

Cover sheet

representations for here as well as for the Rhineland. The deserving draughtsman and engraver, Mr Delkeskamp, recently praised for his beautiful and delicate illustrations of the Rhine regions in Wilmans' Panorama of the Rhine, has, together with Mr Radl, done the main work on the new views of Jügel."<sup>132</sup>

Goethe also had these views sent to him. At the beginning of December 1827, he received the portfolio directly from Carl Jügel and noted in his diary on 5 December 1827: "Viewed the Frankfurt illustrations sent by Jügel".<sup>133</sup> One day later he noted: "Noon Herr Hofrath Meyer. Viewed and assessed the latest arrivals with him." In his cultural-political and art-critical journal *Über Kunst und Alterthum* [On Art and Antiquity], he and his co-editors Heinrich Meyer, Johann Peter Eckermann and Sulpiz Boisserée discussed, among other things, the progress of lithography or on new copper engravings.<sup>134</sup> As an old Frankfurter, Goethe was extremely friendly about the lithographs:

"Six views of Frankfurt am Main and the surrounding area, drawn by Radl and Delkeskamp, lithographed by Deroy, Bichebois and Courtin, belong, in terms of delicate

treatment, to the most attractive that lithography has so far achieved in the field of prospectus. Mr Radl drew with well-known skill those views, which contain more landscape objects, while Mr Delkeskamp is the maker of those where architecture predominates.

The editor, C. Jügel, art dealer in Frankfurt, calls these six views on the title: *den ersten Heft* [first issue], and it is by no means to be doubted that not only the general public, which is acquainted in the most graceful manner with the growth of one of the most important cities in Germany, or is called upon to enjoyable remembrance, but also the true lover of art can be satisfied by thorough tasteful treatment of such important objects, and therefore the work can be continued without interruption."<sup>135</sup>

This contribution was the second in the "Fine Arts" section of *Über Kunst und Alterthum*, in which Goethe added to Meyer's manuscript in his own hand. Originally, it simply said: "it is by no means to be doubted that true lovers of art, of whom one can still be found now and then, will see the beautiful work continued with pleasure".<sup>136</sup>

Even later, in a letter to Reinhard on 28 January 1828, he called "Jügel's Frankfurt views so praiseworthy as pleasant".<sup>137</sup> On 5 September 1829 Goethe asked Jügel: "How far has your new booklet of Frankfurt views got? And what items will it contain?"<sup>138</sup> On 25 September he added in a letter to Jügel: "I would also like to know whether the public can soon expect another edition of those exquisitely drawn and lithographed views of my home town."<sup>139</sup>

Jügel used Goethe's kind review on 23 December 1828 to recommend the Frankfurt views to his customers as a Christmas present:

"In his latest booklet *Über Kunst und Alterthum*, Goethe has judged the artistic value of these leaves most favourably, and they are certainly all the more suitable as a Christmas gift, as they combine the value of the object with an inner artistic value. The very cheap price of these 6 leaves is with the writing [the printed title etc.] fl. 9. 48 kr., before the writing fl. 12. 48 kr."<sup>140</sup>

Despite Goethe's praise, the continuation of the series apparently did not pay off for Jügel. However, Jügel kept the views in his publishing programme until at least 1837.<sup>141</sup>

Although Delkeskamp had already left Frankfurt in 1828 to continue working on his next panorama in Switzerland, Jügel had Delkeskamp produce further drawings in grisaille technique for this lithograph series, which was planned to consist of four issues of six Frankfurt views each.

Decades later, on 28 October 1878, Carl Jügel Verlag donated these to the Frankfurt Historical Museum: *Fountains in the Eschenheimer Anlage* and *Guaita's Garden at the Eschenheim Gate*. At the same time, the preparatory drawing for Delkeskamp's lithograph *Leonhardskirche and Leonhardstor from the city side* reached the Historical Museum.



Sketch of the view of the Römerberg in Frankfurt, Historisches Museum Frankfurt



View of the Römerberg in Frankfurt, 27.2 x 36.2 cm



*View of the library in Frankfurt, 27.2 x 36.2 cm, Historisches Museum Frankfurt*



*View of St. Leonard's church, 27.2 x 36.2 cm, Historisches Museum Frankfurt*



*Guaita's garden in front of the Eschenheimer Tor, 20.3 x 31.2 cm, Historisches Museum Frankfurt*



*Fountain in the Eschenheimer Anlage, 20.9 x 31 cm, Historisches Museum Frankfurt*  
*Below: Quai at the Untermainthor in Frankfurt am Main, Historisches Museum Frankfurt*





## Delkeskamp Becomes a "Brand" (1825): Panorama of the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne

At the turn of the 19th century, the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne mutated from a purely traffic route with its many castle ruins, picturesque towns and steep rocky slopes into a romantic place of longing and at the same time, in view of France's grip on its shores, a national symbol. The river had previously been travelled by the wealthy English on their Grand Tour, the traditional educational trip to Switzerland and Italy. In England, gothic romance and sublime nature became fashionable as early as the mid-1750s. Famous authors such as Ann Radcliffe and Mary Shelley were inspired by journeys to the Rhine, and Lord Byron explicitly sang of the beauties of the Rhine landscape in his famous epic poem "Childe Harold's Pilgrimage" in 1816.

Dramatic image production was also initially English-dominated: The first and best-known illustrated work of views of the incipient Rhine romanticism was published by John Gardnor in 1788. A large number of English publications followed over the next decades, and from the 1820s onwards also in high-circulation steel engravings. William Turner visited the Rhine a total of eleven times between 1817 and 1844. His sketches and atmospheric watercolours influenced Rhine romantic imagery. Increasingly, German writers also travelled the Rhine and, with the rise of romanticism, contributed to paving the way for a broader tourism, which the end of the Napoleonic Wars finally made possible. In addition to Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentano (who invented the legend of the Lorelei), Heinrich von Kleist, Friedrich Schlegel, Ernst Moritz Arndt and Karl Simrock also made literary and political use of the Rhine.

Many other writers, like Goethe of course, visited and sailed the Rhine. In Germany, it was the Frankfurt bookseller and publisher Friedrich Wilmans who included Rhine views and Rhine travel descriptions in his publishing programme very early on, such as the three-part travel guide by Niclas Vogt and Aloys Wilhelm Schreiber with 32 copperplate engravings by the painter Christian Georg Schütz, *Mahlerische Ansichten des Rheins von Mainz bis Düsseldorf (1804-06)*. The Wilmans Verlag was producing large-format views by Schütz and Radl in 1809, but in the meantime, he had missed the trend and only entered the Rhine business intensively through his collaboration with Delkeskamp.

In September 1823, Delkeskamp received an urgent commission from Wilmans: to produce the first overall pictorial representation of the "romantic Rhine", which was clearly geared to the needs of the rapidly developing tourist industry and was later published under the attractive title *Panorama of the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne*. This commission was to change Delkeskamp's life fundamentally and make him a well-known personality far beyond Frankfurt. In this respect, it is not surprising that he still vividly remembered this moment 14 years later:

"I had received the order for its production on September 28, 1823, with the stipulation that the view had to be completed by that autumn by the latest, so that I could complete the drawing and begin the engraving in the winter. On the 29th of September I left Frankfurt, on the 30th I began my work, driven by fear that I would not be able to finish it; by the 18th of October the picture was completed. It will be obvious to anyone who is familiar with the subject that in these few short days, often interrupted by fog, I was not able to draw all parts of this wide stretch of the river true to nature ..."<sup>142</sup>

Why was it that Delkeskamp needed to work so quickly? The hurry to reliably capture the approximately 200 kilometres of the Rhine from a bird's-eye view on a foldable tourist travel map 2.30 m long and 22 cm wide was undoubtedly related to the fact that Wilmans had to fear losing an ingenious business idea to the competition. At the end of 1822, a sensational lithograph of the Rhine valley from Bingen to Koblenz had appeared in Stuttgart and immediately afterwards a pirated copy in Cologne. In December 1822, the renowned *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* [Morning Paper for the Educated Classes] reported on the original in an almost euphoric manner in its supplement Kunst-Blatt, pointing out its significant tourist benefits:

*"The Rhine Valley from the Mouth of the Nahe to the Mouth of the Moselle. Drawn by Elisabeth v. A. / Lithographed by Keller:*

*There are certain ideas which, as in the case of fortunate inventions, one must be surprised that someone did not come up with them long ago. The work of art shown here, which was recently published in Stuttgart, is of this kind. On a 27-inch high and 15-inch wide plate, it depicts the course of the Rhine from Bingen to Coblenz, i.e. precisely its most interesting stretch, which is one of the most beautiful and most remarkable regions in and outside Germany. The representation is of its own kind, it is neither taken from above, from the air, nor, which would also not be possible, from a single fixed point of view, but it is continuous, so that the objects are reproduced in picturesque drawing, as they line up in nature and present themselves to the eye of the observer floating down the river, and the sheet provides a coherent series of landscapes.*

*The majestic river winds its way through the middle, on both sides lie the towns that animate it, which often seem to protrude into the middle of the river and frequently do so, and behind the towns rise the mighty rocky mountains on the right and left, through which the river has broken its way, no less attractive because of its natural composition than because of the many castles, castle ruins and chapels that it bears everywhere, and which still date from the grey Middle Ages. In the river itself, every strange object - a customs tower, a palace, etc. is expressed, every rock and eddy, and even the ships set up in quiet bays to catch salmon are not lacking. The*





bridges of Bingen and Coblenz over the Nahe and the Moselle, both of which, like so many others in the vicinity, date back to Roman times, are just as picturesque as they are significant. On the four corners are four symbolic figures, the first of which represents the Father Rhine, and of the three that follow, one represents the Nahe, the other the Lahn and the third the Moselle - the three most important Rhine influences on the route drawn. And so one obtains a picture of a 6-mile-long stretch that is unique in its kind and must be especially interesting to geologists, as it shows the corresponding angles of the broken mountain range in the most vivid way.

But it is not only the idea that deserves admiration, but also the way it is executed. One believes one is looking not at a drawing but at a sculptural work, a skin relief. The objects jump out so vividly everywhere. Everything stands out so deceptively from one another; in addition to an extraordinary fidelity, there is so much spirit and freedom in the whole that one feels completely seized by the picture and transported into reality. Anyone who has already made the beautiful journey from Bingen to Coblenz can find no greater pleasure than to travel it again on this leaf; all the feelings and thoughts that occurred to him on the journey will be stimulated anew; at least this was the case for the speaker, even though he made the journey for the last time several years ago. But anyone who is still willing to make the journey cannot choose a better guide than this very leaf. With its help, not a single strange point will escape his attention, and it will serve him better than all descriptions.

Elisabeth v.A., to whom this beautiful work is owed, is, as far as is known, an intellectual and artistic lady and, as the print proves, just as skilful, who resides in Frankfurt and, out of love for art and nature, made the beautiful occupation of which the work is the effect. Mr Keller, who lithographed it, also has a just share in the praise due to it. M.[emminger]<sup>143</sup>

Susanna Maria Rebecca Elisabeth von Adlerflycht (1775-1846), née von Riese, belonged to the Frankfurt upper class and was the wife of the Frankfurt senator Justinian von Adlerflycht. In her youth she had taken drawing lessons from the Frankfurt painter Daniel Bager<sup>144</sup>. Philipp Friedrich Gwinner (1796-1868), jurist, art historian and penultimate mayor of the Free City of Frankfurt before the Prussian occupation, noted in 1862 in his *Frankfurter Künstlerlexikon* that she had undertaken the Rhine journey as early as 1811<sup>145</sup> and that many years later, in 1823 (actually 1822), she produced such an unusual panorama of banks and sights that Johann Daniel Georg Memminger<sup>146</sup>, the Stuttgart reviewer in the *Morgenblatt*, obviously found it difficult to find the right words to describe the lithograph. The leaf and the underlying watercolour depicted the Rhine between Bingen and Koblenz from south to north, downstream, from a fictitious bird's-eye view - but precisely not, as would have been traditionally expected, from a single elevated location and in central perspective, which would have meant that all objects in the background would have had to be reduced beyond recognition, but rather from a continuous perspec-

tive. With this so-called parallel perspective, all drawn objects remain the same size, and shading such as missing or foreshortened backs of hills and mountains lead to the illusion of a three-dimensional drawing.

The fortunate rediscovery of the enchanting watercolour, on which the Stuttgart print was based, in the Historisches Museum in Frankfurt, and the description of its further history is owed to the art historian Hanne Holzhäuer from Karlsruhe.<sup>147</sup> Elisabeth von Adlerflycht was not only a quasi-neighbour of Wilmans in Frankfurt, but her daughter Sophie had married Georg Cotta in 1820, the son of Johann Friedrich Cotta, probably the most famous publisher and political publicist of his time. Goethe and Schiller and many other German writers published their works in his publishing house. Johann Friedrich Cotta was also well acquainted with Wilmans. In May 1822, Elisabeth von Adlerflycht and the couple are known to have visited Cotta in Stuttgart. Cotta was as well an industrial pioneer in printing techniques, including lithography. Whether it was the father or the son who saw the Adlerflycht panorama and gave the impetus for it to be lithographed by Karl Keller in Stuttgart<sup>148</sup> and printed locally by the lithographic institute F.F. Schulz is not known.

