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JOHANN FRIEDRICH COTTA'S ›PAPER MUSEUM‹, AN INTRODUCTION

THE FORMATION OF THE COLLECTION, ITS PUBLICATION
AND THE VASES IT ILLUSTRATES

by Lesley Vivienne Fulton
with a Note on the Sicilian Comic Vase Drawing, CA 131
by John Richard Green

The Cotta Archive at Marbach houses a multifaceted set of drawings illustrating motifs derived from the antique which were collected during the final decade of the 18th century by the artist, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein (1751–1829), the period when he was Director of the Academy of Art in Naples. They were intended for both his Homer project¹ and for the publication of a fifth volume of Greek vase engravings². The collection, the ›Tischbein-Konvolut‹, is today composed of 258 sheets and includes the work of both students and professional draughtsmen as well as that of Tischbein himself. This initial study concentrates on the vase drawings, a major objective being the identification of the vases they illustrate; using the resulting data on provenance, history and typology, a comparison of this collection with others that were formed contemporaneously in South Italy is possible. Indeed, the detailed appraisal of individual motifs derived from those vases now lost to us, might help underline the relevance of this collection of drawings today: appended is such an account of the comic vase drawing CA 131, by J. Richard Green.

The drawings have art historical significance in that they demonstrate Tischbein's studio practice for that period, his co-workers and apprentices and their involvement in his projects,

¹ Homer nach Antiken gezeichnet/von Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein Director der Königl. Maleracademie und Schönen Künste, Deputirter der Farnesischen Alterthümer zu Neapel mit Erläuterungen von Christian Gottlob Heyne Königl. Grossbritannischen Hofrath und Professor zu Göttingen (Göttingen 1801–1806); mit Erläuterungen von Ludwig Schorn (Stuttgart 1821–1823); subsequently referred to as ›Homer‹.

² The companion volume to the series: 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 during the Course of the Years MDCCLXXXIX. and MDCCLXXXX. Now in the Possession of Sir Wm. Hamilton His Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extra. And Plenipotentiary at the Court of Naples: With Remarks on Each Vase by the Collector, Vol. 1–4 (Naples 1791–1803), edited by Tischbein, and illustrating Sir William Hamilton's second collection of antique vases; further references to this series are cited parenthetically as ›Vases‹.

as well as providing many fine examples of the unembellished outline style³ through which Tischbein played a key role in the proliferation of Neoclassicism at the turn of the 18th century⁴.

The vase drawings were part of a collection of graphic material composed of used and unused engraved copper plates, proofs, prints and drawings which Tischbein intended using for the publication of at least one further volume of his ›Vases‹; it is the history of this collection which I describe below.

HISTORY

1789–1799: the formation of the collection in Naples

In 1789 Tischbein was appointed co-director of the Real Accademia di Pittura, Napoli, a position he maintained until the city was overrun by Napoleon's troops in 1799. As well as teaching, he was also responsible for the restoration of the vases in the royal collection of antiquities and had the privilege of their use in his tuition. He regarded the vase motifs as fundamental to comprehending the world of the ancient Greeks – they illustrated their preoccupation with their gods, myths and everyday lives⁵. He was as rapturous as Sir William Hamilton⁶ in his estimation of the quality of their draughtsmanship; such praise for the artistry bestowed on these humble earthenware vessels was not unusual, the erudite antiquarian scholar Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768) had earlier described such a collection as: »Ein Schatz von Zeichnungen«⁷. With this shared enthusiasm it is not surprising that soon after Tischbein's appointment, he also became Hamilton's chief collaborator in the publication of his second vase collection⁸. As its main function was that of a manual to be used for the tuition of young artists, publication costs were reduced to a minimum by preparing the engravings

³ For the historical development of outline engraving and an appraisal of it, see D. Panofsky – E. Panofsky, *Pandora's Box. The Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol* (New York 1962) 90–93: it is exactly that relationship »between image and prototype« (p. 91) for which Tischbein is striving through his contour prints, as detailed in P. Griener, *Le antichità etrusche, greche e romane 1766–1776 di Pierre Hugues d'Hancarville: la pubblicazione delle ceramiche antiche della prima collezione Hamilton* (Rome 1992) 99–101.

⁴ It was the simple contour images of the sculptor John Flaxman (1755–1826) who, influenced by Tischbein's vase engravings, produced a new art form that was celebrated throughout Europe as the ›International Style‹ – see here D. Bindman, *Das Umreißen einer Idee. Ein künstlerischer Neubeginn*, in: M. Bückling – E. Mongi-Vollmer (eds.), *Schönheit und Revolution. Klassizismus 1770–1820. Exhibition catalogue Frankfurt (München 2013)* 190–211.

⁵ Tischbein was able to relate to the naïve, light-heartedness of the artists who had created many of these simple images; he attempted to interpret a subject at its face value – unlike his erudite contemporaries, for him there were neither ›Mysteries‹ nor symbols to fathom – the painted vase had been made simply for aesthetic pleasure.

⁶ Sir William Hamilton (1730–1803) was English ambassador to the court of Ferdinand IV, King of the Two Sicilies at the time Tischbein made his acquaintance.

⁷ J. J. Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (Dresden 1764) 123.

⁸ Hamilton sold his first collection of vases to the British Museum in 1771 and was in the process of forming a second which he invited Tischbein to illustrate as a collection of outline engravings: his decision »to confine this new Publication to the simple outline of the figures on the Vases, which is the essential« (›Vases‹ I, Dedication) was the result of his revised interpretation of the vases whereby they now represented fragments of ancient Greek design (›Vases‹ I, 34); he viewed his collection no longer as vase paintings but »as a Treasure of ancient drawings« (›Vases‹ I, 38) to be reproduced through the primacy of the line as simple outline engravings.



Fig. 1. An engraving from the unpublished fifth volume of Tischbein's »Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases...« pl. 93, cf. fig. 6

(fig. 1) as simple contour drawings⁹; at the same time, these minimalistic representations of the vase motifs were valid as faithful reproductions and adequate intermediaries of the primitive art principles of the antique¹⁰.

Exactly how the engravings were prepared by his best students is described by Tischbein as follows: »Ich ließ sie die Figuren auf klares Papier genau durchzeichnen und dann auf anderes Papier die Vase für sich. So bekam ich viele Zeichnungen zusammen«¹¹. Many of the vase drawings in the Cotta Archive have been made in this way; their execution is however extremely variable, as they represent the work of the master as well as that of the beginner. Their survival is surprising as it was common practice for a drawing to be destroyed after its transference to the copper plate¹²; they appear to represent a stock of motifs which Tischbein intended for publication in subsequent volumes of the ›Vases‹. However, in 1799, the project was forestalled as Napoleon's troops entered Naples and the artist departed for Germany

⁹ Engravings in pure outline were uncommon at the time, and from the outset, Tischbein's illustrations were unfavourably received, but as a method of visualizing an object stripped to its essential elements, it was perfect for accurate, objective recording which was exactly how Hamilton was aiming to publish his second collection of vases.

¹⁰ Bindman loc. cit. (n. 4) 198.

¹¹ Tischbein 1861, II, 176.

¹² DLA/CA Tischbein Briefe 9a, dated 14.12.1820.

with the convolute of drawings together with the material he had accumulated for the ›Vases‹ project.

1800–1819: publishing and selling the ›Vases‹

On his return to Germany, Tischbein proceeded with his plans for the publication of a fifth volume of the ›Vases‹, and contacted the philologist, archaeologist and author, Karl August Böttiger (1760–1835). He had written commentaries for the abridged German edition of the ›Vases‹ publication¹³, and Tischbein was eager that this well-known journalist should collaborate with him once again. Böttiger appears to have readily agreed to work on the texts¹⁴ and Tischbein set about supplying him with prints made from those plates which had been engraved in Naples. Over the following six months Böttiger made very little progress although he had, at the start of the project, produced a detailed plan for its publication¹⁵. His progress was hindered by Tischbein failing to send him the necessary prints as well as his lack of communication on the motifs themselves, and as a result, he lost interest in the work and its publication floundered¹⁶.

Six months later, at the beginning of October 1801, Tischbein made contact with Sir William Hamilton, who was now in London, requesting that he help him find a buyer for the entire collection of the vase material, including the plates engraved for the earlier volumes¹⁷. He had decided to sell in order to raise the money he needed to finance his ›Lieblingswerk‹, the illustrated ›Homer‹¹⁸. Sir William proposed that Tischbein travel to London the following spring, believing that arrangements for a sale would proceed more quickly if the artist himself was in London¹⁹. Tischbein, however, unwilling to leave his work in Germany, turned to the Duke of Oldenburg who had expressed an interest in the artist's collection of paintings on a visit to his Hamburg studio²⁰. The following year the Duke purchased three paintings from him and Tischbein, with ample funds now available, was contemplating publishing not one, but four further volumes of the ›Vases‹.

Four years later, in 1806, and with little progress having been made on his ›Vases‹ project, Tischbein once more decided to sell the work. However, both his plans for its sale in London, this time through Count Ernst Friedrich Herbert von Münster (1766–1839)²¹ as well as that of financing their publication by the Emperor of Russia, Alexander I (1777–1825) through the Duke of Oldenburg²² met with little success.

¹³ Griechische Vasengemälde: Mit archäologischen und artistischen Erläuterungen der Originalkupfer / Herausgegeben von C. A. Böttiger (Weimar 1796–1800).

¹⁴ See Tischbein's letter to Böttiger of 26. September 1800 in: Böttiger – Heyne 2015, 463.

