

Rolf-Barnim Foth

The Master of Panoramas

Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp

Edition  Kentavros



F. W. Galkerkamp.

© Edition-Kentavros 2023
ISBN: 978-3-9824852-3-2

Second improved edition 2023

Translation & editing:
Kit Batten, Stuttgart

mail@edition-kentavros.eu
www.edition-kentavros.eu

With the kind support of the

STIFTUNG

Familie Fehlmann

Rolf-Barnim Foth

The Master of Panoramas
Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp

Edition  Kentavros



About the author

His interest in the tourism pioneer Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp is no coincidence: Rolf-Barnim Foth has been enthusiastic about faraway countries since his early youth and, parallel to his studies of Russian and English philology in Kiel, London and Moscow, he frequently took on tour guides through the then Soviet Union and China. After working for a globally active study tour operator, he was posted as a diplomat to Paris, Brussels and Moscow. Since completing his doctorate at the Free University of Berlin on the return migration of Russian Germans, he has held various positions with the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, currently managing marketing and tourism and Hamburg's regional policy.

In tribute to Otto Delkeskamp (1888-1977)

Table of Contents

I	Introduction	9
2	The Early Years (1794-1822): Found and Lost	11
	How Delkeskamp Almost Became a Bookbinder: Parental Home.Apprenticeship and Travels	12
	Berlin:The Discovery of the Copper Engraving	25
	A Princely Book Project: In the Service of the Polish Count Edward Raczynski	37
	Travel through Prussia's Province of Silesia	46
3	The First Frankfurt Years (1823-1828)	57
	Delkeskamp Makes a Name for Himself with City Views and Vedute	57
	Delkeskamp Becomes a "Brand": Panorama of the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne	77
	Souvenirs for Everyone: Small Views of the Rhine	95
	Panorama of the Main from Frankfurt to Mainz	103
4	Delkeskamp's Swiss Masterpiece (1828-1835): Picturesque Relief of the Classical Soil of Switzerland	107
5	Other Work on Switzerland	134
6	Beyond the Panorama Production (1826-1840): The Delkeskamps in Private	139
7	The Panoramas of the Delkeskamp Publishing House (1835-1858)	144
	New Panorama of the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne	144
	Moselle Panorama or Picturesque Relief of the Surroundings of the Moselle and its Side Valleys from Coblenz to Wasserbillig, beyond Trier	160
	Panorama of Baden-Baden and its Surroundings	170
	New Panorama of the Rhine and its Nearest Surroundings from Speyer to Mainz	173
	Panorama of the Main and its Nearest Surroundings from Lichtenfels to Mainz	182
	Picturesque Travel Atlas of the Rhine from Basel to the Sea	185
	Small Rhine Panorama from Mainz to Cologne	200
	Panorama of the Ahr Valley from Sinzig (Remagen) to Kreuzberg above Altenahr and its Healing Springs and Spas	202
8	From Salzburg to Mont Blanc (1837-1858): Picturesque Relief of the Swiss and Adjacent Alps	207
9	Picturesque Relief of Lake Lucerne with Indication of the Track of the Rigi Railway	231
10	Street View (1858-1864): Picturesque Plan of Frankfurt am Main and its Immediate Surroundings	234
11	Epilogue (1864-1872)	262
	Catalogue of Works	267
	Bibliography	280
	Notes	287

Introduction

Your interest in the life and times of the painter and engraver Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp (1794-1872) pleases me no end!

In 1825, some 200 years ago, the invention of the Rhine panorama drawn from a bird's-eye view from Mainz to Cologne made the penniless artist Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp suddenly famous far beyond the borders of Germany: and for 50 years, he was known as the "Master of Panoramas". Encouraged by this unexpected success, Delkeskamp decided to create a bird's-eye view first of Central Switzerland around Lake Lucerne and then of the whole of Switzerland with neighbouring areas in France and Italy - single-handedly and without any modern aids such as camera or aeroplane. After climbing more than a thousand Alpine mountains and over 18 years of obsessive work, Delkeskamp put copperplate engraving views on the market that are only offered by satellites and *Google Earth* today. The *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* quite rightly praised Delkeskamp in its issue of 3 February 1979 as a "topographical soloist" who left behind a work of "gigantic proportions" and as a "brightly shining nova in cartographic landscape art". Even at an age when others enjoyed retirement, Delkeskamp portrayed Frankfurt am Main with an artistic city map in an early form of *Google Street View*, true to detail down to the number of windows and garden beds.

On the eve of the Panorama anniversary and 150 years after Delkeskamp's death, his almost unbelievable achievements have largely been forgotten. At the same time, the era of copper and steel engraving as a production technique to reach broader sections of the population with affordable images and printed products ended with him. With the help of many archives, private and public collections, this biography therefore brings together a comprehensive puzzle to illustrate in depth and for the first time the life and work of this unique artist, merchant and tourism pioneer in his private and commercial ups and downs, to tell the story of his panorama production and his desperate struggle for

protection from pirates, and to capture contemporary reactions to Delkeskamp.

My thanks therefore go first to the dedicated staff of the many graphic collections who have contributed to the puzzle with their commitment and time. Grateful mention must also be made of the volunteers of the Sütterlinstube Hamburg e.V., who are residents of the Ansgar Centre for the Elderly in the Hamburg district of Langenhorn and helped me to transcribe numerous letters and files written in Courant script. In order to convey as much of this "Delkeskamp atmosphere" as possible, I have reproduced letters and documents mostly in full length.

I would also like to thank Rainer Scheppelmann and his publishing house *Edition Kentavros* for their friendly graphic and printing support of the biography, as well as the two panorama experts Hanne Holzhäuer and Werner Hauenstein for their many years of professional and friendly exchanges over Delkeskamp. Furthermore, I feel very privileged and grateful that Kit Batten, author of scientific essays on maps and even Rhine panoramas, provided an excellent translation of this book into English.

Without the magnificent support of the Fehlmann Family Foundation from Winterthur, however, the printing of the biography would not have been possible. My greatest thanks are therefore due to the Board, especially President Christoph Bubb, the members of the Fehlmann family as well as Dr Michael Matile of the Art History Institute of the University of Zurich.

To my delight, new works by the artist have been turning up since the publication of the biography in German and with them more pieces to complete the puzzle and this English edition. If you, dear readers, would like to give me hints and suggestions, I would be pleased to receive an email at fwdelkeskamp@gmail.com.

Dr Rolf-Barnim Foth, Hamburg, May 2023

I The Early Years (1794-1822): Found and Lost

"Delkeskamp's estate found in coal cellar" was the headline in the *Frankfurt Generalanzeiger* of Sunday, 17 January 1942. "Thick, dusty bales of paper with eaten edges, which would soon surely have been handed over to the waste paper collection, were brought back to light from the storage junk in a cellar in Bockenheim a few days ago by Dr Lübbecke. The owners were glad to be rid of this burden. They had no idea what a treasure they had kept for many decades although a vague feeling of reverence had kept them from burning the pile of paper. Irreplaceable treasures would have been lost. Hundreds of charming little engravings, tiny drawings often no bigger than a thumbnail, masterpieces of small-scale illustration and numerous landscape panoramas leapt out of the strapping. A whole treasure lay at Dr Lübbecke's feet. Irreplaceable little works of art had been saved for Frankfurt."¹

Until this astonishing rediscovery in the middle of the Second World War, the painter and engraver Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp, born in Bielefeld in 1794, and who was known far beyond the borders of Germany in the 19th century as the "Master of Panoramas" had been forgotten in Frankfurt and almost 70 years after his death in 1872. Only a few experts were still familiar with him. The art historian Dr Fried Lübbecke, discovered the treasure buried under thick coal dust in the Frankfurt district of Bockenheim - in the house of the coal merchant and artist's grandson Willy Delkeskamp. Dr Lübbecke was chair of the "Bund tätiger Altstadtfreunde" [Association of Active Friends of the Old Town], a citizens' initiative he founded in 1922 to preserve the historic inner city of Frankfurt am Main and the forerunner organisation of today's "Freunde Frankfurts" [Friends of Frankfurt].

The busy Lübbecke, who soon made a name for himself as the "Old Town Father", had the estate transported from the pentagonal "Delkeskamp House" at Leipziger Straße 9, still so named today, to the Federation's office, Haus Fürsteneck on Fahrgasse, only a few steps away from Frankfurt City Hall, the "Römer", and the banks of the river Main. He sifted through hundreds of engravings, countless sketches of trees, churches, castles and mountains, the preliminary sketches for the master's much-vaunted panoramas, Delkeskamp's own collection of artistic works, books and objects, including his passport of 24 July 1862, which identifies him as a "medium-sized, wiry man of 5 feet 2 inches in height", "with brown hair and eyes, open forehead, strong nose, medium mouth and mottled beard. The complexion was described as healthy."²

Before he could memorialise the artist with the help of this extensive material in the form of a book in 1952, the clubhouse burned down after being hit by a bomb on 18

March 1944, and with it the Delkeskamp estate, already packed in boxes there but not yet removed from storage.³ In this respect, Lübbecke was the first and last person to gain a direct impression of his life and work and to report on them.

For his book, *The Face of the City. After Frankfurt's Plans by Faber, Merian and Delkeskamp 1552-1864*, Lübbecke also relied on an interview that Alfons, the youngest of the four artist sons, had given to the *Westfälische Zeitung - Bielefelder Tageblatt*⁴ 1894 on the occasion of his father's 100th birthday. It is largely thanks to this article by Otto Westermann (1840-1895), a Bielefeld merchant and entrepreneur, but above all a collector and chairman of the "Historical Society for the County of Ravensberg", that the fascinating life of Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp can be well traced and researched in archives, museums, collections and libraries, verified and supplemented with hitherto unknown details, stories worth telling and connections.

Written more than 20 years after the artist's death, the article is not always entirely reliable. But especially for the period up to Delkeskamp's arrival in Frankfurt in 1822, in view of the scarcity of documents and early works, it is of the utmost importance for the biography and not infrequently even the only source. A comprehensive insight into the artist's private life is also provided by a family history which Otto Delkeskamp, at the age of 88 and the last living grandson of the artist, completed shortly before his death in 1977 and left to the archives of the City of Frankfurt, the "Institut für Stadtgeschichte".

For four long years, he had deciphered and analysed more than a hundred letters written in Courant script, most of them from the 1860s, and many documents of the family and the time. Above all, his impressive work provides unknown details on the tragic genesis of the *Picturesque Plan of the City of Frankfurt*. The internet, Google Books and the increasing digitisation of old printed matter continue to unearth new, pleasing puzzle pieces on the artist's life and allow insights into the reception of Delkeskamp's works. The digitisation of the *Börsenblatt des deutschen Buchhandels*, which took place in 2020, demonstrates how the complete availability of all 19th century issues on the internet makes surprising details about Delkeskamp's distribution and advertising accessible for the first time.

The digitisation and indexing of newspaper holdings, however, continues to leave annoying gaps where entire volumes are missing, or is delayed altogether, especially in Switzerland, to which the artist devoted large parts of his life, so that new insights into the life and work of Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp can still be expected. For the time being, however, there is no alternative to visiting the archives.

Parental home, years of apprenticeship and travels

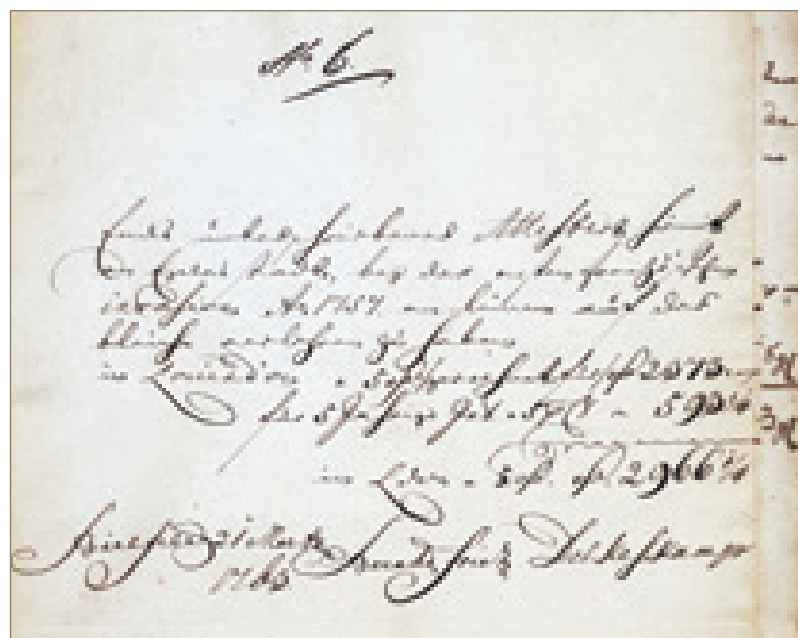
Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp would hardly have embarked on a career as an artist if, as Alfons Delkeskamp reported to the *Westfälische Zeitung*, an incident during the Seven Years' War had not thrown his grandfather Berend (Bernhard) Friedrich Delkeskamp, born in 1719, off course. His ancestors had been well established in Bielefeld since the second half of the 17th century as linen merchants, held honorary offices and were connected to the leading families of the city through marriage and godparenthood. Moreover, they were so wealthy that they were placed in the top third of a tax list that survived from 1718, the "Bielefeldische Stadtnachrichten" [Bielefeld City News] by the former Mayor Burggraffe, who had meticulously recorded all households, persons and taxes.

Bernhard Friedrich Delkeskamp maintained intensive international trade relations. This is indicated by business documents preserved in the Netherlands. His first two marriages were to Theodore Delius and Margarethe Weber, both from prominent Bielefeld families. After their early deaths in childbirth, he married Johanne Bertelsmann from another well-known Bielefeld business family. She gave him eleven children. One girl from the first marriage and seven children from the third are known to have reached adulthood, including the two sons born during the Seven Years' War in 1758 and 1760, Friedrich Adolph and Peter Friedrich.

On 15 June 1757, French troops plundered the Bielefeld fields of bleaching racks, where the merchants had laid out their stock of linen purchased in the winter and spring. With his considerable losses, Bernhard Friedrich Delkeskamp ranked ninth out of a total of 72 merchants, bleachers and weavers who claimed their losses from the City of Bielefeld at the end of the war. In 1765, the Prussian king compensated most of them for 50% of their losses in the form of a settlement.⁵ Bernhard Friedrich Delkeskamp's affidavit of 31 March 1763 is preserved in the Bielefeld city archives, stating that he had lost 2966 $\frac{1}{4}$ louisdors "at the first French invasion Anno 1757 of linnen on the bleach".

While the Bielefeld economy and the linen trade were to recover from the consequences of the war over the next 20 years, the compensation came too late for Bernhard Friedrich. In the meantime, Bernhard had switched his attention to the wine and spice trade and could no longer avert bankruptcy. Soon after, traces of Bernhard Friedrich disappear in Bielefeld.

It is an irony of history that Bernhard Friedrich's great-grandfather Tönnies, with his documentary mention in a comparable case during the Thirty Years' War, allowed the Delkeskamps to enter Bielefeld history, while Bernhard Friedrich now contributed to the family's time in Bielefeld coming to an end. Spanish troops of the Catholic League



Losses of Bernhard Friedrich Delkeskamp

had occupied the city of Bielefeld at that time and extorted money and contributions in kind from the citizens. The compulsory levies were documented by the city administration in a list: "Anno 1625, 8 September money and otherwise given to the invaders by the citizens".⁶

Apparently, no help came from the second Delkeskamp family in Bielefeld, around the pietist Johann Friedrich Delkeskamp (1731-1805), who was still active in the linen trade, or others. It was not unusual for bankrupt merchants to flee abroad for fear of losing face. Since four of his daughters had gone to Holland, it can be assumed that Bernhard Friedrich found asylum there. When his granddaughter Johanne Karoline was baptised in Kassel in March 1794, his wife was godmother, as the church register records: "Johanne Elisabeth Delkeskamp in Harlem, the child's grandmother".

For Bernhard Friedrich's two sons the economic decline of the merchant meant that they had to take up another profession, a respectable one to be sure, but one associated with social decline. Friedrich Adolph, who was named after his maternal grandfather and godfather Johann Adolph Bertelsmann (1705-1779), also a linen merchant, learned to be a bookbinder. His brother Peter Friedrich, who owed his name to his uncle and godfather Johann Friedrich Bertelsmann (1732-1807), again a merchant and linen dealer, ran pharmacies in Kassel, Fritzlar and Homberg/Efze and made a name for himself with scientific publications. The further life of Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp shows that both brothers and their descendants maintained a close relationship with each other.

Little more is known about Friedrich Adolph, the artist's father, than has been handed down by the

Westfälische Zeitung. There it says: "After many crusades and crossings in northern Germany and Russia, he settled in Bielefeld and married Marie Elisabeth Sauermann from Hannover.⁷ The church register there records her baptism on 2 February 1851 and the burial of her father, "Mstr. [master craftsman] Ernst Wilhelm Sauermann" as early as 24 September 1851.⁸ Where Friedrich Adolph met and married her and what kind of craftsman Sauermann was remains obscure. Fried Lübbecke, who started a series of lectures "Mit Delkeskamp durch Frankfurt" [With Delkeskamp through Frankfurt] after the discovery of the coal cellar in 1942, must have reported in this context that Friedrich Adolph as a bookbinder "received in Petersburg the book of honour in German of the master guild there in 1783."⁹ This document has not survived and was probably burnt with the other documents during the bombing of Frankfurt.

Lübbecke states that Friedrich Adolph returned to Bielefeld when he was "thirty years old", which would be in 1788, and settled there as a master bookbinder.¹⁰ Bookbinding had been a respected craft since the Middle Ages. After monasteries, princes and universities, the educated bourgeoisie now also liked to use the services of bookbinders. Unlike today, publishers formerly only put newly printed works on the market in brochures or loose sheets. The book lover then carried the pages to the bookbinder, who, according to the individual specifications of the customer, bound the leaves between covers with coloured paste paper and fitted them with ornamented leather spines, according to the size of the print in largely standardised formats: Folio for full printed leaves and smaller as quarto, octavo or duodec depending on the fold.