Gwinner's assertion in his Adlerflycht entry that the lithograph was produced at the instigation of Cotta cannot be verified. However, the *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* was published from 1807 to 1865 in Stuttgart and Tübingen by the Cotta'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung and, with a circulation of 2,500 copies, was the leading literary entertainment organ in the first half of the 19th century. The publisher of the four- to six-page magazine, which appeared up to six times a week with various supplements, was Johann Friedrich Cotta himself. A tourist product would have fitted well into his publishing programme, especially as he invested in the emerging Rhine steamship industry a little later. Should Wilmans have held the original Adlerflycht lithograph in his hands, it is reasonable to assume that he must have assumed that Cotta could be involved here.

In fact, however, Cotta never advertised this lithograph, which measures approx. 85 x 60 cm, nor did he see to it that the Adlerflycht original, which dates from 1811, was updated in print. The ship's bridge between Koblenz and Ehrenbreitstein and other innovations can only be found in a pirated copy by Friedrich August Mottu (1786-1828), which appeared in Cologne in 1823 at the latest. Cotta's estate contains nothing about his daughter-in-law's panorama and the lithograph. If commercial distribution was ever intended, as the review indirectly suggested, it was thwarted by the fact that the picture stone broke very early.

Gwinner also noted in the Adlerflycht article of his Frankfurt artist encyclopaedia that the Keller lithograph "was later left to the engraver Delkeskamp, who has since published his excellent Rhine panorama, first in 1825 on a larger scale and artistically perfected. The first idea for this beautiful and useful work must therefore have belonged to Frau von Adlerflycht."<sup>149</sup> In fact, Delkeskamp himself had

pointed out in a copyright trial (see below) in 1834, when he was questioned as a witness by Philipp Friedrich Gwinner, who was still an examining magistrate at the time, that before his panorama only a lithograph depicted the Rhine valley and also only a much shorter stretch, namely from Bingen to Koblenz instead of, as in his work, from Mainz to Cologne. Delkeskamp's statement left open whether it was the lithograph by Adlerflycht or whether Wilmans and he had seen Mottu's reprint, which, with a format of 44 x 30 cm, was much easier to handle for the traveller, but still much too large for a travelling companion. Wilmans, who obviously needed a new publishing success at the time, must have concluded after reading the article and from the rapid appearance of the pirated copy that a lucrative market could open up here.

Paul Raabe pointed out his possible financial problems: "Wilmans did not seem to be doing too well. An Offenbach newspaper article of 1822 reported that one could also buy cigars, eau de cologne, wine, embroidery and knitwear from Wilmans."<sup>150</sup> Wilmans perhaps therefore relied entirely on Delkeskamp and the joint innovative development of the Adlerflycht artwork into a product that was as useful as it was sophisticated in terms of craftsmanship and artistry - and in subsequent years on a new, related range of products. In Cologne, Friedrich August Mottu judged the chances similarly promising: he hastily brought his pirated copy of Delkeskamp's panorama onto the market after only two months.

Delkeskamp himself, however, seems to have taken the Adlerflycht depiction as a model less than the bird's-eye view by Matthaeus Merian the Elder. In a letter of 15 December 1835 to the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III, Delkeskamp emphasised that "with the panorama of the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne, I brought back to life a type of representation that had been dormant for 200 years."<sup>151</sup> He explicitly referred to Merian in a letter of 15 February 1842, in which Delkeskamp introduced himself to Friedrich Wilhelm IV and sent him his new panorama of the Moselle and one of Baden-Baden: "May this type of representation, which was invented 200 years ago by Matthaeus Merian here [in Frankfurt], but which has lain dormant since then until 1825, when it was renewed by me and since then has been increasingly perfected, be honoured by Your Royal Majesty with the hand and grace that protects every branch of art, as I have often had the opportunity to enjoy from His former King Majesty, most glorious father, who rests in God."<sup>152</sup> It is not known where Delkeskamp first came across Merian's work, perhaps in Friedrich Wilman's bookshop. With his Frankfurt city map, however, which was produced in the early 1860s, Delkeskamp again and explicitly followed in the footsteps of the old master, who had also created a bird's-eye view city map of Frankfurt.

If Wilmans and Delkeskamp had assumed that they would be able to sell the panorama as early as the 1824 season, they must have soon realised that the production of the drawing and engraving was much more time-

consuming than initially expected. Sketches have only survived for Delkeskamp's later panoramas, and there is no indication of how many preliminary drawings he had to make in the 19 days of his Rhine journey in order to be able to assemble them into a panorama that was as true to nature as possible and also to lift them from the drawing point of view into a bird's-eye view. A few years later, Delkeskamp produced 104 small views of the Rhine alone, covering the most important sights between Mainz and Cologne, and it is known that he drew his first panorama of central Switzerland from more than 700 viewpoints<sup>153</sup>. The inscription of the Rhine panorama indicates the depiction of about 350 places, churches, monasteries, castles, ruins, factories, rivers and informs about distances. In 1835, Delkeskamp emphasised in his letter to King Friedrich Wilhelm III that it had been "19 months of most strenuous work"<sup>154</sup>. This included various intermediate steps to arrive at a finished panorama. Proofs have been preserved in the Cologne City Museum, which show that Delkeskamp repeatedly checked the quality of his work and probably also of the paper before continuing the engraving.

For Delkeskamp, the production of a topographically reliable and at the same time picturesque-illustrative work was a premiere, so that he first had to prepare himself conceptually. For Delkeskamp's later, considerably more accurate panorama of the same stretch of the Rhine, which appeared in 1837, a doctoral thesis exists on the theoretical basis of the work and on the practical and artistic procedure.<sup>155</sup> The preface to the anonymously published appendix to Delkeskamp's first panorama, *Der Begleiter auf der Reise von Mainz bis Köln. Ein nöthiger Anhang zum Panorama des Rheins und seinen nächsten Umgebungen* [The Companion on the Journey from Mainz to Cologne. A necessary Appendix to the Panorama of the Rhine and its Immediate Surroundings], allows an insight into his approach:

*"The idea that guided the artist in taking and executing this panorama was: to reproduce everything faithfully, truly and clearly, as he himself saw it. He created a picturesque effect in the leaf through the perspective from the heights and thereby sought to achieve his intended purpose. He kept the distances of the places as much as possible according to the proportion; but the great curvature which the river describes from Mainz to Bingen could not be retained because of the format once adopted, but this did not give rise to any defect or disadvantage for the picture itself. However, by one's own observation and comparison on the spot, one will be convinced that everything has been achieved that art and perseverance were capable of in order to blend this so rich and varied stretch of land, which the panorama encompasses, into a pleasing and picturesque whole."*<sup>156</sup>

The technical term "half bird's-eye view" already used by Wilmans characterises a very specific representation: "The surface of the earth is not to be depicted vertically from above, nor from the point of view of the person standing on it, but it is to be seen as one imagines the sight of a bird flying at a constant height over the surface of the earth.





Proof sheet Cologne, 20.3 x 24.5 cm Kölnisches Stadtmuseum

The bird, in order to carry out its flight, looks forwards; at the same time, however, it orients its flight altitude by looking obliquely forwards, by which it can regulate its rising and falling better than when it looks vertically downwards. Compared to the animal that moves forward on the surface of the earth, its forward movement requires an additional component, namely that of height regulation, i.e. it has not only the surface but also the space to master. It does not move in two dimensions, but in three. The grasping of space takes place through a gaze traversal, which, reduced to a simple formula, could be compared with the diagonal of the cube, as opposed to the diagonal of the area for two-dimensional orientation. Here the comparison with the aeroplane is obvious ..."<sup>157</sup>

Like Elisabeth von Adlerflycht, Delkeskamp used the parallel perspective, i.e. a representation of all objects on approximately the same scale. Unlike her, however, he had to draw on existing map material to produce a travel map that the tourist could reliably orientate himself by. More detailed information, however, is only known in part from Mainz to Koblenz, where Delkeskamp used the map that the architect and mathematician C.F. Ulrich had published shortly before, in 1822, in Darmstadt.<sup>158</sup> In Wilman's bookshop, however, Delkeskamp will have found any number of existing maps for a basis.

Delkeskamp not only took over the preliminary drawing of the panorama, but also the copper engraving. Very self-confidently, he placed his name in large letters under the panorama and again emphasised his quasi-photographic claim in the depiction: "taken from nature and engraved by F.W. Delkeskamp, Frankfurt a/M at Friedrich Wilmans 1825". Photography did not yet exist at the time, but there were already countless souvenir views of the romantic Rhine, which in their artistic exaggeration and drama did not convey realistic images, but nevertheless sent out advertising messages and thus promoted the desire to travel to the Rhine - and at the same time strengthened the sales base for the newly emerging Rhine panorama. The emphasised objectivity of the Delkeskamp panorama was enhanced by the inscription of the sights, an element that can also be found in the Adlerflycht watercolour and the subsequent lithographs. The engraving of the lettering (laterally reversed) was left to a specialist: Wilmans commissioned Peter Geiler, the Frankfurt "copper engraver in the field of calligraphy, Stadt-Allee 236" (advertisement in the *Intelligenzblatt* 1828). He had already worked with him before on his year-book permanent series (1799-1840), *Taschenbuch der Liebe und Freundschaft gewidmet* - and a Geiler was among the signatories of Delkeskamp's application for a residence and work permit as a drawing teacher in Frankfurt.



Like the Adlerflycht model, Delkeskamp designed the panorama with light coming from the west down the Rhine, from south to north. He was to stick to this perspective in all his later Rhine panoramas. In order to be able to depict the enormous stretch from Mainz to Cologne, seven copper plates were required. The richness of detail in the copperplate engraving and the impressive fineness of the work give an idea of the enormous effort involved in the undertaking. Furthermore, the prints had to be precisely assembled and glued together. The sheet at the height of Bonn was wider than the others in order to be able to depict the Siebengebirge [Seven Mountains] with the famous Drachenfels [Dragon's Rock] in the south-east of the city. For practical handling of the panorama, the sheet was trimmed down to the view of the "sieben Gebürge" and this was simply folded in. It speaks for the quality of the paper that in the many known copies these mountains remained firmly attached to the panorama even after some 200 years.

In a further step, the panorama was then folded 14 times to form a fanfold, placed between two protective brown book covers made of sturdy cardboard and glued on one side. With this ingenious "patent fold", the panorama shrank to a manageable size of 18 x 23 cm and allowed the traveller to conveniently turn over the individual pages as soon as he or she reached the next section by ship, carriage or on foot. Delkeskamp will certainly have been inspired for this invention by the bookbinding background of his father and brother. The panorama was delivered in a brown cardboard slipcase, with a hexagonal vignette with border decoration and title pasted on: "Panorama des Rheins von Mainz bis Cöln. Taken from nature, drawn and engraved by J. [instead of F.] W. Delkeskamp. Frankfurt am Main 1825 by Friedrich Wilmans".

Wilmans enclosed the Panorama with the thin 14-page short guide with two additional pages of advertisements: "Empfehlenswerthe Schriften und Kunstblätter" [Recommended writings and art leaves] from his publishing house specifically aimed at travellers on the Rhine - including Rhine views by Radl. The guide, like other Wilmans products before it, was published in German and French and listed 53 places, their number of houses and inhabitants, the sights and inns.

For an additional charge, the panorama was also available "illuminated", i.e. coloured. The great care with which this first Rhine panorama was coloured also distinguishes it from almost all later pirated copies. As a rule, the colouring was delegated. Wilmans is known to have had the Rhine views he published and distributed coloured in Dresden. Although colours greatly enhance the attractiveness and plasticity of the panoramas, the colourists always remained anonymous, perhaps also because several were working in parallel.

In December 1824, Friedrich Wilmans was finally able to publish the announcement in the *Allgemeines Archiv*, a periodical published by his brother, which aimed at an

educated, well-off audience that tended to travel, that the work would be completed for the Easter Fair of 1825:

"*Panorama of the Rhine and its immediate surroundings from Mainz to Cologne. Taken from nature and engraved by F.W. Delkeskamp.* This painting, the only one of its kind in the opinion of many connoisseurs who have seen the leaves completed to date, will certainly remedy a long-felt deficiency, since it shows in half bird's-eye view not only all the curves of the magnificent Rhine, but also its mountain ranges and all the valleys formed by them, as well as the towns, castles, villages and ruins lying on its banks and enthroned on its mountains, and even the post roads and byways, most clearly before the eyes, and thus serve every traveller as the most faithful guide or as a reminder of this hike, which is enjoyable in every respect."<sup>159</sup>

The *Allgemeines Verzeichnis der Bücher, welche in der Frankfurter und Leipziger Oster-messe des 1825 Jahres entweder ganz neu gedruckt, oder sonst verbessert wieder aufgelegt worden sind, auch inskünftige noch herauskommen sollen* [General list of books that were either newly printed or otherwise improved at the Frankfurt and Leipzig Easter Fairs of the year 1825, or which are still to be published in the future], listed Delkeskamp's panorama accordingly under "completed writings".<sup>160</sup> The Frankfurt Easter Fair always began on Easter Tuesday and lasted three weeks. After that, the panorama should have been available on the market by 5 April 1825 at the latest.

### Press echo

The press reacted enthusiastically to the panorama. A veritable press firestorm made Delkeskamp a household name overnight and relieved Wilmans of all possible financial worries.