¹⁵ The plan which included an introduction to the proposed work, its contents and publication details was dated 28. August 1800. The document was included in Böttiger's legacy; for a transcription of it see Böttiger – Heyne 2015, 463 f.

¹⁶ The collaboration between the scholar and artist can be traced in their correspondence between 1800 and 1801 in: Tischbein 1872, 73–85.

¹⁷ London, British Library: manuscript RP 8852, a letter from Tischbein to Hamilton dated 01.10.1801.

¹⁸ Tischbein loc. cit. (n. 1).

¹⁹ PT 75, a letter from Hamilton to Tischbein dated 03.12.1801.

²⁰ For an account of Tischbein's early relationship with the Duke see Tischbein 1872, 122–128.

²¹ See here the Count's letter of 12.08.1806 from Windsor to Tischbein in: Tischbein 1872, 166 f.

²² Tischbein 1872, 172.

In 1808, Tischbein became employed by the Duke of Oldenburg as artist to the court and First Inspector of the gallery of the Duchy of Oldenburg. His occupation with the ›Vases‹ only reappears some ten years later, when with a growing family, he becomes concerned with providing suitable dowries for his daughters, for which he must sell both his Homer project and the ›Vases‹. Their proposed sale was announced in the »Zeitschrift für die Elegante Welt« on 4. September 1818, the intention of the article being to alert the public to the sale and appeal to their patriotism to prevent Tischbein's oeuvre from leaving the country²³. Its sale was brought to the attention of the publisher Johann Friedrich Cotta (1764–1832)²⁴ by the editress of his »Morgenblatt«, Therese Huber²⁵. The businessman responded quickly to the plea and contacted the artist, the outcome of which was the purchase of the entire stock of engraved plates and drawings prepared for Tischbein's ›Homer‹ and ›Vases‹ together with their publication rights by the J. G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung zu Stuttgart for the sum of 9,000 Thaler²⁶.

1819–1832: Cotta and his publication of the ›Vases‹

*»Die Hälfte von den noch wirklich unedirten Vasenbildern sind ganz werthlose, hundertmal wiederholte Bacchus Tänze und mehr Topfmalereien« –
Carl August Böttiger, 1821²⁷ (fig. 2)*

The material which Cotta received relating to the ›Vases‹ work was composed of 391 engraved plates²⁸ and 164 drawings of varying quality²⁹ together with the prints Tischbein had run off as part of his earlier publication efforts. Cotta, who at the time had only limited experience in the publication of large-scale works relating to art and archaeology turned to Böttiger, his journalist friend who was well able to act as his consultant on the organization of the project ahead³⁰. Böttiger also agreed to compose the text for the ›Vases‹³¹, but just as had happened in his earlier undertaking with Tischbein, he delayed making a start with his commentaries and in 1825, on grounds of ill health, withdrew altogether from the project³². The following year, the material was assigned to the classical scholar, Friedrich Wilhelm Thiersch

²³ The author of the article was Friedrich Reinhard Ricklefs (1769–1827), a classical philologist and director of the Oldenburg Grammar School. A document in his hand (PT 145), which sketches out new proposals for the publication of Tischbein's works, suggests that he was well-acquainted with the artist.

²⁴ Johann Friedrich Cotta was a publisher, politician and industrial pioneer. He built up the failing publishing firm he inherited from his father and made it into the most important publishing house in Germany.

²⁵ Therese Huber (1764–1829), daughter of the classical philologist Christian Gottlob Heyne, was editor of Cotta's literary journal, the »Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände«, from 1817 to 1822.

²⁶ Details of the sale can be traced in the following series of unpublished documents and letters between Tischbein and Cotta held in the DLA/CA under ›Tischbein Briefe‹ 1 (26.04.1819); 2 (29.04.1819); 2a (29.04.1819, 08.05.1819, 18.08.1819); 3 (14.06.1819); 4 (21.06.1819); 4a (28.08.1819).

²⁷ Letter Böttiger to Cotta dated 27.05.1821: DLA/CA Cotta Briefe, Böttiger, 246.

²⁸ See here PT 526, a draft letter of 25.01.1819 from Tischbein to Alexander von Rennenkampff, chamberlain to the Oldenburg court.

²⁹ The 164 vase drawings are listed by Tischbein in a letter to Cotta, DLA/CA Tischbein Briefe 3, dated 14.06.1819, under the four following categories: »80 zum Stich fertige Zeichnungen«; »26 seltene etrusische Zeichnungen«; »17 etrusische Zeichnungen, die Originalvase genau nachgeahmt«; »41 etrusische Skizzen«.

³⁰ SLUB, NL Böttiger Bd. 29, 24: Mscr. Dresd.h. 37,4^o, Bd. 29, <<http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id310918219/41>>: Cotta's letter of 12.03.1819 requesting of Böttiger his »einleuchtenden Rath«.

³¹ DLA/CA Cotta Briefe, Böttiger, 240, dated 25.12.1820.

³² DLA/CA Cotta Briefe, Böttiger, 308, dated 21.03.1825.



Fig. 2. Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein. Thiasos with Dionysos, two satyrs and a maenad. Pen and black ink, washes in grey over black chalk. 1790s. Marbach, Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Cotta-Archiv Nr. 164. Drawn after an Attic red-figure vase by the Meleager Painter (?), Location unknown

(1784–1860)³³; he appeared to make some progress³⁴ but no evidence of it remains today. Cotta had failed to foresee the problems that would beset such an enterprise – it was at the very moment when the antiquarian and his learned texts were being overturned by the objectively oriented discipline of archaeology – when he purchased the collection from Tischbein.

Following Cotta's death in 1832, the drawings remained in the firm's archive for 150 years, before being acquired, in the 1950s, by the publishers of the »Stuttgarter Zeitung« and incorporated as part of the Cotta Archive with the Schiller National Museum at Marbach; the archive of the publishing magnate Johann Friedrich Cotta was the impetus for the founding of the Deutsches Literatur-Archiv in 1955 where the remnants of his hapless investment are located to this day.

³³ See here Cotta's letter to Böttiger of 13.01.1826, (SLUB, NL Böttiger, Bd. 29, 76: Dresd.h. 37,4°, Bd. 29, <<http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id310918219/115>>).

³⁴ DLA/CA Schorn Briefe, Cotta, 400, dated 21.10.1826.

TISCHBEIN'S STUDIO PRACTICE IN NAPLES (1789–1799)

The drawings reflect the organization of Tischbein's workshop and the projects relating to antique vases in which he was involved during the time he was director of the Academy of Painting. In relation to Tischbein as a teacher, they illustrate his occupation with both his pupils and fellow artisans; the drawings also reveal the relationships he enjoyed both with members of the royal court as well as the gentry of Europe who were making the Grand Tour. The decade of his employment in Naples coincided with a period of intense interest in the remains of the classical past. The antiquities, which at that time were regularly unearthed from sites around Naples, were immediately accessible to him, and were used extensively in his teaching.

On his appointment to the academy, Tischbein was already a confirmed Neoclassicist; his passion for the study of antiquity dominated his work – archaeology had become a greater influence than painting – the line was his means of expression rather than colour. The precepts of Neoclassicism were the basis of his teaching programme, which is testified by both his own work and that of his pupils between 1789 and 1799.

The vase drawings in the Cotta Archive confirm Tischbein's working method of the outline technique, a method which directed his pupils »alla nobile semplicità del disegno«³⁵. Their function, however, was not only to provide a further set of engravings for the ›Vases‹ project³⁶, some also appear to have been destined for the embellishment of homes of the wealthy to create for them a personal Etruscan cabinet³⁷ (fig. 3) while others were possibly used as templates for the creation of vases ›all'etrusque«³⁸. An example of such a vase which can be related to Tischbein's workshop is an Apulian-style volute-krater, the main body of the vase is decorated with a motif illustrating the Greek hero Bellerophon while on the reverse is an image of a youth holding the bridle of a horse³⁹. It is a pastiche of two South Italian kraters both of which were at one time in Tischbein's Neapolitan studio: an Apulian column-krater from Sir William Hamilton's second collection of vases⁴⁰ and a Campanian calyx-krater⁴¹

³⁵ C. Lorenzetti, *L'Accademia di Belle Arti di Napoli. 1752–1952* (Florence 1953) 48 n. 1.

³⁶ Tischbein's plans for a fifth volume are outlined in a letter of 25.03.1797 to the Duchess of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach in: Tischbein 1872, 68 f.

³⁷ There are 17 drawings from the Etruscan series in the CA collection, their preparation in Tischbein's workshop is described by Johann Isaak von Gerning in his *Reise durch Oestreich und Italien* (Frankfurt 1802) II 112; see also Tischbein 1872, 56 f.

³⁸ For an account of the production of antique vases at this time with particular reference to Tischbein, see V. Kockel, *Abgüsse, Nachbildungen und Verkleinerungen antiker Kunst und Architektur im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, in: D. Boschung – H. v. Hesberg (eds.), *Antikensammlungen des europäischen Adels im 18. Jahrhundert als Ausdruck einer europäischen Identität* (Mainz 2000) 35 f.

³⁹ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Cab. Méd., coll. Delepierre, no. 79: For an exhaustive description of the krater see I. Aghion – M.-Ch. Hellmann (eds.), *Vrai ou faux? Copier, imiter, falsifier. Exhibition catalogue Paris* (Paris 1988) 121 f. no. 44; for the decoration technique, N. Balcar – Y. Vandenberghe, *Lagrenée restaurateur et ses contemporains: autopsie d'un savoir-faire*, in: B. Bourgeois – M. Denoyelle (eds.), *L'Europe du vase antique: Collectionneurs, savants, restaurateurs aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles* (Rennes 2013) 144 fig. 86; 145 fig. 87.

