Koch's considerable interest in geology, even geognosy. He was particularly attuned to the morphology of a given landscape, concerned to discover the forces that shaped it and the composition of its underlying strata.¹ Thanks to techniques that now allow us to discover underdrawing and analyze it in great detail, such drawings as those in Koch's sketchbooks can significantly expand a museum's graphic holdings.

The Metropolitan Museum also has some works by Koch's close friend and colleague Johann Christian Reinhart that illustrate various facets of his art. Reinhart, about seven
years older than Koch, also belonged to the artistic and social hub of the German artists’ colony resident in Rome. Born in Hof, in Bavaria, as the second son of a Protestant minister, Reinhart, after initial studies in theology in Leipzig, received his artistic training with Friedrich Oeser (1751–1792), an exponent of early academic classicism. In 1785 he met Friedrich Schiller, which led to a lively exchange of ideas, especially beginning in 1801 until Schiller’s early death in 1805. Already in 1789 Rinehart was settled in Rome, where he lived until his death and where he produced a considerable number of landscape paintings and, especially, etchings.

Perhaps most significant is an imposing drawing of an Arcadian landscape with three figures next to a pond (Figure 17), a composition that to my mind is directly related to Koch’s gouache Vietri on the Gulf of Salerno (Figure 2). Both have the same unusually large format, indicating that Reinhart, too, considered this a finished work of art. In addition, their wood frames are identical, with gilded rosettes in the corners. That the sheets are related is further confirmed by their provenance; both come from a private Scandinavian collection. It is tempting to think that the two works were acquired directly from their respective artists at the beginning of the nineteenth century and framed as pendants by the collector.

Reinhart’s drawing, which is dated 1792 by the artist, is an ideally composed wooded landscape with a pond in the center foreground, beside which are three women in classical dress. Two stand next to an altarlike structure, one of them motioning with an outstretched hand to the third, seated in the left foreground. The arrangement of this staffage and the basic composition of the landscape agree with those of a painting by Reinhart from 1796 that is now in the Museum Georg Schäfer in Schweinfurt. Considering the numerous differences in the topography, however, the New York drawing cannot be thought of as a preliminary study for the painting; it was an independent work, probably destined for sale. Both works can be considered to be in the tradition of Claude Lorrain (1604/5?–1682), Poussin, and Gaspard Dughet (1615–1675), which Reinhart—like Koch—hoped to revive in his art.

The New York crayon drawing is carefully executed on brown paper in Reinhart’s typical style, which is characterized by a pervasive linear structure; here he also left the warm brown paper bare or allowed it to show through. He added virtuoso white highlights to the swift-moving cloud formations, to the foreground figural staffage, and to the edge of the pond. In the foreground corners one finds minutely rendered plants like the detail studies Reinhart drew from nature on single sheets, mostly in chalk, which were highly prized by collectors. Such details are...
nonetheless subordinated to the restrained Arcadian mood, which is intensified by the warm harmony between the brown paper and the black crayon.

The other drawings by Reinhart in the Museum’s collection illustrate various modes of his draftsmanship. The earliest is a spontaneous study of an old man wearing a tricorn hat, inscribed in the artist’s hand at the top heinisch, which might be someone’s name (Figure 18). Inge Feuchtmayr dates this drawing to about 1782, based on its similarity to figure studies in an album of fifty-four drawings preserved in Weimar. Those studies also exhibit a hint of caricature typical of Reinhart’s work, which can be seen in the New York drawing’s depiction of a specific pose and physiognomy. The texture of the coat, the moneybag in the man’s hand, the tricorn, the facial features, and the suggestion of a shadow on the ground are captured in swift, sure strokes.

The detailed and elegantly washed drawing of the entrance to a cave in Figure 19 is dated 1786. According to the inscription, it is the Muggendorf Cave near Streitberg, in the part of Bavaria called Saxon Switzerland, so called because of the resemblance of the landforms to those of Switzerland. The notation fec. 1786. a Leipsic indicates that the drawing was apparently not executed from nature but later, doubtless

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based on studies. The pastor Johann Friedrich Esper, superintendent in Wunsiedel, near Bayreuth, since 1779, publicized its caves and the fossils found in them. The spot had been attracting geologically minded tourists from all over Europe since the 1760s. A very similar drawing by Reinhart, documenting the popularity of such subjects, is in Leipzig’s Museum der Bildenden Künste.