Modern people will be surprised to learn that in this way the same work by the same author and the same edition never looks the same externally. Without bookbinders, there was no attractive library worthy of one's status, without which a burgher's house was no longer complete even in Adolph Friedrich's time. Even in a small but economically strong town and administrative centre like Bielefeld, with only a little more than 5,000 inhabitants in 1790, a bookbinder was able to support himself and his family. Unlike other crafts or artists, it is not customary for bookbinders to give their work their own distinctive signature. In the case of Friedrich Adolph, however, a book has been passed on to the next generations via his artist son that bears witness to his high level of craftsmanship, perhaps it is even his masterpiece, the proof of excellence which a German craftsman had to present to the elders of the local guild since the Middle Ages before being allowed to start his own business. He dedicated *Abendgedanken eines Frauenzimmers* [Evening Thoughts of a Woman]¹¹ by Johanna Katharina Morgenstern, a well-educated Magdeburg woman who wrote devotional pamphlets, cookbooks and domestic literature for women, to his eldest sister, who was born in 1748. On the spine of the book is written in



Bookbinding by Adolph Friedrich Delkeskamp

gold letters: "for Christine Elisabeth Delkeskamps".¹² She must also have been an impressive woman, because in her daughter's wedding certificate in Zwolle in the Netherlands she is described as a "koopvrouw"¹³ or business-woman. She died in Amsterdam in 1824.

Adolph Friedrich and his wife only had two children, which was probably due to Marie Elisabeth's fragile health. Alfons had reported to the *Westfälische Zeitung* that "the mother was very weak and always ailing, so life in the parental home was not very cheerful."¹⁴

The first son and brother of the later artist, Eduard Heinrich Friedrich, was born in Bielefeld in 1791. Nothing is known about the first 14 years of his life, but he was apprenticed to his father. The bookbinding trade required a four-to-five-year apprenticeship and the same amount of travelling. In 1812, during the Napoleonic occupation, Eduard, as a journeyman bookbinder, had the sub-prefecture of the district of Bielefeld in the Département de Fulde issue him a passport in French and German to travel to Würzburg.

For his settlement in the Free City of Frankfurt in 1819, his father certified to the city administration that his son had "learned the etuis and portefeuille work with me for 5 consecutive years from 1805 to 1811 and had conducted himself through excellent diligence and effort in such a way that I was completely satisfied with him", a closing formula of central importance that is still regularly found among assessments today. In the face of massive resistance from the local bookbinders' guild, which refused to admit further bookbinders for reasons of competition, he succeeded, no doubt with the help of this paternal declaration, in establishing himself in Frankfurt not as a bookbinder but as a guild-free portefeuille and case manufacturer.¹⁵ The Frankfurt guild, which did not even manufacture such products itself but merely offered imports for sale, was defeated thanks to the intervention of a Frankfurt senator.

The hostility to innovation and the lack of freedom of trade and industry in Frankfurt until 1863 played a major role in preserving the green cityscape later portrayed in great detail by Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp, but led to neighbouring Offenbach developing into the German leather goods capital and the Electoral Hessian town of Bockenheim, directly adjacent to Frankfurt, becoming an industrial location. Frankfurt entrepreneurs, including two of the artist's brothers-in-law, had to emigrate there.

Eduard was able to acquire Frankfurt citizenship and marry Maria Margaretha Kless, the daughter of a Frankfurt master brewer, about a year after his arrival, on 10 March 1820. Eduard opened a shop in Töngesgasse Lit. G 48 and regularly advertised himself at the end of the year in Frankfurt's *Intelligenzblatt* with his "considerable selection" of Christmas and New Year's gifts "both in fashion articles of baskets and bags, as very expediently furnished work boxes of all kinds, portefeuilles, writing tools, notebooks, cases, nécessaires and genealogical books, together with all articles in this field at the cheapest prices in the best possible way".¹⁶

Three years after Eduard, Friedrich Wilhelm was born, the future painter and engraver. In 1794, the church register of Bielefeld's old town contains the following entry under No. 65:

"To the bookbinder Mr Friedrich Adolf Delkeskamp at the town hall, a little son was born from his wife Maria Elisabeth Sauermanns on 20 Septbr. in the morning at 4 o'clock, which was baptised on the 20th and named Friedrich Wilhelm. Godfather was the father of the child."

Friedrich Wilhelm could no longer enjoy an illustrious godparent from Bielefeld's higher society. His grandfather, who would otherwise have been able to take over the godparenthood, had already died.

Lübbecke reports that the young Delkeskamp attended the Bürgerschule until 1810,¹⁷ not the Bielefeld Ratsgymnasium, a Latin school that still exists today, where the city's ruling class and merchants sent their male offspring

for education and which Delkeskamp's father attended until the Quarta in 1774 and his pharmacist uncle even longer. The confessional education - all the Bielefeld Delkeskamps were Protestants (Lutherans) - nevertheless seems to have been of good quality, as Friedrich Wilhelm's later letters prove. And thanks to a proper education, he was able to socialise unabashedly with representatives of the higher classes, including the Prussian king. His father's profession as a bookseller certainly made a significant contribution to this, as he not only did bookbinding but also commissioned books, as an advertisement from the Rengersche Verlagsbuchhandlung in Halle proves.¹⁸

Bielefeld was a garrison town where many soldiers lived as subtenants in town houses. At the beginning of the century, a Prussian captain from Warendorf was quartered with the Delkeskamps, who was quoted by Alfons in the *Westfälische Zeitung* as drawing frequently and well and awakened the talent in the young Friedrich Wilhelm. When the captain left Bielefeld, Adolph Friedrich sent his son for further training to Ludwig Wahrens (1781-1870), a young painter trained in Dresden and later, 1822-1842, a drawing teacher at the Bielefeld grammar school. Wahrens may even have lived with the Delkeskamps as a subtenant for a while. He tended more to portraits and the depiction of people, Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp on the other hand to landscape and perspective. Throughout his life, people can only be found in sketches and reduced to the role of "staffage" - figures embarking on their daily activities.

"When, after completing his school years, D. had to choose a profession, his wish to train as an artist met with the opposition of his mother, who considered a trade to be better. In order not to further sadden her in her severe suffering, D. decided to learn his father's trade. ... In December 1812, D.'s mother died and the slumbering love of art then reawakened in him," wrote the *Westfälische Zeitung*.

In the 20th century, in Lübbecke's time, painting was indeed a free and not infrequently unprofitable art, which mother Maria Elisabeth had feared, and not without good reason. In the 18th century and well into the 19th century in Germany and its large German cities such as Frankfurt, painters had the status of craftsmen organised in guilds with rights and duties that differed only slightly from those of other trades.¹⁹ Bielefeld was too small to have its own (art) painters' guild or to make a living as a painter there. But Friedrich Adolf Delkeskamp was experienced and well-travelled enough to know the customs that had existed for artists in Germany since the late Middle Ages. In this respect, it must have been easier for him to let his son proceed on his longed-for career as an artist after two years of certainly strict paternal apprenticeship and precision craftsmanship and discipline, which were to be of great benefit to the young Delkeskamp later on.

The first very finely executed watercolour pen and ink drawings which bear witness to Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp's talent for landscape and perspective drawing, date from 1812. They show Bielefeld and the Sparrenberg fortress almost from a bird's-eye view, which was later to become his trademark.

In one of the views, drawn outdoors and "according to nature", he portrayed himself, perhaps during lessons with his drawing teacher Ludwig Wahrens.

"A first success was a commission from HRH Princess Pauline von Lippe-Detmold, for whom D. produced four watercolour views of Detmold, the princely castle and the Externsteine, drawn from nature," the *Westfälische Zeitung* reported further. In fact, some of the drawings have been found, two of Detmold are reproduced in *Westfalia Picta*, a publication of the Westphalian State Museum of Art and Cultural History to record Westphalian views of places before 1900.

"Delkeskamp's view of Detmold captivates with its balanced composition, efficient staffage and precise observation. No artist before him indicates the sometimes complicated tower structures of churches and castles as precisely as he does," the catalogue says.²⁰ Another watercolour is preserved as a black-and-white photograph in the state archive of Nordrhein-Westfalen.

Bielefeld and the county of Ravensberg had in the meantime been overrun by Napoleon and his army and became part of the *Royaume de Westphalie* under Napoleon's youngest brother Jérôme, with its capital in Kassel. Bielefeld itself saw itself demoted to *sous-préfecture* in a *département*.

Along with increased civil liberties, the French occupation also brought new dangers: By the skin of his teeth, Alfonso told the *Westfälische Zeitung*, his father had escaped conscription for Napoleon's campaign to Russia. In later letters, especially to his king, Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp liked to point out that he had nevertheless done military service for the Prussian fatherland.

The *Westfälische Zeitung* has more details:

"As a result of the battle of Leipzig, the winter of 1813 brought the passage of the remnants of the French army to Bielefeld, which was followed by Cossacks and Blücher's hussars. Like many other young men, D. was carried away by the enthusiasm of the time and joined the then forming 2nd Westphalian Landwehr Regiment as a non-commissioned officer. On 15 December 1813, the newly recruited troops had to take the oath of allegiance in church. On 26 December they assembled in Bünde and after a few days of drill, the regiment marched off on 6 January 1814. The march went via Münster,



Unknown landscape, 29,1 x 45,2 cm, Kunsthalle Bielefeld



Nach der Natur gezeichnet von

Ansicht der Sparenbergische



Gädelerbaum bei Bielefeld.

View of the Sparrenberg and Gadderbaum near Bielefeld, 41.5 x 59 cm, Kunsthalle Bielefeld



Ansicht von Bielefeld



View of Bielefeld seen from Johannisberg, 30 x 46.6 cm, Kunsthalle Bielefeld





Unknown landscape II, 29.5 x 46.2 cm, Kunsthalle Bielefeld

Horstmar, Ahaus, Arnhem, Utrecht, Breda, Herzogenbusch, Nymwegen, Kleve, Goch and Wesel. The French garrison first had to be driven out of many of these places or captured. D. used the leisure hours during this time to draw landscapes and towns; unfortunately, the portfolio with these drawings was stolen from him. Released in June 1814, D. returned to Bielefeld." Lübbecke also notes that Delkeskamp was awarded "the then rare Iron Cross"²¹ for his services.

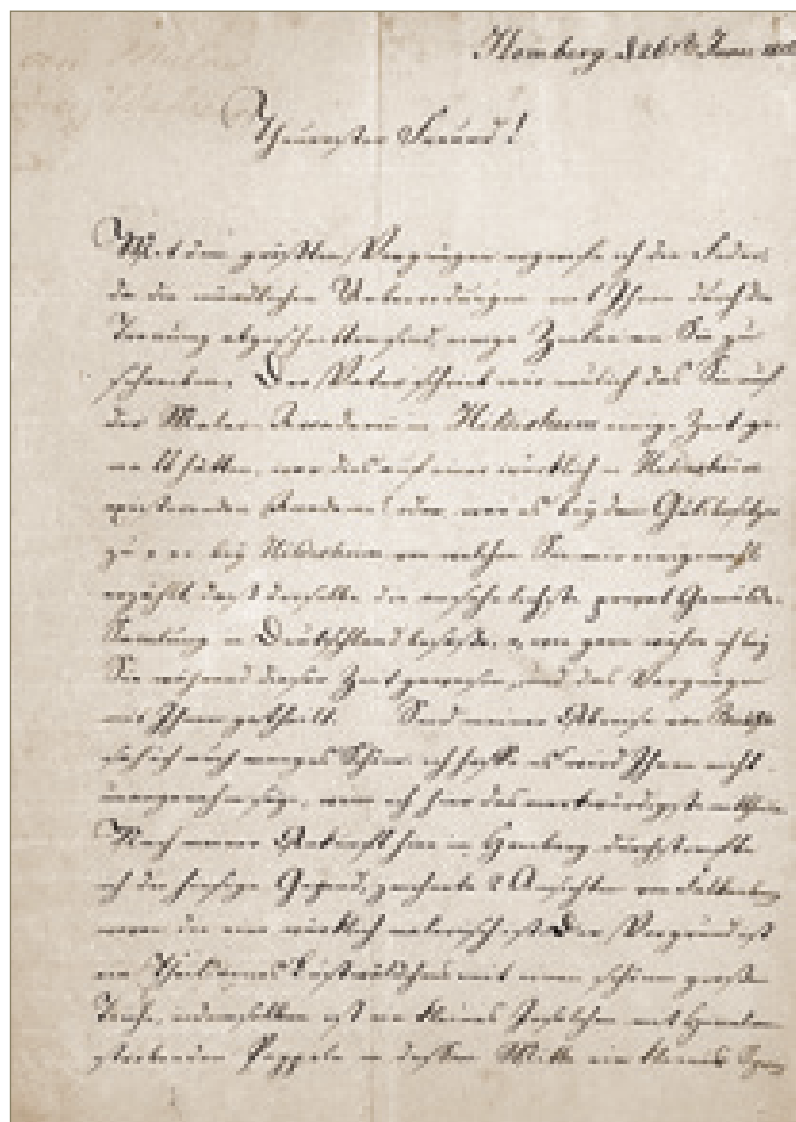
This newspaper information can be verified in the Bielefeld city archives: In mid-November 1813, the "admission of male persons residing in the city of Bielefeld for the purpose of forming the Landwehr" took place. Under No. 92 it says: "Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp. Age 19. Painter."²² Ludwig Wahrens was also recruited.

Delkeskamp will not have stayed long in Bielefeld. That summer, he headed for Homberg (Efze) in Kurhessen, where his uncle Peter Friedrich lived with his family and ran the Löwen pharmacy on the market square, which still exists today, as a tenant between 1800 and 1820. He used Homberg as a starting point for excursions and for finding a place for his further artistic training. He reported to Ludwig Wahrens in a letter dated 26 January 1815, his first surviving written testimony.

That Delkeskamp, who had obviously been deeply impressed by Frankfurt and its cultural life, was well aware of the framework conditions of the painter's trade is proven by his "inaugural visit" to the head of the Frankfurt painter's guild, Johann Ludwig Ernst Morgenstern (1738-1819), a renowned restorer, and Johann Daniel Scheel (1773-1833), originally a landscape painter, who, however, had to work for a living as a "skilful decorator and room painter"²⁴.

Frankfurt's trade structures were particularly conservative, and Delkeskamp must have drawn the conclusion from these encounters that he should not initially seek work in the Free City of Frankfurt, a city-state that was not entirely free for artists. When he later moved to Frankfurt, however, he, like his brother, was to succeed in escaping the guild system. This meant, however, that he had to look for a field of activity in which there was no competition for the local guild. This may be the reason why Delkeskamp apparently never attempted to paint in oils, the classic monopoly of guild artists. However, it was no coincidence that he found his first work in the Free City in 1823 with the conversion of a depiction of Frankfurt by Morgenstern's son Johann Friedrich (1777-1844) into an outline copperplate engraving: *View of the Banks of the Main in Frankfurt taken in front of the Leonhardsthor*.

The Hanau Drawing Academy, rejected by Delkeskamp in his youthful arrogance, had already been founded in 1772 and had been under the direction of the engraver Conrad Westermayr (1765-1834) since 1806. It still exists as one of the oldest German training and further education institutions. The letter of recommendation mentioned above, which would probably have enabled



Letter to Ludwig Wahrens, 26.1.1815, Stadtarchiv Bielefeld

Delkeskamp to gain admission, has not survived, nor does Delkeskamp appear to have taken any lessons there during his later longer stay in Hanau.

Großbreitenbach and Hanau

Delkeskamp's further undertakings can again only be gathered from the report in the *Westfälische Zeitung*: "In the spring of 1815 he was offered a position as a drawing teacher in Groß-Breitenbach in Thuringia. Encouraged by the manufacturer Mr Greiner & Son, D. first tried his hand at painting on porcelain in his leisure hours."

For a Bielefeld resident, the move to Großbreitenbach must have taken some getting used to: "High up in the mountains - at an altitude of 634 metres - at the beginning of a tributary valley of the Schwarza in a large forest-free and very cultivated expanse lies the Schwarzburg-Sondershausen market town of Breitenbach. It stretches down into the depths for a considerable length and in 1812 consisted of three rows of houses with 1992 inhabitants. The majority of them were poor and subsisted on potato farming, cattle breeding and forestry work."²⁵

"Dearest friend,

It is with the greatest pleasure that I take the pen, since the oral conversations with you have been cut off by the separation, to write a few lines to you. Your father recently wrote to me that you had spent some time painting at the painter's academy in Hildesheim, was this at an academy that actually existed in Hildesheim? Or, was it with the landowner at xxx near Hildesheim, of whom you told me several times that he possessed the most impressive private collection of paintings in Germany, oh, how I would have loved to have been with you during this time, and to have shared the pleasure with you. Since my departure from Bielefeld, I have also seen many beautiful things: I hope it will not be unpleasant for you, if I share the most remarkable things with you here.

After my arrival here in Homberg, I wandered through the local area, drew 2 views of Falkenberg, one of which is really picturesque. The foreground is a part of a pleasure grove with a beautiful large pond, in it is a small island with poplars reaching for the sky in the middle of which a small fountain bubbles up, behind this is the small castle hill with its old ruins at the near foot of which the small Falkenberg is spread out, throwing the picture back into the water. In the foreground are also weeping willows, which form quite nice groups with the poplars and other trees. From Homberg I went via Marburg, Giessen, the salt works at Nauheim, which is also a very picturesque sight, then via Friedberg to Frankfurt, which was on 20 September [his birthday]. It is a large and beautiful city, which was extremely lively due to the hustle and bustle of the crowd, and one could clearly see that this is one of the most respectable trading cities in Germany. I familiarised myself as much with the surroundings as with the interior, drew Frankfurt and also the monument erected to the good Hessians in front of the Friedberg Gate.

Then I went via Wilhelmsbad, a beautiful bathing resort, to Hanau, there I turned to the professor and first teacher of the Academy, H. Westermeyer, to whom I had a letter of recommendation, he received me in an extraordinarily friendly manner and showed me the considerable collection of drawings exhibited by the students, there were fewer oil paintings, one of the largest was the Rotunda in Rome, very much was "grey in grey", I also saw some excellent miniature paintings. But the professor had wonderful paintings by Rubens and several Dutch masters. By the way, the academy is not rich enough in paintings for budding artists.