⁴⁰ London, BM Inv. 2000,1101.64: see V. Smallwood – S. Woodford, *CVA Great Britain 20, the British Museum 10: fragments from Sir William Hamilton's second collection of vases recovered from the wreck of HMS Colossus* (London 2003) pl. 54, for their identification of the 26 fragments of this vase that were recovered from the wreck of HMS Colossus which sank off the Isles of Scilly in 1798 while transporting vases from Hamilton's second collection to England. They are the remnants of an Apulian red-figured column-krater which Trendall in *RVAp I*, 25, relates to the Ariadne Painter.

⁴¹ St. Petersburg, Ermitage Inv. 1178: LCS I, 500; LCS II, pl. 195, 7.



Fig. 3. Ange Clener. Three mourners at a stele (Electra, Orestes and Pylades at Agamemnon's tomb?).

Pen, black ink, watercolour and body colour mounted and varnished. 1790s. Marbach, Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Cotta-Archiv Nr. 246. Drawn after a Campanian red-figure hydria, Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale Inv. 2853, 340–320 B.C., by the Danaid Painter

once owned by »un comte Polonois«⁴². He made records of the vases, either as engravings or drawings, to which he could refer for the production of copies once the original vases had been reclaimed by their respective owners; the Delepierre krater perhaps illustrates his use of an engraving from the ›Vases‹ and an autograph drawing, now in the Cotta Archive (CA 242) to produce an imitation vase. The purchaser of this vase is unknown, but Tischbein certainly made vases to order, one such is a copy of a Campanian red-figure neck amphora which Frederick Hervey, 4th Earl of Bristol (1730–1803) is reported to have commissioned from him⁴³. At that time the vase (fig. 4 a) was part of the royal collection and on display in the museum at Capo di Monte thus readily available for study by students of the Naples academy⁴⁴; a

⁴² The identity of the owner was published in: *Serie di pitture copiate da celebri vasi antichi, detti volgarmente Etruschi, esposte con illustrazioni altre edite, altre inedite* (Venice 1801), for which Clener engraved the 13 plates, all pirated from Tischbein's workshop in Naples; the horseman motif (CA 242) was Plate XIII.

⁴³ A. Dubois-Maisonneuve (ed.), *Peintures de vases antiques, vulgairement appelés étrusques I* (Paris 1808) 94 n. 1.

⁴⁴ The vase was described by Trendall as having been much restored and repainted (LCS I, 339), procedures which could have taken place in Tischbein's workshop at the same time that the copy was being prepared for the Earl of Bristol.



Fig. 4 a. b. Campanian red-figure neck amphora attributed to the Ixion Painter, ca. 330–310 B.C. Heroic battle. Los Angeles County Museum of Art Inv. 50.8.16. – a. Verso. – b. Ange Clener. Anfang, Mitte und Ende des ganzen trojanischen Krieges. Gouache with pen and ink. 1790s. Marbach, Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Cotta-Archiv Nr. 78

gouache drawing (fig. 4 b), illustrating the main motif, the combat of Greeks and Trojans for the body of Patroclus, must have been made at the same time.

When Cotta purchased Tischbein's collection he had assumed it to be composed solely of the artist's autograph work, but in fact, the drawings illustrate a wide range of proficiency that can only be attributed to the varying skills and talents of a diverse workshop whose members ranged from beginner to professional draughtsman. It is their style which unites them – Tischbein, endorsed in his teaching, the contour as the means of conveying the simplicity and clarity of a composition: »je genauer, reiner und wahrer die Umschreibung der Form ist, desto vollkommener ist die Zeichnung«⁴⁵. He taught his students the appreciation of beauty through pure outline, a maxim propagated by Winckelmann, and he demonstrated to them how the technique could be applied to the illustration of Greek vases. There are many

⁴⁵ Tischbein 1861, I, 192.



Fig. 5 a. b. Paestan red-figure bell-krater attributed to Python, 350–325 B.C. Dionysian scene. University of Sydney, Chau Chak Wing Museum Inv. NM49.9. – a. Verso. – b. Tischbein workshop. Dionysos and maenad. Black chalk. 1790s. Marbach, Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Cotta-Archiv Nr. 199



Fig. 6. Costanzo Angelini. Dionysos' entourage. Black chalk. 1790s. Marbach, Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Cotta-Archiv Nr. 192. Drawn after an Attic red-figure column-krater, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Inv. ANSA_IV_723, ca. 470 B.C.; attributed to an Early Mannerist

brilliant examples in the Cotta Archive of Tischbein's workshop members practicing the art of transferring paintings from a three-dimensional object, the vase, to a planar surface, the sheet of paper (figs. 5 a. b) – by detaching the motifs from the vase and placing them on a white background, the images assumed an autonomy of their own, and as such, were of value to both the academic and artisan.

Who were Tischbein's collaborators in Naples? Very few of his workshop members have been named, but the vase drawings give some indication of their identity: his most prolific draughtsman and most gifted pupil was the Frenchman Ange Clener⁴⁶, who was responsible for the dissemination of the ›Vases‹ throughout Europe⁴⁷; the hand of the accomplished Roman draughtsman Costanzo Angelini⁴⁸ is evident in several outstanding sheets (fig. 6); a

⁴⁶ The majority of the engraved plates for the ›Vases‹ were probably made by Clener, and confirmation of his being Tischbein's »skilled engraver who drew the vases that were placed before him directly onto the plate« (Tischbein 1861, II, 176) is to be found in a letter from Tischbein to Cotta, dated 26.04.1819 (DLA/CA Tischbein Briefe 1 a) in which he states that Angelo Clener, whom he had taught, had engraved his plates.

⁴⁷ After Napoleon's occupation, Clener remained in Italy and using the drawings and plates he had rescued from Tischbein's workshop, he set about producing pirated editions of the ›Vases‹: between 1800 and 1803 the four volumes of the Florentine edition and a Venetian series of 1801. On returning to Paris in 1803, he commenced work on a French edition of four volumes (1803–1809). He was employed by Dubois-Maisonneuve to provide the engravings for his »Peintures de vases antiques« (Paris 1808–1810), several of which can be traced back to vases which Tischbein had intended to publish in his sequel to Hamilton's second collection.

⁴⁸ Costanzo Angelini (1760–1853) moved from Rome to Naples ca. 1790 at the request of Sir William Hamilton as he wished to engage the draughtsman to record his second collection of vases. It is not clear why this plan did not



Fig. 7 a. Costanzo Angelini and novice. Leda and the egg. Black chalk with some yellow ochre underdrawing. 1790s. Marbach, Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Cotta-Archiv Nr. 206



Fig. 7 b. Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein. Leda and the egg. Annotated sketch in pen and brown ink over black chalk. 1790s. Marbach, Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Cotta-Archiv Nr. 207. Drawn after an Attic red-figure bell-krater, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Inv. ANSA_IV_869, ca. 400 B.C., by the Kadmos Painter

group of five drawings might be tentatively attributed to Luigi Hummel⁴⁹; the artist Christoph Heinrich Kniep⁵⁰ was also employed by Tischbein but with the exception of his well-known illustration, the frontispiece of the first volume of the ›Vases‹, showing Sir William and Lady Hamilton inspecting vases from a recently opened tomb, no other drawings related to this work can be associated with him.

Other hands were also involved in the making of the vase drawings; there are many examples where the tentative outlines drawn by a young apprentice have been corrected by a more able draughtsman (fig. 7 a). Tischbein was an active member of his workshop – his sketches made after vase motifs often include notes relating to their composition (fig. 7 b), and his hand is evident on several weak drawings – looking through the archive's collection, one has the impression that he was intimately involved in the practical dissemination of his teaching theories.

THE PAPER MUSEUM OF VASES

Imagery: Style and Iconography

While in Naples Tischbein eagerly studied every vase that was made available to him; his interest was not purely aesthetic, he realized that by examining the various styles in which the figures were drawn on them, he had a means of reconstructing the development of art in the Greek world⁵¹. By means of his finely tuned observational skills he was also able to recognize that just as differences in styles of painting could be equated with different schools, such as Venetian or Roman, so too might different regions of South Italy be associated with particular styles of vase painting⁵². By systematizing his study of vase imagery in this way, he was hoping to gain access to the world of the ancient Greeks; he realized: ›Den Geist zu denken, aus welchem diese Schöpfungen entsprangen, muß man dem Geiste überlassen‹⁵³. These ideas, and his comprehension of the artefacts he examined, were developed through his dialogue with other early archaeologists: Pietro Vivenzio of Nola; Domenico Venuti from Locri; the Russian ambassador, Italinsky, and Sir William Hamilton. By transmitting his vision of antiquity to the public at large he hoped that more answers might emerge to those problems of

proceed, but it appears that Angelini found that his working conditions were not conducive to the serious application of his talents and he looked elsewhere for employment. See here R. Cioffi, *Per una storia del Neoclassicismo a Napoli: Appunti su Costanzo Angelini*, *Arte Illustrata* 1974, 378.

⁴⁹ Luigi (Ludwig) Hummel (1770–1840), Tischbein's adoptive son and faithful assistant to him both in Naples and later in Germany, aiding him with the preparation of drawings and engravings for both the ›Homer‹ and ›Vases‹ projects.

⁵⁰ Christoph Heinrich Kniep (1748–1825) is chiefly associated with the drawing and painting of landscapes and vedute that he made during his later years in South Italy. In 1787 he was recommended to Goethe by Tischbein and acted as the poet's personal draughtsman on the journey they made from Naples to Sicily.