With a virtuoso handling of washes, Reinhart rendered sunlit portions of the massive rock wall above the cave by leaving the paper blank. The structure and composition of the stone are minutely registered. All his life the artist was fascinated by rock formations and caves and repeatedly captured them in detailed studies. In this he reveals—much like Koch—a well-developed interest in geology. In the left foreground two hunters accompanied by a dog are shooting at two birds. They represent one of the artist’s passions, which he indulged in his free time. Hunters appear in his landscapes as staffage in the most varied contexts. The massive rock formations, compared with the diminutive figures, emphasize nature’s superiority over human existence. Only in the detailed descriptions of the plants in the foreground and in the vegetation on the upper rocks does Reinhart insert more human-scale forms of nature, which he repeatedly captured as well in his numerous botanical studies. Like Koch, Reinhart studied the details of the plants, animals, and figures. He used these studies, which almost resemble examples from pattern books, in his large-format compositions.

A study of a massive rock wall, dated to 1786–89 (Figure 20), is sketchily rendered in a combination of drawing in graphite and sparingly applied brown washes. The similarity of the drawing technique to that of Reinhart’s study of the Monk and Nun cliff near Eisenach, in Thuringia, now in Berlin’s Kupferstichkabinett, suggests that the present sheet pictures the same motif and was executed at very close to the same time. The graphic pattern of the rough rock wall extends almost to the upper edge of the sheet, where a few trees and bushes are indicated. The study again documents Reinhart’s keen interest in geological forms and at the same time exudes an almost impressionistic charm in the spontaneity of its execution.

A crayon drawing of a rocky landscape with a recumbent stag from 1824 exhibits a wholly different stylistic approach (Figure 21). Very regular, short strokes that form a dense network of lines render the landscape in great detail, including the almost ornamental foliage of the sturdy trees and the stag that is resting majestically in the foreground. As it happens, the animal had been trained by a Viennese equerry and taken to Rome by a company of trick riders in 1823. Reinhart wrote about it in a letter to the painter and engraver Adolf von Heydeck (1787–1856) dated July 10, 1824: “Last


year the equerry de Bach from Vienna was here with a company with horses and a stag that jumped over them. I have done several studies of this stag and drawn him leaping over fallen trees, chased by a dog, and up close in a landscape composed for the purpose. I have already repeated this drawing for England 3 times, the first one [the Prussian diplomat Jakob Salomon] Bartholdy bought, and now I am painting it for the wealthy Israelite [perhaps Carl Mayer] Rothschild in Naples. 67

These drawings were largely made directly from nature and document Reinhart’s intensive study of various terrestrial forms. His interest in geology or geomorphology, like Koch’s, is perfectly apparent. The position of the tree stump in the right foreground is extremely effective; it functions as a repoussoir motif on the one hand, and, on the other, its jagged fractures introduce an interesting graphic element into the foreground.

Two more drawings in the Museum’s collection should be briefly mentioned. In terms of motifs as well as of style they exhibit a direct connection with the work of Koch and Reinhart as presented here. One is a drawing by Thorvaldsen, a close friend of Koch’s, showing the seventeenth circle of Hell from Dante’s Divine Comedy. 68 The other is a drawing by another close friend of Koch’s, the Dutch-born Hendrik Voogt (1766–1839). A view of the so-called Villa Maecenas in Tivoli, near Rome, its idealized approach is close to the style practiced by Koch. 69

The works by Koch and Reinhart discussed here—especially in reference to the underdrawing of Koch’s Heroic Landscape with Rainbow—provide a representative sampling of the range of the artists in terms of both media and subject matter. This topic is even more worthy of study, as both artists held key positions in the development of landscape about 1800, which was for the next generation of artists a central point of departure for the genesis of the Romantic conception of the genre. It becomes evident once more that Rome, with its international artists’ colony, achieved a primary place as the artistic center of the world even beyond the antique.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I was able to study this segment of the Metropolitan Museum’s collection intensively during a two-month fellowship at the Museum in April and May 2012. I am grateful to Stijn Alsteens, curator, Department of Drawings and Prints, who made many important suggestions and encouraged me to write this article. He also generously made available to me the materials he had already gathered in connection with the works presented here.
Hess first completed an apprenticeship as a painter-decorator and received instruction in the workshop of the painter Maximilian Neustück (1756–1834). He attended public drawing school until 1816 and continued his training in the workshop of Peter Birmann (1758–1844). Through Birmann he became acquainted with the art dealer C. T. Müller, who in 1819 took him to Naples, where by the end of 1820 he had produced a series of etchings of Neapolitan folk scenes. With the aid of a scholarship he journeyed to Rome, where he stayed from the spring of 1821 to the summer of 1823. He was on friendly terms with Koch, working for a time as an assistant in his studio as well as with Bertel Thorvaldsen and the Nazarenes. For more on Hess, see *Hieronymus Hess* 1999–2000.

