Panorama of the Ahr Valley from Sinzig (Remagen) to Kreuzberg above Altenahr and its Healing Springs and Spas

Baden and Switzerland, and his drawings of the reliefs of these regions are generally well known; they are in the hands of numerous travellers in these regions, and need no further emphasis of their value. We now also owe a small new work to this accomplished draughtsman of mountain regions, which shows us the beautiful and wine-rich valley of the Ahr, namely the small river area which flows into the Rhine between Sinzig and Remagen and is cut here by the Rhine railway. A visit to this valley, about three miles long from the Rhine upwards, offers an enjoyment of scenic beauty rarely found elsewhere. At the beginning, this stretch of the valley is immensely lovely and charming, and gradually a strikingly picturesque wildness and ruggedness of the rocks (especially near Altenahr) develops in it, which surprises the eye to a high degree; these parts deserve the name of Rhenish Switzerland, which is often attached to them. As far as the valley can present an outstanding interest (up to Kreuzberg), it is reproduced completely faithfully in the panorama, up to the recognition of every rocky projection and side hill, the castles and even the individual houses in the villages," enthuses Westermann's Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte in July 1859.393

"With this panorama in hand, any guide on this tour becomes dispensable, the picture with the names attached explains itself, and is quite sufficient to find one's way everywhere and even on the smallest byways and paths of the terrain. As was the case in Delkeskamp's earlier similar works, the most outstanding buildings of the region are drawn at the edge of the picture, especially in their main view, namely: Hotel Fürstenberg and Hotel König von Preußen in Remagen, St. Apollinaris Church in Remagen,

the mineral baths in Sinzig, the parish church in Sinzig, the Landskron mineral fountain, the Apollinaris mineral fountain, the drinking hall, the bathhouse and the inn in the Neuenahr baths, the main church in Ahrweiler. The new facilities near the recently drilled important thermal spring at Neuenahr, which were discussed in detail in the 'Illustrierte Deutsche Monatshefte' III, pp. 27ff and are nearing completion, will soon bring many more visitors to the Ahr Valley, and for the guests of the baths, Delkeskamp's mountain view is certainly a doubly pleasant gift. Anyone who has seen the Ahr valley once will enjoy looking at the clear and comprehensive copy in the parlour more often, in order to reawaken the memory of the pleasure experienced. Wine and water, namely mineral water, compete in the Ahr valley for the prize of the most excellent quality, and the region that produces both can be called, if not a paradise, then nevertheless paradisiacal."

It remains open whether it was economic hardship after the prematurely ended Swiss adventure or the growing number of spa tourists that prompted Delkeskamp to turn to the emerging Ahr valley. The only known preparatory drawing for the Ahr panorama reveals when Delkeskamp must have given up hope that his *Picturesque Relief of the Swiss and adjacent Alps* could be realised in its entirety beyond the 10 whole and three half sheets that were published. On 27 June 1857 he signed Review of Bodendorf near Remagen, a 12 x 28 cm washed pencil and pen drawing with yellow coloured paths, which the "Sammlung Rheinromantik" bought at an auction in 2018. Delkeskamp advertised his Ahr panorama in the May issue of the *Börsenblatt*³⁹⁴.



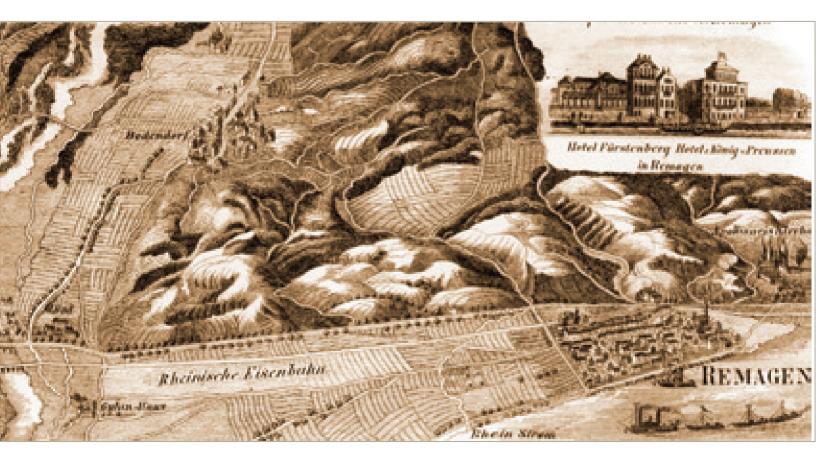
Preparatory drawing view of Bad Bodendorf near Remagen, 12 x 28 cm, Sammlung Rheinromantik

It was first published as a lithograph with 10 marginal images and 8 pages of "notes" by the Lithographische Anstalt of Ferdinand Carl Klimsch (1812-1890) in Frankfurt, founded in 1858. The versatile Klimsch - painter, draughtsman, lithographer and engraver, who had also worked with Tanner - was one of Delkeskamps' friends and the children of both families were also connected. Klimsch could have transferred the Delkeskamp drawing onto the lithograph stone himself. There is also a family history to the usual dust jacket made of sturdy cardboard: it was not produced by Klimsch, but in the renowned Frankfurt publishing house and print shop of Johann David Sauerländer, where Delkeskamp's eldest son Clemens was an employee from roughly this time. The cover exists in at least two versions: with and without the date 1859 and with different borders and typography.

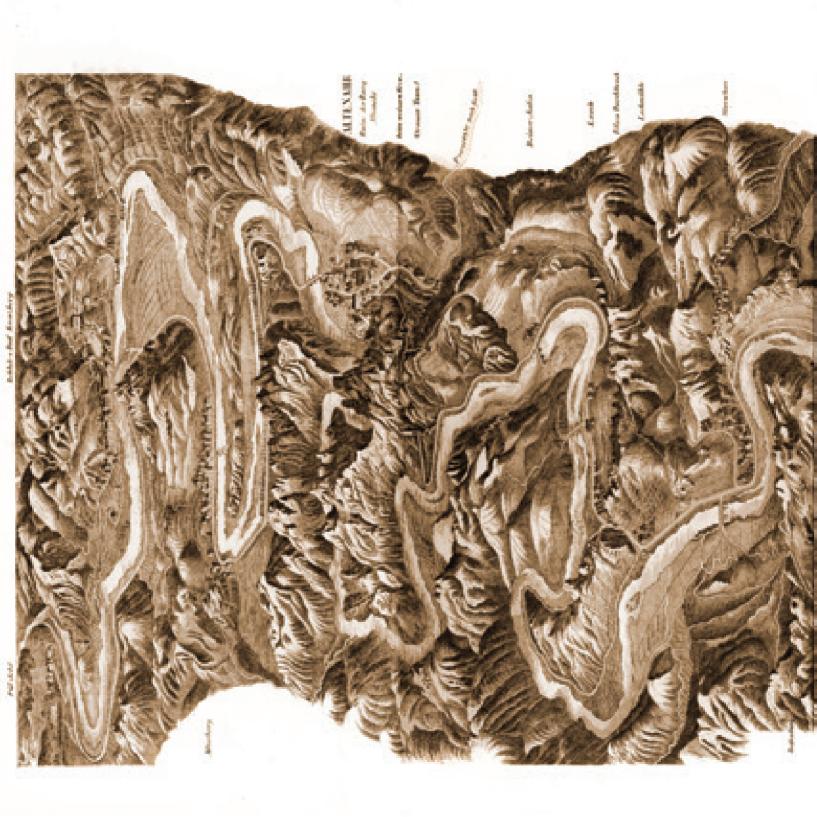
The fact that Delkeskamp now depicted hotels raises the question of whether he was able to tap a new source of funding for his work with advertising. A modern analysis of his panorama speaks in favour of this: "With this map it now has ... its peculiarities. These are that the panorama map, in connection with the founding of Bad Neuenahr in 1858, shows things as 'taken from nature' that should in fact exist in this way, namely according to the plans of the spa administration and its architects, but which never existed in this way in reality, even later, because the plans could not be realised as they were conceived. Delkeskamp thus skilfully made himself available to Bad Neuenahr's publicity and stuck to the planning documents given to him, which

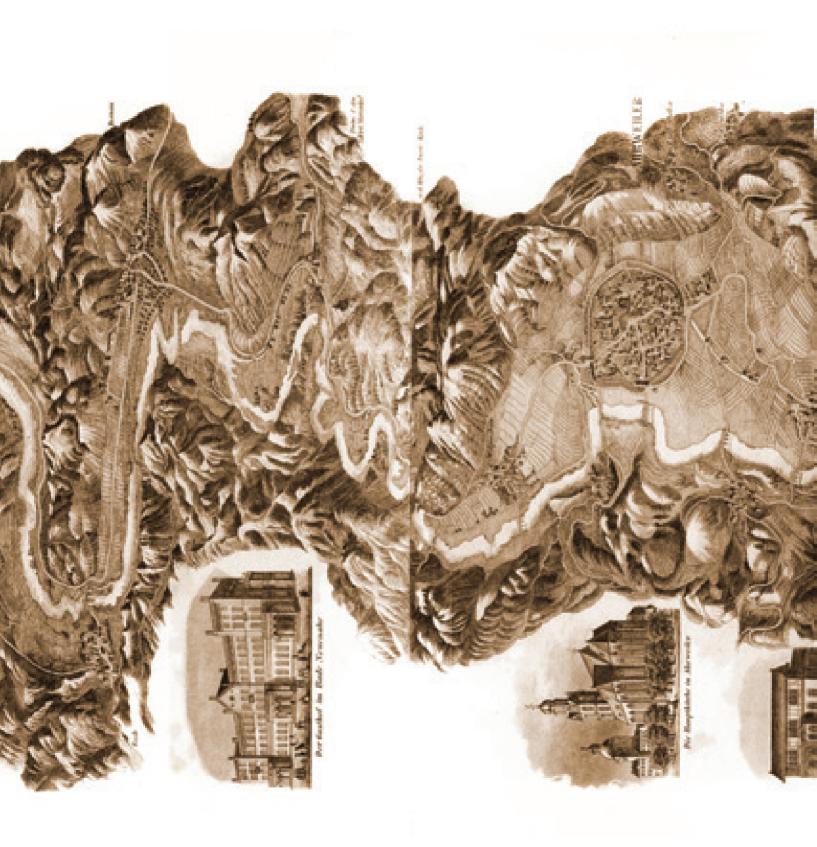
naturally made a much more attractive impression on strangers than the reality, which was still somewhat poor at the time."³⁹⁵

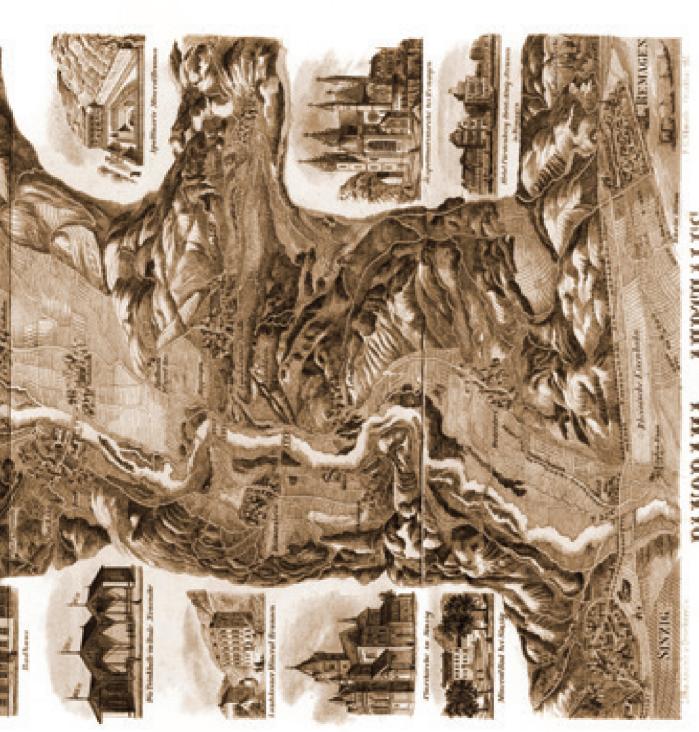
Two proofs of the Ahr panorama are preserved in the Cologne City Museum with initial instructions for the type engraver. Unlike in the final panorama, where Beul is recorded as an insignificant place on the outskirts of Bad Neuenahr, the draft envisages a "Bad Beuel" and a bird'seye view of attractive spa facilities as a marginal image, which, however, were never completed. This would indeed be an indication that Delkeskamp was commissioned by the spa administration or the town, which intended to place their grandiose planning via the most famous panorama draughtsman in a promotionally effective manner.