⁵¹ Tischbein 1872, 55.

⁵² Tischbein 1872, 56; Ian Jenkins points out in his essay: ›Contemporary Minds‹. Sir William Hamilton's Affair with Antiquity (Jenkins – Sloan 1996, 55) that Tischbein is anticipating the classification of South Italian vases by Professor A. D. Trendall in the 20th century.

⁵³ Tischbein 1861, II, 177; see also A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen: Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum* 3 (Leipzig 1900) 422: Furtwängler remarks on Tischbein's capacity to penetrate deeply into antiquity and that by being free of preconceptions, he was able to recreate the Greek world in its true spirit.

interpretation which absorbed him; his years in Italy marked him as the ›archaeologist-artist‹ for the rest of his life.

The vase drawings in the Cotta Archive have been made after vases in a number of collections⁵⁴ and reflect Tischbein's relationships with the collectors and excavations that were in progress towards the end of the 18th century in South Italy. As they do not represent simply the collection of a single individual, but rather the vases selected specifically by Tischbein, we might infer that they indicate those types of vases and their decoration which he himself found particularly appealing. His personal interpretation of the vase paintings is fundamental to our comprehending how these images were appreciated towards the close of the century. He classified the drawings into a number of categories: »die Tänzerinnen«, »Amazonin«, »Gymnastische Spiele«, »Bachanalien«, »Mysterien«⁵⁵; his simplistic systematization had its merits, but there were a number of vases he was unable to categorize within it. Such vases, he realized, were of far greater significance than those which simply repeated a familiar subject⁵⁶. The Cotta Archive collection includes many of these apparently ›difficult‹ motifs⁵⁷ (fig. 8) and Tischbein hoped, that by disseminating the drawings, they would promote discussion amongst scholars and progress made with their interpretation⁵⁸. He admitted that he himself lacked the necessary scholarship to provide any worthwhile interpretation of many of the vase motifs, but he was also sceptical about the contribution of many of the ›Gelehrten‹ including Böttiger⁵⁹. He showed great insight when he commented that a much larger collection of figured vases would be needed before a methodological system could be applied for their categorization and interpretation, adding cynically: »und doch werd es nur Meinung bleiben«⁶⁰.

While the vases were in Tischbein's Neapolitan workshop, there must have been numerous discussions relating to their imagery with the owners, and in particular with Sir William Hamilton and Count Andrei Italinsky. The Count had composed the text for the first three volumes of the ›Vases‹ and Tischbein held the diplomat in great respect; he annotated a number of the Cotta Archive drawings with the references he used to interpret their iconography⁶¹ (fig. 9). However, it is instructive to note how the appreciation of vase imagery had advanced over fewer than ten years, when Italinsky, in 1806, refuses to provide further commentaries for

⁵⁴ The most notable are those of Sir William Hamilton and Graf Anton von Lamberg-Sprinzenstein (1740–1822), Austrian ambassador to the court of Naples; others can be associated with members of the Italian, French, Polish and German nobility, the British gentry and also that of Ferdinand IV, King of the Two Sicilies.

⁵⁵ See DLA/CA Tischbein Briefe 1, 26.04.1819 in which Tischbein suggests to Cotta that the vase drawings be published in a series of separate issues each devoted to a specific subject, thereby reducing the necessary outlay for the work, and making it available to a wider public. In a later letter to the editor of Cotta's »Kunstblatt«, Ludwig Schorn, (GSA 85/31,5: letter of 22.10.1821) Tischbein repeats his proposal and adds two further subject categories: »Historien« and »Karicaturen«.

⁵⁶ In a draft letter to Schorn (PT 530, undated), Tischbein states he has learnt from Italinsky that: »Die Vashe [sic] wo eine Geschichte auf gezeichnet ist, die man gleich erkant, hatt weniger Werth als eine die man nicht erkant, den da erhalten wir was neues.«

⁵⁷ Such drawings are those where Tischbein has noted: »eine neue Erscheinung in der Antike« (CA 128); »eine seltene Darstellung« (CA 132); »seltene Vorstellung« (CA 150, CA 188). All have mythological subjects.

⁵⁸ DLA/CA Tischbein Briefe 1, 26.04.1819; PT 530, undated.

⁵⁹ A statement by the eminent classical philologist, Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812) in a letter of 06.05.1811 to Böttiger, justifies Tischbein's scepticism completely: »Die Vasengemälde sind noch zu großen Theil Räthsel woran sich der Witz und Phantasie üben kan.« in Böttiger – Heyne 2015, 351.

⁶⁰ PT 973, 12.04.1821.

⁶¹ His authors include Diodorus Siculus, Demosthenes, Sophocles, Athenaeus of Naucratis, Hyginus, Claudian, Arnobius, Ovid and Pausanias.

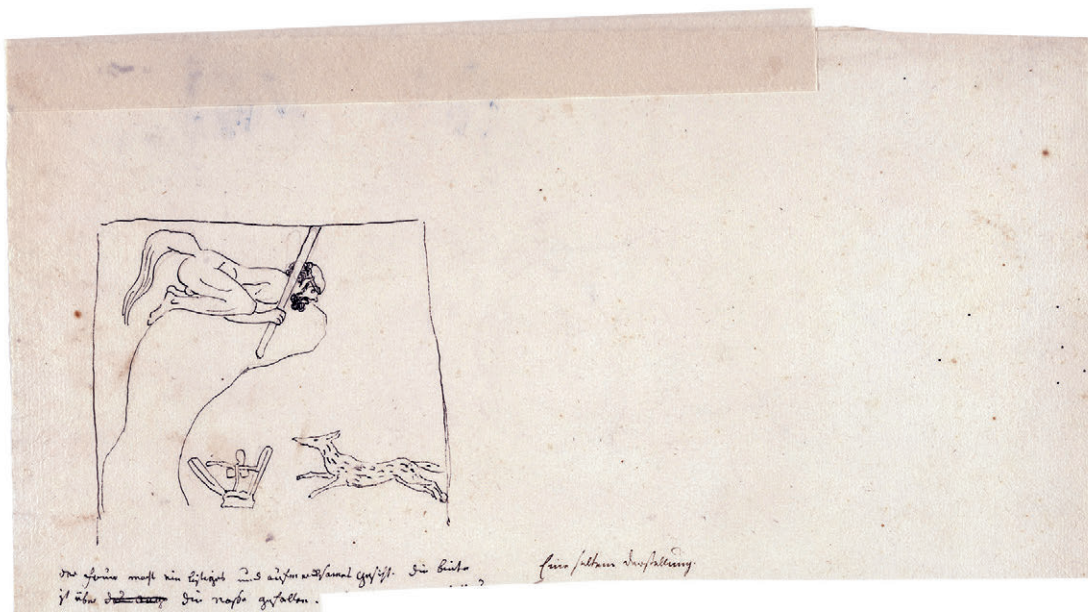


Fig. 8. Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein. Satyr, fox and trap. Annotated sketch in pen and black ink over black chalk. 1790s. Marbach, Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Cotta-Archiv Nr. 132.

Drawn after an Attic (?) vase, location unknown



Fig. 9. Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein. Prokris and Kephalos? Sketch in pen and brown ink over black chalk; Italinsky annotations. 1790s. Marbach, Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Cotta-Archiv Nr. 171. Drawn after a Lucanian red-figure bell-krater, 430–410 B.C., near the Amykos Painter (?), location unknown



Fig. 10. Tischbein's Neapolitan workshop. Agamemnon im Rath mit den Helden auf Kundschaft ausschickt (Tischbein). Inked etching with coloured wash on a mount in green watercolour. 1790s. Marbach, Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Cotta-Archiv Nr. 211. Drawn after an Attic black-figure vase in the Rainer collection, and in 1804 acquired by the k. k. Münz- und Antikenkabinett, Wien; now untraceable

the subsequent volume of the ›Vases‹ stating that: »Le mie spiegazioni sono opera imperfetta d'un dilettante, le quali se sono offerti al publico saranno tagliati a pezzi dai tremendi Letterati di Weimar etc. etc. etc.«⁶²

There are several drawings where Tischbein comments quite correctly on the figured scene: CA 128 »Satyren mit Ziegenfüßen sind gewöhnlich, aber das ist eine neue Erscheinung in der Antike, Ziegenköpfe und Menschenfüße«; CA 191 »Ein gehörnter Bacchus«; CA 230 »Jason mit dem goldenen Vliess«. Proposals for others are however quite wide of the mark: CA 144 his »Electra and Iphianassa« is simply »un scène de gynécée« for Reinach⁶³; CA 210 »Ulisses als er Nestor die Pferde bringd« (Tischbein), »Warriors departing« (Beazley⁶⁴); CA 211 (fig. 10) »Agamemnon im Rath mit den Helden auf Kundschaft ausschickt« (Tischbein), »Volksversammlung« (Heydemann⁶⁵); CA 215 »Ulisses als er den Asdianax ermordet« (Tischbein), »Telephos threatening Orestes« (Reinach⁶⁶); CA 217 »Antromaca mit Astianax« (Tischbein), »Danae and Perseus« (Beazley⁶⁷). Tischbein was inclined to interpret his ›His-

⁶² PT 285, 05.08.1806.

⁶³ S. Reinach, *Répertoire des vases peints Grecs et Étrusques II* (Paris 1924) 343.

⁶⁴ Beazley 1956, 477.

⁶⁵ H. Heydemann, *Die Phlyakendarstellungen auf bemalten Vasen*, Excurs: Tischbein's fünfter Band der ›Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases‹, *JdI* 1, 1886, 308–313, here 313 no. 88.