From Hanau I went via Aschaffenburg to Wertheim, this little town lies at the outlet of the Tauber in the Main. It has a rather romantic location, but it is a pity that I was not able to draw it, for I only arrived there towards evening, and the next

morning a thick fog filled the beautiful landscape, and in the evening I reached Würzburg, a large city. The palace is a magnificent building, of which the palace church is also a part. It is magnificently built of the most beautiful marble, and the ceiling is adorned with a large fresco painting, which is wonderful. In the castle itself there are also the most magnificent ceiling paintings, the entire mythology in one room, in the other almost all the nations of the earth, etc., also magnificent picture columns. The churches are almost universally magnificent, none is without the most beautiful ceilings and altarpieces; many are decorated with the most beautiful marble columns. I also visited Blank's Natural History Cabinet, which is extraordinarily large, in which I found landscapes of hemp, feathers, seeds and the like painted, but on which the air was painted, a very artificial work, all kinds of stuffed birds, quadrupeds, shells, ores, stones etc. The kings of Prussia and Bavaria, the Empress Marie-Louise, etc., who visited this cabinet, left signatures there, which are emblazoned in gold in beautiful frames.

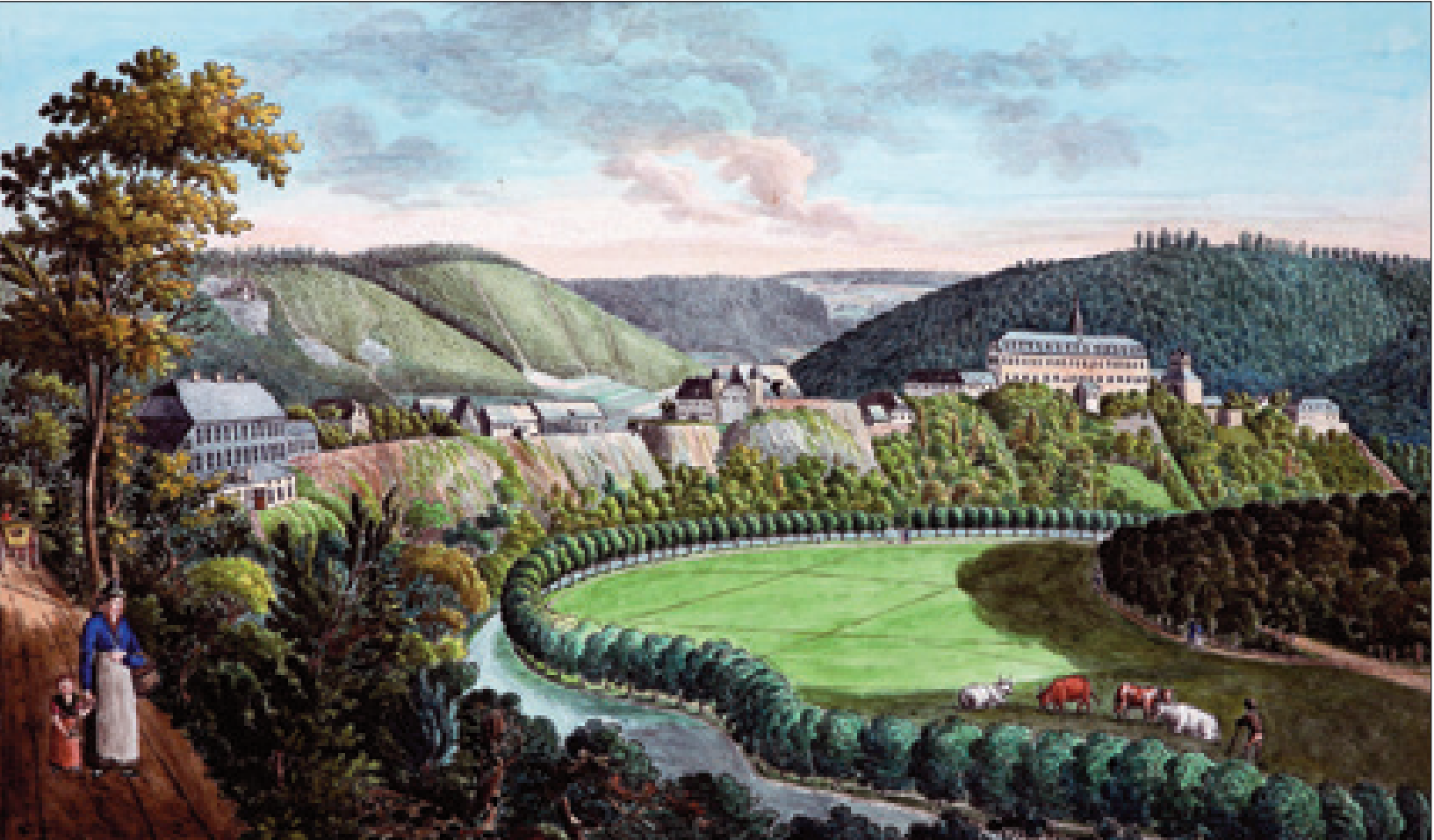
I also visited the great Julius Hospital and everything worth seeing. I also attended the Maximilian Festival on 12 October. I went to the theatre very often, the most excellent plays I saw were "The Beautiful Dream", "Armida and Rinaldo", "Ida Münster", "Kabale and Love" and many others. In the first two there were wonderful decorations, there was also very good acting. I also wanted to draw various regions, but it was already so cold that I had to leave it at the first attempt, the regions along the Main are very beautiful, I was also in the stately garden at Veitshöchheim, where there are the most wonderful water arts. I made my return journey by carriage through the Spessart. On Oct. 16, I returned to Frankfurt and attended the festivities of Oct. 18 and 19 [in memory of the Battle of the Nations at Leipzig in 1813]. Here I saw a lot of posters and the plays "Don Carlos", "The Crusaders", "The Marriage of Figaro", "xxxx the battle with the monster". I also met the painters Scheel, a skilful decorative painter, and Morgenstern, head of the drawing school in Frankfurt.

Now I'm back here in Homberg, where the world is getting a little too small for me, but as soon as spring comes, I'll follow the migratory birds.

If you please, make my recommendations to Mr Zimmer and Monsieur C. Consbruch. Father will give you a friendship book sheet, if you will have the goodness to write a few lines on it. Farewell, I am yours.

F.W. Delkeskamp

I hope to get an answer soon." ²³



View of the Schwarzach valley and Schwarzburg castle, 30 x 47.5 cm, Thüringer Landesmuseum Heidecksburg, Rudolstadt

Before Delkeskamp's arrival, the porcelain workers and artists in Großbreitenbach had a long tradition of porcelain production and painting. As early as 1782, Gotthelf Greiner (1731-1797), the "father of Thuringian porcelain", bought a factory that had already been founded in 1777. In the *Address book of the now existing merchants and factory owners in Europe*²⁶ from 1814, there is the following entry:

"Groß-Breitenbach (Saxony). In Schwarzburg-Sondershausen, on the Thuringian Forest, south of Gehren. There are many smelting works and glass factories in the area. (...) Greiner Söhne (Gotthelf) own a porcelain, coffee and tea service and Turk's cup factory."

There are no traces of Delkeskamp in Großbreitenbach, but it can be assumed that his experiences at

Greiner prompted Delkeskamp to seek work at the Royal Prussian Porcelain Manufactory in Berlin. Delkeskamp used his stay in Großbreitenbach for excursions into the surrounding area.

Schwarzburg Castle is three hours' walk away. In 1816 Delkeskamp "drew from nature" the baroque ancestral home of the counts and later princes of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt and the town high above the Schwarzach valley.

After a year's stay in Großbreitenbach, Delkeskamp went, as the *Westfälische Zeitung* reported, "in a similar position to Hanau", where no traces of him have yet been found.

Berlin: The Discovery of the Copper Engraving

Delkeskamp moved on to Berlin, "where he found a position in the Royal Porcelain Manufactory. Here, D. mainly had to design landscapes, views of the city and of buildings, which were then transferred by the other painters to cups, plates, etc.", according to the *Westfälische Zeitung*.

A separate personnel file for Delkeskamp has not been preserved at the Königliche Porzellan-Manufaktur (KPM), but a memo still exists that attests to his collaboration and allows a conclusion to be drawn as to how long Delkeskamp may have stayed in Hanau, namely until the beginning of 1817. The memo comes from Gottfried Wilhelm Völcker (1775-1849), one of the directors, and from 1833 head of the entire company, and head of the flower painting department since 1803. His lines reflect that Delkeskamp had the greatest difficulties in gaining a foothold in Berlin, which was an immensely large city for him with almost 200,000 inhabitants in 1817.

Hanau had barely 10,000 inhabitants at the time, and Bielefeld, his hometown, only 6,000 in 1818. Relatively speaking, the capital was an expensive place to live, and Delkeskamp soon ran out of money. On 24 November 1817, Völcker wrote the following in response to a letter in which Delkeskamp had asked to be dismissed from the manufactory in mid-October because of insufficient work: "Painter D. was taken on trial on 9 May this year. When I began to employ D., I soon became convinced of how very poor his ability as a porcelain painter was and would soon have removed him again had it not been for his sad situation at the time and the belief in me that this very circumstance had an influence on his work, which made me willing to undertake further trials."²⁷

That Delkeskamp, lacking experience in porcelain painting and with his well-known preference for outdoor landscape painting (still unusual at the time) would have little sense for flower compositions and would not meet the high standards of Völcker, who had also been a professor at the Royal Prussian Academy of Arts in Berlin since 1811 and a member of the Berlin Artists' Association since 1814, is hardly surprising. In the *Westfälische Zeitung*, however, the story reads somewhat differently:

"Since D. was not properly appreciated by the management of the porcelain manufactory, he wrote and published views of Potsdam, Berlin and the surrounding area on his own account, including 'The Fire of the Great Theatre'."

Whether Delkeskamp was completely released from his duties at KPM or only employed for unsatisfactory unskilled work is not known. The surviving watercolours and copperplate engravings attest to the fact that he hiked to the sights of Berlin's city centre and Potsdam, as well as to the rural surroundings, from the Kalksee lake near Rüdersdorf in southeast Berlin to Wannsee lake and

Peacock Island to the castle and village of Paretz, 20 kilometres from Potsdam. There, in the secluded idyll of the peaceful Havel landscape, King Friedrich Wilhelm III and his wife Luise were able to lead an almost bourgeois family life in the summer residence built especially for them in 1797-1804, far removed from courtly etiquette and Berlin pomp. The "bourgeois queen" Luise, who died in 1810, enjoyed great veneration among the population, quite obviously also among them Delkeskamp, who later dedicated his view of Fürstenstein Palace in Silesia to her memory. Even today, Paretz Castle is still one of the most worthwhile excursion destinations in the State of Brandenburg.

In order to secure his livelihood, Delkeskamp will have offered his works to Berlin publishers for reproduction, who then in turn commissioned proven engravers. In this respect, some of Delkeskamp's originals were printed and sold much later and in completely different contexts. To be fair, Delkeskamp's publishers allowed the names of the draughtsmen and engravers to be mentioned among the illustrations, possibly not only to fulfil the artists' desire for visibility, but also as an indication of the quality of the published product. It remains to be seen whether Delkeskamp was also the one who provided the publishers of the Berlin views with the templates required for the engravers' work: for tracing the images in reverse in the same size as the engraving and all texts in mirror writing. How much experience Delkeskamp was able to gain in this field can only be surmised, but a little later he was also to be engaged for such a task to illustrate the travelogue of a Polish nobleman.

Although the demand for views of Berlin and Potsdam rose sharply after 1815, due in no small part to the new freedoms to travel after the Napoleonic wars and the associated need for souvenir pictures, the competition in Berlin remained extraordinarily tough for Delkeskamp. Iris Berndt points out this challenge in the introduction to her encyclopaedia *Märkische Ansichten*, which also lists several of Delkeskamp's works:

"After 1820, Berlin was a lively, up-and-coming art city, emulating the metropolises of Paris and London. But how was the city, with a growing population and also growing social problems, to support the ever-increasing number of landscape painters?"²⁸

As early as 1779 there were 39, some of whom had to move elsewhere, and locally the Berlin Academy was constantly training new artists who were pushing into the now "bourgeois" market, where commissions and demand no longer came primarily from royalty, and who could only hold their own there through excellence. At the time, Delkeskamp did not yet offer a unique selling point as an artist that could have secured his existence in the long term.

This will have been the real reason for his definitive move to Frankfurt in 1822, where there was still little competition. In his memoirs, the well-known Frankfurt bookseller and publisher Carl Jügel, with whom Delkeskamp was to work in 1827, wrote:

"In the intellectual field, the performing arts were probably weakest here at all times. The number of its disciples was still very small, for the muses shyly hid from the incessant war noise of the Napoleonic hordes, and of the important local painters of the time, I only know the names of Schütz, Morgenstern [whom Delkeskamp had already visited in 1814], Prestel [for whom Delkeskamp was to work briefly] and Radl [with whom Delkeskamp later cultivated a friendship]."²⁹

Delkeskamp switched to detailed architectural views of Berlin and Potsdam, which must certainly have suited his documentary claim to draw "according to nature". The Royal Prussian Porcelain Manufactory, where some of his works were transferred to porcelain, was at the time a European leader in the production of views or vedute porcelains, which "received the decisive impetus through the wars of liberation (1813-1815) against Napoleon Bonaparte and the wave of patriotism and national self-confidence associated with it ... The veduta porcelains fulfilled several functions for their owners. They served

both to decorate the home and to commemorate places or events and the people associated with them; they were an expression of patriotism, pride in the home town or one's own house, in landscape vedute they testified to attachment to the native nature."³⁰

The quality standards at KPM were necessarily extremely high: KPM was a royal company and produced for kings, emperors and the upper classes. In its architectural vedute, KPM had to praise the Prussian king as a builder: "By placing the buildings of Berlin and Potsdam on an equal footing with the ruler in KPM's vedute, the porcelain painter had set the limits of his art from the outset: The veduta had to adhere as closely as possible to the given model, whereby the artistic quality rested solely on the craftsman's cleanliness of execution."³¹

In his essay, André Franik also points out that the models for the porcelain works could not as a rule be taken over unchanged, because the painted surface of the porcelain rarely coincided with the rectangular drawings. Nevertheless, it is unmistakable that some of the KPM works are based on Delkeskamp's models. In the case of a view of Charlottenburg Palace, sheer coincidence has led to a preliminary watercolour pen and ink drawing, the corresponding copperplate engraving and the KPM porcelain implementation being preserved together.³²



The royal palace in Charlottenburg, 12.1 x 16.4 cm, Berlin Museum

The porcelain painters probably worked from "black" outline copperplate engravings without any colouring covering the structures and details, rather than from watercolours or drawings. This is indicated by the fact that the present watercolour for the Charlottenburg Palace is not to be found in the KPM archives, but was offered on the open market. Delkeskamp will have sold the watercolour to support himself. Among the originals for the porcelain painters, only one drawing by Delkeskamp can be found in the KPM archives today, which Friedrich Christoph Dietrich (1779-1847) had converted into an engraving: *Ansichten eines Teils von Potsdam und des Neuen Palais* [Views of a Part of Potsdam and the New Palace]. The 19 x 22.5 cm leaf shows the view from the Brauhaus hill to the northwest of Potsdam and the park of Sanssouci with its buildings in the background. In the foreground the view is framed by a tree, near which a family has taken a rest, is noted on the accompanying "object map".³³ In this case, too, the corresponding watercolour master was offered on the market.

Until his arrival in Berlin, Delkeskamp had not yet come to grips with the technique of copper engraving. He therefore had to rely on the cooperation of publishers and engravers, who may have been commissioned directly by KPM to provide the templates. The origin and publication of some of the Berlin engravings for which Delkeskamp provided the preparatory drawings can be dated. However, all the engravings were published well after Delkeskamp's dismissal from KPM.

Delkeskamp worked with two well-known Berlin publishers. *Charlottenburg Palace* appeared in 1819 as No. 12 in the second of five issues of the series *Ansichten von Berlin, Potsdam, Charlottenburg, Parez und der Pfaueninsel*

[Views of Berlin, Potsdam, Charlottenburg, Parez and the Peacock Island], which the Berlin publishing bookseller Ludwig Wilhelm Wittich (1773-1832) brought out in paperback between 1819-1824. Wittich had founded his company in 1805 in Berlin on Jägerstrasse, but was also active as a draughtsman, painter and etcher himself. From 1817 he was also a member of the Berlin Artists' Association. Later, then already from Französische Strasse, he specialised in publishing Schinkel's architectural designs.

The 45 drawings in the series of views with German-French subtitles are mainly by Friedrich August Calau (1769-1828), one of the most important pictorial chroniclers of Berlin and a temporary employee of KPM, Ludwig Meyer (born around 1795), Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781-1841) and Delkeskamp himself. The aquatint etchings were made by Friedrich Christoph Dietrich (1779-1847), Johann Daniel Laurens (ca. 1770-1832) and Carl Friedrich Thiele (1790-1829).³⁴

In *Kunst und Alterthum*, Goethe was quick to promote Wittich's first two booklets:

"Although only two issues of this work have appeared, each of 8 leaves of small landscape folio in aqua tinta style, it is nevertheless suitable for advertisement; for the style and art are already clearly expressed and the subsequent leaves will not deviate significantly from the existing ones. The spatiality of the squares, the streets, the splendour of the buildings, in a word, the character of a royal city is quite well portrayed in the views of Berlin; if one also takes into account the overall uncommonly clean work, the clear shadows, cheerful airs and the pleasing soft tone of some of the leaves, the work deserves approval and a good reception among art lovers."³⁵



The royal palace in Charlottenburg, 11.8 x 16.1 cm, watercolour



The royal palace in Charlottenburg, KPM-crater vase
Auktionshaus Stahl, Hamburg, 16.5.2020



View of a part of Potsdam and the New Palais, 12.2 x 16.7 cm

Delkeskamp is represented in the third issue of 1820 with three further drawings, leaf 21 *Ansichten eines Theils von Potsdam und des neuen Palais*, which is included in KPM's collection of originals, leaf 22 *Potsdam vom Brauhausberg gesehen* and with leaf 24 *Das Königliche Lustschloß in Pareß - Chateau royal de Pareß*. After the fifth issue, which Wittich published before May 1824³⁶, and a total of 40 views, another five leaves were published. Engelmann listed all 45 views in 1857 in his complete directory of geographical publications.³⁷ The last leaf, no. 45, was again drawn by Delkeskamp and engraved by Thiele: *Die Communs und Colonade beim neuen Palais bei Potsdam*. Wittich published the 45 views in a complete edition in 1829.³⁸

The second publisher, Caspar "Gaspare" Weiss, founded his art business under the company name "G. Weiss u. Comp." around 1805 in Berlin at a prominent address: Unter den Linden 34. He later moved his business to Behrenstraße and after 1838 to Dresden. Right at the beginning Weiss brought out a first series of views of Berlin and the surrounding area, then from 1818 onwards

the *Prospectuses of Berlin*, at least 60 aquatint etchings with motifs of Berlin, Potsdam and the surrounding area, etched after drawings by Calau or Delkeskamp by Dietrich, Johann Baptist Hössel (c. 1778-1831) or anonymously.