The first known review is from 11 May 1825 and from the Frankfurt entertainment journal *Iris*. It also reflects the fact that, at least in Frankfurt, contemporaries were well aware of the complementary nature of Adlerflycht's and Delkeskamp's representations:

"*Panorama of the Rhine and its immediate surroundings from Mainz to Cologne. Taken from nature, drawn and engraved by I.W. Delkeskamp. Frankfurt a.M. 1825 at Friedrich Wilmans. 6 fl. - Including: The companion on the journey from Mainz to Cologne, a necessary appendix to the Panorama of the Rhine.* We hasten to draw the attention of the public to this new and beautiful enterprise of our fellow citizen, the book and art dealer Mr Fr. Wilmans, who has earned merit by publishing views of patriotic regions, especially of the Rhine. This panorama is based on the idea of the 'Rhine Valley from the Mouth of the Nahe to the Mouth of the Moselle', designed by a talented local lady, Mrs Elisabeth von A., and distributed everywhere. The areas on both sides of the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne are pictured in half bird's-eye view and depicted with all the individual towns, villages, castles, hamlets, chapels, paths, forests, plains, streams and bridges in an extremely charming detail. Mr Delkeskamp has recorded all these diverse situations on the spot with





significant expenditure of time and effort and reproduced them with great fidelity. Mrs von A. was interested in a picturesque overview and therefore treated her shorter and more compressed Rhine valley with more freedom in favour of the picturesque grouping and grandest attitude of the whole. She gave a short epic poem of the course of the Rhine, as it were, while Mr D. provided the attractive, detailed prose narrative of it. Both can exist very well next to each other; as the former gives a compact overview of the grand appearance of the whole, and the latter serves the traveller as the most pleasant guide. Fr. v. A. has deliberately not bound herself to the geographical location. Even Mr D., although he did not allow himself any displacements nor significant differences in length, had to yield to the narrow width-space especially by somewhat restricting the curvatures of the river in several places, e.g. immediately the river bend near Biberich. In the enclosed printed 'companion' it says: 'The artist kept the distance of the places as much as possible in proportion; but the great curvature, which the river describes from Mainz to Bingen, could not be retained because of the format once adopted, but this did not result in any drawback or disadvantage for the picture itself'. This 'companion' is a thankful addition for the traveller. It contains a brief description of the most remarkable places on the Rhine with their sights and the names of the inns, e.g., 'Rüdesheim, Nass[au]. 2000 inhabitants. Four old castles, of which the old square castle on the Rhine is particularly worth seeing - probably a Roman fortress - which the Count of Ingelheim, whose property it is, had the interior extended and very elegantly furnished, and the Brömserburg with many old-fashioned pieces of equipment. Excursions to the Rüdesheimer Berg or Niederwald, where one enjoys the most extensive and rewarding view in the temple; the Rossel, the Ehrenfels. Inns in Rüdesheim: Adler, Darmstädter Hof, Schwan, Engel, close to the Rhine with a beautiful view' - The present work of art, the only one of its kind, which has been worked with the greatest love and care down to the last detail, will certainly find a large audience. Not only foreign travellers, but also the inhabitants of the most diverse regions of Germany will treasure this series of pictures as a dear souvenir, and the work will also be of great use to geographers, statisticians and military officers. The publisher's design corresponds to the elegance of his earlier works; the typeface of the map is by our skilful engraver, Mr P. Geiler; the printing and paper are beautiful, and the binding is tasteful."<sup>161</sup>

*Hesperus, the encyclopaedic journal for educated readers published by Cotta*, published an editor's recommendation for purchase on 23 July 1825: "With Fr. Wilmans, who is also an art dealer; I saw the magnificent copper painting recently published in his publishing house: Panorama of the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne, by Delkeskamp. In terms of clear visualisation, artistic representation and topographical accuracy, it achieves everything that could be desired."<sup>162</sup>

*Hertha. Zeitschrift für Erd-, Völker- und Staatenkunde*, which was also published by the famous Cotta'sche Buchhandlung

and which was later edited by Alexander von Humboldt, published a review in its supplement *Geographische Zeitung*:

"This panorama, nearly 6 1/2 feet long, in some places 5 inches 8, in others 5 inches 9 1/2 wide, will be a very useful and at the same time pleasant guide to anyone travelling through this beautiful stretch of country. The beautiful Rhine meanders through this long sheet of paper, and the islands lying in it, as well as the towns, mountains, fields and forests spreading out along its banks, are depicted here true to nature, so that the panorama is more or less in the middle between the vertical and horizontal views, similar to the older town panoramas. The names of the objects depicted are indicated on both sides. However, since one does not always know exactly to which object they refer, it would be desirable that the 14 page appendix, titled 'The Companion on the Journey from Mainz to Cologne', would at least be expanded to include a list of all the named points on the panorama and a more precise indication of their position in relation to each other. This would not cause the author so much trouble and could be accomplished by the time the second edition appears, which we hope and believe could perhaps be next year. May the author be encouraged by the friendly reception which this work will not fail to receive, to also provide similar representations of other areas of the Rhine region (e.g. the course of the Lahn, the course of the Moselle, etc.). Hoffmann"<sup>163</sup>

Delkeskamp took up these references. For the Main, Moselle and Ahr rivers as well as the other parts of the Rhine, Delkeskamp created his own panoramas over the next decades. The later text booklets became more detailed, and from 1837 Delkeskamp introduced another innovation to the market: the river panorama with pictures at the edge to illustrate the main sights.

In the *Wegweiser im Gebiet der Künste und Wissenschaften* [Guide to the arts and sciences], a supplement of the *Dresdner Abendzeitung*, an article by the poet and playwright Georg Döring appeared on 6 August:

„Even if, in the most common and strict sense of a circular painting, the present work of art cannot actually be regarded as a panorama, it nevertheless fulfils the spiritual and most important requirement of Robert Barker's honourable invention by giving the clearest and most vivid idea of one of the most magnificent regions of Germany through the greatest truth and accuracy, through artful perspective representation, through a spiritual conception of the characteristic features of the mountains, towns, villages, etc. From the peninsula of the Rhine and Main, where both rivers celebrate their union in a mighty embrace, and on the Rhine the once so stately Weissenau, on the Main the often war-torn Kostheim, form the basis of the depiction, to behind the ancient Cologne, whose ring walls and fortifications appear as the borders of the painting, the eye overlooks in oblique bird's-eye view the entire natural and cultural wealth of the romantic river region and its highly interesting neighbouring surroundings, worthy of multiple visits by travellers. All objects on the river itself, on the banks that border and crown it, and in the more



*Panorama of the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne, 22x25 cm, part Koblenz, detail enlargement*

remote valley and mountain areas are drawn with the greatest diligence and the most perfect fidelity. The proportions of the work also allow every detail of the landscape to be depicted with the most satisfying accuracy. Thus the traveller who once passed through this region will not only recognise the towns in their general physiognomy, but even the most distinguished buildings in them according to their peculiar form, streets and walks which were remarkable to him at the time, rocks which he had to admire, castle ruins, whose romantic position and shape powerfully seized his imagination, side hills full of fresh charm and fertile meadows with charming villages and hamlets, and find in this refreshed memory a pleasure that takes him back to a perhaps very happy and joyful time of his life. In this way, the present work of art differs from similar representations, such as the distant view taken from the Rigi in Switzerland, another from the Weissenstein near Solothurn, and claims a highly significant advantage over these, in which towns and villages are represented only by red dots, without any characteristic detail. This is so important that we can regard the whole enterprise as a new invention, and that this picture, in addition to the above-mentioned peculiarity, has the useful and pleasant feature of being able to serve the traveller as a very faithful and sensual guide, and to offer those who cannot afford a visit to the charming Rhine regions, an admittedly moderate substitute for the inaccessible. The perseverance and

diligence that the respectable artist has applied to his work are truly admirable; the magnificent composition testifies to genuine genius, the characteristic conception demonstrates spirit and insight, as does the execution in engraving great expertise and skill. The art-loving publisher, who has already distinguished himself through other valuable undertakings in the field of art, once again deserves the thanks of all art lovers. The length of the sheet, comfortably enclosed in a case, is about 7 feet Rh[einisch, 1 foot = 301,85 mm], the width about 1/3 foot Rh. Also enclosed is a printed description of what is worth knowing to the traveller on the Rhine. Georg Döring"<sup>164</sup>

A number of other magazines referred to the panorama.<sup>165</sup> After it appeared, Friedrich Wilmans used the travel literature published by his publishing house for further marketing. In Engelmann's standard work *Taschenbuch für Reisende durch Deutschland* [Pocket Book for Travellers through Germany] one could read:

"A very important addition to the literature of Rhine travel has just appeared (May 1825): Panorama of the Rhine and its immediate surroundings, from Mainz to Cologne, by Delkeskamp. Frankfurt at Fr. Wilmans. With a short explanatory text. The traveller sees here a map and a landscape painting united to a certain extent, finds every object in the quickest possible way, and thus has a convenient, unmistakable guide, which at the same time creates pleasant memories."<sup>166</sup>



With this work, Delkeskamp established what would become a decades-long reputation as master of bird's-eye panoramas. His Rhine panorama was recommended in handbooks<sup>167</sup> and even made it into the encyclopaedia<sup>168</sup> – as was he himself as a "draughtsman and engraver, especially known for his Panorama of the Rhine".<sup>169</sup> The *Allgemeine Zeitung* of 18 July 1833 confirmed in a review of the Leipzig Jubilee Fair in 1833: "Among the so-called travel panoramas of the German rivers, the excellent draughtsman Delkeskamp's Rhine panorama from Mainz to Cologne and Rosenkranz's picturesque relief of the Bergstrasse from Frankfurt to Heidelberg (both in Fr. Wilmans publishing bookstore in Frankfurt a.M.) still remain the most excellent."<sup>170</sup> In 1842, a Danube panorama was even advertised with the remark, "in form and arrangement after the manner of the famous and so very widespread Rhine panorama by Delkeskamp".<sup>171</sup>

### Copyright in Germany and Europe: The ingenious idea in the hands of pirates

Wilmans had marketed Delkeskamp's Rhine Panorama widely in Germany as well as in German-speaking Switzerland.<sup>172</sup> However, his triumph over the unique product and his joy over the rapidly increasing sales figures did not last long. About two months after the Delkeskamp panorama appeared, the first pirated copy hit the market: in Cologne in (what in those days was) the foreign country of Prussia, Friedrich August Mottu had copied the panorama and republished it as a lithograph in an elegant blue slipcase. Mottu, who came from Offenbach am Main, had settled in Cologne in 1817, founded a lithographic institute together with Anton Wünsch from Godesberg and specialised in lithographs after designs by Peter Paul Rubens and other artists – and in pirated copies. However, he was not able to harm Wilmans for long, for Mottu died early in 1828 at the age of only 42.<sup>173</sup> Nevertheless, the pirated copy, which was identical and only slightly inferior to the original, probably caused Wilmans considerable losses in sales, because the original high price of the Delkeskamp panorama could no longer be maintained. In the 27 July 1827 issue of the *Hamburgische unpartheyische Correspondent*, one of the largest daily newspapers in Europe with a circulation of over 30,000 copies, Wilmans felt compelled to publish an advertisement:

"To prevent, as much as I can, the dissemination of a disgraceful reprint of my Panorama of the Rhine and its nearest surroundings from Maynz to Cölln. Taken from nature and engraved in copper by F.W. Delkeskamp, in a case, which came out soon after its appearance in lithography, I find myself compelled to reduce the price of my original work engraved in copper and to sell it from now on, instead of at 3 Rthlr. 8 Gr., at 2 Rthlr. 8 Gr. for which it is available from me and all serious book and art dealers."<sup>174</sup> In Hamburg, this was the publishing house of Friedrich Hermann Nestler (1765-1848).

Mottu had also copied the text booklet from the Delkeskamp Panorama, but rearranged a few passages

for camouflage and brazenly stated 1824 as the year of publication. The English translation, enriched with 19 pages, was published in 1825: "The Traveller's Guide down the Rhine from Mayence to Cologne with a map containing the Panorama of the Rhine and its environs. Cologne printed for F.A. Mottu 1825. Printed by Fr. X. Schlosser at Cologne." Compared to the Delkeskamp panorama, which was only available with a French text booklet even in the later editions, this represented a competitive advantage.<sup>175</sup> The fictitious printing date of 1824 still led to adventurous speculation in the present day about a possible shady role played by Delkeskamp, according to which he might have sold his originals to Cologne behind Wilmans's back.<sup>176</sup> The exact background, however, is revealed in the files of the Secret State Archives in Berlin: a first-class acquittal!