The provenance of the portrait of Koch, before becoming part of the Metropolitan Museum’s collection, is as follows: Richard von Kühlmann (1873–1948), Ohlstadt; (sale, Galerie Bassenge, Berlin, June 4, 2010, lot 6367 [as by Heinrich Maria von Hess]); [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]. An almost identical version of this portrait is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, inv. Hess SZ 1. Stijn Alsteens suggested that the sheet could be a tracing of the one in New York. Or, of course, both versions could be copies of a common original.

The provenance of the large gouache is as follows: private collection, Göteborg; (sale, Auktionskammare, Uppsala, June 2, 2009, lot 58); [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich].

In the spring of 1795, while staying with his English patron George Frederic Nott, Koch visited the small, picturesquely situated coastal village of Vietri sul Mare. See Holst 2010, pp. 236–38.

The Kupferstichkabinett in the Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien, Vienna, has one of the largest holdings of drawings by Koch, which with few exceptions entered the collection in 1865 as a complete portfolio from the artist’s estate by way of his son-in-law Johann Michael Wittmer (1801–1880). See Reiter 2011, especially no. 7.

View of Civitella is presumed to have belonged originally to the Chichiorius collection. The provenance before coming to the Metropolitan Museum is: (sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, May 1908, lot 341); private collection, Munich, ca. 1950; (sale, Bassenge, Berlin, November 30, 2007, lot 6656); [Kunsthandel Kathrin Bellinger, Munich]. At a symposium held at the Istituto Storico Austriaco in Rome in May 2011, Jytte W. Keldborg (author of *Gli artisti daniesi ad Olevano Romano e dintorni* [2011]) recognized the motif as Civitella (present-day Bellega). This observation was confirmed by Serlino Mampieri, an expert on the topography of the environs of Rome and chairman of the Friends of the Olevano Museum.


The version not listed in Lutterotti is in a Vorarlberg private collection (art market, Innsbruck, 1978). For a thorough discussion, see Holst 2010, pp. 260–64.

See also the fully executed pen drawing based on this study with the inscription Pagliano v. d. Campagna zwischen Volks- und Albanergebirge (Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, inv. 53.314; Lutterotti 1985, no. Z 951, fig. 209), and the drawing *Italienische Landschaft mit Staffage* (without indication of place, formerly private collection, Munich; Lutterotti 1985, no. Z 1124), which in the detail reproduced corresponds to the left third of this sheet. The identification as Pagliano in the inscription on the sheet in Providence would thus be erroneous.

Pen and gray ink over graphite, squared in graphite, on light brownish paper, 8 1/2 x 12 1/4 in. (21.5 x 33.1 cm), inv. 6336; see Reiter 2011, no. 725 (there still identified as Paliano).


The motifs of the Vedute Romane follow detailed studies from nature, most of which are found in a sketchbook Koch used about 1805, now unbound, in the Kupferstichkabinett, Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien, Vienna. In the etchings Koch kept very close to the compositions of the drawings, merely adding staffage, generally highly evocative, in the foreground of each print.

The provenance of Ruins of the Imperial Palaces in Rome before becoming part of the Metropolitan Museum’s collection is as follows: Ottaviano Koch (1833–1939), Rome; Stiftung Wolfgang Ratjen, Vaduz; David Lachenmann; [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich]. See also Lutterotti 1985, p. 593.

Koch had already pictured these ruins in number 8 of the etching series, though from a different angle and with staffage emphasizing the Christian life.

See Riccardi 2000, no. 18.

A small-format preliminary drawing for this etching, still without staffage, is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien, Vienna, inv. 6361; see Reiter 2011, no. 150.

A drawing of this subject, also squared, is in the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, inv. SZ 38; and a sepia drawing of the ruins of the emperors’ palaces is preserved in the Staatsgalerie zu Stuttgart, inv. 4171.