Detail enlargement Bodendorf near Remagen







Von SINZIG (REMACEN) bis oberhalb ALTENAHR There are Theire audigenommen — specifymer—

From Salzburg to Mont Blanc (1837-1858): Picturesque Relief of the Swiss and Adjacent Alps

The growing demands on map material and accuracy increasingly overtaxed the solo-independent draughtsman-cartographers. In this respect, map production developed into a state task. In Switzerland, under the leadership of the military officer Henri Dufour, preparations had begun in 1832 for the production of the first official topographic map. His General Staff Map was published between 1845 and 1865 at a scale of 1:100,000 in 25 leaves of 70 x 48 cm each.

The availability of Ordnance Survey maps to everyone heralded the end of picturesque bird's-eye reliefs as reliable tourist travel maps - the horizontal projection gave way to the vertical:

"Mountains in the 19th century were not seen from the vertical, but horizontally as rock towers and as glacier ridges on the horizon. Map artists such as Heinrich Keller from the 1810s or Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp from the 1830s took up this concrete visual experience in order to achieve a representation of the mountains that was easily comprehensible to their customers. Both artists strove to depict the morphology of the terrain in a 'naturalistic' way, but they chose the elevation rather than the ground plan for this purpose. In addition to his travel maps, Keller also produced a whole wealth of Alpine panoramas, in which he lined up one mountain portrait after another with increasing perfection. Delkeskamp fanned out the same form of representation into multi-sheet 'bird's-eye view maps'. His 'Picturesque Relief of the Classical Soil of Switzerland' not only conveyed a vivid picture of the terrain forms and the rocky areas in the summit regions in great detail, but also marked the most important roads and paths as well as all the towns, bodies of water, forests, etc. His landscape view had all the essential qualities of a good map.

With the Dufour map, the consistent vertical projection had become established, whereupon sales for Delkeskamp's product collapsed. The bird's-eye view was undoubtedly very descriptive, but it caused gaps in the representation. The back of the mountains depicted remained hidden from view. From the opposite valley, the mountain was thus not recognisable. These circumstances were unacceptable to a military technician like Dufour. The 'rabattements' - as the old mountain signatures called 'molehills' in French - literally, the folding over of individual mountain views into the horizontal - contradicted Dufour's idea of drawing a mountain representation that was universally recognisable in the strict sense. 'Les rabattements', he stated in his instruction, 'au moyen desquels on représentait autrefois les montagnes par leurs apparences réelles, sont maintenant proscrits de la topographie, parce qu'il arrivait par ces rabattements que quelquefois des parties essentielles du plan se trouvaient couvertes. [The molehills, with the help of which mountains were once rendered according to their real appearance, have since been banned from topography

because it can happen with these molehills that important parts of the map remain hidden]."396

Nevertheless, Delkeskamp was not deterred by this foreseeable development. In the Bündner Bildarchiv in Chur, the Fundaziun Capauliana, a number of Delkeskamp's preliminary sketches for his Picturesque Relief of the Swiss and Adjacent Alps have been preserved, proving that he had already decided at an early stage to make the whole of Switzerland accessible to his public from a bird's-eye view, and that his Picturesque Relief of the Classical Ground of Switzerland was to be regarded only as a prologue. The oldest sketch dates from 7 August 1837, of Greina Medels (in the Oberland), soon after Delkeskamp had brought his Rhine panorama to market, on which he noted: "In the Val Scaradra towards the north against the other branches of the Luzon Valley" and noted when he incorporated it into his preliminary drawing for the relief: "copirt d. I 6ten Aug. 1847 v. F.W.D." On 9 August 1837, he recorded another perspective in the Medels Valley: "No. 5 from Scaradra Alp towards the west" and "cop. d. 16ten Aug. 1847". On 29 August 1844 he was in Munterasch (Motterascio): "Nro 3 Unterhalb der Munterasch Hütten im Absteigen in das Luzonthal" [Below the Munterasch huts descending into the Luzon valley], the following year, on 1 September 1845, on the Greina: "An der Westseite des Scaradra Passes gegen West und Nordwest [On the west side of Scaradra Pass facing West and Northwest], copirt d. 16ten Aug. 1847".

These pencil and pen drawings prove Delkeskamp's systematic way of working and that he was seriously engaged with the preliminary drawings for the engraving of his Switzerland panorama by 1847 at the latest. Thanks to this continuous connection with Switzerland, he will have taken note of the Dufour offensive and that an armada of surveyors and cartographers had set to work there, while he faced Switzerland and its mountains entirely alone as a draughtsman. His friends and his many acquaintances in Switzerland will have confronted him with the question of how he imagined his maps would sell in the face of such competition. However, with unshakable faith in the superior appeal of his form of depicting Switzerland from a bird's-eye view, he will have dismissed any doubts about the commercial success of his venture.

"No other form of representation is able to present the character of a country, as a whole and in all its individual parts, so clearly and distinctly in one picture as is possible through this bird's-eye view; many an unknown beauty is thereby drawn to light", Delkeskamp formulated his lifelong credo as early as 1830 in the preface to his *Malerisches Reliefs des klassischen Bodens der Schweiz*. In fact, his approach carried on for a number of years: Of 25 projected leaves perhaps not coincidentally the same number as that of the Dufour map - 10 and 3 half sheets were in fact published.



Overview leaf with marked "departments", 26 x 14.5 cm

And Delkeskamp may even have been able to use parts of the Dufour map to adjust what is still, from today's point of view, a very precise representation, even if he stuck to his orientation of the relief towards the south. In any case, his Picturesque Relief of the Classical Soil of Switzerland remained on offer from Delkeskamp's publishing house until the mid-1850s, 20 years after its publication, and the unchanged reprint by the publishing house of the Gebrüder Eglin in Lucerne in several editions between 1848 and 1853 testifies to existing demand for this form of overview, at least of Lake Lucerne and the surrounding original cantons.

With the completion of the Travel Atlas of the Rhine in 1844, Delkeskamp devoted himself exclusively to Switzerland. "Where might Delkeskamp be staying these days?" 397 the Royal Saxon Envoy to the Frankfurt Bundestag and former scientist Bernhard von Lindenau (1779-1854) wrote to the Zurich astronomer and mathematician Johann Kaspar Horner (1774-1834) as early as 1829. Elise Delkeskamp will often have asked herself the same question while she had to raise the growing flock of children in Frankfurt and he, as soon as the mountain spring permitted, climbed and drew in Switzerland until late autumn on missions that were not always without danger. In August 1850, his work had progressed so far that he was able to publish the "Announcement of a New Picturesque Relief of the Swiss Alps" in the appendix to the text booklet of his Panorama of the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne:

"The good reception that my account of the classical soil of Switzerland received encouraged me to continue the recording of the Alps; however, I realised that a direct continuation of the work on the same scale would not be advisable, because the number of sheets would be too large, the price would be too high and, as a result, sales would be difficult. Therefore, I decided to publish a completely new work, on a much smaller scale than the earlier one. In order to facilitate practical use on the journey, I have placed the writing on the objects themselves, not on the top and bottom of the plates as before, and the initial letters or numbers on the inside. Also, the new work is not engraved in aqua tinta like the earlier one, but in the most perfect line manner. No fixed limits have been set for the extent of the work, since it will depend mainly on the public's interest whether I can give the work a large extension; with great effort I have determined a division of Switzerland and the first border provinces of the great Alpine chain, as well as Tyrol, which is as favourable as possible for each sheet; the large whole will again be divided into individual selfcontained parts, which of 1, 2, 4 or more leaves again form a whole.

I have already covered a very large part of Switzerland, as well as smaller parts of Tyrol and Salzburg, during II journeys through the Alps, and am about to embark on the I2th; which required great, almost unaffordable sacrifices of all kinds for me, and provides the best testimony to the



Greina Medels. In the Val Scaradra towards the north against the other branches of the Luzon valley, 11.3 x 42.2 cm, Fundaziun Capauliana

unwavering perseverance and enthusiasm with which the author strives to solve his great task. In October of this year, the first leaf of this work, the western half of the Bernese Oberland with Lakes Brienz and Thun, will be published. The eastern half with the St. Gotthard will follow, and I hope to be able to publish the section of Lake Lucerne as well as the Chamouny Valley by the 1851 season. The price of the journal will be only I Thir. Pr. Crt. The author, Friedr. Wilh. Delkeskamp, cordially invites you to kind participation."

Delkeskamp was able to keep to the schedule with the exception of the Chamonix section. He even managed to have parts of the new *Picturesque Relief* presented alongside the old one at the *Great Exhibition*, the first World's Fair held in Hyde Park in London from 1 May to 11 October 1851.³⁹⁸

In March 1851 *Didaskalia* drew the attention of the general public to the progress of the work in a two-page spread:

"New Picturesque Relief of the Swiss and Adjacent Alps by F.W. Delkeskamp. Our indefatigable Delkeskamp, who is unsurpassed in his art, has added to the many known masterpieces a truly gigantic work, which is for the most part already completed in its recording and drawing, and only needs the active participation of art lovers who enjoy travelling in order to reach the hands of the public in a few years. In the manner of his famous relief of the inner part of Switzerland, which is known far and wide and depicts little more than the original cantons, he intends to execute in relief, only on a smaller scale, the whole of Switzerland together with a part of Thyrol and Upper Italy; the mighty Lake Constance with its lovely shores, the royal Lake Geneva with its splendid villas, the wonderful Lago de Como and Maggiore with their magical gardens and islands will form the outermost borders in the north, west and south, and the work will conclude in the east the upper Inn Valley with its remote villages. It is the first attempt to present the whole colossal mountain world of Europe to the eye in a picturesque representation, and the first leaves (the Bernese Oberland and the Rhône Valley), which are already before us completed in engraving, prove that the attempt will be

completely successful; the drawing is, with all its richness, so clear and lucid, the execution so delicate and pure, that one completely forgets to criticise it over the pleasure of the work. This work has a considerable advantage in that the names, instead of being placed in the margins as in the earlier work, are here placed in situ, nice and clear and yet not at all disturbing the painting. The artist has already spent a number of summers for the recording and has drawn the overviews on nearly a thousand points, sparing no efforts, no dangers, no costs. Now that the work has progressed so far that he can present the first leaves in engraving, he intends to collect signatures for it. It will therefore depend on the active participation of the public whether such a great undertaking can be brought to its conclusion. We believe that all those who are familiar with Delkeskamp's reliefs, his masterly Rhine panoramas, etc., need not fear the censure of puffery when we claim that this work will make an epoch in this field of art and will soon be as indispensable in the hands of all Swiss travellers as Keller's map and Bädeker's travel guide. The artist will therefore do his utmost to make it perfectly suitable for practical travel use. The prospectus itself will be enclosed with the subscription list. In the meantime, we only note the following: The whole will contain about 25 leaves; the division has been made in such a way that each sheet will, as far as possible, give a picture in itself, e.g. the whole of Lake Lucerne, Lake Neuschatell, Lake Zurich. The main mountain nodes also appear unseparated. Where it was not possible - as in the case of Lake Geneva or the Bernese Oberland - the image is presented in two complete sheets; half sheets are also sometimes added, as in the case of the Valais. The subscriber does not commit himself to the whole work, but only to individual sheets, about 3 to 4. The first 4 sheets will contain the Bernese Oberland with the Valais. In order to ensure the desirable distribution of the work, the price of the single leaf, 17' 2" long and 8' 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ " wide [47 x 22 cm], is set at one Thaler, that of the half leaf at half a Thaler. For convenience in travelling, the sheets can be folded approximately like Keller's map. We wish our brave Delkeskamp the best of success with a work that will one day do Germany honour."399

A glance at the general map gives an idea of the size, indeed the superhuman scale of the project. The bomb that destroyed Delkeskamp's estate is the reason why the announcement of the planned dimensions of the panorama cannot be supported by any further sketches and his preliminary work cannot be more precisely classified in terms of time. All that has survived from Italy, via his son Hugo, is a perspective of Lake Como, from Lierna with Castello to Bellagio and Villa Serbelloni, an undated water-colour completed with figures, which, however, suggests that Delkeskamp enjoyed his work and that he, like all veduta buyers, wanted to show family and friends the sublime landscapes he was able to enjoy.