In the forty-one states of the German Confederation and in Europe, copyright law was still in its infancy in the mid-1820s. A cross-state regulation against the theft of intellectual property, which even then did not stop at the respective borders, was still a long way off. Conveniently for Wilmans, the German member states, including Austria, were represented diplomatically by legations in the Free City of Frankfurt, since 1815 the seat of the German Confederation. On 5 August 1825, he angrily addressed the Prussian envoy, Karl Ferdinand Friedrich von Nagler (1770-1846), and demanded sanction measures against the Prussian citizen Mottu:

*"To the Royal Prussian High Legation to the German Federal Assembly, most humble presentation and request on the part of the local citizen and bookseller Friedrich Wilmans for protection to be graciously granted against the unlawful reprinting encroachments of F.A. Mottu at Cologne.*

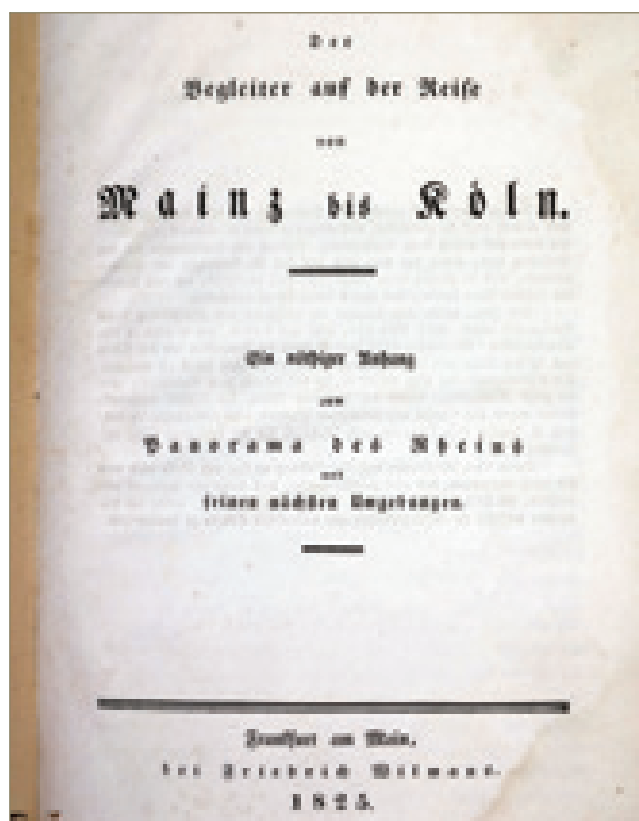
*Royal High Legation!*

*With the most devoted trust in the high wisdom and love of justice of the Royal Prussian Government, the undersigned, deeply offended in his most sacred property rights, dares to submissively implore the most gracious use of a Royal High Legation for protection against unlawful reprinting interventions.*

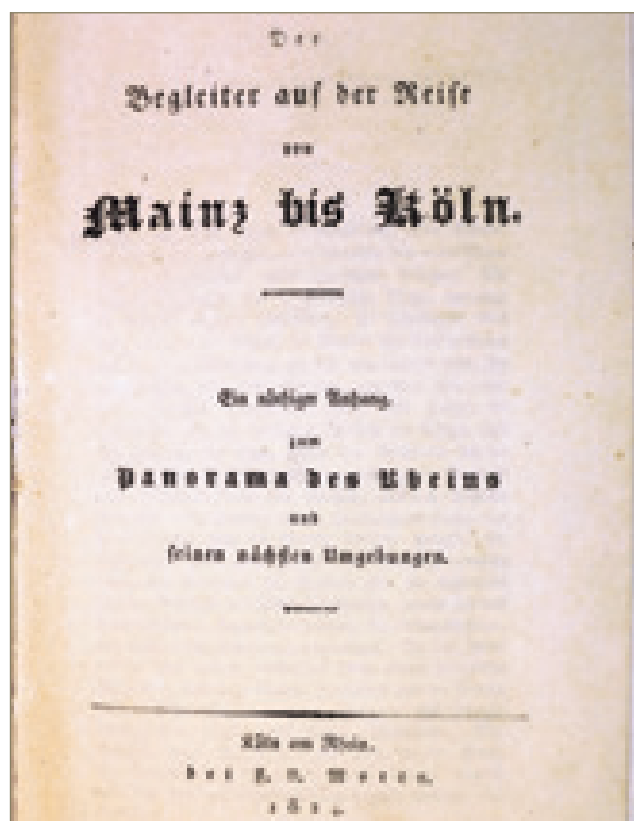
*Always endeavouring to serve the perfection of German art education with the sacrifice of my time and fortune to the best of my ability, I had only in May of this year published, at considerable expense, the previously announced panorama of the Rhine and its immediate surroundings from Mainz to Cologne. Drawn and engraved from nature by F.W. Delkeskamp with a companion, and hoped to reap the reward of my efforts from the favourable reception of the German public and the general satisfaction with this successful work of art.*

*But already in the middle of last month I had to learn to my deep sorrow that a certain F.A. Mottu in Cologne had unlawfully had this work of mine engraved in lithograph, and the sight of this engraving soon convinced me that it was an exact copy of my legally acquired property, except for the writing in the margin, which was used in various ways for easy understanding.*

*Only the copyist had knowingly taken the words "drawn from nature and engraved by F.W. Delkeskamp", as well as omitting my name, place of printing and year. Likewise, he faithfully copied*



Text booklet Wilmanns



Text booklet Mottu

the title of the little companion, but twisted and changed the text itself from time to time, so that it would not appear to be a literal copy of mine, and put his name as publisher with the year 1824 on the title, although a slight examination shows that it is based on my text, and only the year should mislead.

It is therefore clear that these insignificant alterations are merely common reprinting tricks, that they are merely intended to gloss over such a visible, highly detrimental infringement of my well-acquired property; but then, if they were to be tolerated by the highest state government, they would certainly paralyse all artistic diligence in Germany, indeed they would have to stifle its birth.

This has long been recognised by the highly wise and humane legislation of the Prussian Monarchy, which has established the most serious norms against reprinting as being highly detrimental to the book trade, and thus at the same time to the promotion and dissemination of intellectual culture. However, it did not limit such a prohibition to printed matter alone, but also extended it to musical works, maps, drawings and other artistic products, because these are also a subject of the right to publish, and the reason for the social advantage that printed matter should enjoy occurs in essentially the same way in these cases A.L.R. I. 11. § 997 [General Land Law, Part I, Title 11].

Therefore, it could not fail that when the legal provision of the Articles of Confederation on safeguarding the rights of writers and publishers against reprinting came under discussion at the High German Federal Assembly, and the draft of a regulation to this effect was submitted to it by the committee appointed for this purpose, the contents of which were vigorously approved by the Royal Prussian legation on behalf of your Most High Court.

This draft, however, which only awaits the highest sanction of all state governments, contains Art. 1 of the following specific regulation:

Any reproduction of printed matter, musical works, maps and topographical drawings published in the states of the German Confederation by printers, as well as by engravers, stonecutters or any other similar art, without the consent of their authors and of those who have obtained from them the right of public communication and sale, is prohibited. Any interference of this kind with the property rights of the authors or publishers is to be regarded as a punishable reprint.

And according to Art. 21, its punishment shall consist of confiscation of the reprinted copies, a fine of 25 to 1000 Rthlr, as well as damages to be paid to the publisher, which shall be equal to the sales price of 500 copies.

Thus, the justice of the principles established here and the conviction of the great harm of reprinting in its entirety, both for private interest and for the promotion of intellectual culture, is unanimously shared by all German federal governments; the laws that have long existed in the Kingdom of Prussia, in particular, leave no doubt about this, and therefore, in the present case, which hits me particularly hard, I may confidentially address to a Royal High Legation the most humble request for its gracious use:

that by means of a Supreme Instruction received by the relevant authority in Cologne, the confiscation of all copies of my re-engraved panorama and the breaking of the stone slabs be ordered against the same F.A. Mottu, and that he be ordered to pay the damages unlawfully inflicted on me in accordance with the provisions of the law.

*By declaring at the same time that this compensation sum due to me is to be dedicated to the poor of the city of Cologne, I persist in the deepest respect.*

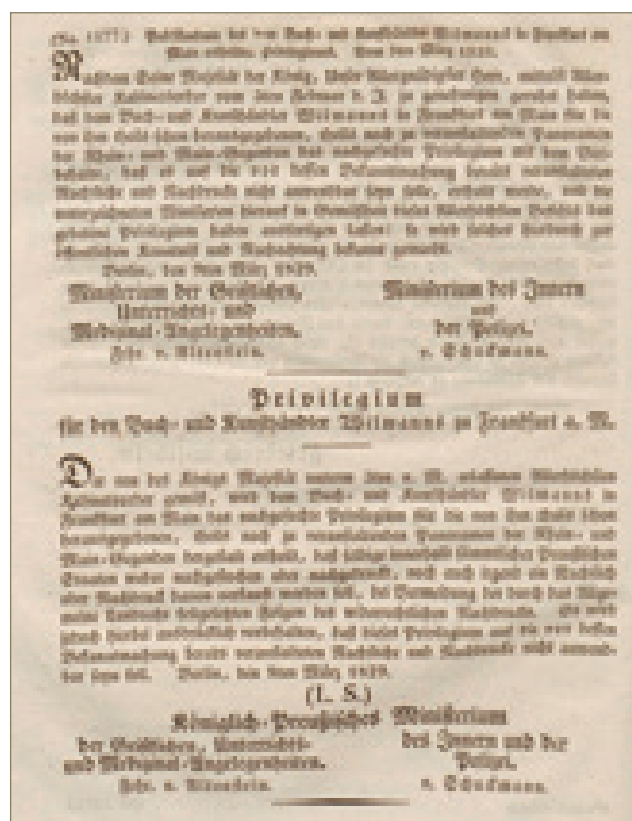
*Of the Royal High Legation  
most subservient Friedrich Wilmans  
Frankfurt the 5th of August 1825*<sup>177</sup>

The debate on the enforcement of a copyright was on the agenda of the German states and von Nagler, who had singled out the Prussian regulations as exemplary in the dispute with Austria in the Federal Assembly, had already had to put up with reproaches there with reference to the Cologne conditions. In his report of 28 August 1825 to the Prussian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, von Nagler was unpleasantly surprised by this new case - and the damaging publicity it would cause for Prussian policy: "In view of the loud and general applause that Wilman's very meritorious and well-done enterprise has received from the public, the appearance of this replica, which is the result of profit-seeking, is causing justified consternation everywhere, indeed - general indignation. Nevertheless, it is bought a lot because of its lower price, even though it falls short of the original in terms of artistic value. Wilmans suffers a considerable loss."<sup>178</sup>

Von Nagler went on to explain that he had nevertheless advised Wilmans against a lawsuit against Mottu because French civil law was still in force in the now Prussian Rhine provinces and it only offered protection to local works, not to Wilmans, who as a citizen of the Free City of Frankfurt was a foreigner from a Prussian point of view. Von Nagler sent the original panorama and the Mottu reprint ("in six individual leaves") to Berlin with the request to check in the Ministry of the Interior how to react to Wilmans' request.

In fact, the Prussian Government had already suffered a severe defeat before its own Court of Cassation against a pirate copyist, Johann Wilhelm Spitz, also based in Cologne, described in the Prussian files as a "notorious" reprinter. Spitz, who called himself a "bookseller and printer" and was to play a role in a further Delkeskamp case, had triumphantly published the result of the trial as an advertisement in the newspaper:

"By the ... Cassation Judgment, the reprinting of writings published in the German states, on which no Prussian subject has a right to publish, and the sale of such reprinted writings has been declared permissible".<sup>179</sup> Spitz had thus not only provoked vehement protest from established publishing houses such as Brockhaus, but had also embarrassed Prussia "internationally". Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, also a victim of pirate printing that originated in Vienna, had to seek protection for the complete edition of his works at the Federal Assembly almost simultaneously with Wilmans. But it was not until 1837, five years after Goethe's death, that the time was ripe for a multilateral agreement on copyright, which provided for protection for 10 years from the publication of a work. In 1845, the regulation was then extended to 30 years after the death



*Privilege for Wilmans, Official Gazette of Prussia, 9.3.1829*

of the author. The great Goethe was initially helped with "national" individual case regulations, for example, the Prussian king granted him a "privilegium", which was published in the Law Gazette on 23 January 1826.

Prussia also followed this path in the Wilmans case, whereby, for fundamental legal considerations, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Culture expressly rejected retroactive protection with regard to reprints that had already taken place. Wilmans had therefore in the meantime applied for privileges for the second edition of the Rhine panorama and for Delkeskamp's new Main panorama. Therefore, it was not until March 1829 that the privileging cabinet order was printed in the Official Gazette.<sup>180</sup>

King Friedrich Wilhelm III (1770-1840) personally signed the decree to the two ministers of state, von Altenstein and von Schuckmann, on 3 February 1829, and will have noticed the quality of Delkeskamp's work. Furthermore, he was to arrange regular purchases of Delkeskamp's works.

### Further editions and reprints

The demand for Delkeskamp's Rhine panorama soon made a second edition necessary as well as the production of a new copperplate engraving. Because a soft copperplate which is only a few millimetres thick only allows a limited number of prints in good quality, a maximum of 2000 copies, after which the plate was worn to such an extent that re-engraving was necessary, i.e. the depressions in the copper for receiving the ink had to be reworked or restored; but even this could not be done more than three or four times. A new engraving was then unavoidable.<sup>181</sup>



Wilmans no longer commissioned Delkeskamp to re-engage the seven plates, but Carl August Helmsauer (1789-1844) in Bamberg. It is not known whether this was due to Delkeskamp's price expectations (neither did he commission Delkeskamp with the engraving of most of the Small Views of the Rhine) or because the artist wanted to concentrate on his next major work, the Swiss relief, or because he did not want to be abused as a mere copyist of his own work.