⁶⁶ Reinach loc. cit. (n. 63) 294.

⁶⁷ Beazley 1963, 1018.

torien‹ drawings in the light of the Trojan War, his ›Lieblingsfach‹, for which he collected material avidly – his errors are apparent in the alternatives provided by later archaeologists.

As more sites were discovered and hundreds of painted vases excavated, a wealth of new information became available for comparative study and their hermeneutic interpretation came to be based on a more solid foundation. Even so, the scholarly interpretation of vases continued to be dominated well into the 19th century with the theories generated through the bizarre cults and mysteries the antiquarians had perceived in such simple designs⁶⁸ – ideas which Tischbein had himself rejected⁶⁹.

Provenance

Returning to Tischbein's intention that the Cotta Archive's convolute of drawings be a sequel to the ›Vases‹ illustrating Hamilton's second collection, the distribution of the various fabrics in South Italy⁷⁰ represented by the vases in volumes I–IV is very close indeed to that of the vases intended for volume V⁷¹. It would therefore be reasonable to assume that the majority of volume V vases have similar origins to those of the earlier volumes. In his dedication to the Earl of Leicester in volume I, Sir William Hamilton listed those provenances as Nola, S. Agata de Goti, Trebbia, S. Maria di Capua and Puglia. However, as the figures show, the market demand for Attic wares towards the end of the 18th century far exceeded that for indigenous pottery; it was Nola where many of the finest examples of this type were discovered.

History

What is the relevance of such a record of vases with their variation of style and subject for the archaeologist of today? One factor is that the drawings may fill gaps in the records of historical collections through which these vases have passed, one example being the Paestan bell-krater CA 160, now in the Louvre Inv. K 241⁷². The published history of this krater begins with the Durand collection, but prior to that, it was with Pietro Vivenzio (1754–1835) and a part of this Nolan landowner's celebrated collection of antiquities⁷³. The vase was published

⁶⁸ For a critical account of the subjective interpretation of simple mythological and genre vase paintings as cult or religious scenes and the mystic symbolism associated with their every detail, see C. Robert, *Archaeologische Hermeneutik: Anleitung zur Deutung klassischer Bildwerke* (Berlin 1919) 297–305.

⁶⁹ See PT 530, an undated letter from Tischbein to Schorn: »Ich habe um daüber sprechen hören [die Mysterien] und das ist so viel als wie gar nichts. wer kan die Misterigen auslegen, da die welche sie machten selbst nicht wüsten was sie wolten.«

⁷⁰ Vase fabrics can be ascertained by means of stylistic comparisons which are used to determine the types that are related to different regions of South Italy.

⁷¹ See M. E. Masci, *Apulian and Lucanian Red-Figure Pottery in Eighteenth-Century Collections*, in: T. H. Carpenter – K. M. Lynch – E. G. D. Robinson (eds.), *The Italic People of Ancient Apulia: New Evidence from Pottery for Workshops, Markets and Customs* (New York 2014), 300 n. 16, gives the following distribution for volumes I–IV: 58 % Attic, 22 % Campanian, 10 % Apulian, 8 % Paestan, 2 % Lucanian; my identification of the vases intended for volume V suggests the distribution of their fabrics to be: 57 % Athenian, 24 % Campanian, 9 % Apulian/Sicilian, 6 % Paestan and 4 % Lucanian.

⁷² M. Denoyelle, *La céramique grecque de Paestum: la collection du Musée du Louvre* (Paris 2011) 70–72.

⁷³ For the catalogue raisonné of this collection written by Pietro Vivenzio himself, and dedicated to his elder brother, Niccola, see P. Vivenzio, *Il Museo Vivenzio in Nola: Catalogo ragionato del Museo* (1816; reprint Naples 2003).

together with 41 others from his collection in 1900⁷⁴, the draughtsman being Costanzo Angelini, who I believe, was also responsible for the archive's drawing which he made towards the end of the 18th century – at the time when he was working on the Vivenzio collection⁷⁵. A second instance, again, today in the Louvre Inv. K 127, is an Apulian calyx-krater CA 230/231 illustrating the myth of Jason and the Golden Fleece (fig. 11). The vase is recorded as having been sold to Louis XVIII of France in 1818 by Joseph-François Tochon d'Annecy, but an earlier inventory listing of 1796, indicates that it was in the Fabbrica Reale della Porcellana di Napoli having been excavated on royal territory in S. Agata dei Goti⁷⁶.

Other examples are: CA 220, an Athenian bell-krater fragment now in the Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen Inv. 101⁷⁷, recorded by Tischbein as belonging to Cavaliere Domenico Venuti of Cortona⁷⁸; CA 169, an Apulian pelike fragment today in Berlin, Inv. F4127 and catalogued by Furtwängler with »unbekannte Herkunft«⁷⁹ was drawn in Tischbein's Neapolitan workshop in the 1790s.

Typology

The drawings are worthy of attention today in that for many of the vases they illustrate, they are their sole surviving record; the new attributions they generate of the vase painters who decorated them can contribute to what is already known concerning decoration techniques and subjects illustrated by an individual artist and thereby perhaps change the perception we have of his work⁸⁰. They present a variety of new attributions for both Attic and South Italian vase painters. Examples of Athenian workmanship include: CA 178, a muffled dancer and mistress decorated by the Phiale Painter; CA 184, a scene with Marsyas and Apollo for the Kadmos Painter; CA 255 (fig. 12) and CA 257, both decorated with satyrs and maenads, are the work of the Black-Thyrsus Painter. The following are new South Italian vase attributions: CA 129, a hydria, and CA 130, a skyphos, both with a youth and horse and by the Parrish Painter; CA 167 (fig. 13), an oinochoe (shape 10) with a griffin decorating the shoulder and veiled woman with satyr on the body for the Whiteface Group; CA 143, a scene including Dionysos and Pan by the Painter of Louvre K 240.

A number of the drawings illustrate scenes with unusual subjects: CA 132 (fig. 8), a satyr peering over an abyss at a fox and trap; CA 171 (fig. 9), Prokris and Kephalos?; CA 131 (fig. 14), a comic theatrical scene – appended is a detailed discussion of this motif by J. Richard Green.

⁷⁴ It was Plate XXXI in G. Patroni, *Vasi dipinti del Museo Vivenzio disegnati da Costanzo Angelini nel 1798* (Rome 1900).

⁷⁵ For a detailed discussion of the engravings Angelini made for Pietro Vivenzio see R. Cioffi, *Vasi dipinti del Museo Vivenzio disegnati da Costanzo Angelini nel MDCCXCVIII*, in: F. Solinas – S. Schütze (eds.), *Le dessin napolitain. Actes du Colloque international Paris 6–8 mars 2008* (Rome 2010) 175–181.

⁷⁶ The myth was not identified in the inventory which is reprinted in: *Documenti inediti per servire alla storia dei Musei d'Italia IV* (Florence 1880) 134.

⁷⁷ BAPD 213705.

⁷⁸ PT 111.

⁷⁹ A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung in Antiquarium II* (Berlin 1885) 1041.

⁸⁰ On the value of additional attributions to a vase painter's repertoire see J. Oakley, *Changing Personalities – What New Attributions can tell us*, in: N. Eschbach – S. Schmidt (eds.), *CVA Beih. 7, Töpfer-Maler-Werkstatt: Zuschreibungen in der griechischen Vasenmalerei und die Organisation antiker Keramikproduktion* (Munich 2016) 25–35.



Fig. 11. Ange Clener. Jason with the Golden Fleece. Pen and grey ink, watercolour with background in black body colour and border of green watercolour. 1790s. Marbach, Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Cotta-Archiv Nr. 230. Drawn after an Apulian red-figure calyx-krater, Paris, Musée du Louvre Inv. K 127, 340–330 B.C., attributed to the Underworld Painter

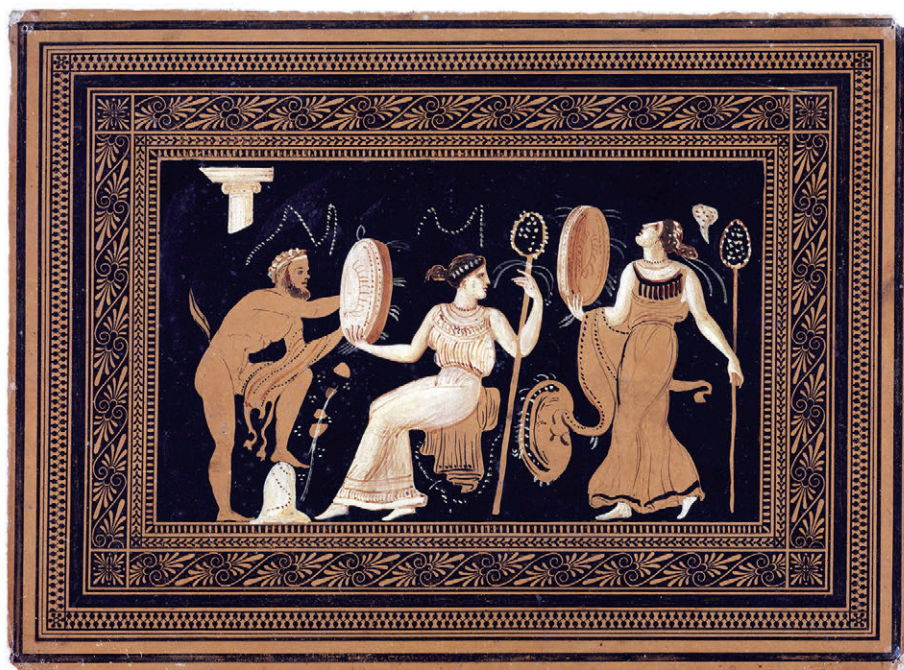


Fig. 12. Tischbein's Neapolitan workshop. Two maenads with tambourines and a satyr. Pen, brown ink and body colour, mounted and varnished. 1790s. Marbach, Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Cotta-Archiv Nr. 255. Drawn after an Attic red-figure vase, 400–300 B.C., by the Black-Thyrus Painter, location unknown