For Koch it was doubtless the second motivation that was crucial. Constantly burdened by financial problems, he hoped for income from selling views of Rome to the international tourists who streamed into the Eternal City. He sought commissions in Vienna from 1813 to 1815. Disappointed, he returned to Rome.

He also produced copies of individual paintings separately from the original commissions for financial reasons.

Staatliche Galerie, Dessau, inv. 295, 12 3/4 x 18 5/8 in. (32.3 x 47.2 cm); Lutterotti 1985, no. Z 154.

Städel Museum, Frankfurt-am-Main; Lutterotti 1985, no. Z 111. See also the drawing in the Kunstmuseum Mannheim of this motif from about 1810 with a procession of monks in the foreground (inv. G 1160); Schulte-Arndt 1997, no. 167.

For an example of the correspondence between Koch and Genelli, see Lutterotti 1985, p. 127. The provenance of *The March of Silenus* (Figure 8) before becoming part of the Metropolitan Museum’s collection is as follows: (sale, Karl & Faber, Munich, November 29, 2005, lot 260); [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich].

The publisher Heinrich Brockhaus, who saw Koch’s watercolors at Härtsel’s, noted appreciatively in his diary on August 25, 1833: “These drawings provided me with the greatest delight; I have not seen anything more beautiful in a long time, nothing more ingenious, nothing fresher; and Koch is well into his sixties! This is the way nature should be perceived and portrayed. Not only prospects, it has penetrated deeply into the spirit and captured it. The staffage was also very significant here and perfectly charming.” (Diese Zeichnungen versetzten mich in das lebhafteste Entzücken; ich habe lange nichts Schöneres gesehen, nichts Geistreicheres, nichts Frischeres; und Koch ist hoch in die Sechzig! So muß die Natur aufgefasst und wiedergegeben werden. Nicht nur Prospekte, es ist tief in den Geist eingedrungen und dieser erfasst. Die Staffage war auch

NOTES
hier sehr bedeutend und allerliebstd.) Quoted in Lutterotti 1985, p. 128.

26. See Reiter 2011, no. 42.

27. The composition corresponds to that of the watercolor of about 1832–33 (lost in World War II, formerly Berlin; see Lutterotti 1985, fig. 219), which was produced as a design for Härtel's Roman House in Leipzig.

28. See also the slightly differing versions in the Kupferstichkabinett, Kunstmuseum, Basel, inv. 186.50.18; Lutterotti 1985, no. Z 40; and Triumph of Bacchus, private collection, Munich, Lutterotti 1985, no. Z 1072.

29. Only the room designed by Peller was executed.

30. The provenance of Koch's calendar before coming to the Metropolitan Museum is: Collection of Wilhelm Ettl, Frankfurt, 1956; (sale, Karl and Faber, Munich, May 14–16, 1961, lot 681); (sale, Karl and Faber, Munich, May 28–29, 1976, lot 447); Armin Pertsch, Mannheim; (sale, Pforzheimer Kunst- und Auktionshaus, Pforzheim, October 6, 2007, lot 1185); [Kunsthandel Kathrin Pertsch, Mannheim; (sale, Pforzheimer Kunst- und Auktionshaus, Pforzheim, October 6, 2007, lot 1185)]; [Kunsthandel Kathrin Pertsch, Mannheim]; see also Lutterotti 1985, no. Z 1069.

31. [sonntag], [montag], [dienstag], [mittwoch], [ donnerstag], [freitag], and [samstag].

32. In addition, on the back there are two or possibly three red wax seals that cannot be further identified, as well as the following inscriptions, doubtless not from the artist's hand: 681i (in graphite, center), 230ii (ballpoint, lower center), 3627/III?j (pen, bottom right).

33. The type of the central Cybele, who was venerated mainly in Late Antiquity, corresponds to the Tyche of Antioch, who also wore a crown of city walls and was worshiped as a mother goddess (Magna Mater).

34. The literary source for the goddess Tellus/Cybele/Mater Magna Deum seated on a lion throne could be Titus Lucretius Carus De rerum natura 2. 600–609. There, after a gap in the manuscript, it is said that the goddess seated in her chariot drives two lions into the air. It is especially worth noting that her walled crown is described in lines 606–7, indicating that the earth is the support of cities. For this suggestion I am indebted to Wolfgang Speyer of the Institut für Klassische Archäologie und Wirkungsgeschichte der Antike, University of Salzburg.