Delkeskamp commissioned Johann Philipp Dauch with the engraving 400 of the new Switzerland relief, with whom he was also to complete his *Small Rhine Panorama* in 1853 and later his *Picturesque Plan of Frankfurt am Main and its immediate surroundings*. Knopfmacher, whose biography is also unknown, was involved as engraver. The individual sheets measured 47 × 22 cm, the half sheets only 11 cm high. Glued together as a travel map and mounted on linen, the relief published in 1856 with the sections Chur, Glarus, Rhine Valley in Graubünden, Lake Lucerne, Bern and Oberland, St. Gotthard, Hinterrhein, Chiavenna, Bellinzona, Simplon Road and Rhone Valley grew to an impressive 146 × 61 cm. Folded and with a noble cambric dust jacket and gold lettering, it was reduced to a convenient coat pocket size of 12 × 25 cm.

There is much praise in the reviews, but also clear criticism. The Berner Intelligenzblatt writes:

"You won't find a safer and more economical guide, on all paths and footbridges, right into the inaccessible labyrinths of the mountain and glacier regions."401 The Bündnerisches Monatsblatt, on the other hand, finds fault with the section Das Rheinthal in Graubünden, the Wallenstadter-See, the Lind- and Sernft-Thal in the canton of Glarus: "In general, the map is very clear and concise. In addition to great accuracy in individual parishes, however, many inaccuracies have crept in, especially as far as our canton is concerned. The Prätigau is situated too high in relation to the Schansigg and the Churerthal. The Prätigau road still leads through the Lunden instead of through the Fuchsenloch, which does not rhyme well with the railway, which has already been taken not only as far as Chur, but further on to the Lukmanier, so that one already thinks one can see the locomotives. (...) We could cite other similar shortcomings. They can be excused to some extent by the difficulty of drawing relief maps of such mountainous regions. If the editor succeeded in editing our entire canton in the manner of this leaf and with exact corrections by people who know the country, we would receive one of the most useful teaching aids for the first geographical lessons in our elementary schools".402

In the same issue, a review of the "military maps of Switzerland, edited and published under the direction of General Dufour" appeared:

"The most complete maps of Switzerland and of our canton in particular that have ever been published are the leaves that the Federal Military Administration, under Dufour's direction, has commissioned on the basis of precise trigonometric surveying". Furthermore, the difficulties that the engineers also had to face are recognisable: "The mountains themselves received their fixed names on this occasion. The engineers chose the most suitable names from those available. Where the people could not give them any, they made them ..."403

There is criticism only of a few inaccuracies: The Dufour map does not show the forests and, unlike Delkeskamp's map, "towards the foreign countries, the terrain designation on the border suddenly breaks off, and only names of towns, streets and rivers are written on the white paper. If the terrain had been indicated even very slightly, at least within a moderate radius, one would get a clearer idea of our mountain ranges". The fact that the Dufour project was not without risk and that Delkeskamp had not exaggerated in the preface to his first *Picturesque Relief* is shown by the mention of an accident: "Unfortunately, the latter [here an engineer by the name of Glanzmann] was a victim of his work: he fell on the Piz Mondin and is buried in Loreth in Samnaun". 404

It must have been the demand for Delkeskamp's most popular section, Der Vierwaldstätter See und größter Theil der Ur-Kantone, Uri, Schwiz, Unterwalden, Luzern und Zug, which again called a pirate copier onto the scene for this new Switzerland panorama: around 1853/54 Heinrich Däniker, who ran a lending library in Lucerne on Schwanenplatz, commissioned the Zurich print shop Ruff & Hofer with the pirate print⁴⁰⁵, an exact copy. Only the font is different and a few steamships have been added to the lake, which Delkeskamp had dispensed with altogether. At the time, the Swiss cantons were already intensively discussing a convention on copyright. Against this background, an article sympathising with Delkeskamp appeared in the Luzerner Eidgenossen of 5 June 1854. The author was Abraham Stocker (1825-1887), editor of the Eidgenossen and at the same time a book printer and bookseller who distributed Delkeskamp's panorama, later mayor of Lucerne and at the national level councillor of the canton of Lucerne.

"For years, the map- and travel-loving public has been aware of the commendable work of Mr Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp from Frankfurt, who undertook to depict the mountainous regions of Switzerland in relief maps. At first, a series of leaves appeared on a large scale, far surpassing all previous works in this field. However, the costliness of the work and the large scale, which would have made it necessary for a traveller to take a whole quantity of sheets with him, determined the draughtsman to publish the whole area of Switzerland in a series of 28 [25] sheets on a reduced scale. Of these, the following have already been published*: Lake Lucerne, St. Gotthard, Bernese Oberland, Bern, Lake Geneva (2 sheets), Chur and, in two half sheets, the Valais and the southern part of the Simplon Road. These leaves are distinguished by the most meticulous accuracy



Lake Como. View from Lierna with Castello on Bellagio, 15.5 x 23 cm

of execution; we are amazed when we look at them and cannot understand how it is possible to draw all these mountain forms, valleys, roads and villages, rivers and streams on a small sheet, which is nevertheless so clear and distinct that every eye can immediately recognise everything without effort. It is striking how in the drawing, as in reality, those parts are most beautiful which are enlivened by water, especially lakes; for example, the drawing of Lake Geneva, Lake Thun and Lake Brienz (Bernese Oberland) and especially that of Lake Lucerne. Unfortunately, this circumstance has been exploited by some thieves and a reprint of the latter (Lake Lucerne) has just appeared in print by Ruff and Hofer in Zurich, to be smuggled in at a somewhat cheaper price with the public and foreigners instead of the original. Apart from the fact that this reprint is in every respect far inferior to the original and that the price difference of approximately I franc is therefore no sacrifice at all for the purchaser, the public, in the opinion of every honest person, has a duty and obligation, where no laws against reprinting exist, to help the earnings by disdaining to buy the reprint and instead promoting the sale of the original. This much lawfulness may reasonably be expected of locals and foreigners who visit Switzerland. And if a poet or other writer who leisurely pours out his works from his sleeve or sucks them from his fingers on the sofa, in a warm room, claims the protection of the law or the public for his literary property; how much more is our draughtsman entitled to invoke the same who has had to make years of journeys at his own expense, who has

braved storm and weather, heat of the sun and frost, even obvious danger to his life, in order to bring about a work which can be of benefit not so much to him as to the country which is the subject of his drawings.

May the public, in the absence of laws, exercise its judgement and give merit the recognition it deserves, but literary theft, if not punishment, at least the contempt it deserves. But it is also to be expected of the City of Zurich, which likes to be called the protector of the arts and sciences - the Swiss Athens - that it will endeavour to oppose the spread of this reprint, which can only bring it dishonour. For the editors: A. Stocker (*Available in Lucerne through the bookshop of J. & A. Stocker.)". 406

At home in Frankfurt, the article in *Der Eidgenosse* was praised and Delkeskamp received another very kind review in Didaskalia for his "Großes malerisches Relief der Schweizer Alpen":

"The glorious autumn weather, which has been pleasing us for weeks now and compensates us to some extent for the changeable weather of this summer, reminds us of the promise we made to the readers of these pages a few months ago when we informed about our Delkeskamp's new pocket panorama of the Rhine, namely to report on the progress of his greatest and most accomplished work, the picturesque relief of the Swiss and neighbouring Alps. We do so now, despite the advanced season, all the more gladly, since the incomparably clear autumn days certainly arouse the desire and longing for refreshing mountain air

and elevating distant views in many, and especially since the work has for the time being reached a satisfactory conclusion. Now that the last leaf has been completed, the picturesque relief encompasses in six large and three half sheets the whole of central Switzerland from the Jura to the Rhine valley to the north, from Lucerne and Zurich to Lake Como and Lake Maggiore, i.e. precisely that part of the Alps which receives the main stream of travellers. This part forms a coherent whole and the master himself has worked diligently to bring the individual leaves into the most complete harmony, as only the most perfect can be expected from him, who lives more for his art than for his advantage. He has put these 9 leaves, bound together and mounted on good canvas in the manner of the great travel maps, into an elegant folder that one can take along very comfortably on one's mountain journeys. It is a real delight to finally be able to survey the whole of magnificent Switzerland with its marvelous elevations at a glance and at the same time to find reliable information even for the smallest paths and footbridges, for the most insignificant mountain huts and individual dwellings. If you don't want to use a heavy guide book for the sake of convenience, this relief is indeed a very reliable guide. And this work also introduces us to the future, for the entire giant railway, which is to run up through the Rhine valley with its unheard-of tunnels through the Lukmanier, is marked on the map after the most careful enquiries.

We sincerely wish the meritorious artist, who stands alone in his art, luck for the completion of this colossal work and must find the price (I fl. 24 kr. or 3 Frcs. the whole sheet) extremely moderate. Delkeskamp will not publish anything further about this work before hand, although the preliminary work is all finished. With a heavy heart, he postpones the completion of the whole in order to first be sure whether he can find protection against irresponsible robberies. H. Däniker in Lucerne has had one of the most beautiful leaves of the work, Lake Lucerne, completely reprinted in stone by Ruff and Hofer in Zurich and is selling this plagiarism as his work, which is admittedly very weak compared to the original, at a low price.

The "Eidgenosse", published in Lucerne itself, has already reprimanded this outrage against property in its No. 45 of 5 June with due recognition of Delkeskamp's merits in deservedly harsh words; however, it is questionable whether, in the absence of a reprinting law in Switzerland, such an attack on the property of others can be prevented. Therefore, the brave man is right to first make sure that he is safe, before he sets new significant costs towards the continuation. May the entire book and art trade take up a cause that must severely compromise it as a whole. Recent times have shown precisely in this direction what a united will is capable of achieving."