The image size of the so-called "Kleine Folge" [small series] was only about 7 x 10 cm, a format later found in Delkeskamp's *Kleine Rheinansichten* [Small Views of the Rhine], with a plate size of 10-12 x 14 cm.³⁹ Weiss also had the views inscribed in German and French and sold the irregularly sized and partly hand-numbered views in loose single sheets in a cardboard folder with lithographed covers.⁴⁰

As part of the series, Dietrich engraved a Berlin drawing by Delkeskamp, *Das Palais des Staatskanzlers Fürsten Hardenberg auf dem Dönhofsplatze* and two views of Potsdam, *Das königliche Schloß in Potsdam nebst der Kolonade* and the view along the parkway to the vineyard and palace of Sanssouci: *Ein Theil des Königl. Gartens bey dem Schlosse Sans Souci unweit Potsdam mit der Ansicht des Schlosses in der Ferne*.



Potsdam seen from the Brauhausberg, preparatory watercolour, 19.5 x 26.8 cm, SPSCG

Together with Hössel Delkeskamp produced two views, *Iffland's Garden House in the Tiergarten* and *View from the Windows of Friedrich II King of Prussia*. Both were also used in 1821 to illustrate the popular *Pocket Book for Social Enjoyment. To the year 1822*⁴¹ published by Gottlieb Wilhelm Becker and Johann Friedrich Kind from 1791 until the 1830s.

August Wilhelm Iffland was a celebrated actor, playwright and director of the Royal National Theatre, but he only lived in the imposing country house, which was built around 1800, until 1813. Shortly after moving to Pariser Platz, he died on 22 September 1814. The Iffland Ring, which is passed on for life by its respective bearer in his will to the person whom he considers the most important stage artist of German-language theatre, still commemorates the "Director of the Royal Plays" today. The copperplate engraving by Delkeskamp and Hössel also served KPM as a model. A gold-rimmed cup in the shape of a bell with a volute handle has been preserved and was sold at auction together with the engraving.⁴²

The original for the copperplate engraving *View from the Windows of Friedrich II, King of Prussia*, a watercolour pencil drawing of the view of the Havel from the windows of Sanssouci, is now in the Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten in Potsdam. At 24 x 34 cm, it is more than three times as large as the outline copperplate engraving. Remnants of auxiliary lines and details marked with fine numbers identify the summer watercolour as a preparatory work.⁴³

Whether Delkeskamp ever personally met the two engravers Calau and Dietrich, who also transferred drawings by him for Wittich, is not known. On Hössel, however, Alfons Delkeskamp had reported to the *Westfälische Zeitung*: "Chance brought D. together here [in Berlin] with an engraver named Hoessel, who prompted him to acquire this art." Behind this almost incidental note lies one of the most fundamental decisions in the life of his artist father. Little is known about Johann Baptist Hössel, without whom Delkeskamp might never have achieved fame. He was born around 1778, worked in Berlin after 1814 and lived there until 1831.



The palace of the State Chancellor Prince Hardenberg on Dönhofsplatz, 7.5 x 11.2 cm



A part of the royal garden near Sanssouci palace not far from Potsdam, 7.5 x 11.2 cm



The royal palace in Potsdam together with the colonade, watercolour, 7.5 x 11 cm, SPSG



The royal palace in Potsdam together with the colonade, copper engraving, 7.5 x 11 cm



Iffland's garden house, 7 x 10.7 cm



Iffland's garden house, KPM cup, Kunsthau Lempertz Cologne/Helmut Buchen 24.5.2008



View from the windows of Friedrich II King of Prussia, watercolour 24 x 33.3 cm, SPSC

Around 1798 he had found employment in Dessau as an aquatint expert at the *Chalcographische Gesellschaft* (Greek *chalcos* = copper; meaning copper engraving), a publishing house founded in 1795 with the aim of making works of art accessible to a wider public through copper engraving copies. After this company went bankrupt in 1806, Hössel is said to have gone to England for a time.

Hössel will probably have passed on much of his knowledge to Delkeskamp already in the course of 1817. Delkeskamp learned quickly. His own first works are already dated 1818 and are of such professional quality that Gaspard Weiss was able to include them in his series. Perhaps the view *Das Charlottenburger Schloss von der Gartenseite* is even the first work that proudly bears the inscription on the right below the picture part: "gez. u. radiert von F.W. Delkeskamp" [drawn and engraved]. It is the same view that Delkeskamp had already delivered for Wittich, but reduced in size and with considerably less staffage. The preparatory work for the engraving, a watercolour pencil drawing, is preserved in the Stadtmuseum Berlin.

Delkeskamp went on to specialise in two techniques, classical copper engraving and etching. The aquatint process, on the other hand, he always left to experts, even during his collaboration with Hössel.



In copper engraving, a carefully polished copper plate is mounted preferably on a leather pad so that it can rotate and swivel and is worked on with a sharp instrument. The engraver ploughs material from the plate away from the body with this graver. The resulting larger furrows and narrow lines later appear black on the paper, while undamaged areas of the plate appear white. Errors can be corrected by polishing again. The engraver achieves a surface-like effect through numerous, closely spaced furrows and overlapping hatching of the strokes.

After the very labour-intensive "drawing" has been completed, the copper plate is heated and inked, with the ink penetrating into the finest lines as a result of the heating. The plate is then cleaned so that only the depressions still show ink. When printing under a press, the moistened paper draws the ink out of the structures.

In contrast to copperplate engraving, during etching the drawing is not engraved on the copper plate but etched. To do this, the plate is first covered with an acid-resistant layer into which the drawing can be freely traced with an etching needle as with a pencil, whereas in copperplate engraving the cutting is limited to straight or curved lines, parallel strokes or hatching. Where the copper plate is exposed, the acid can attack the material.

As with copperplate engraving, these indentations then absorb the black ink. In contrast to the sharp lines in copperplate engraving, etching produces somewhat grainy-looking lines because the etching process attacks the metal unevenly and the acid also penetrates slightly under the edges of the cover layer. Both techniques require a mirror-image representation of the drawing and lettering on the plate, and both lend themselves particularly well to the production of outline copperplate engravings with white areas between the outlines, which can then be coloured by hand to achieve a higher price. Colouring was an assembly line job that was delegated, not infrequently to children.

If greyscales are to be reproduced, the more elaborate aquatint process becomes necessary. The first etching is followed by others, and the parts of the plate that are not covered again are further deepened and widened, absorbing more ink during printing than the previously covered depressions. With each step, an even darker halftone is created, i.e. another shade of grey.

Delkeskamp explicitly dated his engraving *Das Palais des Königs mit dem Verbindungsbogen*: "Nach der Natur gez. u. gest. von F.W. Delkeskamp 1818". This illustration made it onto a KPM plate⁴⁴ and also onto an amphora vase.⁴⁵ The original, a watercolour pen and ink drawing, is preserved in the Stadtmuseum Berlin.

Another joint production by Hössel and Delkeskamp is a relatively large view of Berlin measuring 24.5 x 31.5 cm. In the background Delkeskamp shows the silhouette of Berlin, in front of it the royal infantry is exercising in the open field. In the foreground, on the Rollberge, perhaps even he himself is sitting and looking down on some hussars and on the Rollkrug, a popular inn. Today, this is the Berlin district of Neukölln.

The original version of the work bears the simple title *Berlin* and the inscription "Nach der Natur gezeichnet und radirt von Fried. Wilh. Delkeskamp". A *View of Berlin seen from the road to Britz* then represents further processing of the outline copperplate engraving with added signature "In Aquatint finished by J.B. Hössel at Schöneeweide b. Köp[enick]". This was published by the "Verlag der Kunstanstalt des Bibliographischen Instituts zu Hildburghausen u. Neu York", which was founded only in 1826. As an inexpensive aquatint, this view has become more widespread, and even today it can often be found at auctions.

The inscription also reveals Hössel's residence outside Berlin and thus the time of creation before 1819, for the corresponding Berlin residents' register already lists Hössel in what is now the Nikolaiviertel. Delkeskamp saved himself the bureaucratic effort of moving his residence from Bielefeld to Berlin. He remained officially "on the road", as he did initially in Frankfurt.

Further editions of this view also indicate a good demand. For the "Ludwig'sche Buch u. Kunsthandlung in



*The king's palace with the connecting arch,
Berlin Museum, 7.3 x 11 cm*



*The crown prince's palace in Berlin,
KPM Stadtmuseum Berlin, plate Ø 21 cm*



Berlin, 25 x 32 cm

Cahla", Christian Carl Ludwig Hess (1776-1853) "nach Delkeskamp neu gez. u. gest." [after Delkeskamp newly drawn and engraved] and in the *Atlas der merkwürdigsten Städte und Orte der Erde* [Atlas of the Most Remarkable Cities and Places on Earth], which was published by the Kunstverlag in Schweinfurt in 1843, there is another, but smaller, reprint. Copyright had yet to be won in Germany's states, so it can be assumed that these Berlin views were created without Delkeskamp's blessing.

Delkeskamp actually experienced the fire on 29 July 1817 in the Berlin theatre completed in 1802 by Carl Gotthard Langhans, the builder of the Brandenburg Gate. The theatre burned down completely during rehearsals for Schiller's *The Robbers*. E.T.A. Hoffmann and Carl-Maria von Weber both gave eyewitness accounts. E.T.A. Hoffmann lived only a few steps away from the theatre. His opera "Undine" had just been performed there fourteen times with great success. In a letter with an accompanying grotesque sketch, Hoffmann described to his friend Wagner in Leipzig:

"I was sitting at my desk when my wife entered, somewhat pale, and said: My God, the theatre is on fire! When the firemen banged on my door, we had already,

with the help of the cook, carried the curtains, beds and most of the furniture into the rooms at the back, which were less exposed to danger. Where they remained for the time being, as I only wanted to carry everything out at the last moment. In the front rooms, all the window panes cracked and the oil paint dripped from the heat. Only constant pouring ensured that the woodwork did not catch fire'.

But the fact that Hoffmann was so clever and didn't put the furniture on the street downstairs immediately pays off: 'My neighbours, who were in too much of a hurry to carry it away, had a lot of things stolen. Nothing at all from me.' Not only Hoffmann and his furniture are lucky, but also those who have money and bills of exchange in the bank. In the theatre, the wig chamber was also in flames, five thousand large wigs rose into the air like tethered balloons, especially one with a very long braid, which, as Hoffmann described it, 'hovered over the bank building like a threatening fiery meteor' and stopped there and simply did not want to fly any further.

But rescue came, as Hoffmann describes it, „by a courageous guard who, when several hose nozzles were aimed in vain at the rising wig, shot the said monster

down from the roof with a well-aimed rifle shot. It sank down with a hiss and a roar :- into the pissing corner of Schonert's wine house. - Immediately the state papers rose. - Isn't that the stuff of an epic?"⁴⁶ The stage sets for "Undine" were also burnt. Hoffmann's opera was not revived afterwards. With so much drama, it is not surprising that Delkeskamp told his sons about this memorable event. He captured the blazing flames in a strongly contrasting architectural and perspective drawing, but did not complete the design. The leaf is now kept in the Theatre Studies Collection of the University of Cologne. The sober graphic approach and the knowledge that Delkeskamp witnessed the event suggest that this unsigned work goes back to him.

When Delkeskamp applied for a residence and work permit in Frankfurt in 1823, he stated that he had studied in particular the subjects "Drawing from Nature", "The Science of Perspective and Shadow Construction, as far as it extends to Landscape and Architectural Objects" at the Royal Academy of Arts in Berlin. The lists of paying students in the years between 1817 and 1822 are not complete, so that the studies could not be verified.

In all likelihood, however, it was not until 1821/22 that he will have had sufficient means to afford Academy tuition from the renowned Professor Johann Erdmann Hummel (1769-1852), nicknamed 'Perspective Hummel', or from his assistant, whom the rapidly growing number of (paying) students made necessary. In September 1818, the chronicle of the Academy states:

"The professor of perspective E. Hummel has been given an assistant in the person of the architect Zielke for his lessons in perspective art drawing."⁴⁷ Hummel's knowledge could also be acquired by his students in a richly illustrated two-volume work: *Free Perspective Explained by Practical Tasks and Examples, mainly for painters and architects. Containing the science of light, shadows, colours*

and perspective shadow construction.

Nagler's *Künstlerlexikon* of 1838 states: "There is almost no painter, architect or sculptor educated in Berlin who has not learned constructive architecture, perspective and optics from him."⁴⁸

Perhaps Delkeskamp's perspective drawing of Behrenstraße was created during this time, with many drawn-in straight lines running towards a vanishing point at St Hedwig's Church, varying degrees of shading and a multitude of pencil notes on the colours and surfaces of the buildings.

Delkeskamp tried his hand at his own small series of pictures of rural Berlin in 1818, a total of four views, two each sparsely placed on a copper plate. *Lake Wannensee between Berlin and Potsdam* and *The Castle on Peacock Island near Potsdam*. The tranquil scene at the lake with a lumberyard and the castle from the back are both unusual motifs and therefore probably not found as often as the views of the excursion destination above the Havel with a forester's lodge and adjoining inn, *Pichelsberg near Spandau* and *Pichelsberg and the fortress of Spandau near Berlin*.⁴⁹ The outline copperplate engravings lent themselves well to colouring. Delkeskamp kept both copper plates and was therefore still able to advertise them in his own first publishing programme in 1837.

Delkeskamp's excursions to Peacock Island, another retreat of Friedrich Wilhelm III and his wife Luise, are evidenced by his watercolour of the dairy with barn and stable buildings. Like some other views, this picture was not converted into an engraving. But perhaps in his Berlin years he still allowed himself to paint only for his own pleasure - unlike in his later years, when he was under great financial pressure.

Hardly more than a dozen Berlin and Potsdam engravings bear Delkeskamp's name. A few, where neither



Fire of the Berlin theatre, sketch by E.T.A. Hoffmann, 7.1 x 10.2 cm, Staatsbibliothek Bamberg



The fire of the Royal Theatre in Berlin on 29 July 1817, 15 x 20.2 cm, Theaterwissenschaftliche Sammlung der Universität Köln



Behrenstraße with a view of the portico of St Hedwig's Cathedral, 24.4 x 31.2 cm, Stadtmuseum Berlin

the engraver nor the draughtsman or only the engraver are mentioned by name, are nevertheless attributed to him. Andreas Teltow, head of the Department of Prints and Drawings at the Stiftung Stadtmuseum Berlin, emphasises in his introduction to the most comprehensive encyclopaedia of Berlin city views that of the approx. 4200 known graphic representations "for almost a third of the total holdings, identification of the artistic authorship ... is not possible. (...) In the 17th and 18th centuries it was quite common not to name the artistic author.

Towards the 19th century, the proportion of works with a commercial character increased considerably. In their more craftsmanlike orientation, these often lack any artistic pretensions."⁵⁰ It was certainly only a few years later that Delkeskamp understood that the mention of his name made him a "brand", gave his works a seal of quality and secured him commissions. But all these Berlin works will hardly have been enough to secure him a living in this great city. In this respect, it was only natural that he should look for new employment.



The Palace on Peacock Island near Potsdam, 7.4 x 10.9 cm



The Wannensee between Berlin and Potsdam, 7.4 x 10.9 cm



View of the dairy on Peacock Island; watercolour, 16.5 x 24.5 cm, SPSP (above)

Potsdam city canal, watercolour, 24 x 33 cm, SPSP (below)



A Princely Book Project: In the Service of the Polish Count Edward Raczyński

The next stage in Delkeskamp's life was reported by the *Westfälische Zeitung*: "In autumn 1818, on the recommendation of Count Lubomirsky, D. received a call to Count Eduard Raczyński at Rogalin on the Warthe near Posen". It is not known how Delkeskamp received this recommendation, possibly through drawing lessons or through the mediation of Hössel. Delkeskamp's unfortunate Berlin existence thus took a new turn: he was given the chance to work on the most elaborate Polish book project of the time. The famous Parisian bibliographer and bookseller Jacques Charles Brunet (1780-1867) would describe it in his *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres*: "Cette édition ... est l'ouvrage le plus magnifique qui ait encore paru en Pologne [Manual for the bookseller and the book lover: This edition ... is the most magnificent work that has yet appeared in Poland]."⁵¹



Portrait of Edward Raczyński, painting by Carl Adolph Henning (detail), National Museum Poznań

The *Westfälische Zeitung* reported on the tasks that awaited Delkeskamp in Rogalin, about four days' walk east of Berlin: Count Eduard Raczyński "had made a long journey to Thrace, Constantinople and Asia Minor, accompanied by the painter Fuhrmann, and now intended to publish a description of this journey in Polish. Fuhrmann had taken fleeting sketches everywhere and these were now to be executed by D. in the exact size

desired for the work and prepared for engraving. Some of these drawings were executed with the pen." This report, which further embellished Lübbecke's *Antlitz der Stadt*, does not, however, correspond to the highly complicated facts and confusing process.

The search for traces in Poland cannot detach itself from the heavy shadows of the recent past: "The old Rogalin archive of the Counts Raczyński was evacuated to Warsaw in May 1939. There it burnt down with the Krasiński Castle in September 1939 during the well-known shelling of civilian targets by German artillery and air force. The rest of the Krasiński Library, where any surviving archival units were incorporated, was purposefully and methodically burned by the Germans in the ruins of Warsaw after the Warsaw Uprising by a cremation detachment led by a certain SS Lieutenant Arnhardt. I am sure that before the war there must have been documents on the collaboration of Eduard Count Raczyński and Delkeskamp. We have a copy of a report dated 4 July 1938 to Count Eduard Raczyński, then Polish ambassador in London, in which an employee of the estate administration reports several 'umpteent' 'loose' engravings depicting Turkey ..."⁵², wrote the chairman of the Fundacja Imienia Raczyńskich, Mikołaj Pietraszak Dmowski, to the author.