Fig. 13. Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein. Oinochoe: Griffin (shoulder), seated woman and satyr (body). Pen and black ink over black chalk. 1790s. Marbach, Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Cotta-Archiv Nr. 167. Drawn after a Campanian oinochoe (shape 10), 360–330 B.C., by the Whiteface Group, location unknown

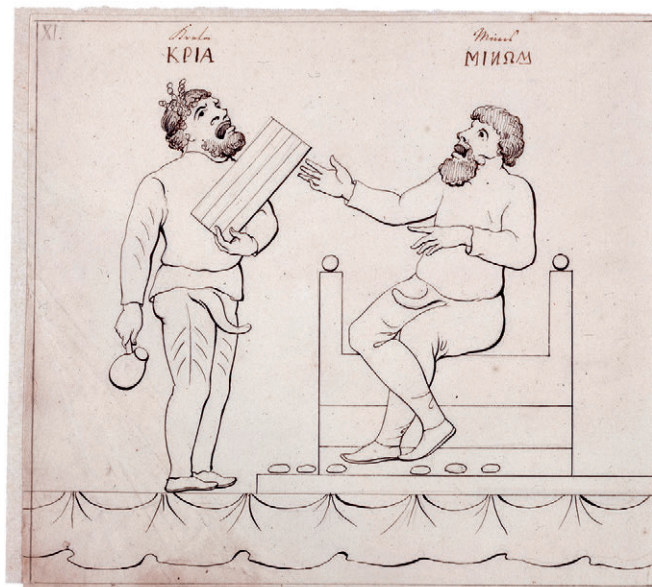


Fig. 14. Tischbein pupil. Scene from a comic play. Pen and black ink over black chalk. 1790s. Marbach, Schiller-Nationalmuseum, Cotta-Archiv Nr. 131. Drawn after a Sicilian red-figure vase, ca. 360 B.C., in the collection of the Marchese del Vasto, now untraceable

To summarise, the drawings demonstrate Tischbein's fascination with the world of the ancient Greeks. His personal interpretation of their vase painting as motifs constructed by simple outline influenced the revival and reception of classical antiquity which was to attain great resonance throughout Europe. Although fewer than a quarter of the vase drawings are by his hand, they all reflect his aesthetic and complement our understanding of the artist as draughtsman and teacher. To define him today simply as the ›Goethe-Tischbein‹ scarcely appears justifiable in the light of his appreciation and intimate knowledge of the vases which this study has illustrated. Perhaps ›Tischbein the Artist-Archaeologist‹, might be more appropriate.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am indebted to Professor J. Richard Green for advice and support and to the anonymous reviewer for his comments as well as to Professor Hermann Mildener for sharing with me his expertise on the artist Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein. Without access to archival material, this article could not have taken shape – here I should like to extend my thanks to the following individuals and institutions: S. Henke and B. Fischer (GSA, Weimar); M. Laubenger (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien); H. Mojem (DLA-Marbach/Cotta-Archiv); Professor Rainer Stamm and C. Clermont (Landesmuseum, Oldenburg). Furthermore, I am grateful for the provision of illustrations by the Chau Chak Wing Museum, University of Sydney, and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. The research was partially funded by a Marbach Fellowship grant.

A NOTE ON THE SICILIAN COMIC VASE DRAWING, CA 131

by John Richard Green

The drawing (fig. 14) quite evidently reflects a ›phlyax‹ scene, that is, a scene from a 4th-century comedy, and it is one that is new to us. The arrangement is a familiar one: a figure seated on an altar who is approached by another. Beyond this point the interpretation becomes more difficult and we are forced to consider both the vase's state of preservation and the draughtsman's accuracy in the recording of the detail. In the light of Lesley Fulton's description of their methods, we should take the latter for granted, at least as a starting point.

To take a simple point first: the altar is made to look throne-like. If we compare the altar on the well-known calyx-krater now in Taranto but found in Canosa in 1923 (fig. 15 a), we gain a more direct idea of what these winged altars looked like⁸¹. It would appear that the depiction of the mouldings is likely to have been simplified in Cotta's version. More particularly our

⁸¹ Taranto, Mus. Naz. Inv. 9120–9121 (51731), from Canosa (1923). H 31,5 cm. PhV² 56 no. 89; CVA Taranto (1) IV d, r pl. 17, 1–3; Soprintendenza alle Antichità della Puglia (eds.), *Letteratura e arte figurata nella Magna Grecia: Taranto, Museo Nazionale, ottobre 1966* (Fasano 1966) no. 206 (ill.); U. Albin, *Il teatro greco*, *Archeo Dossier* 23, 1995, 25; J. Charbonneaux et al., *Classical Greek Art, 480–330 BC* (London 1972) 317 fig. 367 (colour ill.); P. Ciancio Rossetto – G. Pisani Sartorio, *Il Teatro nel Mondo Greco e Romano*, *Archeo* XI/153, Nov. 1997, 60 (colour ill.); A. D'Amicis et al., *Attori e maschere del teatro antico: la documentazione del Museo di Taranto*. Exhibition catalogue Taranto (Taranto 2004) 37, lower right. All references in this section are selective.



Fig. 15 a. b. Apulian red-figure calyx-krater, Taranto, Mus. Naz. Inv. 9120–9121 (51731), from Canosa (1923)



Fig. 16. Apulian red-figure volute-krater, London, British Museum Inv. 1931,0511.1



Fig. 17. Sicilian red-figure krater fragments, Entella, Antiquarium Inv. E 856, from Rocca di Entella

drawing has what appear to be spheres on top of the altar's wings, emphasizing its throne-like interpretation. In the original they must surely have been a relatively three-dimensional view of the tops of these wings. Again, compare the treatment in figure 16, even if the altar is drawn from a different angle⁸². The fragments from Entella (fig. 17), though Sicilian rather

⁸² See for example, RVAp I, 416 no. 16/10 pl. 149, 1; Moret, *Ilioupersis* 1975, pl. 79; Cassimatis 1991, pl. 5 c; Miti Greci 2004, 230 no. 233.

than Apulian, are another useful example of such an altar in a comic scene⁸³. They are to be dated somewhat after ours, from late in the sequence of so-called Middle Comedy.

As a type of altar, the ›winged‹ seems to have emerged in the course of the 4th century, and on present evidence, it was largely confined to South Italy and Sicily. One finds depictions of them not uncommonly in Apulian red-figure, and to some extent in Sicilian and thus in the early phase of Paestan also, but only in the early phase. For Apulian examples we may think of the one in the Phrixos and Helle scene on the volute-krater in Berlin⁸⁴, the one standing between tripods on the large lekythos in Hamburg⁸⁵, or the well-known scene of Neoptolemos kneeling on an altar on the volute-krater nowadays in Vicenza⁸⁶. Another useful example because uninterrupted, is to be found on the volute-krater in London of the middle years of the 4th century and attributed to the Lycurgus Painter (fig. 16)⁸⁷. It shows Boreas making off with Oreithyia from a sanctuary and a priestess dropping her temple-key in shock. Apart from the bloodstains on the altar's side, the painter has been careful to show the cinders littering the upper surface. The reason for these side elements is not self-evident. Two long-standing ideas, to help control the sacrificial fire when it was windy (although the altar would have had to be positioned with regard to prevailing winds), or to support spits (although we have no convincing visual evidence for such a practice) do not remain convincing. It may rather be that they were thought to emphasize the working surface of the altar both visually and to help support the wood stacked for the fire. The earliest depictions in Apulian pottery seem to be attributed to the Ilioupersis Painter but they, of course, are a *terminus ante quem*. One might argue that their appearance on vases is dependent on the types of scene being developed in contemporary red-figure vase-painting, earlier work not having much call for altars. Thereafter we find them in work attributed to the Lycurgus Painter and then the Darius Painter. Curiously there is an example by the White Sakkos Painter⁸⁸, but it is otherwise unknown in the Canosan series and one might guess that he copied it from a vase imported from Taranto. In Sicilian vase-painting we first see one on the famous calyx-krater in Syracuse attributed to the Dirce Painter: it shows a female (Electra or Iphigeneia) seated on such an altar in the presence of Orestes and Pylades⁸⁹.

⁸³ Entella, Antiquarium Inv. E 856, from Rocca di Entella. Fragments. 12.3 × 14.8 cm. M. de Cesare, Alkmene ad Entella. *Ceramografi sicelioti e campani nel IV secolo a. C.*, AnnPisa Ser. III, 22, 1992, 979–983 pl. 55, 2; E. Schmidt, Alkmene in Nöten: Fragment einer neuen apulischen Amphora, *AntK* 46, 2003, pl. 14, 2; M. de Cesare, La ceramica figurata italiota e siceliota ad Entella, in: A. Corretti (ed.), *Quarte giornate internazionali di studi sull'area Elima* (Erice, 1–4 dicembre 2000). *Atti I* (Pisa 2003) 253–269 pl. 48, 2; Taplin 2007, 263 no. 106 (ill.). Note that the scene does not reflect Tragedy as originally thought.