Delkeskamp defended himself in August 1854 with an accusatory, emotional, almost desperate advertisement in the Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel:

"F.W. Delkeskamp's Picturesque Relief of the Swiss and Adjacent Alps. As a continuation and momentary conclusion

of the above work, I 1/2 leaves have just appeared, containing the Hinter-Rhein with the Splügen and Bernhardinstrasse as far as beyond Chiavenna and Bellinzona, as well as the Julier, Septimer and Maloja Passes. Excluding Lake Geneva, which was published earlier in 2 leaves, the work contains in 6 whole and 3 half sheets, which form a closed oblong quadrangle, from Lake Sils and the Julier Pass to the Sanetsch Pass, between Sion and Martingny, almost the entire Swiss Alpine chain, and with it the extent of most Swiss travels. The whole work with the present material, containing for the southern continuation the Italian lakes, Mont Rosa, Mont Blanc with the western part of Savoy, Lac d'Annecy and Lac de Bourget, is the laborious fruit of 15 Alpine journeys, which the author made for the purpose of recording, and often endured the unspeakable hardships associated with mortal danger. In view of these great, unavoidable sacrifices, one would think that everyone would have so much legal feeling as to respect such a hard-won property. Unfortunately, Mr Heinrich Däniker in Lucerne or Zurich has arranged for a lithograph reprint of the Vierwaldstätter See leaf (printed by Ruff & Hofer in Zurich) and thus seems to have found it more convenient to simply redraw mine in a predatory manner than to laboriously fetch the material from rock cliff to rock cliff in the sweat of his brow, as I did, and has thus given evidence that the sense of justice that everyone is entitled to, as noted above, must unfortunately have been lost in him. From this now arises the necessity for me to refrain from continuing for the time being, as long as I do not obtain protection against the encroachment of my property in Switzerland, which has become so dear to me. Trustingly, I turn to all honourable Swiss book and art dealers and lithographers, so that they will protect a work that has taken up the best part of an



Proof cut-out Simplonstrasse Brig-Simplon, 15.5×23 cm, with red specifications for the type engraver for section VIIIa Northern part of the Simplonstrasse, Historisches Museum Frankfurt

active man's life, and in their sense of justice disdain the purchase of such a shameful reprint. Copies of my 6 whole and 3 half sheets are now to be had as a completed part drawn on canvas and bound in pocket size in Cambric ..."⁴⁰⁸

Delkeskamp was not fortunate at his old place of work in Zurich. The favourable court decision that his son Clemens was to report on 45 years later was obviously not obtained in connection with this pirate copy. This is supported by the fact that Delkeskamp advertised four times in Stocker's *Eidgenossen* in the following year 1855: much like his earlier client Wilmans with the *Rhine Panorama*, he resignedly saw himself forced to reduce the price to the level of the plagiarism. "The retail price of 4 Fr. at which each leaf was formerly sold has now been reduced to the trifle of three francs per leaf, in order to suppress the defective and unsightly reprint which an unscrupulous individual thievishly allows himself." Stocker sold his bookshop in October 1855. This also marked the end of his collaboration with Delkeskamp.

The French version of the preface to the current edition of the *Malerisches Relief der Schweizer und angränzenden Alpen* of I June 1856 reveals that Delkeskamp had already completed the drawings of the upper Italian lakes and, in the north, two sheets depicting Lake Constance: "Seulement le lac de Genève et celui de Constance ont exigé deux tableaux chacun, parce que leur étendu est trop considérable. Après bien de la peine et bien des essais infructueux j'ai enfin réussi, au moyen de demi-feuilles entreposées, à tracer les lacs italiens dans leur entier. [Only Lake Geneva and Lake Constance required two sheets each, because their extent is too large. After great efforts and several failed attempts, I finally succeeded in depicting

the Italian lakes in their entirety with the help of adjacent half-sheets.1"

Moreover, this text shows Delkeskamp's still unshakable optimism, even in mid-1856, that the relief could be realised in its entire planned extent, if only the further demand was large enough: "L'exécution des feuilles ... dépend uniquement du debit du relief tel qu'il est aujourd'hui. [The execution of the leaves ... depends only on the development of demand for the Relief, as it is today.]" The sometimes border-coloured overview leaf supplied with this edition, which adorns the inside of the protective cover, now shows an expansion to as many as 30 planned sections, far more than the 25 maps originally envisaged.

Delkeskamp's hopes rested primarily on the distribution of his works through the book trade. With a lengthy and pleading advertisement in *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel*, Delkeskamp made a last attempt shortly before the completion of the fourth leaf, which was still missing from the Lake Geneva section, to stimulate the sales, which for him were as disappointing as they were incomprehensible, and, as he thought, above all the lack of commitment of the booksellers in the distribution of his work, with discounts and warm words:

"The following work has just appeared in the undersigned publishing house and been despatched to all dealers who require the continuation: Friedr.Wilh. Delkeskamp's Picturesque Relief of the Swiss and Adjacent Alps. Sect. Mont-Blanc, Chamouny Valley and Great St. Bernard. I leaf landscape folio 16 gh. [Groschen]. On this occasion, I would like to take the liberty of repeatedly drawing the attention of the dealers to this great work, which is unique in its kind, and to request their engagement again.While



Simplon, 11.3 x 18.5 cm, preparatory drawing for section VIIIa Northern part of the Simplon road, Historisches Museum Frankfurt

individual bookdealers have achieved brilliant results and requested continuation, many and even the larger businesses have not yet done anything for it, and in many places, the work is not yet known at all.

Now that the largest part of the work has been completed, a renewed sales initiative should certainly be successful, and for this purpose I am making available individual leaves à cond. For the owners of collections and lovers of serious map works, it only needs to be presented once in order to achieve a firm and reliable continuation. The publicity of the work will then support the sales by itself. For the purpose of travel, I have had copies mounted on canvas in an elegant cover, and there can certainly be no more faithful guide to Alpine hikes than this relief map, which I have produced with the greatest accuracy down to the smallest detail, based on my own observations and with untiring diligence on 15 Alpine journeys.

The extraordinarily low price (16 gh. per leaf) in relation to the production costs, only due to the reprint of the Lake Lucerne section that has appeared in Switzerland, as well as the elegant and comfortable design are very beneficial for sales, and it only depends on the appropriate recommendation from the gentlemen who sell the map in order to achieve safe and rewarding results, both to private individuals and in dealings with travellers. Up to now, 9 full and 3 half sheets have been published: namely Vierwaldstätter See. - Glarus, Chur. - The Hinter-Rhein. - St. Gotthard. - Lakes Brienz and Thun with the Bernese Oberland. - Bern with Entlibuch. - 3 half sheets: Chiavenna Bellinzona - and southern - and northern Simplon Road and Rhone valley. These leaves make a self-contained whole. Then Lake Geneva in 2 leaves and Mont Blanc, which makes up the 3rd leaf; in addition to this, the 4th leaf with Lac d'Annecy and Lac de Bourget will appear in a few months, which will complete this part for itself. Each leaf is available separately, there is no obligation to purchase the whole.

As with my other publishing articles, I also offer a discount of 25% per copy, 33 1/3% for fixed invoices and 40% for cash, and 12/1 free copies. Finely coloured copies at 3 Thl. 13 gh. per leaf, I can only supply against cash at 25%. I welcome any special suggestions on the distribution of the work and will do everything in my power to support any sales initiative. Frankfurt a/M, May 1857. Friedr. Wilh. Delkeskamp's Verlag."410

Delkeskamp, however, was not granted the corresponding demand. A glance at the German university library system reveals just how little success he enjoyed even in his homeland: While his *Picturesque Relief of the Classical Soil of Switzerland* can often be found in the collections, not a single university owns his large *Picturesque Relief of the Swiss and Adjacent Alps*. After 10 whole and 3 half sheets, which couldbe usefully combined to form 'departments', he had to discontinue his work on the Swiss relief. Already at the end of June 1857, before the last leaf appeared and while the engraver, Johann Philipp Dauch, was still working, he travelled to the Ahr and drew the sketches for his last river panorama.

In the middle of 1857, Justus Perthes Geographische Mitteilungen drew the final, but nevertheless consoling

conclusion to the incredible undertaking, paying tribute to Delkeskamp's achievement:

"The now completed large Picturesque Relief of the Swiss and Adjacent Alps by Delkeskamp consists of ten whole and three half sheets in landscape folio and covers most of German and Italian Switzerland, from Zug in the north to the Simplon Pass and the north end of Lake Maggiore in the south, the Julier Pass in the east to beyond Sion in the west, and French Switzerland from Lausanne to Mont Blanc and from Sion to Lake Bourget. It thus contains the most visited and magnificent Alpine sections from the Upper Engadine to Lake Geneva and the whole Chamouni valley with the Mont Blanc Mountains. Mr Delkeskamp spent no less than 15 summers on the relief and spared no effort or expense in carrying out this magnificent work, which he succeeded in doing quite well. The mountain groups stand out so vividly and characteristically between the valleys and lakes that it will be easy for the traveller to orientate himself immediately with the help of these leaves. The author drew the relief in the direction from north to south, as most tourists come to the Alps in this direction and because the gradual ascent of the mountains could be depicted much better that way. If one looks at the leaves individually, they seem somewhat monotonous in posture, but if one puts them together, one obtains a picture that makes a surprisingly good effect on the whole, and is as successful as it is instructive."411

Frankfurt honoured the *Picturesque Relief of the Swiss and adjacent Alps* with an exhibition at the Städel'sches Kunstinstitut in January 1858.⁴¹² In the same year, Delkeskamp brought a "Second Edition" onto the market, updated to include the many new railway lines, without which the work would not have been saleable at all.The displayed Lukmanier tunnel, however, was not to come, the tide should turn in favour of the St. Gotthard crossing. Delkeskamp again chose a subscription method.The six deliveries testify to his unbroken optimism that the demand would come after all:

"The publication of a further continuation is still in question and depends on the participation of the public. The material for a few more sheets is, however, available in such abundance that they can quickly follow as soon as the number of subscribers necessary to cover the extremely expensive production costs is found." Delkeskamp also published the second edition "patent-folded" in handy book form for travel purposes. In a copy printed after 1859, the railway to Glarus is also marked diligence" were praised as map material, for example in 1864 in the Switzerland-Baedeker, but: "they are more suitable for pictorial illustration in the home country before and after the journey than for use on the journey itself."

Delkeskamp continued to worry about the topicality of his relief, as can be seen from his correspondence with Johann Müller-Wegmann: "In 1862 I made my last journey to Switzerland. In these last 3 years, however, several important Alpine roads have been built or are in the process of being built in Switzerland, which I would like to have engraved in my relief and therefore I would only have liked to have drawn the necessary notes on the spot. However, as I am prevented from carrying them out by a trip to Switzerland, I must try to obtain these materials by other means. The roads whose construction I have heard about are firstly over the Brünig, secondly on Lake Lucerne from Brunnen on the Fronal Pass to Sissigen [Sissikon] and from the Achenberg to Flüelen, and thirdly over the Furca. I do not know what else is being built.

What information you can perhaps give me as to how and by what means the relevant material could be obtained,

whether something could be noted in pencil on Nos. 20 and 21 of the drawings [Müller-Wegmann had asked Delkeskamp for some Swiss views in order to copy them for his collection], whether perhaps Mr Keller [the son of the late Heinrich Keller] or you yourself are in possession of material, or anyone else, whereby this need could be remedied, then this would be extremely desirable to me."⁴¹⁷

Delkeskamp ended the letter with: "I am extraordinarily homesick for Switzerland and my friends there." Delkeskamp's passport for his very last trip to Switzerland was dated 24 July 1862. His wife Elise and he made it to Zurich just in time to say goodbye to their friend Heinrich Keller, who died on 19 September 1862.

Timetable Picturesque Relief of the Swiss and Adjacent Alps.

Sect. I. Chur, Glarus (before May 1854)

The Rhine Valley in Graubünden, Lake Wallenstadt, Lind and Sernftthal in the Canton of Glarus (inscribed at bottom left: drawn from nature by F.W. Delkeskamp).

Sect. II. Lake Lucerne (1851)

Lake Lucerne and most of the original cantons of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Lucerne and Zug (inscribed at lower left: drawn from nature by F.W. Delkeskamp; engraved at lower right: by Knopfmacher and J.Ph. Dauch).

Sect. III Bern (before March 1853)

Bern, the Entlebuch, the Emme, Ilfis, Aare and Sense valleys

Sect. IV. Hinterrhein (before the end of February 1855) The Hinterrhein, Julier, Septimer, Maloja, Splügen and Bernhardin Passes in Graubünden (lower left inscribed: drawn from nature by F.W. Delkeskamp; lower right inscribed: engraved by J. Ph. Dauch)

Sect. V. St. Gotthard (1851)

St. Gotthard Mountains, western part of the Bernese Oberland and the upper Rhone Valley (inscribed at lower left: drawn from nature by F.W. Delkeskamp; inscribed at lower right: engraved by J. Ph. Dauch).

Sect. VI. Western part of the Bernese Oberland (September 1850)

Western part of the Bernese Oberland with Lakes Brienz and Thun (inscribed at lower left: drawn from nature by F.W. Delkeskamp; inscribed at lower right: engraved by J. Ph. Dauch).