During his time with Count Raczyński, Delkeskamp was confronted with another more contemporary depressing chapter in German-Polish relations: With the second partition of Poland in 1793, further Polish territories had been annexed by Prussia, including Greater Poland with the region around Posen. Around 20 km south of Posen, in Rogalin, only 270 km east of Berlin, is the ancestral seat of the Counts Raczyński. Their impressive baroque castle, dating back to the 18th century, still stands today with park and significant estates on the Warta River.

In 1795, after the third partition, Poland had completely disappeared from the map as a separate state. Hopes that Napoleon would restore Poland as a separate state were bitterly disappointed by the French defeat. More than 100,000 Poles had taken part in the Russian campaign alone, the second largest contingent of troops after the French. The Congress of Vienna created "Congress Poland", a kingdom endowed with a constitution and autonomy, which was controlled, however, by the Russian Tsar in personal union. Posen and Wielkopolska, on the other hand, remained part of Prussia. Until the end of the First World War, the Polish nobility and population had to come to terms with the foreign rule.

Edward Kazimierz Lubomirski (1796-1825), who recommended Delkeskamp to Rogalin, worked in Vienna from 1815 in the Russian legation and then later in the diplomatic missions in Berlin and London. His mother

was a née Raczyński and sister of the mother of the Raczyński brothers Edward (1786-1845) and Atanazy (1788-1874) from Rogalin.

Lubomirski's cousin, the art-loving Atanazy, had fought on Napoleon's side and was clearly oriented towards the West and Germany, and towards Saxony and Prussia. For many years he even represented the Prussian king as ambassador in Copenhagen, Lisbon and Madrid. In Berlin, he acquired a palace on Unter den Linden as a residence in 1834. He rented the upper floor to the writer and novelist Bettina von Arnim, and a courtyard building housed his sensational collection of paintings, which he made accessible to the public free of charge. For the construction of a proper gallery building, King Friedrich Wilhelm IV therefore gave him a plot of land on Königsplatz in Berlin with the condition that his paintings be shown there. The "Palais Raczyński" was built in 1842-44. Raczyński let the southern pavilion of the palace to the painter Peter von Cornelius (1783-1867) as a studio. The new Royal Academy of Music and master studios of the Academy of Arts moved there in 1869-1883. After Atanazy's death, the German Reich acquired the property and from 1884 erected the building for the German Reichstag there,

which to a certain extent stands on Polish soil, as city guides like to report. The collection of paintings is now in Rogalin and Poznań and represents the most extensive collection of 19th-century German painting in Poland.⁵³ Atanazy is buried in a grave of honour in the old cathedral cemetery of St. Hedwig's Parish in Berlin. He left a detailed diary that sheds some light on Delkeskamp's work for his older brother, Edward Raczyński.

Edward made a name for himself as a politician and author of scholarly writings on Poland and explicitly in Polish, and, like his brother, as a patron of the arts. As a patriot, he worked for the rebirth of Poland through the cultivation and preservation of the Polish language and Polish historical memories.⁵⁴ After studying at the University of Frankfurt/Oder, he also fought on Napoleon's side, but after 1810 he devoted himself to his own interests. In mid-July 1814, at the age of 28, accompanied by Ludwig Fuhrmann (1783-1829), a painter and draughtsman born in Breslau (today Poland: Wrocław), who is correctly mentioned in the article in the *Westfälische Zeitung*, he set off from Warsaw on an almost five-month research trip via Odessa to Istanbul and the area where Troia was suspected at the time.



Plain of Troy, Picturesque Journey, fig. 70

Contrary to the great enthusiasm in Europe at the time for Greece, which was struggling with Turkey for its freedom, it was important for Edward Raczyński to get his own impression on the ground of the state of development of the Ottoman Empire, which had recently been at war with Russia, the Tsarist state that oppressed large parts of Poland. Travelling was still unusual at that time, however, public interest in geography and research trips was great, travel reports in books and journals were popular, so Raczyński could be sure of a broad response. He added historical, economic and social background information to his travel diary and published the more than 200 pages of text in 1821⁵⁵ at the same time as the Greek Revolution. Edward Raczyński paid a fortune for the magnificent large folio volume with its more than 80 copper engravings⁵⁶, more than half of them full-page. In his diary, Atanazy noted:

"My brother's work on Turkey was recognised by the public in a very flattering way for him and for the family. This work cost him 106,000 florins, not including the cost of the journey. He devoted six years of labour and toil to it, enriching it with many expert annotations. The illustrations are almost all of great beauty. To conclude the praise, I must mention that he had this work sold for the benefit of the poor. Emperor Alexander paid 500 ducats for a copy ... The Minister of Education expressed to my brother the gratitude of the poor and that of literature. My heart and my self-confidence are proud to call him my brother."⁵⁷ Atanazy's annual income in 1818 was 280,000 florins⁵⁸, a working-class family in Germany had to get by on 100 florins a year. The rare copies that come on the market are sold for up to 48,000 euros.⁵⁹

In order to give the work a wider readership, Raczyński had it translated into German, also as a luxury edition, which was initially available for 80 and later for only 66 Reichstaler.⁶⁰ In 1824 it was published under the title *Malerische Reise in einigen Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*⁶¹ and in Breslau like the first edition. In *Kunst und Altertum*, Goethe dedicated a short, friendly review to the work and recommended its purchase.⁶² From 1823 onwards versions that "ordinary citizens" could afford followed: initially in Polish⁶³ and in 1825 in German⁶⁴, selling for just 2 Taler 12 Groschen (with a second edition in 1828); furthermore as a serial story in the popular *Journal für die neuesten Land- und Seereisen* [Journal for the latest land and sea voyages] in 1827⁶⁵; and later excerpts in French appeared in 1842⁶⁶.

In fact, the work was already well advanced in autumn 1818, before Delkeskamp's arrival. In order to complete the monumental work in the foreseeable future, Edward Raczyński had already had to commission a large number of draughtsmen and engravers in parallel immediately after the pacification of Europe. However, the required labour capacities and desired qualities were not available in a single state, let alone in just one city. Raczyński therefore resorted to artists in Berlin, Dresden, Leipzig,



*Portrait of Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839),
Picturesque Journey, fig. 42*

Prague, Paris, Rome, Warsaw, Vienna and Zurich - a good example of European division of labour and "offshoring". The sheer number of painters and engravers involved is impressive: including Edward Raczyński, who had also sketched himself on the trip, some 38 participants⁶⁷. The complicated processes behind this seem to have got out of hand, however, so that Delkeskamp was perhaps not only needed as a draughtsman and engraver, but soon also to bring the project back into order.

In a first step, Fuhrmann's sketches had to be elaborated into detailed drafts and the desired size of the copper engravings. For the full-page prints, the drawings were enlarged to approx. 34 x 46 cm; the smaller formats in the book are half the size. A significant number of these preparatory drawings were put on the market, and in an advertisement for sale the painting technique was described as: "pierre noire, plume et encre grise, lavis brun, rehauts de blanc [black chalk, pen, grey and brown colours, heightened with white]"⁶⁸.

For Carl Wilhelm Kolbe, one of the artists involved in the travelogue, the steps for producing his copper engravings are documented: "The drawing was executed in black chalk or red chalk, down to the finest details. However, it did not serve directly as a model for the



Sultan's retinue at sea, Picturesque Journey, fig. 44

etching, but via a diversion of an impression: the drawing was covered with a sheet of paper that was not too stiff, and both together were pulled through a weak press. Kolbe thus obtained a mirror-inverted copy, a print of the drawing, which had lost some of its drawing material through this procedure, lost a little of its freshness and charm, but gained in strength. The drawing could now be sold or given away, as Kolbe only needed the impression for his etching work. He placed the upper side of the print on the primed [copper] plate and ran the print and plate together through a weak press. So much of the chalk and red chalk substance of the impression adhered to the etching ground that Kolbe found an exact preparatory drawing on the etching ground that now had the same image as the original drawing. The impression process thus had the advantage - in addition to preserving the actual drawing - of allowing Kolbe to recognise the effect of the lateral inversion before he had even begun to etch.⁶⁹ In the Raczyński views, however, one less work step was required to depict objects and reality correctly in the end.

Fuhrmann did some of the preparatory drawing work himself and also eight of the etchings. He nevertheless left the "completion", i.e. the etching, to two experts, Johann Ferdinand Kretlow in Warsaw and Ulrich Ludwig Friedrich Wolf in Berlin. Atanazy Raczyński had already

passed on other sketches to Parisian and to Dresden artists in 1815/16. A few of the leaves that came onto the market can be dated: Achille Etna Michallon dated two of his works 1815⁷⁰ and 1816⁷¹, Constant Bourgeois one 1815⁷². The drawings made by Christian Gottlob Hammer in Dresden bear the date 1816.⁷³

However, the sketches were not drawn up exclusively by established artists, but also by personalities from Edward Raczyński's own circle and his brother, himself a talented draughtsman. Contributions were made by Konstancja Countess Potocka (images 27 and 28 bis), later Eduard's wife, the surveyor Abicht, identified by his cadastral plan of Rogalin (images 28 and 64), Adam Agrelewski, designer, mechanic and factotum in Rogalin's palace (image 8) and Atanazy himself (image 17), who also etched the last vignette in the travelogue. Friends of Atanazy were also allowed to participate, Anna Countess Tyszkiewicz-Potocka⁷⁴ (image 1), whose elegant salons in Warsaw he frequented between 1809 and 1812, Otto Baron von Löwenstern (image 26), who visited Rogalin in September 1816 and also drew there⁷⁵ and Henryk Count Zabiełło⁷⁶ (image 38), a war comrade from 1809 and a military man, who spent a few days in Rogalin in June 1818.

The engravers (sztychował) and the draughtsmen are recorded in detail below the image in small letters, the

latter with the distinction of who made the sketch (skicował) or who made the drawing for the engraving from the sketch (rysował). The noble "family draughtsmen", on the other hand, were recorded under the title of the picture and in the same size.

The main work of the engravers will have taken place in 1818 and 1819, as indicated by the few "accidental" chronological classifications: Engraving No. 31 by Christian Gottlob Hammer from Dresden is dated 1818, the very first view in the book, No. 1 by Johann Jakob Wagner from Leipzig, bears the date 1819. Only in the German luxury edition were two works by Kolbe added well before publication in 1824, a plan of Odessa, engraved as early as 1820, and a plan of Assos, dated 1822. A Michallon watercolour, which went on sale in 2020⁷⁷, already bears the number 84 in the upper right-hand corner in the same way as the 82 engravings in the travel work itself. Apparently, it had been intended to include even more illustrations in the travel report.

There is also at least one drawing that was not completed until 1824 and came too late for the two luxury editions of the travel work.⁷⁸ The drawing of Raczyński's future wife was added as "28 bis" in all known Polish and German copies of the travelogue, but at the same time the two views No. 20 and No. 45 are missing in all these editions - and this despite the fact that external material was also included in the travelogue: a picture from the naval battle of 1790 and maps or city plans. Whatever the reason for not remedying this deficiency, the image production was obviously adventurous. Coordinating the process up to printing must have been very time-consuming and probably also required diplomatic tact. In this respect, it is no coincidence that the travelogue could not be published until 1821.

Presumably, the worked copper plates were first collected and then the names, inscriptions and numbering of the views were engraved on the plates. This work was done centrally, recognisable by the uniform lettering, and not by the individual engravers themselves. Delkeskamp will have undertaken this final task before printing, as he did for the German luxury edition of 1824, where German-language picture descriptions were added under the Polish titles. Where there was not enough space on the plates, narrow copper plates were added. The *Westfälische Zeitung* claims to know that Delkeskamp returned to Berlin after a stay in Silesia "to work for some time on the Raczyński work".

Whether the pictures as well as the written pages were printed in Breslau is unclear, but not unlikely, because the printing house Graß, Barth und Comp., which had existed for almost two decades, was even able to take over the printing of the lithographs in the later editions of the travel report. The large views were given a whole page in the book. Of the half size engravings, two copperplate engravings were printed on each page, sometimes by different engravers - two individual plates next to each other or one above the other.

Edward Raczyński had relied on the help of cousin Lubomirski and his brother Atanazy on the awarding and supervision of the commissions. The involvement of Atanazy's friends in the production process and Atanazy's intensive travel activities in the relevant years to Warsaw, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, France and Italy suggest that Edward had even largely left the work of illustrating the travelogue to his brother. Nevertheless, Atanazy only mentioned this task explicitly in a few places in his diaries. In 1815, a few months after Edward's return from Turkey, Atanazy was on a mission for Saxony in Paris. During this time he probably visited the French artists involved in the work. If they had not been known to him before, he could have sought advice from the famous Dominique Denon (1747-1825), draughtsman and engraver, ex-diplomat and Director General of the Louvre.

On 21 June 1815 he met with him in a small circle at the Duchesse Bassano's home.⁷⁹ Atanazy did not mention a visit to Parisian studios, but on a later occasion he praised the two Parisian artists involved in the work, Florent Fidèle Constant Bourgeois (1767-1841) and Louis-François Cassas (1756-1827).⁸⁰ The selection of the Parisian draughtsmen and watercolourists was apparently primarily based on their specialisation. Bourgeois had worked for Denon and was known for his Italian landscapes, Cassas for his precise works on ancient monuments from Rome, Italy and for views from his extensive travels through Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Lebanon and Egypt. Louis-Philippe Crépin (1772-1851), a renowned marine painter, adopted the drawing of a historic naval battle between Turkey and Russia in 1790 and on Raczyński's stormy return voyage: in his sketch, Fuhrmann had captured ships in troubled seas off the Bulgarian coast.

Regarding some of the German collaborators on the travel work, Atanazy reported on his Dresden trip in a diary entry of 10 July 1818: "I had the opportunity to make many acquaintances of artists. I had to visit five engravers who were busy with my brother's artistic journey to Greece. The one who seems to me the best is called Veith. They are all concerned with landscape, and it is astonishing that such a small city as Dresden should be home to so many excellent artists of the same subject. In contrast, I could only find one in Berlin and he is scanty [in Polish: marny]. This city is very inclined towards the arts. It will be a long time before Berlin deviates from the straight lines that seem to me to characterise the Prussian state."⁸¹

Looking at the many artists who worked in Berlin in the post-Napoleonic period, the judgement of Atanazy, who was later to write a three-volume work on German art history, seems unfair. Whether Atanazy had in mind one of the three Berlin engravers, Johann Baptist Hössel, Ulrich Ludwig Friedrich Wolf (1772-1832) or Carl Wilhelm Kolbe (1757-1835), who worked alongside Delkeskamp on Edward Raczyński's work, as the "scanty"



Tree study with farmhouse, 22 x 24 cm, Historisches Museum Frankfurt



Oak grove on the Warta near Posen with resting hikers, 12.5 x 18.6 cm



Breslau. View across the Oder river to the Sand church and cathedral, 12 x 19 cm, Kunsthalle Bielefeld

one (Delkeskamp had only been recruited in the autumn) is not known.

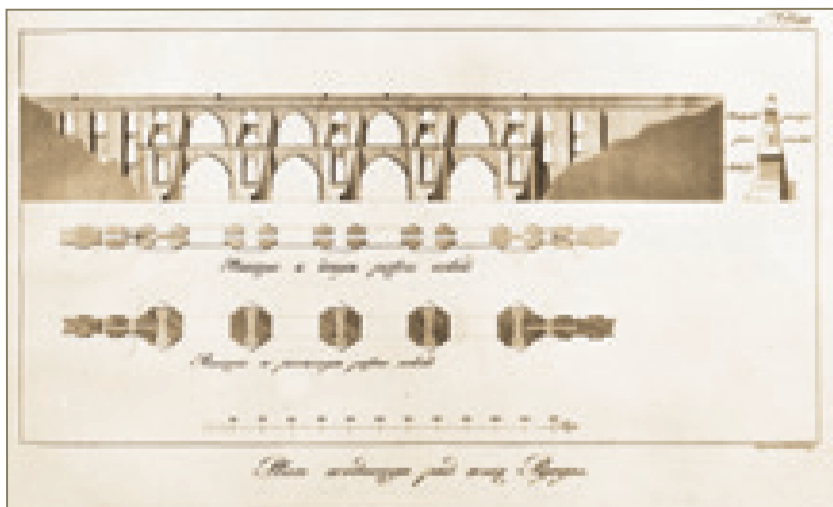
Possibly, due to his lack of knowledge of the Berlin artist scene, he had not chosen anyone, but merely asked his cousin to find him someone to assist him, because he himself could almost never be on site in Rogalin to supervise the work on the book. In fact, however, Hössel was not given any landscapes to engrave, only obelisks and an ancient wall. Wolf and Kolbe, on the other hand, were both long-standing members of the Berlin Academy of Arts. Delkeskamp must have developed a special relationship with Kolbe, because "Delkeskamp's estate contained many copper engravings by Carl Wilhelm Kolbe," Fried Lübbecke reported.

"For his ... engravings, Kolbe preferred to depict park landscapes, mostly motifs of the famous Wörlitz Park near Dessau, domestic animals, often cows and sheep, and plants. He was particularly fond of the jagged foliage of thistles and holly. (...) His series portraying pets comprises over seventy numbers: they were all found in Delkeskamp's estate. We do not know whether he became Kolbe's pupil. In any case, as his drawings and engravings show, he learned a lot from Kolbe's way of drawing and engraving, and for the decorative elements of his landscapes he took many a motif literally from Kolbe's leaves. For example, in a drawing sent to the author [Lübbecke] by a lady from Essen. It depicted a scene that

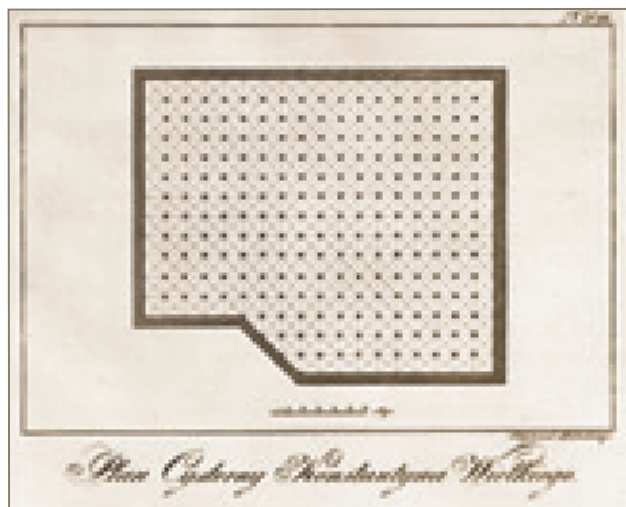
was not commonplace. In a cowshed of an estate, a lung patient seeks healing from his suffering. According to the opinion of some doctors of that time - around 1830 - the exhalation of cattle was particularly valuable for this purpose. The cows stand and rest in two rows in the long, vaulted barn. At its end, a ladder leads up to a cabin hung under the ceiling especially for the sick man. He leans over the railing of its walkway and talks to a visitor - probably the artist who is standing between the cows. It is delightful to note how Delkeskamp calmly took all the cows from Kolbe's engravings for this representation, which seems to have been taken from life, not forgetting the 'Vache qui pisse'."⁸²

This part of the estate was also only seen by Lübbecke. The Kolbe drawings are lost, perhaps also burnt during the bombing in Frankfurt. Kolbe must have belonged to Hössel's circle of acquaintances, for in 1795, the year he was accepted into the Berlin Academy, he went to Dessau as a teacher at the Chalcographische Gesellschaft, where Hössel was also employed. In 1798 he was appointed court copper engraver in Dessau.