35. As yet, no specific patterns have been discovered.

36. This calendar follows the chronograph of A.D. 354 (the original has not come down to us; one of the copies is preserved in the Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City). In it the twelve months are pictured on facing pages. As on the New York sheet, each month is represented by a single figure engaged in its characteristic activity and with its typical attributes; see Salzman 2001, especially pp. 1183–84.

37. The cycle of the Seasons by Philipp Otto Runge was widely circulated in the form of etchings, which could well have been in Koch's collection. Nearly all artists owned prints by other artists and had them readily available as sources of ideas.

38. From Parthey's collection, Heroic Landscape with Rainbow was owned by his descendants until 1991; on loan to the Märkisches Museum, Berlin, 1951–91; (sale, Christie's, London, June 21, 1991, lot 52); private collection; (sale, Sotheby's, London, May 30, 2008, lot 10, to Konrad Bernheimer, Colnaghi's, London). See Rewald 2010, p. 51. I am grateful to Sabine Rewald, Jacques and Natasha Gelman Curator for Modern Art, Department of Modern and Contemporary Art, MMA, for providing me with the documentation relating to this picture.

For a detailed discussion of this version, see Lutterotti 1985, no. G 59. A precise preliminary drawing for this painting is in Karlsruhe; see Lutterotti 1985, no. Z 144.


40. Oil on burlap, 45⅞ x 44⅛ in. (116.5 x 112.5 cm), Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe, inv. 789; for this version, see Lutterotti 1985, no. G 10, and Holst 1989, no. 75.

41. Oil on canvas, 28⅞ x 23⅜ in. (73 x 60 cm); see Lutterotti 1985, no. G 10a, and Holst 1989, no. 77.


43. For the infrared imaging I thank Charlotte Hale, conservator, Department of Paintings Conservation, MMA. The overall, zoomable infrared image can be found on the Museum's website: www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online.

44. I am grateful to Sabine Grabner, curator of nineteenth-century art at the Belvedere Wien, Vienna, who examined the paintings in her collection for underdrawings and definitively detected them. With the naked eye they are visible only in spots, to be sure, but they are very clearly there. Their visibility without technical equipment depends on the thickness of the pigment applied over them.

45. My thanks in this regard to Alexander Eiling (Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe) and Herbert Rott (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Neue Pinakothek, Munich), who ordered these photographs for the purposes of my research. According to a written communication from Eiling, in the Karlsruhe version it is possible to make out underdrawing in the area of the building complex in the middle ground, which is already visible to the naked eye. The infrared photograph of the Munich version reveals only partial preliminary drawing and by no means a detailed, final one.

46. Lutterotti (1985) catalogues more than 1,000 drawings as opposed to only about 120 paintings.

47. Once again, I am grateful to Charlotte Hale, who examined the picture for the purposes of my study.

48. In 1865 the Kupferstichkabinett, Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien, Vienna, acquired from the estate of Koch's son-in-law Johann Michael Wittmer six sketchbooks—including Koch's last one, the second half of which was further used by Wittmer, as well as two unbound sketchbooks now mounted as single sheets. The institution fully researched and annotated these sketchbooks in the 2011 catalogue of its Joseph Anton Koch holdings, which includes more than 850 items; see Reiter 2011. The significance of this project is all the greater since the sketchbooks were intensively used by Koch's pupils as study material.

49. Like the figural staffage in Koch's landscape paintings, the depictions of animals were also based on close study of individual breeds, their specific movements, behavior, and appearance. See Reiter 2011, pp. 39-62, nos. 594–620.

50. The precision of Koch's renderings of specific species in his plant studies is an indication of the extent of his botanical knowledge. In addition to a sketchbook in the Kupferstichkabinett, Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien, Vienna, noted for its plant studies from Olevano and the oak grove known as the Serpentara from the years 1816–20 (inv. 8402; see Figure 14 and Reiter 2011, pp. 191–208, nos. 648–713), the Morgan Library and Museum in New York has a Koch sketchbook in which plant studies are richly represented (1984.37).

51. It must be noted that, at the time, geology was an especially popular scientific discipline even among landscape painters. Their renderings of the typical structure of various types of rock presupposed
a knowledge of geological theories, which Koch is known to have possessed—in part thanks to his personal acquaintance with the naturalist Alexander von Humboldt. For example, he claimed that Anton Friedrich Büssing’s *Neue Erdbeschreibung*, a standard eighteenth-century work of geography, was his most important reading after the Bible. The Austrian art theorist and Romanist Carl Ludwig Fernow (1763 – 1808), whom Koch knew personally, probably from his Roman sojourn, owned a mineral collection that was important enough to be mentioned in city guides to Vienna.