The new panorama is dated 1826 in the "imprint" under the picture section. An edition in single sheets, however, reveals that the second plate was made in 1827: Helmsauer signed the numbered sheets 2-5 with the year<sup>182</sup> (barely visible and twice even mirror-inverted) but when the seven leaves are pasted together, this signature disappears. Delkeskamp and Helmsauer are both named at the foot of the panorama ("Recorded by F.W. Delkeskamp and engraved by C.A. Helmsauer"), but the designation "according to nature", which was always important to Delkeskamp, was omitted. The pictorial part of the panorama is based on Delkeskamp's preliminary drawings and is identical to the original of 1825 with the fold-out Siebengebirge. Only under a magnifying glass are the smallest deviations visible. The lettering of the new edition, however, not only stands out pleasantly from the original with more sensible line breaks, but also contains a whole series of corrections.<sup>183</sup> It is striking that hardly any copies of the 1826 panorama have survived. Wilmans presumably waited for the copyright question to be clarified and the privilege to be granted. Today, the dominant panorama is the one dated 1829, which is called the "Second Original Edition" to distinguish it from the pirated copies.

The Rhine Panorama came in a brown cardboard slipcase on which Delkeskamp continued to be named as the draughtsman in large letters: "taken and drawn from nature", then printed much smaller: "engraved by C.A. Helmsauer", who was also responsible for the engraving of Delkeskamp's Main panorama. On the Rhine panorama itself, both names remained equal, as in the 1826 version. The panorama was published in 1828, Delkeskamp wrote in the preface to his *New Panorama* of 1837, but both on the panorama and on the slipcase it says 1829 - surely a trick by Wilmans to secure the Prussian privilege, which was not granted until early March 1829 and did not grant retroactive protection for works that had already been published. On the back of the slipcase it says: "Provided with the privileges of the King of Prussia, the Duke of Nassau and the Free City of Frankfurt am Main against reprinting and reengraving. Avec Privilèges de Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse, de Son Altesse le Duc de Nassau et de la Ville Libre de Francfort sur le Mein contre toute contrefaction quelconque." Wilmans had assured himself of the privileges of the local territories: The Duchy of Nassau with capital Wiesbaden existed like the Free City of Frankfurt until 1866 and consisted of parts of the present-day states of Hesse and Rhineland-Palatinate.

As an innovation, this "Second Original Edition" was adorned above the panorama and below with a view of Cologne and Mainz respectively, each 7.5 x 20 cm in size. The length grew accordingly to 242 x 23 cm. Since Delkeskamp drew the Main panorama for Wilmans almost at the same time, which also had such so-called head and foot pictures, it was obvious to commission him with the models for these two views, although he was no longer involved in the new engraving of the Rhine panorama. For the northern head picture, the panorama of Cologne from the south-east from the Deutz side: Bettina Mosler has pointed out that it consists of the overall view of the composite individual pictures no. 79a and 80 of the second edition of Delkeskamp's *Small Views of the Rhine*.<sup>184</sup> The Mainz counterpart has the same perspective in the centre of the picture as leaf no. 2 of the Small Views of the Rhine, "Mainz von der neuen Anlage", but depicts considerably more buildings on both sides and also the opposite bank of the Rhine.

Enclosed with the panorama was the *Führer auf der Rheinreise von Mainz bis Köln. Ein unentbehrlicher Anhang zu dem Panorama des Rheins und dessen nächsten Umgebungen. Zweite gänzlich umgearbeitete Auflage von dem Professor Chr. Aug. Fischer* em. in Würzburg. Frankfurt am Main, bei Friedrich Wilmans. 1828 [Guide on the Rhine journey from Mayence to Cologne. An indispensable appendix to the Panorama of the Rhine and its immediate surroundings. Second completely revised edition by Professor Chr. Aug. Fischer]. This accompanying booklet comprised 25 pages and a further six with advertisements from Wilmans' publishing programme and was already included in the first edition of the 1826 panorama, which is preserved in the Berlin State Library. This even more detailed first edition of Fischer's Rhine guide was published by Wilmans in 1827 and in conjunction with Delkeskamp's *Small Views of the Rhine* and was also available in French.

In 1830, criticism of the reliability of the 1829 panorama was voiced for the first time in the press in Frankfurt and it was pointed out that castles had been drawn in incorrectly.<sup>185</sup> Nevertheless, Wilmans Verlag saw no reason to correct the next edition of the panorama, which came onto the market as the third "original edition" in 1832. Commissioned by Wilmans-Verlagsbuchhandlung, it was produced in Karlsruhe by Wilhelm Creutzbauer as a copy of the Helmsauer panorama with the same head and foot images, the Siebengebirge to be folded out and the same privileges, but in a new technology, the steel engraving, which in effect made an unlimited edition possible. The text booklet, *Der Begleiter auf der Rheinreise* [The Companion on the Rhine Journey], now no longer came from Prof. Fischer, but remained without naming an author and comprised 32 pages without advertising in a first version and 35 pages with an additional page of publisher's advertisements in a later version. Both editions were published in two columns in German and French.

"The book and art dealer Friedrich Wilmans"<sup>186</sup>, who was highly respected by his fellow citizens as being active, artistic

and knowledgeable, had already died at the beginning of February 1830 at the age of 65. His wife Jeanette continued to publish the panorama and kept it in the programme as well as the Rhine panorama by Heinrich Rosenkranz (1801-1851), a pupil of Anton Radl, who had redrawn the Delkeskamp panorama for travellers in the opposite direction, upriver from Cologne to Mainz, which was also engraved by Helmsauer and published in 1829 with a text booklet in German or French and for the Michaelmas Fair in 1830 in English for the first time. Delkeskamp was disgruntled by this internal competition: In August 1831, in a letter to the Wilmansche Verlagsbuchhandlung, which had sent him at his request (shortly before the third edition), some Rhine panoramas still in their possession, including, apparently by mistake, one by Rosenkranz. He wrote back: "the ... by Helmsauer I return to you, because I preferred to have mine in spite of the many stains; should you still have 2 copies of mine, I ask for the same in order to have them immediately at hand in similar cases ..." <sup>187</sup>

### **How successful was the Delkeskamp Rhine Panorama with its three original editions?**

The work was the market leader and Delkeskamp, as the name giver for the panorama, had become a brand himself. In the meantime, he enjoyed considerable prestige throughout Germany. His reputation as an artist, however, was profitable above all for the publisher of the Rhine Panorama. In the aforementioned letter to the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm III, Delkeskamp complained at the end of 1835:

*"For 10 years ... general recognition has been the fruit of my most assiduous striving. But only praise, not profit, was bestowed on me for the above Rhine panorama, which to a certain extent has become a necessity for travellers on the Rhine, as 8 different reprints in London, Paris, Brussels etc. have shown. and the third original edition of the Wilmans' Kunst- und Buchhandlung here, which has been published 3 years ago, and which has so far had a net profit of about 20,000 fl. from it, and has also kept for itself the gold medal of merit graciously awarded by Your Royal Majesty for it - I, on the other hand, have received 1500 fl. Sad-denening experiences of this kind, that my honest endeavours through 20 years of striving in art, with constant worries, should have no other result than to enrich only the art dealers, produced the most ardent desire in me to embark on a new work of this kind, and to publish it myself, in order to gain the fruits of my striving for my family as well."* <sup>188</sup>

The number of panoramas sold can only be roughly estimated, especially since the production and distribution costs are unknown. If one takes as a basis the price reduced by Wilmans after the appearance of the Mottu pirate copies, the net profit of 20,000 guilders already corresponds to around 6,000 copies sold - a realistic assumption with two copperplate and one steel engraving edition, which made an unlimited edition possible.

In his letter to the king, Delkeskamp referred to these three official editions of his Rhine panorama of 1825 and eight pirated copies published so far in London, Paris and

Brussels. The appearance of pirated copies is a good indicator of the success of the original, as the jurist and later Prussian Minister of Culture Adalbert von Ladenberg already knew. He had undertaken a tourist trip to the Rhine with his family in 1828 and published an anonymous report about it: "Schreiber's handbook and the excellent panorama published by Friedrich Wilmans in Frankfurt cannot be recommended enough to the traveller. The value of the latter is emphasized, in a way, admittedly very sensitive for the publisher, by the reprehensible reprinting that has been undertaken several times." <sup>189</sup>

Friedrich August Mottu was not the only pirate copyist in Cologne: another pirate copy, a lithograph in four plates (195 x 25 cm), was published in 1827 by the brothers Sebastian and Johann Avanzo <sup>190</sup>, Kupferstich- u. Kunsthandel, Alter Markt 2, which differs from Mottu's in details and inscription and is shortened at the bottom (the mouth of the Main no longer being depicted). The panorama and the 20-page accompanying text, which was produced in the same printing house as that of Mottu, provide neither information about the draughtsman nor about the engraver. The caption is reduced compared to Mottu's, but like him, it adopts mistakes made by Delkeskamp, who had made the present-day Cologne district of Rodenkirchen into Rothenkirchen, something the people of Cologne should have known better. In the second original edition of Delkeskamp's panorama, the place name was corrected.

In 1828 a pirated copy was published in Paris by J.-M. Audin and Ponthieu et Cie. under the title *Panorama des Bords du Rhin*, a lithograph by Edouard Hocquart in four plates (224 x 21.5 cm), which reproduced the German text of the original inscription, but included an entertaining German-French glossary at the foot of the panorama. <sup>191</sup>

In London, there was a bookseller and publisher who similarly specialised in the theft of intellectual property, Samuel Leigh (1780 - 1831). <sup>192</sup> In his shop, No. 18 Strand near Trafalgar Square, Leigh supplied English tourists with travel literature and maps. His repertoire accordingly included a bootleg of Wilman's Delkeskamp panorama. *The Panorama of the Rhine and the adjacent country from Cologne to Mayence drawn from nature by F.W. Delkeskamp, engraved by John Clark & to which are now added maps, showing the routes from Calais to Ostend and Rotterdam to Cologne, and from Mayence to the sources of the Rhine, together with the steam boat companion, describing the places between Rotterdam and Mayence, published by Samuel Leigh, 18, Strand. Price £1 1s coloured, or 10s 6d plain appeared towards the end of 1828.*

It is an irony of history that a superbly coloured Clark-Delkeskamp Rhine panorama, of all things, was sent to the Fifth Continent as an official German contribution to the exhibition on the occasion of the 100th birthday of the *National Library of Australia* - in illustrious company with a music sheet from Beethoven's 8th Symphony and the Gutenberg Bible and, internationally, with a manuscript by Charles Dickens or the Qumran scrolls. <sup>193</sup>



Part of Cologne in the 1829 Rhine Panorama

Just as in Clark's pirated copy of Delkeskamp's Main panorama, the Rhine panorama explicitly identified Delkeskamp as the draughtsman. This distinguishes it from all the re-engravings published up to 1837 and gives the publication, with its sensible further developments especially for the English market, the character of an authorised edition. Contrary to what the title suggests, however, this is an exact copy of Delkeskamp's 1825 panorama of Mainz to Cologne with the fold-out Siebengebirge. Clark may have coloured his Rhine panoramas himself, which are still abundant today, because he became known for painting instructions, such as the *Practical Essay on the Art of Colouring and Painting Landscapes in Water Colours* published in 1824.

The first enthusiastic reaction to the English panorama appeared in the last days of December 1828 in *The Mirror Of Literature, Amusement, And Instruction*:

"Mr Leigh, who is well known as the publisher of the best English guides all over the continent, has just added to their number a Panorama of the Rhine and the adjacent country, from Cologne to Mayence, with maps of the routes from London to Cologne, and from thence to the sources of the Rhine. The Panorama is designed from nature by F.W. Delkeskamp, and engraved by John Clark. It consists of a beautiful aquatint engraving, upwards of seven feet in length, and six inches in width, representing the course of the Rhine, and its picturesque banks, studded with towns and villages, whilst steamboats, bridges, and islets are distinctly shown in the river. It would be difficult to convey to our



readers an idea of the extreme delicacy with which the plate is engraved; and, to speak dramatically, the entire success of the representation. A more interesting or useful companion for the tourist could scarcely be conceived; for the picture is not interrupted by the names of the places, but these are judiciously introduced in the margins of the plate. In short, every town, village, fortress, convent, mansion, mountain, dale, field, and forest, are here represented. By way of supplement to the plate, a Steamboat Companion is appended, describing the principal places on the Rhine, with the population, curiosities, inns, &c. We passed an hour over the engraving very agreeably, coasting along till we actually fancied ourselves in one of the apartments of the Hotel of Darmstadt at Mayence, when missing our high conic bumper of Rudesheim we found our thanks were due to the artist for the luxury of the illusion. The Panorama folds up in a neat portfolio, and occupies little more room than a quire of letter paper."<sup>194</sup>

Delkeskamp was already no longer an unknown quantity in England, for on 1 January 1829 *The New Monthly Magazine* wrote:

"A Panorama of the Rhine, from Cologne to Mayence, has been published at Francfort: this is a copy, with the additional advantage of a very useful pamphlet, in English, descriptive of the principle places on its banks, instructively respecting steamboats, prices of fare, conveyance of horses, carriages &c., also two maps ... This Panorama, as a guide to the English tourist, possesses many advantages over the Francfort edition, and will be found indispensably necessary to every person who intends visiting the romantic and picturesque scenery of the Rhine."<sup>195</sup>

*The Monthly Review* also published a friendly review in February 1829:

"The design of this picturesque chart is taken, we understand, from a similar one published in Francfort. It is one of the best inventions we ever remember to have seen, for the purpose of a guide, and the traveller who possesses it, will find the want of no other during his voyage down the Rhine. ... The work is altogether very complete, and we recommend any one about to visit the banks of the Rhine, to provide themselves immediately with so useful a companion."<sup>196</sup>

*The Eclectic Review* also dedicated an English understatement to the Clark-Delkeskamp panorama:

"This is a toy, but a very agreeable, and by no means a useless one. It contains a tolerably drawn, and distinctly engraved, bird's-eye view of the course of the Rhine ... all these particulars are very ingeniously brought under the eye within the compass of a flat portfolio-like volume, which, if it be somewhat too large for a modern pocket, will occupy a scarcely perceptible division of a travelling-bag or a portmanteau ... Altogether, the traveller will find it a pleasant companion and an interesting remembrancer."<sup>197</sup>

Samuel Leigh published his own leporello in 1829: *Panorama of the Thames from London to Richmond*. The 60-foot-long, "concertina style" folded panorama depicted both banks of the Thames, as did Friedrich Carl Vogel's Rhine panorama, also 20 metres long, in 1833. There were to be no more pirated copies of other works: on 11 August 1831, Samuel Leigh cut his own throat.