Sect. IX. and X. Lake Geneva (before July 1852)

Eastern part of Lake Geneva in the cantons of Waat and Wallis together with Savoie (inscription at bottom left: drawn from nature by F.W. Delkeskamp).

Partie occidentale du lac de Genève, comprise entre la Savoie, le Canton de Genève et celui de Vaud (inscribed at lower right: engraved by J. Ph. Dauch); two marginal images: Plan de Genève; Plan de Lausanne.

Sect. XI. Chamouny Valley (before July 1857)

Le Mont Blanc, la vallée de Chamouny, Col de Balme, Col de la Seigne et la route du grand St. Bernard (lower right inscribed: engraved by J. Ph. Dauch)

Sect. XII. Lac d'Annecy, Chambery (1857)

Partie de la Savoie du Lac d'Annecy, Lac de Bourget et des Environs de Chambéry. With two marginal paintings: Fin du Lac de Bourget, Chambéry et ses Environs; Pont de la Caille nommé Charles Albert.

Half leaves:

Sect. VIIa Chiavenna, Bellinzona (before end of February 1855)

Southernmost part of the Splügen and Bernhardinstrasse with Chiavenna and Bellinzona

Sect. VIIb South part of the Simplon road (before May 1854) Southern part of the Simplon Road, the Fermazza Valley and the western Ticino valleys

Sect. VIIIa North part of the Simplon road (until 1856)

Northern part of the Simplon Road, the Rhone Valley and its side valleys in Upper and Lower Wallis (below left: drawn from nature by F.W. Delkeskamp; below right: engraved by J. Ph. Dauch;) In August 1851 the St. Gotthard, Bernese Oberland and Rhone Valley section was available in a quadrilingual German-French-English-Italian printed dust jacket. Price 2 Thlr. 20 Sgr., then in 1854 the section Lake Lucerne, Bern, Bernese Oberland, St. Gotthard, Simplon Road and Rhone Valley and finally in 1856 in a folder the section with the sheets glued together Chur, Glarus and Rhine Valley in Grisons, Lake Lucerne, Bern, Bernese Oberland, St. Gotthard, Hinterrhein, Chiavenna, Bellinzona, Simplon Road and Rhone Valley. 2nd edition 1858 now updated to include the railways



Westlicher Theil des Berner Oberlandes



mit dem Brienzer und Thuner Sec.



Der Vierwaldstätter See und gröster Theil der Ur. K



antone, Uri, Schwir, Unterwalden, Lurern und Zug-





Le Mont Blanc, la callie de Chamouny, Col de Bi



ilme Col de la Seigne et la voute du grand S. Bernard.



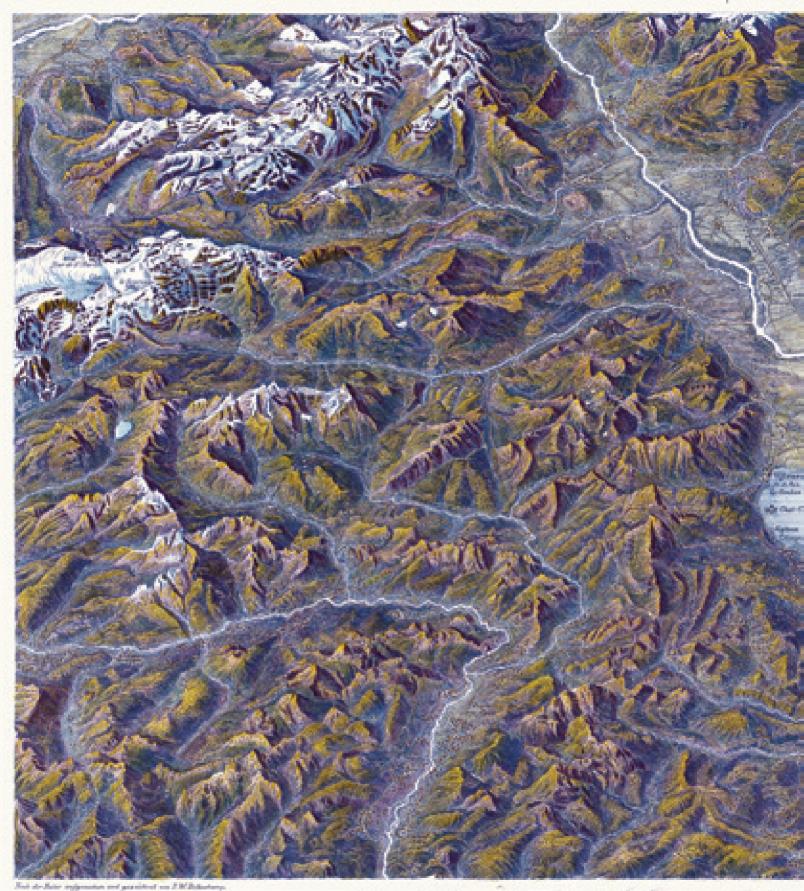
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Partie de la Savoie du Lac d'Annecy Lac de



Bourget et des Environs de Chambery





Cestlicher Theil des Genfer Seis,



in den Cantonen Haut und Hallis nebst Survien .



Partie occidentale du lac de Genève, comprise ent



 $Lake\ Geneva. Western\ part, Savoy, Cantons\ Geneva\ and\ Vaud, 47\ x\ 22\ cm, Zentralbibliothek\ Z\"urich.$



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Picturesque Relief of Lake Lucerne and the Rigi Railway

The history of the Swiss reliefs did not end with the *Picturesque Relief of the Swiss and Adjacent Alps*, however. About a year before Delkeskamp's death, a third Swiss panorama was produced based on the leaves on Lake Lucerne, for the first time as a colour lithograph, a new technique for him. At that time, the master no longer lived in Brönnerstrasse, but with his sons in Bockenheim, a neighbouring town. Again, he used the *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel* for an advertisement in the issue of I August 1871:

"Just published: *Picturesque Relief of Lake Lucerne with Details of the Track of the Rigi Railway*. One leaf in lithograph. Colour print in landscape folio. Drawn by F.W. Delkeskamp, lithographed by F. Sprünglin-Kinkelin. In envelope. Price 20 Sgr - I fl 10kr = 2 fr. 50c. Invoice 25%, cash 40% discount. Because of the small number of copies, I can generally only send by fixed invoice or against cash and only exceptionally à cond. I have handed over the distribution for Switzerland to Mr F. Sprünglin-Kinkelin in Zofingen, to whom the honoured Swiss businesses should direct their orders. For Germany and other countries, I will deliver from here. Postal letters should be addressed to Bockenheim near Frankfurt a/M. Friedr: Wilh. Delkeskamp's Verlag in Frankfurt a/M."419

A few days later, the Alpenpost in Glarus, published an article under the headline "Für Rigi-Touristen" [For tourists to the Rigi], which illuminated the history of its creation from a Swiss point of view: "We believe we are doing the travelling public a pleasant service by drawing their attention to the masterly lithographed relief of Lake Lucerne published by Mr Sprünglin-Kinkelin in Zofingen. It is based on engravings by the still living famous draughtsman of bird's eye views, F.W. Delkeskamp in Frankfurt a/M, and with his permission it is for sale in Switzerland. F.W. Delkeskamp, who is praised as one of the best designers and draughtsmen of this kind in a treatise on map illustration published in Leipzig, 'Aus allen Welttheilen', edited by Dr Otto Delitsch, vouches for the correctness and faithfulness of the execution. The relief lithographed by Mr Sprünglin receives a special plastic expression through the use of well-chosen different shades of colour, which distinguish glaciers, waters, mountains and valleys from one another. Since this type of drawing cannot, of course, depict the true altitudes, the altitudes of the individual mountain ranges at the top of the map provide some substitute. - In order to avoid overcrowding with names and to increase clarity, the names of the valleys, rivers and lakes can also be found by corresponding numbers. As far as we have noticed, the indication of the localities leaves nothing to be desired. The map also contains the track of the Rigi Railway and, in the centre at the foot, a well-done sketch of the Schnurtobel with the tunnel and the railway bridge, making it a useful and stimulating companion on a tour of Lake Lucerne. We therefore wish our hard-working, modest artist luck with his work and hope that it will receive the recognition it deserves."⁴²⁰

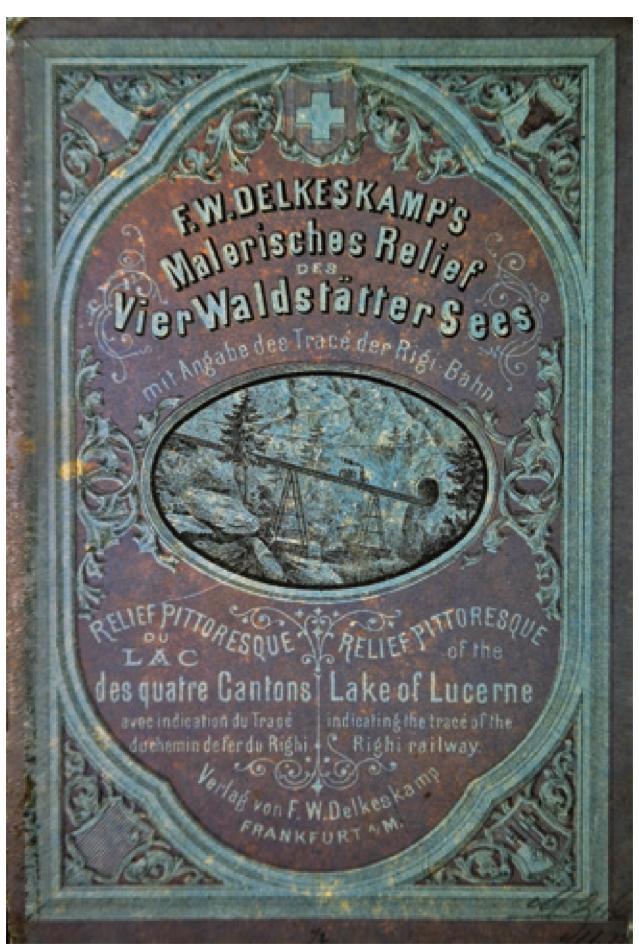
Well after Delkeskamp's death, the Zurich publisher Orell, Füssli & Co. included an exact reproduction of the original Section II. of the Picturesque Relief, the leaf on Lake Lucerne from 1851, as a three-colour print in its programme and advertised it for the first time on 3 June 1884 under "Delkeskamp, Panorama vom Vierwaldstättersee" in the Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel⁴²¹, where German-Swiss bookshops were also represented. The original inscription "drawn from nature by F.W. Delkeskamp" or "engraved by Knopfmacher and J.Ph. Dauch" remained at the foot of the map. On the 22×46.5 cm map, folded in eight parts and supplemented as simple lines, the current railway connections can be found. The publisher still distributed "Delkeskamp's Reliefkarte des Vierwaldstättersees und Umgebung" by advertisement in the Schweizer Blätter für handelsrechtliche Entscheidungen⁴²², in the Berner Schulblatt⁴²³ or in the Schweizerische Lehrerzeitung⁴²⁴ until at least 1901. Whether someone from the Delkeskamp heirs authorised this reprint is not known. Any corresponding documents have also not been preserved from the Orell Füssli publishing house, which was dissolved in 1924.

The members of the Swiss Alpine Club continued to honour Delkeskamp. The Town Clerk of Lucerne, Schürmann, reported on a hike to the Galenstock:

"There was no lack of telescopes and maps. Dufour and Delceskamp and the S.A.C. excursion map of this area were quite sufficient." And in 1877 Konrad Escher-Hess gave a lecture on the topic: "Some earlier work in the field of alpine science (Ebel and Delkeskamp)". 426

As early as between 1894 and 1906, a *Popular Atlas of Switzerland was produced in 28 bird*'s-eye *views*. In the spirit of Delkeskamp, who did not want to put a stop to the triumph of the objective map, but wanted to convey more vividness and artistic aesthetics to his customers, bird's-eye panoramas have survived in tourism to the present day⁴²⁷, even if no longer as hiking maps.