52. A very similar frame was used in the so-called Green Salon of Duchess Anna Amalia in the Wittums Palace in Weimar. See Schröder 2007, p. 15, fig. 1. I am grateful to Stijn Alsteens for this suggestion.

53. The Reinhart drawing (Figure 17) was sold through Thomas le Claire Kunsthandel.

54. Oil on canvas, 56 3⁄4 x 66 7⁄8 in. (144 x 170 cm), inv. MGS 1916 (there listed as *Ideale Baumlandschaft* [Ideal Landscape with Trees]). See Feuchtmayr 1975, no. G 5 (considered a questionable work). On this painting, see most recently (with reference to the New York drawing) Rott et al. 2012, p. 282, no. 191. Rott acknowledges the work as Reinhart’s.

55. A drawing by Reinhart that is comparable in its rendering of a wooded landscape with Arcadian staffage in the same size is in Klassik Stiftung Weimar, Museen, Graphische Sammlungen, inv. KK 259. The sheet is executed in the same technique—black crayon with heightening in white gouache—and is of a similar format: 20 1⁄2 x 33 3⁄8 in. (52.2 x 84.7 cm); see Rott et al. 2012, p. 284, no. 190. An almost identical repetition of the right side of the composition with the characteristic tombstone in the background, though executed in pen and ink, is preserved in a German private collection (reference from Thomas le Claire Kunsthandel).

56. The art theorist and Romanist Carl Ludwig Fernow (1763–1808) wrote incisively about Reinhart’s studies after nature: “No one surpassed [Reinhart] in the thorough study [of nature], perhaps no one would surpass him. All objects in the landscape, especially trees, cliffs, ruins, the plants in the foreground, and so forth, are in his paintings so characteristically presented, with such masterly confidence and exactitude that one can recognize in them each kind of tree, each plant, each rock and kind of cliff as well as in nature itself.” (Im gründlichen Studium übertrifft ihn keiner, hat ihn viel leicht nie einer übertroffen. Alle Gegenstände der landschaftlichen Natur, vornehmlich Bäume, Felsen, Ruinen, die Pflanzen der Vordergründe etc. sind in seinen Gemälden so charakteristisch, mit so meisterhafter Sicherheit und Bestimmtheit ausgedrückt, daß man jede Baumart, jedes Gewächs, jede Stein- und Felsart in ihnen, so gut wie in der Natur selbst, wieder erkennt.) Fernow 1802, p. 260.

57. See Feuchtmayr 1975, no. Z 358. The work’s provenance is as follows: (sale, Gallery Gerd Rosen, Berlin, November 25–26, 1952, lot 1721); Edwin Redslöb, Berlin; (sale, Bassenge, Berlin, May 15, 1976); (sale, Karl and Faber, Munich, December 7, 2006, lot 587); [Kunsthandel Katrin Bellinger, Munich].


59. The locale is clearly identified by the inscription at lower left: *Eingang der Muggendorfer Höle [sic] / bei Streitberg in Bareuth* ([Entrance to the Muggendorf Cave / near Streitberg in Bayreuth]). The drawing was previously in a private collection, Constance; Katrin Henkel, Munich. See also Schmid 2012, p. 12, fig. 2.

60. Esper published a treatise, illustrated with colorplates, which established him as the founder of paleontological cave research. See Esper 1774.


62. See Rott et al. 2012, no. 52.

63. See also Schmid 1995, pp. 51–58.

64. For reproductions of Reinhart’s nature studies of leaves and other vegetation, see Rott et al. 2012, pp. 194–211.


66. The work was formerly in a private collection, Hof; [Thomas le Claire Kunsthandel, Hamburg].


68. Bertel Thorvaldsen, *Dante and Virgil on Geryon.* Black and white crayon on brown paper, 13 1/8 x 10 3/4 in. (33.5 x 27.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Isaacson-Draper Foundation Gift, 2008 (2008.205). The drawing was formerly in the collection of Baron Niels Rosenkrantz, Hesselager (Fyn, Denmark), Schloss Ryegaard; [le Claire Kunst, Hamburg]. See Holst 1980 p. 90, no. 25, fig. 72, which shows the drawing in its unrestored state.

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