Alfred Sattler as well as Hanne Holzhäuer list in their catalogues another anonymously published but noble reprint: *Der Rheinlauf und seine nächsten Umgebungen*. It already contains the two head images, although not those of the second original edition by Delkeskamp. The panorama, an engraving in 9 plates (233 x 21.5 cm), is obviously copied from the first Delkeskamp panorama: Hanne Holzhäuer points out that the designation "Rothenkirchen" was retained, while this error is no longer found in the second edition of the Wilmans edition.<sup>198</sup> It is quite possible that this reprint was commissioned by Johann Wilhelm Spitz. The authorised signatory of the Wilmans bookshop, Franz Bruère, who was to succeed the widow Jeanette Wilmans as owner of the book and art shop on 1 January 1837, had discovered the new engraving of the Delkeskamp Rhine panorama in antiquarian bookshops in Cologne in 1834 and filed a complaint against Spitz on the basis of the privilege of 1829, because according to the unanimous statements of the antiquarians questioned, the panoramas came from Spitz. A search of Spitz's house, however, only turned up a large number of reprints of the Rhine panorama by the Frankfurt citizen and lithographer Friedrich Carl Vogel, which had appeared in three deliveries in 1833. On 9 October 1834, the Royal Prussian Examining Magistrate Ludowigs from Cologne called on the Frankfurt Interrogation Office, chaired by the later Mayor of Frankfurt, Dr Philipp Friedrich Gwinner, to question Mrs Wilmans, Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp and Friedrich Carl Vogel under oath about the details of the work on which the reprint was based.<sup>199</sup>

Delkeskamp's complaints about the quality of his work and the fact that it was not only financial considerations that urged him to undertake a correct new edition became very clear during the interrogation when he was asked to explain on record why the pirated copy was based on his panorama:

"The copy of the Panorama of the Rhine that has just been presented to me, which I produced on behalf of Friedr. Wilman'sche Kunst und Buchhandlung in 1823, which was published in 1825, I must assume to be a reprint of the one I made, for the following reasons: Due to the shortness of time, I had to draw many places on this panorama which I could not visit myself, according to Ulrich's map, which I used as a basis, without being convinced whether the location and names were indicated correctly, as a result of which several errors crept into my work, some of which I will list here:

1. The village of Bobach on the left bank of the Rhine drawn in my work does not exist.
2. The village drawn nearby is not called Orben, but Urbar.
3. The ruins of Rheinstein or Königstein, which are listed near Dreklingshausen, do not exist in this place; at the same time, they are listed again in the right place under the older name of Vautsberg.
4. I have moved the village of Doerscheit on the right bank to the valley instead of to the hilltop.
5. Near Henschhausen, two important villages are missing, Lengscheid and Döllhofen [Langscheid and Dellhofen, which,



# *Delkeskamp's* **PANORAMA of the RHINE** *from* **Cologne to Mayence.**



Rhine and Main panorama by Robert Havell 1837, 158 x 22 cm

however, are listed on Ulrich's map under Lengscheid and Dillhofen], which, if you have been there, you certainly cannot miss. The village of Henschhausen also has no church tower, as the panorama erroneously suggests.

6. I have drawn a church in the village of Rheinbey, but in reality, it does not have one.

Apart from these, I could name countless other errors, all of which, like the ones just mentioned, are faithfully reproduced in the reprint presented to me, which would certainly not be the case if the panorama had been taken up on the spot by its maker. Furthermore, no similar work existed before the one I produced, except for one under the title "Das Rheinthal" [The Rhine Valley], which, however, only depicts the Rhine from Bingen to Coblenz. Since the format of the panorama was exactly determined for me by the publisher, I felt compelled to depict the curvatures of the Rhine in several places not true to nature, which errors are also found in this reprint. I believe that these reasons will suffice to justify my claim."<sup>200</sup>

The Frankfurt trial files are incomplete. No records have been found in Cologne or in the North Rhine-Westphalia state archives. It can be assumed that the proceedings came to nothing. But in the preface to his *New Panorama of the Rhine*, published by his own publishing house in 1837, Delkeskamp publicly distanced himself from the "work of haste".

In 1837, parallel to the *New Panorama*, a new collage was published on four plates by Robert Havell in London. In the head, the panorama contains John Heavyside Clark's well-known general map of the shipping routes from London to the Netherlands and Cologne, with the identical title "Delkeskamp's Panorama of the Rhine from Cologne to Mayence" below. This, however, is now followed by a pirated version of the Rosenkranz Rhine panorama, drawn from Cologne with a bird's-eye view to the south. Reduced in size, when unfolded, it measures 158 x 22 cm. At the bottom of the panorama is now glued Delkeskamp's Panorama of the Main from Frankfurt to Mainz (1829) with inscriptions on both sides. The draughtsman and engraver Robert Havell, however, did not slavishly follow Delkeskamp's model of the Main, but radically simplified the views of the towns, streets etc. and shortened the length. Delkeskamp's inscription has been largely adopted, but with surprising changes. For example, some of the distance information has been deleted, while others have been adopted in an unmotivated manner. Both panoramas come additionally with longitudinal views, reminiscent of Vogel's Panorama of both banks of the Rhine. The use of these marginal images is also surprising: Heidelberg and the Rhine Falls near Schaffhausen, for example, are found on the Main, both far outside the present map representation.<sup>201</sup> This combined Rhine-Main panorama goes back to an 1835 predecessor edition by Franz Josef Steiner (1809-1883) of Neuwied, who had been taken to court in Koblenz by the Wilmans Verlag for violation of copyright. The famous Carl Baedeker wrote a detailed report on this last known panorama copyright trial in the German booksellers' magazine, *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel* of 30 August 1839.

## Souvenirs for Everyone: Small views of the Rhine

Already at the beginning of the 19th century Delkeskamp's publisher, Friedrich Wilmans, brought out books with views of the Rhine, such as the set of twelve aquatints by Anton Radl in 1809. Prior to Delkeskamp's panorama, Wilmans last publication with reference to the Rhine had come out in 1819, but it did not concern the "Romantic Rhine" relevant to tourism, but the entire course of the Rhine.<sup>202</sup> In the meantime, the growing tourist trade had given rise to a multitude of works with views. It was therefore obvious that Wilmans and his publishing house would want to participate in the rapidly increasing demand in this field as well. Wilmans had been able to do good business with the Delkeskamp panorama and had moved into the focus of middle-class buyers. A few months after the publication of the Rhine panorama he again commissioned Delkeskamp: to produce drawings for an album of souvenir views of the scenic and architectural sights from Mainz to Cologne.

Delkeskamp's self-confident offer dated 30 September 1825 to Friedrich Wilmans has been preserved in the Bielefeld municipal archives:

*"I am undertaking for Mr Wilmans the recording and drawing of a collection of small views of the Rhine, which I will deliver in 4 x 4 leaves in dates determined below. The price determined for this, including the travel expenses for 4 views, is 60 fl. Mr Wilmans will be kind enough to advance me 60 fl. for the purpose of the journey, from which 20 fl. will be deducted each time for the first 3 deliveries. From the 8th day after my return, I undertake to deliver 4 drawings of small views of the Rhine every 14 days.*

*With regard to the engraving of the plates, it is left to Mr Wilmans to decide whether Professor Richter will etch the whole or how much I will do. The price for each plate with 4 views is 26 Thler ... or 45 1/2 fl. Rheinisch without the copper, which Mr Wilmans will deliver or pay for me. I still reserve the right to retain 12 uncoloured free copies of the whole collection, which I commit myself not to sell, but to use them as gifts for relatives and friends."*<sup>203</sup>

In the end, 104 views were produced in two stages; with two to be delivered per week, this meant a whole year of paid work for Delkeskamp. If Wilmans had accepted the high-priced offer, he would have incurred enormous costs of 1560 fl. for the drawings and a further 1183 fl. for the engravings, not counting the copper plates. A middle-class family could have lived on this sum for more than three years.

In contrast to the preliminary drawings for his Rhine panorama in 1823, the weather in October 1825 was no longer kind to Delkeskamp, and he had to postpone most of the work until the following year.

The Zurich Central Library holds a "water level report" dated 1 June 1826 from Koblenz sent to Wilmans:



Mainz from the new park, 7.5 x 11 cm, SP Lohia Collection

*"I hereby demonstrate to your esteemed self, accompanied by my heartfelt thanks, that I have correctly received the bills of exchange most graciously sent to me and have correctly collected the amount for them.*

*The weather is very favourable for me on the whole, the first days were very indeterminate and my third day of travel was a total rainy day, which is why I had to take a break, but then followed uninterrupted fine weather until here, where I have a lot of drawing to do, as the distant mountains and all objects in general appeared cloudy and indistinct last autumn, making it almost impossible for me to draw these extensive objects.*

*But what heat I have already endured. By the time I get back to Frankfurt, I'll be so tanned that the dear girls will think I'm from Moorland. However, on none of my previous Rhine journeys have I enjoyed so many social pleasures as on the present one and everyone is looking forward to the views that are to appear.*

*I am quite healthy and hope to bring back many beautiful things. If I may ask you to send my regards to my brother Mr Radl and to inform him of my well-being.*

*With friendly esteem*

*Yours sincerely, Friedr. W. Delkeskamp"*<sup>204</sup>

The "dear girls" could refer to Susanna Sybilla Heerd, on whose birthday Delkeskamp was to make a very personal contribution to the poetry album at the beginning of August, and her sister Elise, with whose parents Radl lived as a subtenant. From the amicably familiar letter to his client, one could conclude that both sides had agreed on an acceptable price and that Delkeskamp already enjoyed a good reputation on the Rhine as the creator of the Rhine panorama, which helped him to achieve "social pleasure".

From the end of October 1826, another of Delkeskamp's traces of the romantic Rhine has been preserved: The tower of the Klopp castle ruins in Bingen with its magnificent view



of the Rhine, the Nahe, the Mäuseturm and of Binger Loch and castle ruins, had become a place of pilgrimage for Rhine tourists who, from 1826 onwards, could immortalise themselves in a visitors' book. By the end of the 19th century, around 75,000 guests had signed in, including "F.W. Delkeskamp, painter from Bielefeld, living in Frankfurt a/M".<sup>205</sup> Very likely, Delkeskamp will still have been working on his Small Views of the Rhine at this time of year.

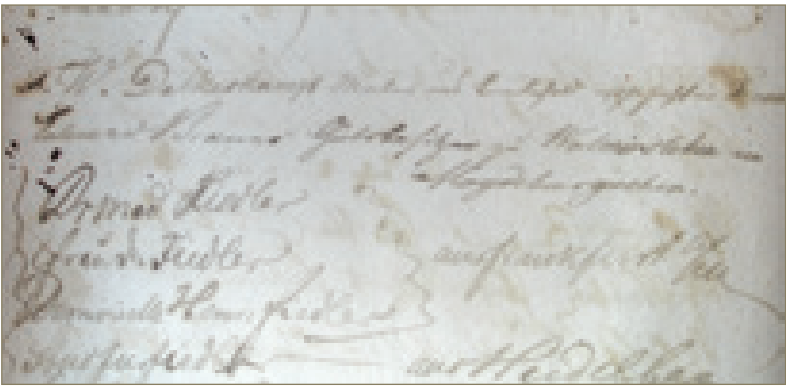
Delkeskamp delivered as promised<sup>206</sup>, but Wilmans decided, presumably for financial reasons, to have most of Delkeskamp's drawings engraved in Dresden by Carl August Richter (1770-1848) - professor of engraving at the Dresden Art Academy from 1810 and father of the landscape painter Ludwig Richter. His excellence was undisputed: Carl August Richter had already been involved in Raczyński's travel work. *The Small Views of the Rhine* were produced as outline copperplate engravings that could be purchased "black" or "illuminated". Only 13 of the initial series of 80 copper engravings are signed by Delkeskamp<sup>207</sup>, 12 of them engraved by himself. Here, too, he obviously attached great importance to remaining recognisable as an

artist, especially since the 7.5 x 11 cm motifs from Mainz to Cologne, which could also be purchased individually, appeared bound in book form without any title, text or date, because they were primarily intended as illustrations for a travel guide, which also had a different format: *Neuester Wegweiser für die Rheinreise von Mainz bis Köln von dem Professor Chr. Aug. Fischer, ehem. zu Würzburg. Frankfurt am Main 1827*, published by Friedrich Wilmans. *The Latest Guide to the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne by Professor Chr. Aug. Fischer, formerly of Würzburg* was published in French translation for the Michaelmas Fair in 1827.