In the late 1970s, Delkeskamp's relief was used to document the retreat of the glaciers. Today, *Google Earth* allows the contemporary user the bird's-eye view, but now based on satellite images. If one places Delkeskamp's Switzerland panoramas next to it, it becomes clear that he succeeded admirably in portraying Switzerland from above without a camera or airplane and from a perspective he had never been able to enjoy himself.



Title page of the Picturesque Relief of Lake Lucerne, 13 x 19 cm



 $\textit{Picturesque Relief of Lake Lucerne with indication of the tracé of the Rigi Railway, 54 x 22 cm \, (excerpt)}$

Street View (1858-1864): Picturesque Plan of Frankfurt am Main and its Immediate Surroundings

In August 1859, Delkeskamp turned 65 but the artist had no thoughts of retiring. Doing nothing was not in his nature: "...being unemployed, as some people think I have worked enough, is impossible for me, but for me it is living death"⁴²⁹, Delkeskamp wrote to his son Alfons in 1866. In 1859, however, he probably could not afford to rely solely on the sale of his previous works, especially as the proceeds for the profitable Rhine panorama were noticeably declining. He had four children in training, and at that time it was the parents who paid the apprenticeship money to the master, i.e. the training company.

In May 1859, Delkeskamp's last work, the Ahr Panorama, had come onto the market. He had only made the preliminary drawing for the lithograph himself and delegated the transfer to the stones and the printing process. In this respect, he had time for new undertakings well before this date. It can be assumed that he had long had the idea of producing a bird's-eye view of Frankfurt, especially as his great role model Matthaeus Merian, who like him owed his naturalisation to Frankfurt, had given his welcoming city a famous bird's-eye view in 1628. Merian was able to build on Konrad Faber's "siege plan" from 1552. After Merian, however, only city plans similar to those known from the present had appeared: on a geometric basis and with the ground plans of the houses and streets.

Delkeskamp will therefore have begun with the preliminary drawings for the plan as early as 1858. With the book, Das Antlitz der Stadt. Nach Frankfurts Plänen von Faber, Merian und Delkeskamp 1552-1864 [The Visage of the City. After Frankfurt's Plans by Faber, Merian and Delkeskamp 1552-1864], Fried Lübbecke, who became known as Frankfurt's "father of the old town", set up a monument to

the artist in 1952. "Only the expert is able to estimate the extent and the toil of such work. Like Merian, Delkeskamp had to walk and sketch block by block, house by house, courtyard by courtyard, garden by garden, field and meadow, and reconstruct the sketches for the plan in such a way that a bird's-eye view emerged."⁴³⁰

Delkeskamp's demands for his plan, however, went far beyond Merian: "As invaluable as this plan is for the knowledge of Frankfurt in the seventeenth century, it still gives only an imperfect, unreliable picture of the city of that time, which was confined to the ramparts and in part still only slightly built up within the walls, since the artist was forced by the colossal scale of the towers, etc. to omit entire blocks of houses in the middle of the city at individual points. The new pictorial plan, counting the new quarters in front of the gates, has about four times the content of the inner city as it appears in Merian. Each house, even the smallest, is given the space corresponding to its actual size, and the external form, courtyard space, number of windows, etc. are reproduced in the most exact manner. (...) For easier orientation, the names of the streets, squares and main buildings are given in clear, easily legible letters wherever there is space for them, and paths and gardens are reproduced in the most accurate manner, so that everyone can find their way around their own property and easily locate things, both large and small, in the entire city area".431

Exactly when Delkeskamp began to compile the many individual sketches into a general bird's-eye view can be precisely dated: "In June 1859⁴³¹ began the drawing, and before it was completely finished, the engraving was begun around Shrovetide 1862 by two engravers in my flat and



Innenstadt, exceprt from Merikan's "Ansicht von Frankfurt, $1\,628$



Inner city, excerpt from Delkeskamp's plan of Frankfurt 1864, Historisches Museum Frankfurt

continued uninterruptedly, and was completed at the beginning of December 1864, in which I myself worked with enormous diligence as the third engraver" Delkeskamp wrote to Johann Müller-Wegmann.

Faber and Merian had presented Frankfurt from the southwest. Delkeskamp now chose the modern perspective with north at the upper edge of the map, looking across Sachsenhausen and the Main towards the city centre. For the practical division of the work onto the seven steel plates of the $107\times150~\rm cm~plan^{433}$, Delkeskamp was able to use Julius Eduard Foltz-Eberle's city map, published in 1852, as a guide and, later on, Friedrich August Ravenstein's city plan, the first true-to-scale map of Frankfurt am Main and the most detailed to date, which was published while Delkeskamp was still working on his one. In the sales prospectus for his plan, which Delkeskamp distributed in December 1864 - as Carl Jügel had done in $1827~\rm for$ the Frankfurt views - he explicitly praised Ravenstein:

"Among the purely geometric city plans, the one by C.A. Ulrich (1811) was the most widespread, until in recent times our fellow citizen, the well-known cartographer Aug. Ravenstein exceeded all earlier works with his City Alignment Plan (1860) and the Geometric Plan of Frankfurt and the Nearest Surroundings (1861). These two latest works by Ravenstein are to be supplemented by my pictorial plan, in that it depicts the skeleton of the city, brought to life in a vivid image, and presents the entire city inside and outside the gates itself with its latest structural changes and gardens to the eye in the most faithful picture.... All the structural changes that were made during the execution of the work have been reproduced in engravings, all the buildings exactly according to their actual form, not according to a general scheme; only the city gates, which have been demolished in the meantime, have been left standing on purpose, since they still essentially belong to the physiognomy of the city as it presented itself in 1864."434

In 1837, when Delkeskamp published his *New Panorama* of the *Rhine*, Frankfurt only had 54,000 inhabitants. The population statistics of Frankfurt show that the city grew particularly rapidly in the years in which Delkeskamp drew his plan, from 68,000 inhabitants in 1858 to 78,000 in 1864.⁴³⁵

It is a stroke of luck that Delkeskamp's son Hugo, born in 1843, after his apprenticeship at the Colonialwaren Engros-Handlung C.F. Held [colonial goods wholesale trade], was employed far from home in Le Havre by the Frankfurt foreign trader Busch & Cie. from May 1864 to the end of 1866, and that the extensive family correspondence of these years has been preserved. The correspondence with the young man allows a deep insight into the effort and expense involved in drawing up the plan of Frankfurt and the resulting tragic consequences for his father. As late as mid-October 1864, Delkeskamp only cautiously hinted to his son at the immense challenges that the growing City of Frankfurt had presented to him and his two collaborators on the steel engraving, Friedrich Herchenhein and Philipp Dauch:

"Now dear Hugo, the time is approaching that my gigantic work, the city plan, is nearing its end. Oh, it has cost heat and still does. (...) But the two engravers had to pull themselves together as well as I did, so that we would not run out of patience. The paper from Thurneisen arrived the day before yesterday. It makes the kv... 380 fl, but state (quality) paper. I hope this will make a pleasant impression on the public. You will find many a new house. Oh, how I look forward to the moment when I can send a copy to you and Alfons, what a life it will be when you stand before Frankfurt". 437

Delkeskamp, on the other hand, revealed to his Swiss soulmate Müller-Wegmann that the work had driven the two engravers and himself to the brink of despair:

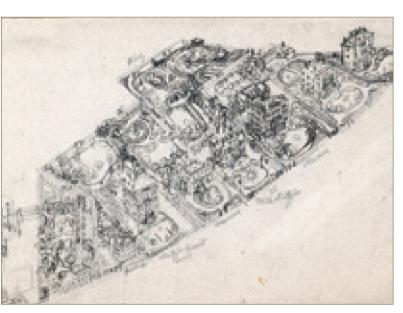
"You will now have seen my plan of Frankfurt, what tremendously laborious work this has caused, which you can well appreciate after looking at it, but a large part of the work is no longer visible to the stranger, which consisted in dealing with the colossal building changes. A tremendous amount of building has been going on here for several years. (...) Now, however, 160-170 new houses are built every year around the entire perimeter of the plan, and I have added all this as long as I have been working on the drawing, namely, where old houses were first demolished, before new ones were built in their place, the old ones already drawn had to be ground away from the original drawing in order to draw the new one on the place. It is easy to understand that this could not be done in the often small space without damaging the immediate surroundings. But what value would the plan have had for the public, if it had already appeared as an antique when published? Just as these difficulties were great in drawing, they were even greater in engraving. Worst of all, when a tracing was put on the plate and during the time the engraver had the plate in the engraving, this or that object became a different one due to changes in construction. This control was exasperating for me. If something else had already been engraved, the object had to be hammered out of the plate and ground smooth again. It is easy to understand that this could not be done without damaging the surroundings, and that in the end the engravers also became impatient and their willingness was based on weaker foundations or consisted only in words, and that postponing only resulted in an annoying deception for me when it was not done or the difficulties were increased by postponing or could no longer be eliminated. The result was that I became totally exhausted."438

The Frankfurt Historical Museum only has around 50 sketches that are more cursory than preliminary drawings: of individual houses, entire streets and districts, of parks such as the Zoological Garden or of industrial plants. They depict parts of the old town within the ramparts and many areas of new buildings and villas outside. Not all of the views, most of which are numbered, are already "arranged".

It is not known how many individual drawings the plan is actually based on, but Friedrich Wilhelm's grandson Otto Delkeskamp gives a figure of well over 3000⁴³⁹. Delkeskamp has recorded the names of the residents in front of many of the more impressive buildings. Well-known Frankfurt families are among them, but also master craftsmen who the city had obviously made prosperous.



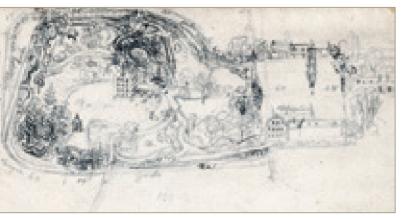
View across the Römer to the Paulskirche, Historisches Museum Frankfurt



Giollettstraße, Mainzer Landstraße and Taunusanlage, 11.9 x 22.2 cm, Historisches Museum Frankfurt



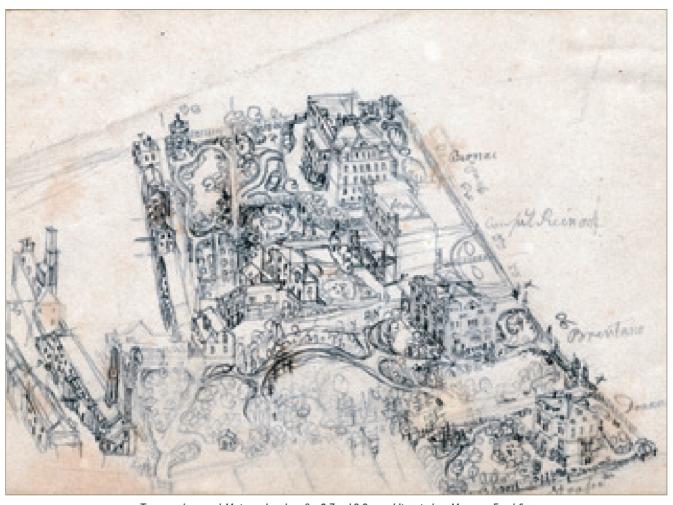
Detail enlargement Taunusanlage, Historisches Museum Frankfurt



Holzhausenschlösschen, 11.7 x 28.8 cm, Historisches Museum Frankfurt



Detail enlargement Holzhausenschlösschen, Historisches Museum Frankfurt



Taunusanlage and Mainzer Landstraße, 9.7 x 18.8 cm , Historisches Museum Frankfurt



The Jewish quarter in the Picturesque Plan of Frankfurt, Historisches Museum Frankfurt



Surroundings of the main synagogue, 20.7 \times 33.4 cm, Historisches Museum Frankfurt



Judengasse, 11.9 x 17.6 cm, Historisches Museum Frankfurt



The Judengasse from the rear side, 11.9 \times 17.6 cm, Historisches Museum Frankfurt

If one compares the sketches with the four large preliminary drawings for the steel engraving of 1862 and, above all, the final plan on seven steel plates, it is noticeable that in the meantime new streets have already been drawn through some gardens and many new houses have been built. However, even at the end of 1864, houses with large gardens and fields still dominated the outer areas of Frankfurt's ramparts. The Holzhausen castle at the very northern edge of the plan, was still separated from the city by meadows. It is easy to see from this preliminary drawing that Delkeskamp had to precisely mark out the dimensions of his objects.