⁸⁴ Berlin, Antikensammlung Inv. 1984.41: RVAp Suppl. 2 (1991) no. 18/41b pl. 35, 4 (Darius Painter); L. Giuliani, Bildervasen aus Apulien (Berlin 1988) 6–10 pl. 2 (colour ill.); Taplin 2007, 215–217 no. 81.

⁸⁵ Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Inv. 2003.131: RVAp Suppl. 2 (1991) 161 pl. 41, 1 (Underworld Painter, early); F. Hildebrandt, Whose Cult(ure)? Zu einer ungewöhnlichen Darstellung auf einer apulisch-rotfiguren Lekythos des Dareios-Malers, in: S. Faust et al. (eds.), *Antike. Kultur. Geschichte. Festschrift Inge Nielsen* (Aachen 2015) 147–177: 148 figs. 1, 3; CVA Hamburg (2) pls. 46–49.

⁸⁶ Vicenza, Palazzo Leoni Montanari, Banca Intesa, Inv. 111: IGD 1971, 78 no. III.3.9; Miti Greci 2004, 232 no. 235; Cassimatis 1991, pl. 5 a; Moret, Ilioupersis 1975, pl. 51, 1; Taplin 2007, 139–141 no. 43; L. Giuliani, Pots, Plots, and Performance. Comic and Tragic Iconography in Apulian Vase Painting, in: L. Audley-Miller – B. Dignas (eds.), *Wandering Myths* (2018) 127 fig. 1; RVAp I, 193 no. 8/4 pl. 60, 3 (Ilioupersis Painter).

⁸⁷ London, Brit. Mus. Inv. 1931,0511.1: RVAp I, 416 no. 16/10 pl. 149, 1 <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1931-0511-1> (02.04.2022).

⁸⁸ RVAp Suppl. 1, 182 no. 29, 2 a pl. 38, 3.

⁸⁹ Syracuse 36334, CVA Siracusa (1) IV E pl. 2, 1; IGD 1971, 42 f. no. III.13; RVP, 24 no. 1 pl. 1 a.

It is interesting that there seem to be no 4th-century examples of such altars among the many terracottas of figures seeking refuge on altars. We should bear in mind that most are of Attic origin or at least Attic-inspired. The only contemporary example I recall is the bronze finial of such a man that was found in Pistiros in Thrace⁹⁰. There the ›wings‹ rest on top of what looks very like an ordinary altar with volutes at the sides. It should date to the third quarter of the 4th century. The style of the modelling is very reminiscent of Sicilian and it is perhaps possible that it came as part of an imported object.

The calyx-krater in figures 15 a and b, perhaps of about 340–330 B.C. has a white-haired man coming across another man seated on an altar and holding the branch of a suppliant. The person approaching has the mask of a figure who generally seems to have been genial and benign, and we can see by the gesture of his right hand that the figure on the altar is glad to see him. The man is friendly and offers support. The phialai and the bushes show that we are in a sanctuary, and the torch in the old man's hand demonstrates that it is night. We see the same mask-type used in another night-scene on the contemporary stemless cup in Berlin decorated in the Gnathia technique⁹¹. There the man (Philopotes as he is labelled) is given a brown face and his face and hair are a pale brown that approaches white.

Familiarity with scenes of men, and occasionally women, seated on altars as a standard motif in Comedy means that we often forget, or at least underestimate the pressures and the fears that prompted people to seek this kind of safety. A discussion by Ulrich Sinn makes a number of these issues clear⁹². The seated man on the calyx-krater in Taranto (fig. 15 a) has his himation drawn over his head, as do many of his counterparts among terracotta figurines. It is probably to be taken as a sign of shame⁹³.

⁹⁰ J. Bouzek et al., Pistiros I. Excavations and Studies (Prague 1996) 109–114 pl. 33; J. Bouzek, Greeks and Thracians: Greek Emporia in Thrace, in: R. F. Docter – E. M. Moormann (eds.), *Classical Archaeology towards the Third Millennium: Reflections and Perspectives. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Classical Archaeology*, Amsterdam, July 12–17, 1998 (Amsterdam 1999) 89 f. fig. 17; J. Bouzek, *Bronze Appliqué Representing a Comic Actor-slave from Pistiros*, *Eirene* 37, 2001, 19–22.

⁹¹ Berlin, *Antikensammlung Inv.* 1969.7: A. Greifenhagen, Philopotes, *Gymnasium* 82, 1975, 26–32; E. Köhne – C. Ewigleben (eds.), *Gladiators and Caesars. The Power of Spectacle in Ancient Rome* (London 2000) 103 fig. 115 (colour); J.-J. Maffre, *Comédie et iconographie: les grands problèmes*, in: J. Leclant (ed.), *Le théâtre grec antique: La comédie. Actes du 10^{ème} colloque de la Villa Kérylos à Beaulieu-sur-Mer les 1^{er} et 2^{ème} octobre 1999* (Paris 2000) 269–315: 297 fig. 18 (colour); J. R. Green, *Comic Vases in South Italy. Continuity and Innovation in the Development of a Figurative Language*, in: K. Boshier (ed.), *Theater outside Athens: Drama in Greek Sicily and South Italy* (Cambridge 2012) 315 fig. 14. 15.

⁹² U. Sinn, *Greek Sanctuaries as Places of Refuge*, in: N. Marinatos – R. Hägg (eds.), *Greek Sanctuaries: New Approaches* (London 1993) 88–109.

⁹³ D. L. Cairns, *Anger and the Veil in Ancient Greek Culture*, *GaR* 48, 2001, 18–32; D. L. Cairns, *Weeping and Veiling: Grief, Display and Concealment in Ancient Greek Culture*, in: T. Fögen (ed.), *Tears in the Graeco-Roman World* (Berlin 2009) 37–57; D. L. Cairns, *Veiling Grief on the Tragic Stage*, in: D. Munteanu (ed.), *Emotion, Genre and Gender*, in *Classical Antiquity* (London 2011) 15–33; D. L. Cairns, *Clothed in Shamelessness, Shrouded in Grief. The Role of ›Garment‹ Metaphors in Ancient Greek Concepts of Emotion*, in: G. Fanfani et al. (eds.), *Spinning Fates and the Song of the Loom* (Oxford 2016) 25–42; G. P. Viscardi, *Verità e rappresentazione. Logiche discorsive e pratiche performative del dis/velamento nell'antica Grecia*, in: M. Ferrara et al. (eds.), *Le verità del velo* (Florence 2017) 59–88.

In practice altars cannot have been pleasant places to sit, uncomfortable, difficult to sleep on overnight, and dirty with ashes and half-burnt wood from sacrificial fires⁹⁴. Indeed, Apulian vase-painters quite often showed the ashes on such altars, especially in scenes inspired by tragedy. We noticed the Lycurgus Painter's fig. 16 above. Another good case is the Ilioupersis Painter's volute-krater, where Orestes sits amid the ashes and dirt on the altar⁹⁵. One can just detect traces between the two boys on the altar on the Darius Painter's ›Medea at Eleusis‹ in Princeton⁹⁶.

The scene we have in the drawing would seem to be in marked contrast. The figures appear to be remarkably cheerful, and, from the angling of their heads, to be singing. While the figure on the altar could be stage-naked, the other could well have had some form of tunic. What he carries with his left hand is unclear: we could guess at a lyre, although it would have had to be badly damaged. If it is in fact a lyre, we might guess at a plectrum in his right hand. It could have been a ›xylophone‹, but they seem to occur in Apulia, not Sicily, and, more importantly, their use is associated with women. To judge by the wreath about the man's head, he was involved in a festive occasion. Their footwear is simplified. The ›pebbles‹ in front of the altar seem misplaced, but that is where the seated man's feet rest. Curiously, the platform, if it is such, continues beyond the edge of the drawing.

The drawing of the leggings of the standing figure shows the seam running down the side, but it is absent on the other. The masks have been humanised to a point at which they can no longer be classified, but if we assume some level of basic accuracy, the seated figure has a fuller, larger beard than his visitor and we should consider the role of an old man rather than a slave, and perhaps a rather simple-minded one such as we see with Mask L, but the hair is unlikely to have been white⁹⁷. The phalloi are very prominent, suggesting a date not much later than ca. 360 B.C., in which case this is quite an early example of a ›winged‹ altar.

The inscribed names above the figures are also problematic. ›Minos‹ over the seated figure is conceivable, if innately unusual in such a context, but ›Kria‹ above the other must have been misconstrued or was at least incomplete. The figure cannot be taken as Herakles, all apart from the fact that the draughtsman would surely have recognised that name.

The continuous curtain below the stage, not interrupted by a stairway is of itself unusual but prompts comparison with a similar treatment on the well-known calyx-krater in Lipari

⁹⁴ On the debris from sacrifices with which suppliants would have had to contend, see the excellent discussion by G. Ekroth, ›Don't Throw Any Bones in the Sanctuary!‹ On the Handling of Sacred Waste in Ancient Greek Cult Places, in: C. Moser – J. Knust (eds.), *Ritual Matters: Material Remains and Ancient Religion*, *MemAmAc Suppl.* 13 (Ann Arbor, MI 2017) 33–55. It is clear that altars shown in vase-paintings were unnaturally clean – that is the images were not quasi-photographic, nor should one expect otherwise.