In the appendix to this travel guide, the *Kleine Rheinansichten* are listed individually and numbered consecutively with their locations.<sup>208</sup> In the text itself, however, there is no reference to them. The appendix contains a list of publications available for purchase from Wilmans, including the Delkeskamp panorama, although the publication is incorrectly dated to 1824. The copper plates were 18.8 x 12.5 cm and had rounded corners. Only the 1836 edition with its 21 x 14.5 cm pages shows the full impressions. Most of the views are trimmed and clearly smaller. The views exist without numbering, but also with "No" in front or only with numbers. In later editions "Frankfurt a/M bei Friedr. Wilmans" is added under the place name - partly before the numbering.

The art historian and later director of the *Nationalgalerie Berlin*, Paul Ortwin Rave, emphasised the characteristic of Delkeskamp's drawing in his overview of Rhine views in the travel works of the Romantic period: "The 80 small copperplates appear quite fine ... delicately and clearly held within the limits of sharply observed objectivity, but .... still caught up in the style of the braid times and in their composition, accessories and tree trimming they follow on from the decorative engravings of the 18th century"<sup>209</sup>. In essence, Delkeskamp remains true to his claim to draw "according to nature" and, in contrast to many artists who were dramatising their views of the Rhine, to depict architecture and landscape realistically. What is interesting for today's viewers is the chosen embellishment, which is still missing on the many large preparatory drawings that can be found in the Kunsthalle Bielefeld: typical ships being towed upstream by man and horse, gigantic log rafts with skippers steering with long oars, ship bridges and mills, yaw ferries, a barge pulled by a steam tug, bleachers and washerwomen, fishermen and hikers, soldiers, beggars or day trippers having a picnic. This exciting mix and perhaps also the relatively low price, led to significant sales and the wide range on offer by antiquarian bookshops to the present day. Many views can be found on municipal websites. Bound, complete series, however, are rare and correspondingly expensive.

Wilmans suffered three minor strokes in 1827, which meant that Delkeskamp's sketches for a further 24 views, which he had already made in 1826, were not executed until the winter of 1827/28.<sup>210</sup> Then in 1829, the series was republished by Wilmans with a title page and expanded to 104 views.<sup>211</sup>



Visitors' book Ruine Klopp, Museum am Strom, Bingen

### Verzeichniß von Kupfern.

welche man zu diesem Werke entweder complet oder einzeln durch alle solite Buch- und Kunsthandlungen beziehen kann. Man hat diese Einrichtung beßhalb getroffen, damit es jedem Liebhaber freyliche, nach eigenem Gefallen eine Auswahl treffen, oder die complete Sammlung nehmen zu können.

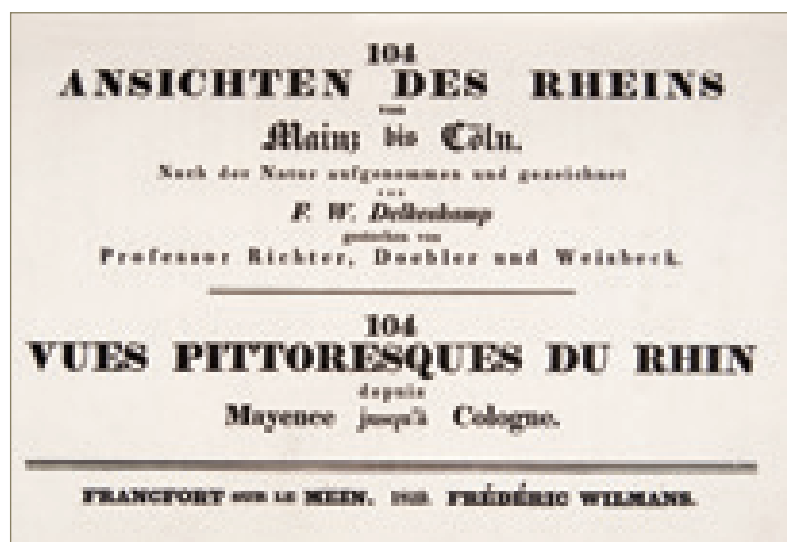
Den Text allein, ohne Kupfer, zu . . . . .	Kupfr. 1.	8 gr.	oder fl. 2.	24 fr.
Derselben mit nachfolgenden 80 illum. Kupfern . . . . .	18.	—	. . .	32. 24 .
Derselben mit 80 schwarzem Kupfern . . . . .	9.	—	. . .	16. 12 .
Die 80 Kupfer allein illuminiert . . . . .	16.	16	. . .	28. 48 .
Dieselben allein schwarz . . . . .	8.	8	. . .	15. — .
Die Kupfer einzeln illuminiert . . . . .	. . .	6	. . .	— 27 .
Dieselben schwarz . . . . .	. . .	3	. . .	— 12 .

Wilmans' Advertisement listing *Small Views of the Rhine*

The original numbering was retained, and Wilmans added the 24 additional views in the correct geographical order, using lower case letters. He left Delkeskamp's authorship of the 13 engravings untouched. The title page mentions two new engravers, Georg Döbler from Prague, with whom Delkeskamp had already worked in Rogalin and on the illustration of Wilmans' travel booklet for young people, and Ignaz Franz Weisbeck from Nuremberg. In 1823, Delkeskamp and Weisbeck had each made etchings of a counterpart of two "Views of the banks of the Main in Frankfurt" by Johann Friedrich Morgenstern.

The prices for views and text were not cheap: about a third more than the ship passage from Mainz to Cologne in the best category ("Pavilion") and almost six times more than in the "wooden class" ("Sailor's cabin"). In 1829, prices remained stable compared to 1827, but in 1832 the "Erinnerungsblätter" [leaves of memory] were advertised a third cheaper<sup>212</sup>, which may be due to the now wide range of Rhine views. The views also found buyers in the highest circles: "The Crown Prince takes the small views bought from Wilmans", wrote the Prussian envoy to the Bundestag, von Nagler, in a letter to Ernst Kelchner on 6 April 1828.<sup>213</sup>

In 1836, the Wilmans-Verlag published a selection of 35 Rhine views based on Delkeskamp drawings, bound in a sturdy booklet and not arranged geographically in the correct order throughout: *Latest Collection of the Most Beautiful and Interesting Views of the Rhine. Collection nouvelle des plus interessantes vues du Rhin*. The well-known outline copper engravings were further developed into aquatints. The numbering of the plates was omitted, but not Delkeskamp's signature, even the laterally reversed one on the view of Koblenz remained. Wilmans Verlag used the two sides of the cover for their own advertising, including the Rhine and Main panoramas. Unlike before, however, Delkeskamp was no longer mentioned.



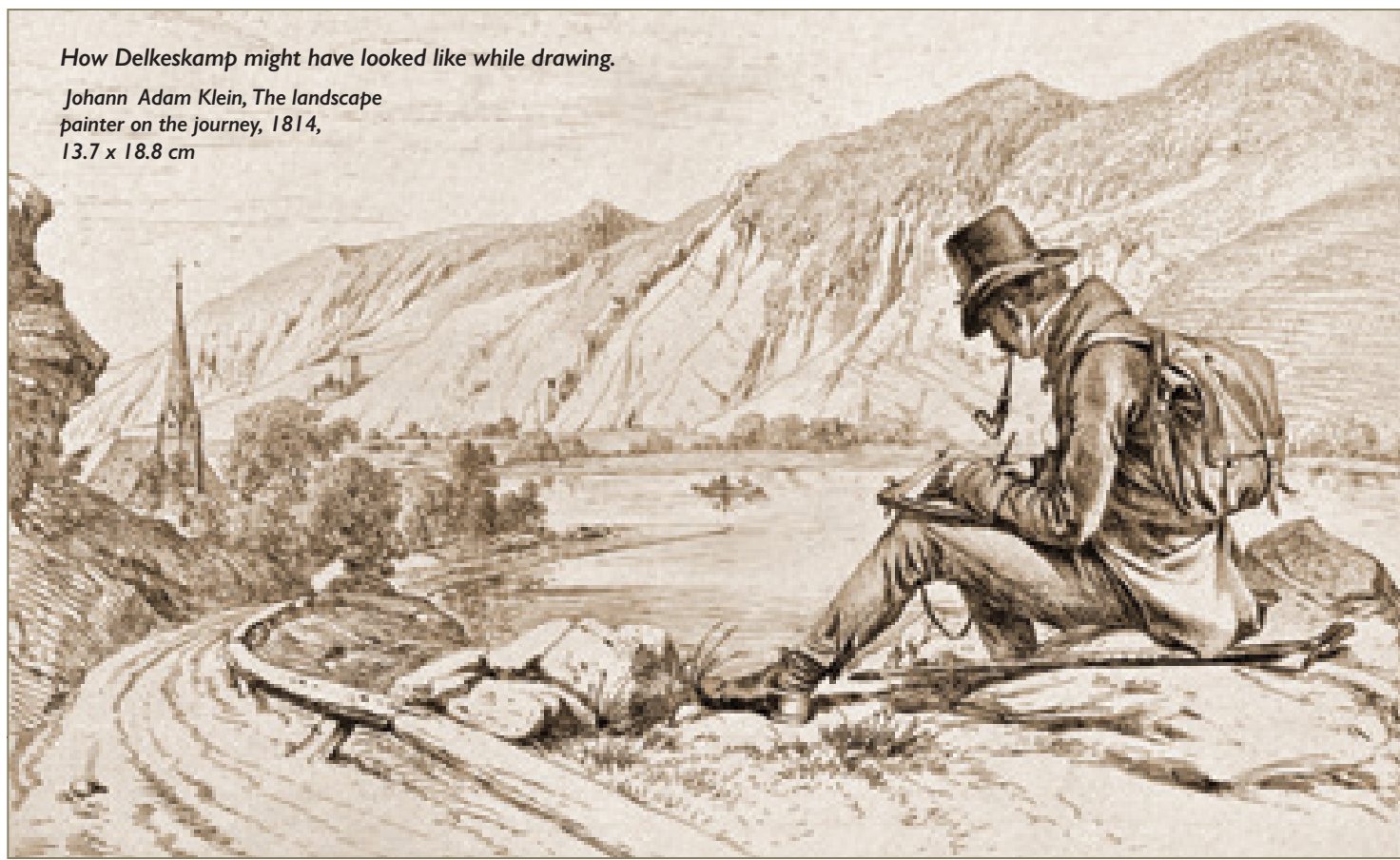
Cover page 104 Small Views of the Rhine



Mittelheim (9), 7 x 11 cm, SP Lohia Collection

*How Delkeskamp might have looked like while drawing.*

Johann Adam Klein, *The landscape painter on the journey*, 1814,  
13.7 x 18.8 cm





Eltville, Kölnisches Stadtmuseum, 12,5 x 18,6 cm



Eltville-Elfeld, 7,5 x 11 cm, SP Lohia Collection



Hattenheim, 13 x 20 cm, Kunsthalle Bielefeld



Hattenheim, 7 x 11 cm, SP Lohia Collection



Bacharach and Stahleck ruin, 13 x 20,5 cm, Kunsthalle Bielefeld



Bacharach and Stahleck ruin (33), 7 x 11 cm, SP Lohia Collection



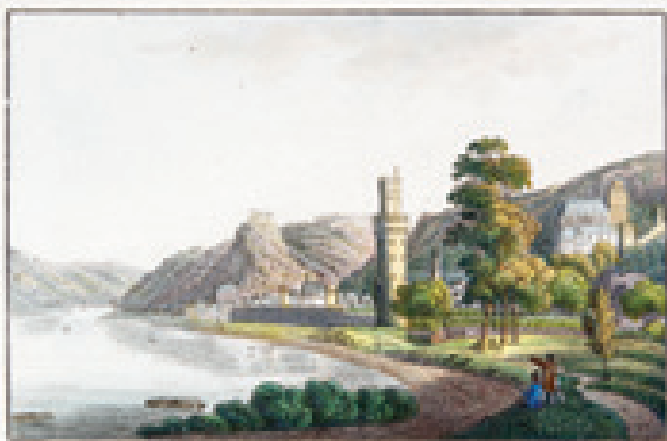


*Die Pfalz im Rheine, Caub und Rheine Gutenfels.*

The Pfalz in the Rhine, Caub and Gutenfels ruin, 7 x 11, SP Lohia Collection



The Pfalz in the Rhine, Caub and ruin Gutenfels, 13 x 20.5 cm, Kunsthalle Bielefeld



*Oberwesel und Rheine - Schönbey, Rheinepunkt  
Blick von der Rhein Rheine*

Oberwesel downstream, 7 x 11 cm, SP Lohia Collection



Schönbey ruin and the Pfalz of Caub and Gutenfels, 12.6 x 20.5, Kunsthalle Bielefeld



*Oberwesel, Rheinepunkt.*

Oberwesel and Schönbey ruin, upstream, 7 x 11 cm, SP Lohia Collection



Oberwesel with the Ruin of Schönbey castle, 12.5 x 20.5 cm, Kunsthalle Bielefeld



*Nieder Heimbach, Ruine Heimburg und Sonneck.*

Niederheimbach, 7 x 11 cm, SP Lohia Collection

Sebastian Engers, Ehrenbreitstein Fortress in the distance, SP Lohia Collection



*Sebastian Engers, in der Ferne die Festung Ehrenbreitstein.*



*Coblenz.*

Coblentz, 7 x 11 cm, SP Lohia Collection

Ehrenbreitstein , 7 x 11 cm, SP Lohia Collection



*Ehrenbreitstein.*





*Coeln und Deutz.*

Coeln and Deutz, 7 x 11 cm, Lohia Collection

The Pfalz, Caub and Gutenfels in the distance (35), 7 x 11 cm, Lohia Collection



*Die Pfalz, Caub und Gutenfels in der Ferne.*

## Panorama of the Main from Frankfurt to Mainz

The initiative to establish steam navigation on the Rhine also led to corresponding hopes on the Main in Frankfurt. On 31 August 1826, the Frankfurt Senate granted a six-year concession for a steamship to be christened the City of Frankfurt and had a berth reserved on the Main quay. From 1 November 1827, the Frankfurt bankers Bethmann and du Fay acquired the monopoly for the trading ship to Mainz, which had been operating regularly since the Middle Ages. The steam ship, which was specially built for the shallow waters of the Main, reached Frankfurt for the first time on 8 March 1828. However, major technical problems meant that operations could not be reliably started before May 1830. However, the economic success of the venture failed to materialise and the Frankfurt was deployed on the Rhine.