The effort and cost of the city plan got out of hand, and completion was considerably delayed. In the end, it took more than six years from the first preliminary drawings in 1858 to the delivery of the first copies at Christmas 1864, some two years more than calculated! Lübbecke, who had sifted through the Delkeskamp estate before large parts of it were lost in the hail of bombs during the Second World War, reported that the artist received financial support from the City of Frankfurt for four full years in recognition of his elaborate undertaking - after the roughly two years that Delkeskamp had already invested in the plan:

"Between the artist's old writings lay a letter. Thank God I had it photographed. A letter from one of the last two mayors of the Free City, the Mayor Dr [Samuel Gottlieb] Müller to Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp, handwritten on a narrow sheet of paper. It read: 'My dear Mr Delkeskamp! I hasten to inform you that the Senate decided at its meeting today, in accordance with my request, to grant you a contribution of 2,500 fl. per annum for the years 1860-1863 to support you in your proposed artistic enterprise. As soon as the negotiations initiated with the other state authorities have, I hope, been favourably concluded, you will receive further information from your devoted mayor, Dr Müller. Frankfurt a/M, 9 October 1860'."440 The City of Frankfurt also announced this good news to the outside world - entirely in Delkeskamp's sense, combined with the order to "renew Merian's city plan, which is known in the art-historical world, i.e. to document the present-day City of Frankfurt in the same way".441

Delkeskamp had asked his son Clemens, by now 29 years old and working for David Sauerländer in the book trade and publishing business, for support in producing the Plan. Shortly before Christmas 1864, Clemens wrote a letter to Le Havre reporting on the final work and expressing his overly high expectations of sales success - and probably also those of the family:

"The completion of the plan is now proceeding rapidly, the plates are so far finished that they can be printed and only minor details are still missing on the cut surfaces because of the folding of houses cut through. I have had a sales prospectus printed of which you will receive I copy. It was sent out last Friday and a number of orders have already been received. At the beginning of next week we will receive a small number of finished copies, which will be displayed on the Christmas tables as precursors

and should attract new buyers. Then the cheeks will be inflated and the wind made to bring the fertilising golden rain. Good luck!

- It's a pity that we didn't finish a few weeks earlier so that we could take part in the Christmas hype to a greater extent."442

At the beginning of January 1865, Clemens reported to his brother:

"... for although the sales of the plan have not yet really got going, the little that I can now do in my so-called free time gives me a lot of trouble. For the mounting on canvas, which I have to do myself because of the exact composition, I have engaged a young man who used to be a bookbinder, but is now a printer, and with whom I mount and paste in the evenings from 8-12 o'clock. A boring job, but one that has to be done in order to obtain beautiful and suitable copies and to save a not insignificant amount of money. Lucius [a Frankfurt colleague in Le Havre] will bring you a copy and you will be able to judge afterwards that, despite all our efforts, we can only finish I copy every evening. Next week I will start collecting subscribers and hope for good success."

The work of gluing and folding the seven sheets together was not trivial, as the explanation of the process shows, which father Delkeskamp wrote to Hugo in Le Havre:

"The plan for folding on canvas has the size of Herchenhain's city center sheet, which is no longer cut, the 7 sheets thus become 9, the dotted lines are the division of the plates, which is first glued together exactly, and then the line between Sachsenh[ausen] and the city and again from the city and the northern plate is extended and cut through the 4 corner sheets and then the 9 sheets come out, as the dotted border lines are omitted."444

Also at the beginning of January 1865, father Delkeskamp gave his son Hugo a further insight into the state of affairs:

"The plan is now finally finished, the 6 black copies, which are at the free disposal of the Senate, have been delivered, the I coloured copy for the Senate will be delivered later. On 19 December, I notified the Senate of the completion of the city plan, requesting protection from reprinting and reproduction by engravers, lithographers and photographers by unauthorised persons. This does not go unnoticed, but the slow pace of the authorities until such a great decision is made and carried out is beyond my patience, but I must now wait until it pleases the gracious Lord. Then there are the costs of the engraving, which are over my head. Herchenhain has so far received an advance payment of 1100 fl. in monthly 50 fl. instalments. Dauch has also received 1,100 fl., but the latter only wants to accept these 1,100 fl. as half of his claim, because he has worked much faster than Herchenhain, who already agreed 1,900 fl. with me for the city plate last summer, and I do not yet know whether I can increase his claim for the remaining work he has done on other plates by another 4 or 500 fl. together to 1,500 or 1,600 fl. Dauch has now reduced his demand from 2200 to 2000, but we have not yet spoken the last word. These speculative oddballs think I have received 10,000 fl. and they should also have a good share for their successful work.

It is a tremendously arduous job, also for the engravers, and I could not employ any wandering engraver from whom I did not

Malerischer Plan

FRANKFURT AM MAIN

seiner nächsten Umgebung.

Na.'s der Natur untprocesses und und getrachtischer Busis im Vagsballun granisburt

"Friedr. Willih. Delterskung.

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Frankfurt om Hain 1864.

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Index ich meine Militager und Alle, die sich für die ferbe Hauft Frankfart interesten, mit dem Erefelten der Worken in Krantein unter, erhalte ich mir, siebe erfentresch finnerhangen anmitten.

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Des bildere Bildere oop til hier sudmid offselich sedere arbideliges flock for de Editoritions, dank die de heldereng diese Wedyn adgick geweld helen.

Frankfart a. X., in Describer 1964.

Friedr. With. Deliceskamp.

Sales prospectus for the Frankfurt Plan

have a guarantee of his performance or his solidity, and so I have to face the situation. Mstr. Back was also infected and demanded 600 fl. for the typeface, but I told him straight away that there was no question of that. I have already paid over 200 fl. to Büchsel for the bare steel plates, and last week accepted 2 paper bills of exchange for 400 fl. The money flies as if the devil were chasing a poor soul. Because the plan was finished too late before Christmas to be bought as a Christmas present, the sale has been somewhat slow, as some had already spent their money on other things, so F.W.D. must wait for a later pleasure, but all of the above together has held back my joy somewhat, and created a kind of exhaustion that I am not yet ready for enthusiasm even to the favourite works that I have held in petto for a long time. (...) I can now tell you the result of the plan for you. You will receive it ... in sheets without being mounted, because it presented immense difficulties in its size without possibly damaging it during transport when it was repacked several times, I am now sorry, since the impression of the whole is nevertheless a great one. Carl and Alfons have also only received it in sheets. Mr Mahlau is also active in this, Back did not engrave the title, but it is printed on it by letterpress in the Sauerland letterpress printing works, the covers for the plan are also printed there, as are the circulars etc."445

At the end of January, Elise Delkeskamp wrote to her son Hugo:

"We have now delivered 57 black plans and ordered 12 col. plans; admittedly, not all have been paid for yet."⁴⁴⁶ The demand for the plan was disappointing: "... business is also very quiet and always causes us a lot of worry!"

At first glance it seems like generous financial support of the Senate, which Lübbecke commented on as follows: "For 10,000 guilders one could buy a quite respectable country house at that time" but did not cover the costs of the plan in any way as Elise let her son know for the first time:

"But nothing remains here at all - everyone wants money. After lengthy debates, we have come to an agreement with Dauch that he will only receive 90 fl. instead of 100 fl. per month and this for 21 months, i.e. 1890 fl., up to now he has 1100 fl. And Herchenhain too, with whom it is not yet quite settled. Back also gets a nice chunk for writing and printing, today ... again 100 fl. and Steinberger, Apitz, Berger, Razz are still ahead of us."

In February, Delkeskamp very confidently advertised his Frankfurt plan in the Börsenblatt:

"Just as the author's Rhine panorama, published in 1837, was greeted with undivided applause and has remained unsurpassed ever since, despite all imitations, just as the two larger maps of Switzerland in relief style, the only ones of their kind, enjoy a well-founded reputation, so too the above plan will make its mark as something new and magnificent in cartographic literature. In 7 sheets of different sizes, it forms a tableau of 58 x 41 inches. It offers a bird's-eye view of the city and its immediate surroundings that is true to the smallest detail, with each house and garden being given exactly the space it deserves and all

buildings being depicted in their actual form. - Since a similar plan has not existed in this representation, size and perfection in any place up to now, the present one will not attract the usual attention, even outside Frankfurt, and just as the authorities of the city strongly supported the enterprise in its creation and it was joyfully welcomed by the entire citizenry when it appeared, so we also hope for the active participation of map collectors and all art lovers outside Frankfurt and ask the honoured dealers for very active engagement. All Frankfurt residents living abroad will surely be buyers and we also believe that among the large number of foreigners present at the German Shooting Festival as well as on other occasions, they will be interested in the beautiful work. The engraving, executed under the special direction and with the collaboration of the author by renowned artists, is of the most beautiful harmonic effect and the work can be recommended as an ornament for every room.

As it is not possible to send the plan à cond. due to the costliness of the venture, we generally only supply it for a fixed invoice or against cash, but we offer to take back unsold copies up to 6 weeks after the date of the invoice. We only supply copies mounted on canvas, folded in a folder, for a fixed invoice and charge the cost price for mounting etc. of 2 Th. 17 ½ Rgr. - 4 fl. 30 kr. We look forward to receiving your orders. Frankfurt a/M, February 1865. Friedr.Wilh. Delkeskamp's Verlag."

At the end of February 1865, Mother Elise wrote to her son Hugo:

"In the evenings, the plan is usually still being laid down and this often brings me work - it is always quiet around the plan; Mr Schädel brought us 4 buyers - by the way, this is a highly-spirited person who only knows music and concerts - now we will take another, he should try his luck, and since Grunelius, Metzler and so many of the richest merchants did not take a plan, he should try it another way. But one always has one's troubles and worries until everything is paid. Kaiser is now working on the first 6 prints to be coloured, they are now very beautiful and I also hope that they will meet with approval; Knorr and the workers are varnishing the prints here that will be in frames and also many that are made on rolls to be rolled up and hung ...".⁴⁵⁰

Her letter of 16 March gives a further insight into the depressing family mood and the already frail state of health of Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp himself, now almost 71 years old:

"Clemens is now very busy with his time in the evening for rolling up the plan; now many rolls are being made and so the back room is now a workshop - only the putting on canvas is done by gaslight ... The Sundays have also often been worked and this was also done last Tuesday [14. March] - the coloured copy for the Römer [City Hall] was made and will be delivered tomorrow [Friday, 17.3.]. We are now doing everything possible, but sales are far behind our expectations - God grant that it will get better - sending them around has not brought us much - Hermanns does this too and he has brought even more, some

14 mostly on rollers. On April 8th we have to pay the bill for paper of fl. 368 - and colourist, bookbinder, canvas, engraver swallow everything, so that we cannot be quite happy and it is quite hard for our father not to see greater participation and income after this laborious work. But we still hope! I am writing this to you! Keep it to yourself and don't write much about it, we have to take care of your father, he is already 70 and I can see that he is getting old - if only he can allow himself a trip in the summer to rest, and yet he can no longer travel alone!"⁷⁴⁵¹

The people of Frankfurt, however, did not want to fulfil their patriotic duty to purchase the plan. Delkeskamp vented his disappointment and frustration over the lack of demand and the family's consequently desolate financial situation in a letter to Hugo in April 1865 - expressing his deep-seated grievance that the City of Frankfurt would once again give August Ravenstein preferential treatment:

"You will now want to know how I and the city plan are doing. Only slowly ahead, only slowly ahead, that the Frankfurt philistine may follow, only no haste. I have not cherished any enthusiastic hopes, but this tough philistine attitude goes beyond my horizon of understanding; these short-sighted people believe that the Senate and legislative body have made me everlastingly happy with their subsidy of 10,000 fl., but the costs of the engraving were so enormous that, despite the previous income for the same, 1800 fl. still have to be covered. The main bourgeois must be calculating that because I get so much from the city, it would be my duty to give the good citizens the plan to more than half for free. Perhaps they hope that I will later be sensible enough to allow a very significant price reduction to take place, perhaps out of necessity. And the fact that the original drawing, on which I worked for 4 to 5 years, will be handed over to the city library as the property of the city, the fact that this is a great sacrifice on my part, what I bring to the city, is something that the shopkeepers' souls do not think about and do not even know how to appreciate and value. That A. Ravenstein, for example, first received an important fee from the city for surveying the lantern money [a municipal tax on public lighting from oil lamps to be paid by homeowners according to the width of the facade], then received 5,000 fl. from the city for the large city plan, which only contains the city, and furthermore received 2,500 fl. from the city for his city plan with surroundings in 9 sheets. Thus together with his alignment plan he probably received even more than I did, and what does he have to do for it, compared to my gigantic work. But everything unites to increase his mammon.