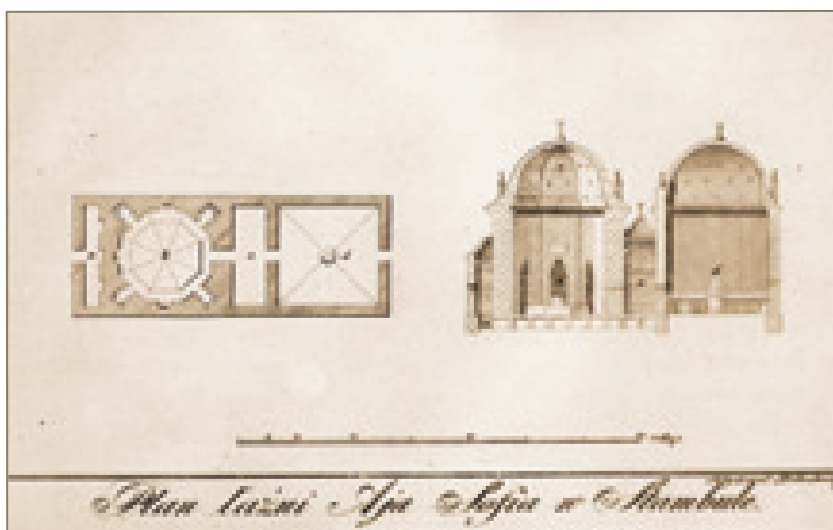
The favourite motif of his etching series, which began in 1795, were the oak forests around Dessau. His outstanding depiction of this most German of all trees earned him the nickname 'Eichen-Kolbe' [Oak-Kolbe]. Delkeskamp undoubtedly took his cue from Kolbe and produced pen and ink drawings of the abundant oak trees



Plan wodocięgu pod wsią Pyrgos (Plan of the aqueduct of Pyrgos in the north of Istanbul), Picturesque Journey, fig. 39, 31.1 x 80 cm, Staatsbibliothek Berlin



Plan Cysterny Konstantyna Wielkiego, Picturesque Journey, fig. 24, Staatsbibliothek Berlin



Plan lazni Aja Sofia w Stambule, Picturesque Journey, fig. 23, Staatsbibliothek Berlin



Napisy w Assos, Picturesque Journey, fig. 55, Staatsbibliothek Berlin

in Rogalin that are very reminiscent of Kolbe. Delkeskamp, however, painted "according to nature" with the claim to realistically reproduce landscape and buildings, whereas in Kolbe's pictures a dimension of arcadia and eternal nature, detached from everyday life, predominates.

Perhaps it was Delkeskamp who commissioned the Berlin artists, or at least had two outstanding ones placed at the side of the one "scanty" one, although nothing is known about his relationship with Wolf. A dissertation on Kolbe, however, reveals that parts of Kolbe's work may have been viewed critically by Raczyński or his comrades-in-arms: Kolbe's estate contains a series of drawings and engravings for the travel work, some of which he had made in several variants based on Fuhrmann's sketches. In the printed work, however, these sketches are executed by Döbler, Hammer and Frenzel.⁸³ Kolbe may be an isolated case, but such a duplication of commissions may not have contributed insignificantly to the increase in costs.

In less than half of the engravings in the travel book, the draughtsmen are identified by name. Where watercolours

have come onto the market, a few more leaves can be attributed to specific artists, but some are not signed or were simply attributed to Fuhrmann.⁸⁴ It is very likely, however, that Delkeskamp took over the execution of at least some of them - also because among them are the three relatively simple views with obelisks and the plan of the amphitheatre of Assos, which Hössel was assigned to engrave. Delkeskamp himself signed five half-page engravings, technical plans and ground plans, and an impressively large, 80 cm wide, double-page fold out construction plan of the Valens aqueduct in Istanbul-Constantinople. Some of the preliminary drawings have come up for sale at Christie's, they are not signed but presumably made by Delkeskamp himself.

Nevertheless, Atanazy took over part of the quality control himself: In his diary on 24 November 1819 he noted: "Correction of engravings for the Count's brother for his journey to Greece"⁸⁵. Delkeskamp seems to have been involved in the arrangements with Grass, Barth & Comp. in Breslau and the commissioning of the printer: The Kunsthalle Bielefeld owns two watercolours with

summers views of Breslau, which Delkeskamp signed as early as 1819, about a year before his round trip through Silesia.

With his work for Raczyński and his name prestigiously immortalised in the latter's magnificent volume, together with works by Europe's most outstanding engravers, Delkeskamp received a reference that was to be of use to him in his later life. He was to continue working with some of the illustrators of the travel work: Georg Döbler from Prague, Christian August Richter from Dresden and Franz Hegi in Zurich.

While still in Rogalin, Delkeskamp produced further drawings for Raczyński, which Döbler engraved in Prague and Neuhaus/Bohemia. Raczyński had the idea of publishing a series of views of Wielkopolska at an early stage. Many of the drawings and engravings were therefore made well before the publication of the two-volume work in 1842. Delkeskamp was explicitly represented in it with two drawings, the Jesuit Church in Posen, a sophisticated interior view, and the depiction of Posen Cathedral from the outside, in which Raczyński's now wife Konstancja Raczyńska was involved - as well as in many of the other pictures. Many of the views reveal neither the draughtsman nor the engraver, however; Döbler was often used and it cannot be ruled out that Delkeskamp was involved in other pictures in the work in the background. In 1857, long after the tragic suicide of Edward Raczyński in 1845, another folio volume with 18 large-format views of Great Polish churches was published under his name, again including the two pictures created by Delkeskamp and Döbler.⁸⁶

The *Archiv für Geschichte, Statistik, Literatur und Kunst* [Archive for History, Statistics, Literature and Art], published in Vienna, noted in its review of the Prague Art Exhibition of 1824: "A gallery in the church at Rogalin in Pohlen, after Ludwig Delkeskamp by Döbler, is very well executed in copper."⁸⁷ This view, however, is just as lost as Delkeskamp's works, which were still kept in the town hall in Posen in 1929 and testify that he not only worked on Rogalin, the Raczyńskis' estate, but also made excursions to the town, which was about 20 km away: "There are also many other gifts from the town president [Dr Ratajski] in the town hall. For example, the pretty coloured small etchings by Fried.W. Delkeskamp of the square in front of the Działyński Palace, the cathedral square, a view of Posen from the town and other views."⁸⁸

Whatever the details of Delkeskamp's achievement for Edward Raczyński, it had found his recognition, Lübbecke testified: "Delkeskamp's estate contained all of the count's works, gifts to his 'friend and engraver'." With this inscription, the count dedicated his work of Polish medals to the young artist in 1827. (...) Unfortunately, it burned with the artist's other books in the Fürsteneck in 1944. In 1820 the count wanted to travel to Spain. This time Delkeskamp was also to accompany him. Of course, the journey did not come about. The liberal revolution had broken out in Spain ..."



Kościół po-jezuicki w Poznaniu (Jesuit church in Poznań), 39 x 50.8 cm



Kościół katedralny w Poznaniu rysowany przez Konstancję Hr. Raczyńską (Poznań cathedral), 20.5 x 30.3 cm

Travel through Prussia's Province of Silesia

The year 1820 surprised Delkeskamp with a nasty infection, but immediately afterwards he discovered a part of Germany hitherto unknown to him. Apparently, Delkeskamp had also recovered financially through his work in Rogalin: "Afflicted by a serious illness, D. roamed through Silesia, the Giant Mountains, Saxony and came back to Berlin ...", the *Westfälische Zeitung* continued its report. The nature of the disease is only revealed in the records of his naturalisation and marriage in Frankfurt in 1831. There Delkeskamp had to record his previous illnesses and reported to the registrar that he had "natural pox, but his fiancée had been inoculated against pox".⁸⁹

The modern term for "pox" is "smallpox". At that time, the disease was fatal in almost a third of cases. In 1820, vaccination possibilities had existed for a long time, but large parts of the population evaded them, so that Bavaria was the first German state to introduce compulsory vaccination as early as 1807, Prussia followed in 1815.⁹⁰ The Prussian citizen Delkeskamp was very lucky that smallpox did not disfigure him with the usual scars and that he was spared the not uncommon permanent damage such as blindness, deafness and paralysis.

Delkeskamp's journey will have taken him first to Breslau, two days' walk away, the capital of the province of Silesia and one of the largest cities in Prussia and Germany with a population of around 80,000. From Breslau, where he perhaps had to visit Graß, Barth und Comp. again, the printer for the travel work, four copper engravings are preserved, which Delkeskamp produced after his return to Berlin, among them the *View of a part of Breslau taken at the Sand Bridge* in the proud large folio of 43 x 51 cm known from Raczyński. He dedicated the work "drawn and engraved from nature" to "His Majesty Friedrich Wilhelm III, King of Prussia, etc., etc., most sincerely dedicated by F.W. Delkeskamp".

The dedication was meant seriously: a later letter from Delkeskamp to Carl Christian Müller, Privy Cabinet Councillor to King Friedrich Wilhelm IV, shows that the artist was granted permission to send his Silesian views to the king by "Cabinet Order" of 8 June 1821.⁹¹

A handwritten marginal note on another file in the Privy State Archives in Berlin shows that the Privy Cabinet Councillor Daniel Ludwig Albrecht had submitted "three views of Silesian regions" to His Majesty. Delkeskamp reduced the "royal" view of Breslau to a picture size of about 10 x 15 cm and included it in a series of six views of Silesia, which, unique to him, are printed on "cloudy paper", a type of paper in which the solid paper components are unevenly distributed: *Un cahier de vues prises en Silesie. Six feuilles, larges de six pouces, hautes de quatre, contenant trois vues de Breslau, Liegnitz et Wahlstadt, ainsi que le monument de la Catzbach* [A collection of views taken in Silesia. Six leaves, six inches wide, four high, containing three views of



View of a part of Breslau taken at the Sand Bridge, 21.5 x 25 cm, von Zengen, Bonn 19.6.2015



The Glogau Gate in Liegnitz, 14 x 18.4 cm

Breslau, Liegnitz and Wahlstadt, together with the monument of the Catzbach].

In the other engravings of Breslau, Delkeskamp captured the view from a park across the Oder to the Church of the Holy Cross, the double-towered cathedral and the Sand Church, as well as the perspective from a timber loading yard onto the Sand and Cathedral Island. The remaining three views are from places west of Wrocław: first from the town of Liegnitz (today Poland: Legnica), with around 8,500 inhabitants at the time the administrative seat of Lower Silesia. There, the Piast castle and the Glogau Gate, one of four city gates, are depicted.

Wahlstatt (today Poland: Legnickie Pole) is located 10 km south-east of Liegnitz. This place remains associated with the devastating defeat of the outnumbered Polish-German army of knights in the Mongol storm of 1241. The German



Wahlstadt monastery, 10.5 x 15.6 cm



Breslau, 10,3 x 15,6 cm

name Wahlstatt is the Middle High German term for "battlefield". According to legend, where Duke Henry the Pious (Henryk Pobożny) fell and his headless corpse was found, his mother and widow founded a Benedictine provostry. Later it developed into a baroque monastery.

In 1813, the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III had awarded Field Marshal von Blücher the title of Prince of Wahlstatt for his services at the Battle of the Katzbach, the first great victory of the Prussian army against Napoleon's troops. In this respect, it was obvious that Delkeskamp included the neo-Gothic monument, which was only inaugurated in 1818, as the last view in his Silesia series to commemorate this triumph. Under a laurel wreath, the following inscription was engraved: "King and Fatherland gratefully honour the fallen heroes! They rest in peace at the Katzbach, 26 August 1813." Delkeskamp depicted, among others, two war invalids and an officer vividly telling

his family where he had fought at the time, and probably drawing himself, now wearing a top hat (p 48).

Delkeskamp offered this series and the large Breslau picture in 1828 at his temporary home in Zurich and again in 1837 in the programme of his publishing house, which had just been founded in Frankfurt: the folio view only in coloured form for a proud 9 fl. (guilders), the six smaller copper engravings in a booklet for 1 fl. 12 kr. (Kreuzer) and coloured for 7 fl. In the same size and for the same price as the large Breslau illustration, there was also a coloured copper engraving of the largest castle in Silesia, the grandiose *View of Fürstenstein Castle with the old castle and the grounds. Taken on the Louisen Platz, dedicated to the most blessed Queen of Prussia*. This exquisitely crafted, romantic view of the imposing castle in the Waldenburg Hills (today Poland: Wałbrzych Zamek Książ) above the deep gorge of the Polsnitz River will have served as Delkeskamp's ticket to Frankfurt. In order to obtain a right of residence and a work permit in the Free City of Frankfurt, one of the sovereign German states after the Congress of Vienna, he had to provide the aliens police with proof of his abilities as an artist.

About 50 km west of Fürstenstein Castle lies Grünberg, today Jelenia Góra, and the Hirschberg Valley (Kotlina Jeleniogórska). From there, the view opens up to the 1600 m high Schneekoppe (Śnieżka) and the impressive ridge of the Riesengebirge (Giant Mountains – Karkonosze), which with its wild rocks and waterfalls had attracted Goethe, Kleist and Körner long before Delkeskamp and inspired many Romantic painters, above all Caspar David Friedrich, who visited the area in 1810. Even King Friedrich Wilhelm III and his wife Luise had already climbed the Schneekoppe in August 1800. However, mass tourism only began in the second half of the 19th century. As late as 1850, hardly more than 3,000 visitors hiked to the Schneekoppe.⁹²

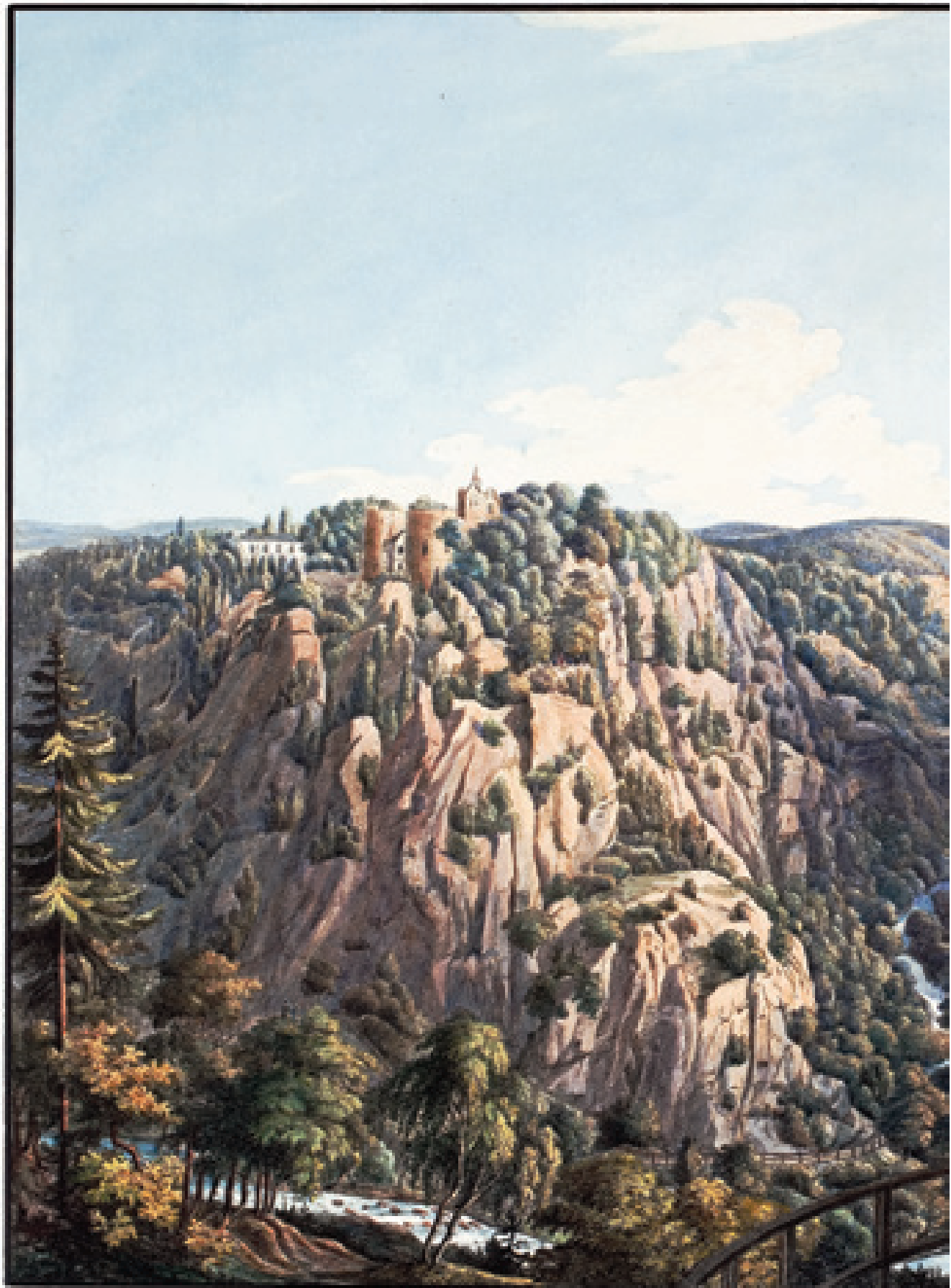
Delkeskamp will have noticed, however, that the Hirschberg Valley already had a strong appeal for the upper echelons of Berlin society. Over the course of the next few decades, they were to discover it for their summer retreats and increasingly transform the valley into a cultural landscape with stately homes and castles, gardens and parks, at least some of which were open to the public. Delkeskamp has preserved a large watercolour with the once famous view of the village of Schmiedeberg (today: Kowary) and the Giant Mountains from Ruhberg.