⁹⁵ Naples, Mus. Naz. Inv. 82113: IGD 1971, 92 no. III.3.28; Miti Greci 2004, 280 f. no. 282 (colour ill.); RVAp I, 193, 3; Cassimatis 1991, pl. 5 b; N. Stampolidis, *Altar, Kraterutes and Acroteria. A Contribution to the Study of Π-shaped Altars*, in: M.-T. Le Dinahet – R. Étienne (eds.), *L'espace sacrificiel dans les civilisations méditerranéennes de l'Antiquité: Actes du colloque tenu à la Maison de l'Orient, Lyon 4–7 juin 1988*, Publications de la Bibliothèque Salomon Reinach 5 (Paris 1991) 291–296 pl. 77 a; Audley-Miller – Dignas loc. cit. (n. 86) 127 fig. 2; Taplin 2007, 150 f. no. 47.

⁹⁶ RVAp Suppl. 1, 78 no. 18. 41 a pl. 12, 1; A. D. Trendall, *Medea at Eleusis on a Volute Krater by the Darius Painter*, *Record of the Art Museum, Princeton University*, 43 1984, 4–17; Taplin 2007, 238–240 no. 94 (ill.); L. Giuliani – G. W. Most, *Medea in Eleusis*, in Princeton, in: C. Krause et al. (eds.), *Visualizing the Tragic: Drama, Myth, and Ritual in Greek Art and Literature: Essays in Honour of Froma Zeitlin* (Oxford 2007) 197–217.

⁹⁷ For an overview of contemporary mask-types, see T. B. L. Webster – J. R. Green, *Monuments Illustrating Old and Middle Comedy*, *BICS Suppl.* 39³ (London 1978) 13–26.



Fig. 18. Once coll. Hamilton. After Tischbein IV, pl. 10

on which an older and a younger man watch the performance of an acrobat in the presence of Dionysos⁹⁸. That vase is attributed to the Group of Louvre K 240 and is datable to about 360–350 B.C. It prompts one to wonder if our vase too was not Sicilian. There are hints, too, of some similarity in style.

In general terms and especially in the handling of the chitons, I am reminded of a piece formerly in the Hamilton collection and again known only from an engraving (fig. 18)⁹⁹. There the original was misunderstood: the woman who is the centre of attention was using an *inyx*, but the draughtsman converted the instrument into a brooch by her right shoulder, as if she held a skein of wool. In point of fact her activity prompted the whole scene. As Theocritus was to put it some years later in the repeated refrain in »Idyll II«:

ἴνυξ, ἔλκε τὸ τήνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμον τὸν ἄνδρα

⁹⁸ Lipari, Mus. Arch. Eoliano Inv. 927, from Lipari tomb 367. See for example: Charbonneaux et al. loc. cit. (n. 81) 319 fig. 371 (colour ill.); IGD 1971, 128 no. IV, 11; L. Bernabò Brea – U. Spigo, Da Eschilo a Menandro: due secoli di teatro greco attraverso i reperti archeologici liparesi. Exhibition catalogue Lipari (Milazzo 1987) 36 (colour ill.); RVSIS, ill. 340; L. Bernabò Brea – M. Cavalier, Ceramica figurata della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia nella Lipàra del IV sec. a. C. (Muggiò 1997) 40 f. (colour ill.); M. Denoyelle – M. Iozzo, La céramique grecque d'Italie méridionale de Sicile: productions coloniales et apparentées, du VIII^e au III^e siècle av. J.-C., La céramique grecque 4 (Paris 2009) 183 fig. 254; P. Madella, Le rappresentazioni a soggetto teatrale nella ceramica siceliota a figure rosse da Lipari, in: M.A. Mastelloni (ed.) Lipàra ed il teatro in età tardoclassica ed ellenistica (Palermo 2015) 6 fig. 1; RVP 46 no. 99 pl. 12. 13.

⁹⁹ PhV² 48 no. 72; »Vases« IV, pl. 10; C.A. Böttiger, Kleine Schriften II (Leipzig 1838) 279–283 with description on p. 282; F. Wieseler, Theatergebäude und Denkmäler des Bühnenwesens bei den Griechen und Römern (Göttingen 1851) 54 f. pl. IX 6; E. Wüst, Φλύακες, RE XX 1 (1941) cols. 292–306 no. 44.

›iynx, draw that man to my door‹, with the result that we see two over-excited (to judge by the *kynodesmai*) gentlemen exclaiming to either side of her while a man plays an aulos. One might imagine that the sound of the auloi coincided with the rhythm of the woman's arms as she moved them to spin the *iynx*, together with the sound of its whirring, and, no doubt, the sound of her chanting. The handling of the aulete's face recalls the drawing of the men's masks on CA 131, whether or not by coincidence. Here again we are likely to be dealing with Sicilian, and in this case probably a calyx-krater.

We cannot be sure of the shape of the vase that carried the scene on CA 131 but it was most likely a bell-krater. As we have seen it should probably be dated towards 360 B.C. but probably no later. The likelihood is that the original was Sicilian, decorated by a follower of the Dirce Painter. It has some importance for the history of ›winged‹ altars, and it certainly adds to our knowledge of scenes from Comedy. As with so many comic scenes, it was aimed at reminding the viewer of the actors' words (or perhaps in this case song), and the liveliness of the performance.

Abbreviations:

BAPD	Beazley Archive Pottery Database < https://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/carc/pottery >
Beazley 1956	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters</i> (Oxford 1956)
Beazley 1963	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> ² (Oxford 1963)
Böttiger – Heyne 2015	R. Sternke – K. Gerlach (eds.), <i>Karl August Böttiger: Briefwechsel mit Christian Gottlob Heyne</i> (Berlin 2015)
Cassimatis 1991	H. Cassimatis, <i>Les autels dans la céramique Italote</i> , in: M.-T. Le Dina-het – R. Étienne (eds.), <i>L'espace sacrificiel dans les civilisations méditerranéennes de l'Antiquité. Actes du colloque tenu à la Maison de l'Orient, Lyon 4–7 juin 1988</i> , Publications de la Bibliothèque Salomon Reinach 5 (Paris 1991) 33–43
DLA/CA	Deutsches Literaturarchiv / Cotta-Archiv, Marbach
GSA	Goethe- und Schiller-Archiv, Weimar
IGD 1971	A. D. Trendall – T. B. L. Webster, <i>Illustrations of Greek Drama</i> (London 1971)
Jenkins – Sloan 1996	I. Jenkins – K. Sloan, <i>Vases and Volcanoes: Sir William Hamilton and his Collection. Exhibition catalogue London</i> (London 1996)
LCS	A. D. Trendall, <i>The Red-Figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily</i> (Oxford 1967)
Miti Greci 2004	G. Sena Chiesa – E. A. Arslan (eds.), <i>Miti Greci. Archeologia e pittura dalla Magna Grecia al collezionismo</i> (Milan 2004)
Moret, Ilioupseris 1975	J. M. Moret, <i>L'Ilioupersis dans la céramique italote: les mythes et leur expression figurée au IV^e siècle</i> (Rome 1975)
PhV ²	A. D. Trendall, <i>Phlyax Vases</i> , BICS Suppl. 19 (London 1967)
PT	Pape-Tischbein bequest, Landesmuseum Oldenburg
RVAp	A. D. Trendall – A. Cambitoglou, <i>The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia: I. Early and Middle Apulian</i> (Oxford 1978); <i>II. Late Apulian</i> (Oxford 1982)

RVAp Suppl. 1	A. D. Trendall – A. Cambitoglou, <i>The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, Supplement I</i> , BICS Suppl. 42 (London 1983)
RVAp Suppl. 2	A. D. Trendall – A. Cambitoglou, <i>The Red-Figured Vases of Apulia, Supplement II</i> , BICS Suppl. 60 (London 1991–1992)
RVP	A. D. Trendall, <i>The Red-Figured Vases of Paestum</i> (London 1987)
RVSIS	A. D. Trendall, <i>Red Figure Vases of South Italy and Sicily</i> (London 1989)
SLUB	Sächsische Staats-, Landes- und Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden
Taplin 2007	O. Taplin, <i>Pots & Plays: Interactions between Tragedy and Greek Vase-painting of the Fourth Century B.C.</i> (Los Angeles 2007)
Tischbein 1861	C. Schiller (ed.), <i>Wilhelm Tischbein: Aus meinem Leben</i> (Braunschweig 1861)
Tischbein 1872	F. von Alten (ed.), <i>Aus Tischbein's Leben und Briefwechsel</i> (Leipzig 1872)

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Abstract:

Lesley Vivienne Fulton, Johann Friedrich Cotta's ›Paper Museum‹, an Introduction. The Formation of the Collection, Its Publication and the Vases It Illustrates. With a Note on the Sicilian Comic Vase Drawing, CA Nr. 131 by John Richard Green

While employed as co-director of the Academy of Painting in Naples from 1789–1799, the neoclassical artist J. H. W. Tischbein was involved in the assembly of engravings for the publication of Sir William Hamilton's second collection of Greek vases. A collection of 142 vase drawings relating to a fifth volume and now held in the Cotta Archive, Marbach is the object of this study, my aims being to trace the history of their publication, to determine how they reflect Tischbein's own practice as draughtsman and teacher and finally to identify the vases they illustrate. The drawings demonstrate Tischbein's close involvement in his workshop with both his students and professional draughtsmen who were employed in the preparation of Etruscan vases and wall decorations as well as engravings made in his preferred technique of linear abstraction. Their publication was forestalled by Napoleonic troops invading Naples and, twenty years on, the costly folio edition of the antiquarian had been replaced by compendia of artefacts for which there was a growing demand by scholars in the emerging field of archaeology. Today the drawings offer a unique source of information on vases which have long disappeared and add to the record of several vase painters and their associated workshops, one of which is discussed here.

Keywords: Neoclassical – Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein – Sir William Hamilton – Etruscan Vases – Drawing