The gymnasium was sold to him for a ridiculous price and now in possession of it he would like to sell it again to the city or speculators for road projects or a new gateway from the Zeil to the Sandweg and Bornheim for 150,000 to 200,000 fl. There is incomprehensible speculation going on here, and many almost unbelievable things are coming to fruition through bold moves. Because of delay caused by others, receipt of payments takes so long. For example the colourist, who cannot deliver as quickly as we would like and this means, in the end the thrifty purchasers are also displeased as they cannot get it as soon as soon as they whistle. I have experienced this only today. Originally one ordered a coloured plan and today, when I indicated to him that he could have the desired copy in a fortnight, he explained to me that he

was no longer interested in it, that he had acquired one from Ravenstein, and this Senator N.N. answered me with the greatest friendliness, as if he had told me the most pleasant thing in the world. That such and similar experiences do not inspire me will seem very understandable to you." 452

At the end of November 1865, with Christmas approaching, hope was not yet completely abandoned, Elise informed her son that Delkeskamp tried with an advertisement: "We have had the plan moved in and are now waiting for the buyers! May the Lord give his blessing, it is necessary!"453

Whether it was the price - 18 fl. for the black edition and 42 fl. for the coloured one, the bulky format or the low practical value, or the fact that the massive building activity in Frankfurt was increasingly calling into question the topicality of the plan, Clemens had to inform his brother at the end of 1865 that the situation had not improved. On the contrary, the desolate economic situation now forced the parents to take in lodgers:

"At home, business has almost come to a complete standstill, sales of city plans are extremely sluggish - almost zero! - As a result, the good father is extremely depressed and discontented and so tired that he no longer has any desire or pleasure in any work and is therefore all the more preoccupied with dull thoughts. It is most saddening that the justified expectations of the good father were so badly deceived in this business as well and I only hope that the smaller edition of the plan in photography to be issued this year will bring better results. In order to please my good mother, I have given up my old room and will move into the salon on the third floor, while the two small rooms are to be rented out." 454

A photographic edition of the plan was never published. It was not until 1914 that a reduced, but razor-sharp reprint was produced in black and white⁴⁵⁵ and in 1965 a slightly blurred colour facsimile edition - not of the final plan, but only of the four-part preliminary drawing⁴⁵⁶, which, like the steel plates, can be found in the Historisches Museum Frankfurt.

If there were any prospects at all of selling further plans, these faded with the Prussian invasion of Frankfurt in July 1866. The city, which had backed the wrong side in the Prussian-Austrian fratricidal war, was slapped with a first tribute of around 5.8 million guilders just one day after the occupation, followed a few days later by a second demand, now amounting to 25 million guilders, which the approximately 35,000 citizens had to raise, of whom only around 8,000 were originally liable to pay taxes. Soldiers were billeted with numerous citizens, including all members of the Senate. No one had money for a city plan any more.

As expected, the press response at the time was positive. Didaskalia and Die Gartenlaube devoted half a page to Delkeskamp⁴⁵⁷, but both were strongly oriented towards the sales brochure in their reviews. In contrast, the appreciative judgement of the specialist journal Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen must have been balm for Delkeskamp's wounded soul:

"The map connoisseur seldom grants bird's-eye views a place next to actual maps and plans; he may admire their artistic execution, but usually misses the geometric basis, which must be regarded as the most essential condition for a map or a plan. However, Mr Delkeskamp has shown us once again with his plan of Frankfurt that it is possible to combine a strictly geometric orientation with a picturesque rendering of the landscape or city and that this can produce beautiful results. We absolutely must give him a place of honour among the best achievements of this kind. The greatest clarity, distinctness and vividness are combined with the most pleasant impression of the whole; admirable is the skill with which each individual building with the correct number of windows etc., each tree, each courtyard, each garden bed has been represented in its true form, without one object obscuring the other, e.g. a row of houses obscuring the adjoining street, and without the correct position being shifted.

Of course, this was only possible at a fairly large scale, so the plan is 5 ½ feet wide and 4 feet high and is divided into 7 adjoining sheets of different formats. It also includes all the suburbs and ends to the north with the Grüneburg, the lunatic asylum and the Oede, to the north-east with the western part of Bornheim, to the east beyond the Hanau railway station, to the south with the Seehof and behind the Felsenkellern, to the west below the railway bridge and on the road leading from the Bockenheimer Landstrasse to Griesheim. The numerous changes, new buildings and the like that occurred during the engraving have been carefully added, so that the plan may be called a true reflection of the Free German Imperial City in 1864 down to the smallest detail. This gives it the character of a historical document to the same extent as Merian's famous plan of Frankfurt from the first half of the 17th century. But even apart from this historical value, which will only become clearly apparent after decades, everyone who is interested in the famous old city, and especially every Frankfurt resident himself, must be pleased with this beautiful work, which reproduces all details so precisely and completely that one can, as it were, take a walk on it and comfortably look at everything and anything, and yet it provides an incomparably stately, pleasant overview. The price for such a large, excellently engraved work is also extremely moderate."458

After Google Earth on Switzerland, Delkeskamp had now also anticipated Street View. A few years later, the Encyclopaedia Britannica described Delkeskamp's plan as "beautiful" in its Frankfurt article. The unique historical value of Delkeskamp's map has indeed been discovered in the present and often acknowledged as his "opus magnum" bublications on Frankfurt in print or on the internet like to use (analogue) extracts to illustrate local history. Only at the end of 2022, Delkeskamp's plan was available on the internet, unlike most historical city maps of Frankfurt. Before, the Frankfurt Historical Museum had described Delkeskamp's plan on its website: "In 1864, Frankfurt presented itself embedded in a huge landscape garden. The

picturesque plan lives up to its name: the city and the suburbs of the time are embedded in green fields. Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp looks down on the city from a bird'seye view from the south. His gaze is directed at a sprawling city: it had been steadily expanding since the 1840s. The gardens and summer houses that had initially been built outside had become permanent residences. Even suburbs that were not yet part of Frankfurt are already on the plan, which creates a very atmospheric picture of Frankfurt.

Delkeskamp needed many years for the detailed representation. Each building is represented threedimensionally and surrounded by gardens and trees. The houses are situated along avenues generously landscaped with trees and plants. Through the greenery, the traffic routes can be made out like bright axes. The railway, which has been running since 1839, and its five stations are clearly visible. In addition to the Old Bridge, a second bridge over the Main was added in 1848 with the railway bridge in the west (today's Friedensbrücke). At this time, industrialisation was in full swing. Frankfurt seems to be exempt from this in the plan. When factories are visible, they are inconspicuously inserted into the urban landscape. The settlement of new trades and manufactories was still prohibited until 1864. Many innovative companies had to move outside the city, to Bockenheim or Fechenheim, so that the city with its population of around 78,000 could continue to appear so beautifully green."461

As part of his dissertation, Joseph Klein bent over the Frankfurt plans by Delkeskamp and Ravenstein and compared the two in detail: "It does not matter which part of the panorama is compared with the Ravenstein plan with regard to the content depicted, everywhere the bird's-eye view reproduces the details depicted in the Ravenstein plan, be it with regard to the position and form of the buildings, the bodies of water, the green spaces, be it in the details of the types of land cultivation, streets, courtyards, boundary walls, tree population appear in the same way in the bird'seye view as the Ravenstein plan contains them in the ground plan. Not only streets and squares, houses and courtyards, churches and bridges, but also what appears to be insignificant to the viewer of the plan is not fantasy, but corresponds to Ravenstein. The parks of the villas and individual houses, for example, contain the same winding park paths and ponds; orchards and vegetable gardens lie behind the ornamental gardens in direct accordance with the signatures of the Ravenstein plan. The gardens and fields outside the urban development, their mutual demarcations, show agreement in both depictions.(...) The paintertopographer was not satisfied with the mere ground plan, but now set about capturing the third dimension. (...) The Delkeskamp plan differs from Ravenstein not only in the way it is depicted, but also in a certain way of continuation. For in that short period of editing the two different works, the development of the city continued with giant strides. Ravenstein had not only included existing streets in his city plan, but also, in dashed lines, the intended continuations, the projected lines of flight. The strong development of the city is particularly evident in its outskirts at that time. In Delkeskamp's work, one sees a number of these planned streets developed, new houses begin to line them, where in Ravenstein's time, i.e. two to four years earlier, there were still gardens and fields. (...) The thoroughness in the rendering of the topographical situation already established in his panoramas was carried out by Delkeskamp in his Frankfurt plan in an almost catastral manner. There is probably no other representation from his pen like this Frankfurt perspective in particular, in which one can so vividly trace the accuracy of his work."

In a later name article in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Klein reproduces Ravenstein's reaction to Delkeskamp's plan, which at the time certainly contributed to Delkeskamp making his inner peace with Ravenstein: "August Ravenstein, who could justifiably be proud of his first, geometrically accurate plan of the City of Frankfurt/Main, paid high tribute to Delkeskamp by saying, when enumerating the most important preceding 'city plans', which were only bird's-eye views, that Merian had indeed replaced Faber's siege plan with an artistically better plan, but now, in the present, it was Delkeskamp who had in turn surpassed Merian with an even more perfect work."⁴⁶³

"If we compare Merian's and also Faber's plan sections with Delkeskamp's, the artistic balance tips in favour of the older masters. They were far freer than their descendants in using their material, exaggerating and shortening, shaping and painting, decorating with cartouches and emblems, sayings and coats of arms, until a great work of art was created. Delkeskamp was much more concerned with a scientific work than Faber and Merian. He is only secondarily interested in art. The soon to be seventy-year-old faithfully adheres to the title of his plan. As objectively as on a map, he places the title in the lower right-hand corner. Without the slightest flourish" 1464, is Lübbecke's conclusion in his comparison of the three historical city plans.

"We hear little from contemporaries about the new plan. It was already shadowed by the threat of fratricidal war. The plan had hardly appeared when Prussian cuirassiers galloped through the Allerheiligen Tor on 19 July 1866... For years it [the City of Frankfurt] lay stunned on the ground. Who would still contemplate its old-fashioned plan! After the victorious war of 1870/71, the city began to sprawl into the broad, became as unrestrained and aimless as the architecture of its façades. In view of the new city, Delkeskamp's plan looked like a small town. Thousands of new inhabitants migrated to the new Prussian provincial city, no longer inhibited by any barriers, and became rich and opulent. They no longer wanted to play the Biedermeier and, like the Biedermeier furniture, threw the plan of the honourable old Delkeskamp into the attic for junk. Far more likely to find a plan by Merian today than one by Delkeskamp."465