Delkeskamp climbed up from there into the legendary world of Rübezahl and produced a series of watercolour pen and ink drawings the size of the Fürstenstein view. Of these around 40 large-format illustrations of the famous waterfalls and sights of the Karkonosze Mountains, five are now in the *Muzeum Karkonoskie Jelenia Góra* in the former Hirschberg, which is well worth seeing, and another three are in the *Kunstforum Ostdeutsche Galerie Regensburg*. Although Delkeskamp was by no means





Katzbach, 10.2 x 15.5 cm, Galerie Joseph Fach



*Aussicht des Schlosses Fürstenstein
& Aufgenommen aus dem der höchsten d. P.*



gemalt von C. B. Blechen

mit der alten Burg und dem Grunde.
 Königin von Preussen gewidmet — Louise Platte.

Fürstenstein palace with the old castle and
 the valley, 30.5 x 46.4 cm, KOG Regensburg

the first to record views of the Karkonosze, he was nevertheless a pioneer:

"And yet Delkeskamp's water-colours from 1820 differ from the common vedute of Berger, Veith and Endler.

With a sure instinct for the gratitude of certain motifs, Delkeskamp chose the view from the area of the Mittagsstein over the Großer Teich to the Schneekoppe, the view from the Alte Schnee grubenbaude over the Große Schnee gruben to the Hoher Rade, depicted the Kleine Schnee gruben, the Pantschefall and the Kochelfall and thus actually created several characteristic Giant Mountains pictures for the first time with the most scrupulous objectivity imaginable.

Already in his choice of formats, he conforms to the horizontal or vertical tendency of the picture design with landscape and portrait formats. This is matched by his sensitivity to the geological structure of the composition and the spatial breadth or narrowness of the depths of the

picture. Without exaggerating in any way, the hand interprets what an eye accustomed to sober observation of nature sees. Just as far from any pathos of the soul is the reproduction in the picture. One is convinced of the correctness of the lines without being spellbound by them. This is what the Giant Mountains look like objectively, the painter seems to want to say, although he refrains from any compositional idealisation, i.e. he neither exaggerates the Koppe nor heightens the rocky slopes of the snow pit into the bizarre. Measured against the vedute of 18th century artists, the accuracy is surprising, measured against [Caspar David] Friedrich, the dryness is disappointing. In any case, one would not want to miss these watercolours in the sequence of their development, for in them the materialistic path of the 19th century depiction of the Karkonosze Mountains is announced in a trend-setting manner."⁹³

In these pictures Delkeskamp is more of a naturalist and geologist, fulfilling his own aspiration to reproduce nature and objects correctly - similar to what Hans Conrad Escher



View of Schmiedeberg from Ruhberg, 29.5 x 46.5 cm, Ulrich Kabel Collection

von der Linth was accomplishing for Switzerland at the same time, and in whose footsteps he was to follow. Accordingly, he had no intention of selling these pictures, which contain annotations in pencil such as designations of mountains. In view of these scientifically precise drawings, it is not surprising to find Delkeskamp fifteen years later on the list of participants of an annual meeting of the "Society of German Naturalists and Physicians" in 1835.

In the autumn of 1820, Delkeskamp will have arrived back in Berlin to continue working for the Raczyńskis, engraving his Silesian views in copper and probably also colouring them himself in order to avoid further costs. He may have used the time of little more than a year until he moved to Frankfurt to take lessons in drawing perspective and silhouettes at the Berlin Academy of Arts, now that he was financially better off than at the beginning of his time in Berlin and could afford this investment in his further education and training. And he will have visited his brother and prepared the move to the Free City of Frankfurt. In

December 1822, the *Westfälische Zeitung* records another stay in Bielefeld before he finally turned to Frankfurt.



Der Große Teich, [The Great Pond] 29.2 x 47 cm, Muzeum Karkonoskie Jelenia Góra



Kochelfall, 47 x 29.7 cm, Muzeum Karkonoskie Jelenia Góra



Adersbach-Weckelsdorf rock town, 29.8 x 47 cm, KOG Regensburg



Waterfall in the Giant Mountains, 35 x 24.8 cm, KOG Regensburg



The small snow pit in the Giant Mountains, 47.5 x 29.5 cm, Muzeum Karkonoskie Jelenia Góra



Der Pantichefall im Riesengebirge.
 Der Pantiche fällt aus einer 8 Fuß hohen fast senkrechten Felswand des Riesengebirges
 in H. 1. 6. 1841. Bild von H. 1. 6. 1841.

Pantschefall, 47.5 x 29.5 cm, Muzeum Karkonoskie Jelenia Góra

The First Frankfurt Aears (1823-1828): Delkeskamp Makes a Name for Himself with City Views and Vedute

In 1822, the Free City of Frankfurt had around 43,000 inhabitants. However, only a little more than half of them were citizens with full rights, i.e. who had proved that they had assets in excess of 5,000 gulden.⁹⁴ Nevertheless, Frankfurt was one of the wealthiest German trading cities, a leading trade fair city and, since 1815, a city-state. Moreover, it had become the German capital and the seat of the Permanent Assembly of the German Confederation, an institution which would later become important for Delkeskamp in the fight against the pirating of his works. Frankfurt enticed with jobs, culture and civil liberties; furthermore, Delkeskamp's brother lived there.

Since his first two visits to Frankfurt in September and October 1814, Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp had "already visited his elder brother Eduard several times for a longer period of time"⁹⁵, noted an obituary of the painter and engraver. After he apparently no longer saw any prospects for himself in Berlin, it may have seemed obvious to seek shelter with his brother towards the beginning of 1822. An exhibition catalogue of 1864 states that Delkeskamp had been "in Frankfurt since 1822".⁹⁶ On 23 February 1831, Elise Heerdt applied to the Frankfurt Senate to grant her fiancé Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp, "who had been staying here for more than nine years by turns"⁹⁷, citizenship upon marriage. This also points to an arrival at the beginning of 1822.

Short entertaining journeys by land and sea

In order to make a living, Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp will have first introduced himself to Frankfurt publishers and touted his experience in illustrating travel work and producing views. Travelogues were very popular at the time, and readers expected at least one attractive and sometimes exotic image to accompany the text. Delkeskamp was lucky and, presumably shortly after his arrival, was commissioned by the Frankfurt bookseller Friedrich Wilmans, who, like many of his colleagues at the time was also a publisher, to illustrate two octavo volumes, each with 10 adventurous tales - wanderings, sea adventures, shipwrecks - which served the purpose of instructing and entertaining the young, as it says in the preface: *Kleine unterhaltende Land- und Seereisen für die Jugend*. With four engravings.

Volume 1 was published in 1823 for the Easter Fair in April; Volume 2 was not published by Wilmans until the Michaelmas Fair in October 1824. In each volume Delkeskamp signed a 7 x 10 cm copper engraving as draughtsman: "F.W. Delkeskamp del[ea]vit." and Georg Döbler as engraver. Following a hint from Delkeskamp, the latter will have been commissioned, as both had already worked together for Count Raczyński. Only Döbler signed another engraving in the second volume. However, it can be assumed that all the other engravings were also made by

the two, because a review of the Prague Art Exhibition of 1824, in which Döbler also participated with the joint church view of Rogalin, explicitly identifies the engravings of volume 2 as aquatints by Döbler.⁹⁸

Wilmans beat the advertising drum throughout Germany and published advertisements in the *Bremer Zeitung* (No. 319, 15.11.1823), in the *Intelligenzblatt*, the advertising section of the *Morgenblatt für Gebildete Stände* (No. 26, p. 103, September 1823), in the supplement to the *Frankfurter Ober-Postamtszeitung* of 10.5.1823 or in the *Intelligenzblatt of the Berliner Zeitung für die Elegante Welt* (26.5.1823 and again on 27.9.1823), in the *Allgemeine Anzeiger der Deutschen* (No. 336, 10.12.1823, p. 3903) and in *Iris* (No. 254, 23.12.1825).

A first friendly review can be found in October 1823 in the *Jenische Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*: "This collection of excerpts and adaptations will provide quite pleasant entertainment not only for the young, but also for adults. (...) Of the ten essays, which take the reader to the most diverse parts of the world, the most appealing were: *Wanderung von Basel nach Genf* [Hike from Basel to Geneva]; most lively, one might say, vividly written, and yet without all exaggeration ..."⁹⁹

Delkeskamp had contributed the signed illustration to this very travelogue. It shows a boat trip across Lake Biel to St. Peter's Island, where Rousseau had retired in 1765 and which was still a place of pilgrimage around 1820. In this respect, this text, in which a wandering Berlin artist falls for the mountains in a revival experience as it were, at his first glimpse of the snow-covered Alpine chain, documents Delkeskamp's first verifiable encounter with Switzerland which was to shape his later life. His first drawing from Switzerland, a panorama of Lausanne, dates from 1825. One suspects that Delkeskamp soon followed the route of this report.

In the section "Erdbeschreibungen" [Descriptions of the Earth] of the *Ergänzungsblätter zur Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung* [Supplementary pages to the General Literature Newspaper] of March 1825, there is another, cautiously positive review of the volume costing 1 Taler 12 Groschen:

"Even if these short land and sea journeys cannot compete with the paintings that Harnisch and especially Richter have produced of similar subjects in recent years, they still provide the charm of variety due to the brevity and diversity of their content and appeal to the youthful imagination in that pleasant and at the same time innocent way. (...) The unnamed author promises to deliver another volume if the work is liked. Let him do so and take into account what we have noted about the present one. The publisher has spared no effort in the decoration of the booklet, the printing and paper are good and the engravings



On the journey from Basel to Geneva, 6.5 x 11.5 cm

are fine and nicely engraved".¹⁰⁰ The second volume had long since been published. Neither publication brought Wilmans the economic success he had hoped for, because he did not continue the series.

It was not until 1823 that Delkeskamp was able to find another source of income by giving drawing lessons, and this required a residence and work permit from the Frankfurt Senate. His application of 12 February 1823 to the city administration has been preserved in the Frankfurt Institute of City History:

"Most obedient presentation and request on the part of the painter and engraver in the landscape and architectural field, Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp of Berlin, for most generous permission to stay here to give lessons.

Highly-esteemed Senate!

As a Prussian by birth, I have been particularly fond of drawing since my youth, in order to be able to achieve something in this art one day.

At the Royal Academy of Arts in Berlin, where I made my studies, I was mainly excited to devote myself entirely to the special subjects of drawing according to nature and to the science of perspective and shadow construction, as far as it extends to landscape and architectural objects.

The excellent instruction that I was so fortunate to receive, and the persistent diligence that I applied to this study, put me in a position to produce achievements that could enjoy the praise by teachers and art connoisseurs. After completing my studies in these subjects, I now undertook journeys in Germany in order to perfect myself still further and to train as a teacher. To what extent I have succeeded in achieving this purpose, I would most obediently request permission to submit my completed works for high assessment, where it will be most favourably decreed by the Highly-Esteemed Senate.

Having arrived here to visit my brother, who is established here as a citizen and portefeuille manufacturer, the art subjects I am working on have provided me with many



On the journey of a Pilgrim from Constantinople to Jerusalem, 6.5 x 11.5 cm

friends and acquaintances, and some of them, according to Annex No. 1, would like me all the more to teach their children and other individuals, as no instruction has yet been given in these subjects and, according to their own nature, they are not likely to be taught in existing educational institutions as the teachers would not have enough time and leisure to teach so many pupils in this art, which can only be practised outdoors. I would be very happy to comply with these wishes, if I were so fortunate as to receive from the High Senate the permission to stay and to teach these subjects of the liberal arts. In every respect, I am most obediently requested to identify myself sufficiently to the honourable Police Office or wherever else it should be most obligingly decreed, and since I do not interfere with anyone through my instruction, but rather hope to become useful through the same precisely in certain subjects in which instruction is not to be given, I have the most obedient request to submit to the High Senate, which will allow me to do so:

to grant me the permission to stay here and to give lessons in drawing according to nature, in the teaching of perspective and shadow construction, as far as this extends to landscape and architectural objects, most favourably praestitis praestandis [after completion of the work to be done] and to finally to submit the said permit to the honourable Police Office. See pp. Annex No. 1

Attachment

The undersigned attest by their signature that they wish to see their children or other individuals taught by the painter Delkeskamp (who studied at the Royal Academy of Arts in Berlin and further perfected himself on his travels) in the subjects he studied, namely drawing from nature, as well as the science of perspective and shadow construction, insofar as this extends to landscape and architectural objects.

[Signatures:]

*Lessel, Ing. major, G. Geiler, P.F. Vigelius, P. A. Collomb, H. Siedentopf, D. K. Cordier, Carl Georgi, A. J. Maus, P. Ott"*¹⁰¹

It is noticeable that Delkeskamp could already prove a number of supporters of his application with whom he had perhaps previously worked "on the black", including the parents of the later copper engraver Christian Siedentopf (1818-1884). This letter is the only reference to his training at the Royal Academy of Arts in Berlin. The "praise ... from teachers and art connoisseurs" for "successful work" cannot be verified, but the police conscientiously researched Delkeskamp in Frankfurt and reported to the city council on 13 March 1823: "According to enquiries made, Supplicant is not without ability in the specified subject, as the works produced here also show."¹⁰² Delkeskamp will have legitimised himself through work samples from Silesia, Posen and Berlin: One of his last surviving letters gives an idea of the significant number of drawings and sketches he had already brought with him to Frankfurt. It is unknown what actual proofs of achievement Delkeskamp was able to present to the Frankfurt police office in addition to the small drawings for Wilmans, possibly already the preparatory work for his best-known large copperplate engravings of the Frankfurt City Hall, the Römer, and the harbour, *View of the Banks of the Main in Frankfurt*.

Another decisive factor for the immediate granting of a residence permit for one year was that "incidentally, several foreign individuals have so far been permitted to teach art subjects such as music, languages, etc."¹⁰³ Delkeskamp's fear that the Frankfurt painters' guild would also protest against his immigration, in view of his brother's bad experiences, played no role in the decision-making process. However, he had limited himself to teaching drawing to everyone, an activity clearly outside the defined tasks and apprenticeship training of the guild.

A few days after the Senate's approval, on 25 March 1823, Delkeskamp recommended himself in the city's leading advertising journal, the *Intelligenzblatt der Freyen Stadt Frankfurt*, as a drawing teacher and at the same time as an engraver, although only the provision of lessons was the subject of the permit:

"The undersigned does himself the honour of giving the most humble notice to an esteemed public that, following the most generous permission granted by the High Senate of the Free City of Frankfurt to give lessons in drawing, he is willing both to give lessons in his own home and to accommodate with the greatest pleasure the possible wishes of those who wish to be taught in their own home. The matter of the lessons concerns the landscape and architectural subject and the subjects inseparably connected with it of the most thorough instruction possible in drawing from nature, combined with the teaching of perspective and shadow construction. I flatter myself with the hope that a number of students will enable me to demonstrate my knowledge and thereby gain the confidence of an esteemed public. I also recommend myself as an engraver in the subjects mentioned.

Fried. Wilh. Delkeskamp, landscape painter and engraver, Ziegelgasse Lit G No. 175."¹⁰⁴

Delkeskamp was to use the *Intelligenzblatt* as a distribution channel until the 1860s.

View of the Römerberg and the Nicolai Church

The *View of the Römerberg with the Nicolaikirche in Frankfurt a/M.* is not Delkeskamp's first city view of Frankfurt, but it is still his best known, which he both drew and engraved in copper and probably even coloured himself. With this stone cityscape, it becomes clear as with hardly any of his other views that Delkeskamp claimed to have reproduced his subject quasi-photographically with his caption, "drawn and engraved according to nature". Reverently dedicated to the High Senate of the Free City of Frankfurt, Delkeskamp signed his copperplate engraving of Frankfurt city hall and market place and sent it in December 1823 with a covering letter:

"Highly-esteemed Senate!

The High Senate is humbly requested to accept this dedicated view of the Römerberg drawn and engraved according to nature.

The object, which in many respects is historically unusual and doubly interesting due to the beautiful monument of old German architecture of the Nikolai Church, have induced me to draw it with the greatest possible fidelity and this, combined with the most diligent execution, give me the hope that I will perhaps be fortunate enough to enjoy the inestimable praise of the High Senate.

Most respectfully yours, the obedient servant of the High Senate and the Free City of Frankfurt

Friedr. Wilh. Delkeskamp, Landscape painter and engraver, Ziegelgasse Lit. G. No. 135"

The gift went down well with the Senate, as the administrative order accompanying the letter states:

"Read in the Inner Council the 16th of December 1823 and decision: the budget office is to honour the dedication of the view of the Römerberg by the painter and engraver Delkeskamp with 20 Taler".¹⁰⁵

It was not the first time that Delkeskamp turned to the authorities for recognition with a work. In Berlin, he had sent his views of Silesia to the Prussian king. It seems reasonable to assume that Delkeskamp now also wanted to impress the Senate with proof of his masterly skills with the Römerberg, after he had only had to present samples of his art to the Frankfurt Police Office in the spring of 1823. Perhaps he was also aware from his contact with the painters' guild that the Frankfurt Senate had been claiming the masterpieces, i.e. the work created to achieve Master Craftsman recognition, of the painters' guild, for itself for almost two centuries - not least in order to decorate the walls of the town hall with outstanding works. This practice, which was not altruistic, is still documented up to 1858, including cases of artists who came to Frankfurt and obtained a right of residence and even freedom from the guild.¹⁰⁶ When applying for naturalisation in Frankfurt in 1831, Delkeskamp referred to his Römerberg.



Der Ringerberg
Kunst- und Antiquar-Handlung



Stadt des Reichs freyherzoglich geistlichen Fürstbistums von Bamberg

*Ansicht des Römerbergs mit der
Dem Hof u. Senat des*





The Römerberg at Frankfurt
on the Main, 44.2 x 53.5 cm,
Historisches Museum Frankfurt

Nikolaikirche zu Frankfurt & M.
freier Stadt Frankfurt

höfentlichst gerichtet
von F. W. G. C. G. G. G.



Ansicht von S. R. Regensburg

Ansicht des Mainz-
aufgenommen von der



gem. im Auftrag von P. W. Volkmann

Wassers zu Frankfurt
Leonhardsthor

Banks of the Main in Frankfurt. View taken in front of the Leonhardsthor, 41.5 x 53 cm, Historisches Museum Frankfurt

Parallel to sending it to the Senate, Delkeskamp must already have marketed the Römerberg - exactly how remains obscure, possibly through the business of his brother Eduard Heinrich, who occasionally promoted pictorial works in advertisements for his range.¹⁰⁷ The copperplate engraving first appeared in Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp's publishing programme in 1837 and was advertised by him in the text booklets accompanying his panoramas until at least 1842.

The illustration with the mayor's carriage in front of the town hall and the square in front of it, which is enlivened by rich staffage, is still one of the most popular historical views of Frankfurt's city hall and its surroundings. It was reproduced in various formats, even as a postcard and silk print, until the 20th century and can be found as illustrations in various books and on the internet. Around 1958, the Trade Fair office of the City of Frankfurt published a reprint to reward those who participated as exhibitors in ten international Frankfurt trade fairs since 1948. In 2015, the original drawing of the Römerberg was found in Frankfurt.

Delkeskamp would certainly have been proud to learn that Goethe, who was supplied with views of his home town by his muse Marianne von Willemer, also owned a copy of the Römerberg. On 2 March 1824, Marianne von Willemer wrote to Goethe: "If you thought it worth the trouble to look carefully at the leaf sent ahead, you would perhaps notice a mayor at the entrance to the Römer who is just leaving the council carriage ...". Goethe had already received the engraving in February: In his diary he recorded on 12 February 1824: "Framed the Römerberg" and on 25 February: "Viewed the Römerberg." On 9 May, Goethe then replied to Marianne: "Let me now step in front of the very pretty picture, which, prepared by two earlier river views, hides just like those the very place where one would actually like to go [to the house of the Willemers with the "Rothe Männchen", the "Little Red Man" statue near the bank of the Main]. This time my first thought was to follow the lady walking forward on the left with the boy, to beat my way around the corner, to soon be at the destination of my wishes."¹⁰⁸

View of the Main bank

From the correspondence between Marianne and Goethe we can conclude that another of Delkeskamp's works had already found its way to Weimar in September 1823: Marianne von Willemer sent him a cardboard roll with two views of the river Main, "the content of which has no other value than that which you give it through memory. I was very sorry that one drawing closes on the "Little Red Man" and the other only hints at it, but after a few reservations I was almost pleased; for precisely what is not there is perhaps noticed more often than the opposite ...".¹⁰⁹ The fact that it was about two river views was resolved by Goethe in his answer to the *Römerberg*.¹¹⁰

These two pictures are the *View of the Banks of the Main in Frankfurt, taken in front of the Leonardsthor* and the

counterpart *View of the Banks of the Main in Frankfurt*, taken in front of the Fahrthor. The Willemer House, the "Rothes Männchen" or "Little Red Man", was located directly by the Fahrthor. Delkeskamp's "Royal Folio" view was based on a sketch by the distinguished Frankfurt painter Johann Friedrich Morgenstern (1777-1844). As with Raczyński, Delkeskamp worked the sketch into a drawing and engraved it in copper. The other richly populated harbour scene was produced by Ignaz Franz Weisbeck, painter and reproduction engraver from Nuremberg, after a drawing by Morgenstern from 1813, which is now in the Städel Museum.¹¹¹ The two works belong together because of their identical size, the identical type of paper (J. Whatman, Turkey Mill) and the same lettering and title ornamentation. The time at which the engravings were created can be determined quite precisely: On 30 August 1823, Johann Lorenz Demmert, book and stationery dealer at Töngesgasse G No. 49, published an advertisement in Frankfurt's *Intelligenzblatt*:

"The two views of the banks of the Main in Frankfurt, which were received with so much applause: drawn from nature by J.F. Morgenstern, are now available from me for 9 fl. the leaf, or for 18 fl. for both."¹¹² Marianne Willemer will have read this advertisement or the identical one that Demmert published a week later, on 6 September 1823, again in the *Intelligenzblatt*. At the time, Delkeskamp's brother had his shop across from Demmert's shop, at Töngesgasse G No. 48.

Delkeskamp had introduced himself to Johann Ludwig Ernst Morgenstern (1738-1819) in mid-October 1814 during his second visit to Frankfurt. In this respect, he may have turned to his son, Johann Friedrich Morgenstern, in search of work. However, the contact may also have come about through Wilmans, for *Kleine Ansichten von Frankfurt am Main in 36 gestochenen und illuminierten Erinnerungsblättern* [Small Views of Frankfurt am Main in 36 engraved and illuminated Souvenirs] were published by Johann Friedrich Morgenstern with Wilmans.¹¹³ There is no indication that Delkeskamp and Weisbeck produced and distributed the two river views on their own account, just as Delkeskamp had worked in Berlin. Perhaps this is why the painters' guild failed to protest against Delkeskamp's entry into the art market.

There is no further reference in the *Intelligenzblatt* to the first publication that triggered the "applause" mentioned in the advertisement. However, in another advertisement in the *Intelligenzblatt* of 16 May 1823, there is an indication of the source: "30 copperplates and vignettes, by J.F. Morgenstern, or Picturesque Journey to the Feldberg, is available both from the bookbinder Mr Hildebrand in the Ziegelgasse [where Delkeskamp lived] and from the publisher, Mrs Reinheimer in the Saalgasse."

Ursula Magdalena Reinheimer (1777-1845) was the daughter of the painter and engraver Johann Gottlieb Prestel and a painter herself. In 1806, she had already portrayed Johann Friedrich Morgenstern's father, Johann



Counterpart: Banks of the Main in Frankfurt. View taken in front of the Fahrthor 41.5 x 53 cm

Ludwig Ernst Morgenstern. The painting is now in the possession of the Historical Museum in Frankfurt. Her husband, Johann Georg Reinheimer (1777-1820), was a co-worker and pupil of her father. As an engraver he had earlier worked on a number of Morgenstern views, among others the six Frankfurt city gates, and later published Morgenstern.¹¹⁴ After her husband's death Ursula continued the business. Anton Radl (1774-1852) had also lived and worked in her father's house. Later, in 1822, he produced views for Wilmans in northern Germany. Delkeskamp might have met him at Wilmans' and thus got the commission for the realisation of the Morgenstern views. In a letter to Wilmans from 1826 Delkeskamp calls Radl "his brother".

A little later, for a series of pictures commissioned by the Frankfurt publisher Jügel, Delkeskamp was to work directly with Radl who will also have established contact with the family of Clemens Heerdt, in whose house he was living at the time. The Städel Museum even possesses a drawing by Philipp Rumpf showing Radl still in 1846 in front of his studio flat in Heerdt's back house in Große Friedberger Straße. Heerdt's daughter Elise was later to marry Delkeskamp. Her brother, the later painter Johann Christian Heerdt, shared the school desk with Carl Morgenstern, Johann Friedrich's son.¹¹⁵

Along with Radl, Ursula Magdalena Reinheimer was one of the Frankfurt artists to be counted on one hand, who did not belong to the painters' guild, as Gerhard Kölsch points out.¹¹⁶ Delkeskamp may have specifically approached the independent artists after his arrival in Frankfurt. Reinheimer was the sister of Christian Erdmann Gottlieb Prestel (1773 - 1830), also a painter and engraver, but above all an art dealer and publisher. He published the other two views of the banks of the Main in Frankfurt and counterparts, on which Delkeskamp again collaborated: *Ansicht von Frankfurt vom Ober-Mainthor mit der Stadt-Bibliothek*. Published by C.E.G. Prestel, Frankf. a/M d. 1. July 1825 and the counterpart: *Ansicht von Frankfurt vom Unter-Mainthor mit dem Winterhalt*. Published by C.E.G. Prestel, Frankf. a/M d. 1. July 1826. The Reinheimer connection would be an explanation as to how Delkeskamp could have obtained the commission from Prestel. Painting supplies also seem to have been available from Prestel; Fried Lübbecke explicitly confirms this for Prestel's son, who continued his father's business with his aunt Ursula Magdalena Reinheimer after his father's death in 1830. In particular, Lübbecke mentions that "the famous handmade Whatman watercolour paper" was available in the shop, which had been used in 1823 for printing the Morgenstern-Delkeskamp and Weisbeck views¹¹⁷ and now again for the two 42 x 58 cm sheets.¹¹⁸



Ansicht von Frankfurt vom Ober-Main
Herausgegeben von C. E. G. Baur



Ober-Mainthor mit der Stadt-Bibliothek.
Frankf. am M. d. 1. Juli 1875.

View of Frankfurt from the Ober-Mainthor with the city library,
 42 x 58cm, Historisches Museum Frankfurt





Counterpart: View of Frankfurt from the Unter-Mainthor with the Winterhalt,
42 x 58cm, Historisches Museum Frankfurt

Christian Erdmann Gottlieb Prestel, who was described as a "copper etcher and art dealer"¹¹⁹ or "local citizen and art dealer as well as copper engraver"¹²⁰, advertised the view of the Obermaintor in the *Intelligenzblatt*:

"The undersigned has just published a view of the City of Frankfurt with the new library building etc. taken from the Ober-Mainthor; and painted after nature, and set in aquatint by F.I. Manskirsch. The copy diligently illuminated at fl 8. 15 kr. C.E.G. Prestel, art dealer."¹²¹

In fact, two identical coloured and uncoloured versions of the view exist and with the same date of 1 July 1825, "pinx et sc. aquat." once by Franz Josef Manskirsch (1768-1830)¹²² and, on the other hand, inscribed at the bottom centre: "F.W. Delkeskamp sculp." - and without Manskirsch. An explanation for the duplicate is missing so far. The prominent placement of Delkeskamp as engraver below the centre of the picture and without mention of a draughtsman is striking. Prestel may have had to commission Delkeskamp with a subsequent engraving because the demand for the first copper plate made by Manskirsch could no longer be satisfied and Manskirsch had already left Frankfurt. He had travelled via Berlin back to Danzig, where he soon put an end to his life with a painting spatula.¹²³ The counterpart from 1826, on the other hand, no longer shows any names, nor was there any advertisement. This view could also be by Delkeskamp, it is quite similar to his drawing for Jügel the following year, but the latter is clearly finer and more detailed.

Goethe House

Another commission with a link to Goethe dates back to September 1823. In the September issue of the *Journal für Literatur, Kunst, Luxus und Mode* [Journal of Literature, Art, Luxury and Fashion], on the occasion of Goethe's birthday, the suggestion was made that the poet's Frankfurt friends should commission a picture of his birthplace in the Grosser Hirschgraben. "The councillor Fritz Schlosser in Frankfurt took up this request and had the young Delkeskamp produce the oldest reproduction of Goethe's house. It was published for the first time in Bertuch's Journal in January 1824 ..." ¹²⁴ Delkeskamp, who always provided his views with passers-by, pointed out with his inclusion of three visitors that the Goethe House in Frankfurt had already become a tourist attraction and place of pilgrimage.

At the beginning of 1824, Delkeskamp's residence and work permit expired again and he became acquainted with bureaucracy and the difficult relations between the German states. Frankfurt required a "Heimatschein" for renewal, which had to be issued by his native town of Bielefeld in Prussia. Due to a confusion with his brother, who "received the ... emigration permit from the Royal Government in Minden in 1819 and as a result of his marriage here [in Frankfurt] became a local citizen"¹²⁵, Bielefeld's Mayor Delius initially refused to issue the document. Delkeskamp had to ask his father to intervene and explained to him what Bielefeld should certify to him:

"However, since I have to stay here for a longer period of time due to frequent employment and orders from art dealers, and since I am not a resident here, but am nevertheless engaged in civic life, I am here for the time being under the special law. The purpose of the home residence certificate is as follows:

That Frankfurt is not overcrowded with strangers who, perhaps through extraordinary circumstances, through unemployment, or that the stranger, through premature death, might leave a large family without means, which would then fall to the city to provide for. To avoid this, every foreigner must therefore produce a certificate from his government that he may return to his homeland at any time. But as soon as one is a local citizen, this is automatically lifted. For my situation this is merely formal, for I have neither family nor the slightest prospect of lack of work, as I now have orders for almost 1 1/2 years, which certainly protect me from destitution. However, since it is an accepted law and is literally applied by the local police directorate, a refusal of this certificate by the local government would have very unpleasant consequences for me, as it would cause a serious disturbance in the happy progress of my business, as I would then have to exchange my current residence with another.

In the expectation that this will be duly taken into account, I flatter myself with the hope that my request will be granted. In the expectation of a soon desired answer, which will bring me out of this embarrassing uncertainty, I wish you to live well.

Your loving son.

F.W. Delkeskamp"¹²⁶



Goethe's parental home from the Hirschgraben, 18 x 12.9 cm, Klassikstiftung Weimar

Delkeskamp was apparently issued this guarantee of return. Such a renewal application and permission to stay and work in Frankfurt for another year have been preserved in the Frankfurt City Archives dating from the end of February 1826

Cooperation with Carl Jügel

In the autumn of 1827, the Frankfurt bookseller Carl Jügel (1783-1869) published a portfolio of six *Picturesque Views of Frankfurt am Main and its immediate surroundings*; its publication is recorded in the joint catalogue of the Michaelmas Fairs (around 29 September) of Frankfurt and Leipzig. In 1823, Jügel had set up his own large bookshop opposite Frankfurt's Hauptwache in the Palazzo Belli, next to St Catherine's Church, only a few steps away from the shop of the publisher Friedrich Wilmans, Delkeskamp's employer.¹²⁷ Jügel had trained as an assistant at Wilmans¹²⁸ and, since his marriage to the niece of Goethe's "Lili", had belonged to the city's first circles.¹²⁹ Jügel specialised in travel books, Frankfurt and Rhine views as well as panoramas, maps and plans. From 1825 Friedrich August Ravenstein (1809-1881) was apprenticed to him; a person whom Delkeskamp would dislike for the remainder of his life.

At that time, Delkeskamp already had nothing else in mind than the production of his *Picturesque Relief of the Classical Soil of Switzerland*. To do this, he urgently needed advance financing; in this respect, he will have invested his time in Jügel's project for purely financial reasons.

In his "Subscriptions-Anzeige" for the first delivery, which was to remain the only one of four planned, Jügel wrote: "The views are 13 inches wide and 8 ½ inches high and were mostly taken by our respected fellow citizen, the painter Mr Radl, but partly also by the no less talented artists present here, Messrs. Goldstein and Delkeskamp; their transfer to stone has been entrusted to the most skilful artists in this field, Messrs. Deroy, Bichebois and Courtin in Paris, from whose diligence one may expect the most accurate and witty execution, of which one will convince oneself by the already completed first delivery ...". This contained six views "drawn from nature", including only two by Anton Radl ("Ansicht von Frankfurt am Main" and "Die Promenade vor dem St. Gallus-Thor"), the Vienna-born artist who had already come to Frankfurt in 1794 and had made an outstanding name for himself as a painter and also draughtsman of Frankfurt views for the Friedrich Wilmans Verlag.¹³⁰ Both drawings were lithographed by Deroy.

Delkeskamp, on the other hand, contributed four views to the portfolio: "Ansicht des Römerberg in Frankfurt a/M"¹³¹, "Ansicht der St. Leonhardskirche", both also lithographed by Deroy, and "Ansicht des Quais am Untermainthor", lithographed by Bichebois, and "Ansicht der Bibliothek in Frankfurt a/M", lithographed by Courtin. Without text, the views measure about 27 x 36 cm. Sold exclusively to subscribers they were printed as a preferential edition on "Chinese paper", "since in lithography the prints on Chinese paper are by far the most beautiful".

Individual leaves, also coloured can be found on sale again and again; a complete portfolio was last offered in 2000 at the Frankfurt antiquarian bookshop Tresor am Römer for 18,000 DM (ca. 9000 Euro) and in 2006 at the former Frankfurt gallery Brumme for 5,000 euros.

The citizenry of the City of Frankfurt did not provide sufficient demand for the local book trade. The founding of another book and art shop had therefore led to unrest among the established dealers. The *Morgenblatt für die gebildeten Stände* of 16 October 1827, in its report on the publication of Jügel's Frankfurt-Ansichten and in its review, visibly struggled to maintain neutrality:

"There is more agitation than usual in our book and art trade; the new Jügelsche Handlung, which unites both, has found opponents among its sisters and has been involved in small feuds, which are, however, limited only to costly and unfruitful advertisements in the newspapers. Jügel's new plan of Frankfurt and new views of this city were the cause. It cannot be denied that the first delivery of the latter meets a real need, in that the pleasing medium format, the appealing treatment and excellent good execution in lithography recommend the acquisition of this collection; however, the merit of the earlier smaller views published by Wilmans and others remains undiminished, and Friedrich Wilmans in particular deserves the thanks and recognition that he has broken a larger ground in picturesque

Subscriptions - Anzeige
Carl Jügel.
 Buch- und Kunsthandlung in Frankfurt am Main, im Palazzo Belli, neben der Hauptwache gegenüber.
MALERISCHE ANSICHTEN
FRANKFURT AM MAIN
 und
 dessen nächster Umgebung.
 Eine Lieferung von sechs Darstellungen in großem Maßstab.
 Unter den vielen Ansichten, welche von hier aus Frankfurt aufgenommen und herausgegeben ist, sind nur sehr wenige, die den schönsten Ansichten entsprechen, welche das Publikum zu Darstellungen dieser Art sucht; von Theil ist die Formel zu finden, von der Gegenstand mit Tausendmaligen zu können, von Theil steigt eine so exquisite Größe oder ein so weit durch vertheiltes Licht über Punkt in den Mägen, daß die Anschaffung einer Collection oder selbst nur einiger als Gegenstände persönlicher Ansicht sehr erwünscht wird. Demnach ist es wohl der Wunsch eines jeden gelehrten Frankfurter und selbst noch vieler benachbarten Franken, interessante Darstellungen dieser Stadt zu haben, die sich einem gewöhnlichen Wandersmann oder einem Fremden, der sich von Außenherin in die Stadt stellt, als eigenes Forum eine materialisierte geistige Darstellung der Gegenstände vorlegen und dabei von einem Punkt zu sehen sind, welcher ihnen Anstellung erleichtert. Dieser Wunsch ist mir so oft ausgesprochen worden und

Subscription advertisement