After the success of the Rhine panorama, Delkeskamp's publisher Friedrich Wilmans sensed another good deal and commissioned the artist to record a panorama of the Main from Frankfurt to Mainz. Only three days after the arrival of the City of Frankfurt, he announced his project in Frankfurt's *Intelligenzblatt*:

"Now that steam navigation between Frankfurt a/M and Mainz has really come into being, I hereby humbly inform you that I have already had a Panorama of the banks of the Main from here to Mainz taken by the most famous artist

F.W. Delkeskamp, and the same has already been handed over for engraving, so that its appearance can be expected soon. - It has been recorded with the same accuracy and fidelity as the panorama of the Rhine, and will also follow on from it. Even if the banks of our Main River are not as interesting as those of the Rhine, it will certainly be pleasant for everyone to receive a faithful pictorial representation of them, and I therefore flatter myself that this undertaking will also enjoy the applause that the former is still enjoying. I therefore request all those who would like to have the first and thus also the best prints to kindly submit their orders to me as soon as possible. Friedrich Wilmans, book and art dealer, Zeil Lit. No. 188."<sup>214</sup>

But it was not until 28 April 1829 that Wilmans announced the publication of the new panorama in the *Intelligenzblatt*<sup>215</sup>. *The Panorama of the Main and its Nearest Environs from Frankfurt a.M. to Mainz. Recorded by F.W. Delkeskamp and engraved by C.A. Helmsauer. Original edition. Frankfurt a.M. at Friedrich Wilmans 1829*, a 90 x 22 cm copper engraving folded to a fanfold on three plates, was now glued into a blue cardboard cover and came in a brown slipcase with pasted title and on the back the mention of the privileges of Prussia, Nassau and Frankfurt "provided against reprint and re-engraving". Enclosed were ten pages in German or



French, *Der Führer auf der Wasserfahrt von Frankfurt a. M. bis Mainz. Ein unentbehrlicher Anhang zu dem Panorama des Mains nebst dessen nächsten Umgebungen* [The Guide on the Water Journey from Frankfurt to Mainz. An indispensable appendix to the Panorama of the Main together with its nearest surroundings], and a further six publisher's advertisements by Wilmans, including the 104 Small Views of the Rhine by Delkeskamp, the Delkeskamp Rhine panorama published in the second edition, and the one by Rosenkranz in the opposite direction from Cologne to Mainz, both also engraved by Helmsauer. The Main panorama, like now both Rhine panoramas, received separate illustrations at both ends, of Frankfurt at the foot of the leporello and two illustrations of Hoechst and Hochheim at the upper end. It cost 2 fl. 24 kr. and was thus only about half as expensive as the Rhine panorama, the second edition of which could be purchased for 4 fl. 12 kr. As the label of the French edition shows, Wilmans meanwhile even organised its distribution in Paris via "J.H. Rittner, Boulevard Montmartre No. 12", and in London via "D. Walther, No. 4 Beydges Street Covent Garden".

As forerunner to Delkeskamp's 1864 *Picturesque Plan of Frankfurt am Main and its immediate surroundings*, the Main Panorama already opens up a detailed perspective of the Free City of Frankfurt and its environs from a bird's-eye view from the south-east. In addition, the panorama reproduces the faithful image that was presented to the traveller on the daily trading ship during the approximately five-hour trip from Frankfurt to Mainz and in the opposite direction for about seven hours: Frankfurt still barely extended beyond the former fortifications. All around were open fields, farmsteads and summer cottages, picturesque villages and forests before industrialisation began to dominate the landscape in the mid-19th century.<sup>216</sup>

At the beginning of July 1829, Wilmans advertised the Main panorama together with the second edition of Delkeskamp's Rhine panorama in the *Allgemeine Zeitung*<sup>217</sup>, which was published in Augsburg; a newspaper of national importance at the time. Sales seem to have been limited, the Main Panorama is much rarer today than Delkeskamp's Rhine panoramas, nor did it receive any further editions.

Despite the predictably lower demand than for the Rhine panorama, Samuel Leigh did not miss the opportunity to have it pirated in London by John Heavyside Clark, who was already known for the Rhine panorama, in order to bring it out under the already attractive "Delkeskamp" brand. *The Panorama of the Maine and of the adjacent county from Mayence to Frankfort. Designed from nature by F.W. Delkeskamp. Engraved by John Clark. Accompanied with a description of the places on each bank of the river and a minute account of Frankfort* was published in 1830 with 24 pages - more than twice as many as the German text booklet - and also in beautiful colouring.

The *Gentlemen's Magazine* wrote a very positive review:

"Amongst his many other publications for the amusement of tourists, Mr Leigh has published a Panorama of the Maine, and the adjacent country; describing the windings of the Maine, from its outlet into the Rhine, to Frankfort. It is drawn from nature by F.W. Delkeskamp, and neatly engraved by J. Clark. - Views of Frankfort, Hoechst, and Hockheim, are also given. It forms a most desirable „companion“ in this delightful excursion; giving the situation, and short accounts of all the places on the banks of the river, between Mayence and Frankfort, which latter place is minutely described, and is well worthy the attention of travellers."<sup>218</sup>





MAINZ

Wassermühle

Der Rhein

Insel Weinspitz

Insel Bley der  
Kriegel  
Namen der Inseln Bley

Rift-Aufschüben

Kriegel

Rhein-Aufschüben

alte Schenke Schenke

Kriegel

Rhein-Aufschüben

W. Mischke

Caenel

Neue Schenke

Caenel

Caenel  
W. Kriegel

Hochrhein

Wickelbach

Wickel

Rhein-Aufschüben

Leinwandmühle

Der Wickelbach

Wickelbach

Anger nach Wickelbach

Eldersheim

Hellersheim





## Delkeskamp's Swiss Masterpiece (1828-1835): Picturesque Relief of the Classical Soil of Switzerland

It is still something of a mystery as to precisely when Delkeskamp saw Switzerland as a place of longing and, in a commercial sense, a marketable tourist destination.

The painter and engraver's first verifiable encounter with Switzerland was in 1822, when he was commissioned by publisher Friedrich Wilmans to illustrate travelogues with engravings for a book for young people, including the journey of an anonymous Berlin artist from Basel to Geneva around 1817. Delkeskamp never let go of Switzerland. He was inspired by and obsessed with the country, its grandiose mountains, valleys, glaciers, rivers and lakes: 18 years of his artistic work were to connect him most closely with Switzerland, nearly bankrupting him economically, but also giving him lifelong friendships.

By 1825, Switzerland was no longer just a transit country for educational tourists on their way to Italy, but had long since become a destination in its own right with its sublime landscapes. As early as 1793, the first edition of the very popular Switzerland travel guide had been published: *Instructions for Travelling Switzerland in the Most Useful and Enjoyable Way*. The author, Johann Gottfried Ebel (1764-1830), had practised as a doctor in Frankfurt for a time and later worked as an attaché at the Frankfurt legation in Paris, but then moved to Zurich. With his *Descriptions of the Mountain Peoples of Switzerland* in two parts, 1798 and 1802, he also made a significant contribution to conveying his enthusiasm for Switzerland to the general public, even to such noted people as Hölderlin and Schiller.<sup>219</sup>

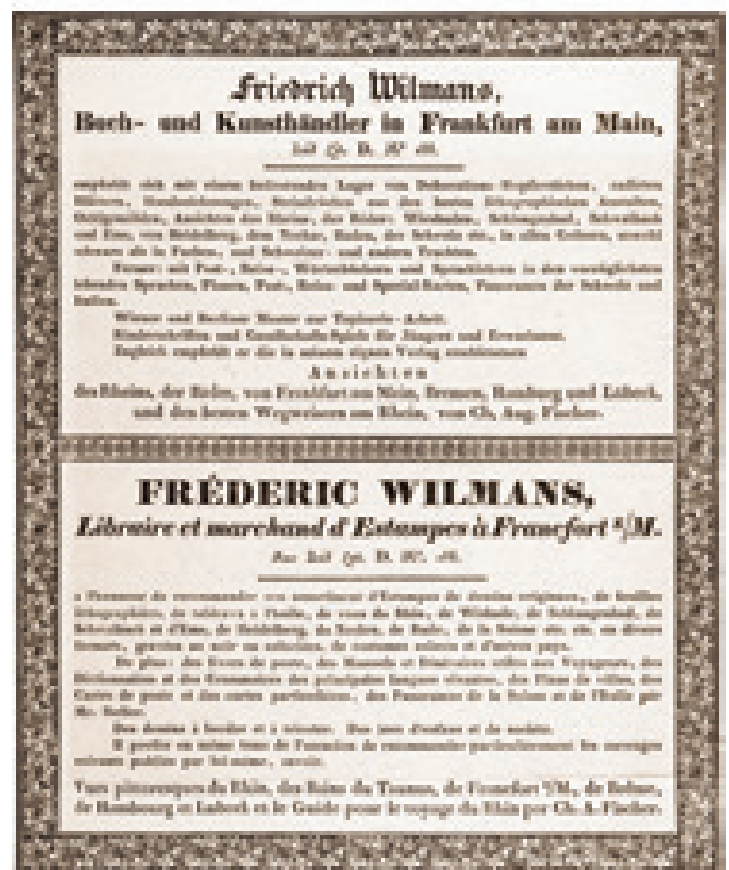
Delkeskamp's plan to portray the Alps from a bird's-eye view probably arose from the tourist need for a vivid and reliable travel map and was directly inspired by the shop of Friedrich Wilmans, who sold travel literature and maps. In a publisher's advertisement for *Switzerland Views by Primavesi*, Wilmans recommended "his important stock of: Copper engravings, etched leaves, hand drawings and stone engravings. (...) Post-, travel- and special maps, plans and panoramas by Keller etc."<sup>220</sup> Heinrich Keller in Zurich, perhaps the best-known panorama and map draughtsman in Switzerland at that time, thus became Delkeskamp's first port of call.

The only detailed cartographic representation of Switzerland, and in particular, of the region around Lake Lucerne, that Delkeskamp found in 1825 was the *Atlas Suisse* by Johann Heinrich Weiss (1758-1826) with sixteen maps at a scale of about 1:120,000 published as early as 1796-1802. The more recent cartographic representation, *Carte topographique militaire des Alpes*, by Jean-Baptiste Raymond from 1820 remained incomplete and without any illustration of the touristically attractive central Switzerland,<sup>221</sup> but which Delkeskamp did not want to follow up on. In his preface to the later relief of the whole of Switzerland, he explicitly distanced himself from the conventional maps and emphasised the particular usefulness of

the bird's-eye view: "In general, maps, even with the highest mathematical and geographical accuracy and the most perfect engraving, can never present the object to the viewer as clearly as is the case with my method of representation. It is a completely independent artistic product in which the picturesque prevails."<sup>222</sup> There is no indication that Delkeskamp, who had already used Matthaeus Merian as a model for his Rhine panorama, had seen Merian's bird's-eye view of Lake Lucerne, which was oriented from north to south, as Delkeskamp's Swiss reliefs were later.

Delkeskamp must have followed the call of Switzerland immediately after the publication of his panorama of the Rhine: "The favourable reception that my panorama of the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne received at the time of its first publication must have encouraged me to undertake similar pictorial-topographical works," Delkeskamp confessed in the preface to his *Picturesque Relief of the Classical Soil of Switzerland* in June 1830, "and this prompted me as early as the summer of 1825 to attempt a hitherto non-existent representation of this kind.

If Delkeskamp had thought that a panorama of Switzerland would be comparable in terms of effort to his work on the Rhine, he was soon proved wrong. In the end, nine years would pass before he could hold his finished



Advertisement Wilmans



Matthaeus Merian, Lake Lucerne, Kunstantiquariat Andreas Senger Hamburg

*Picturesque Relief* in his hands. Jacob Albert Heim (1849-1937), professor of geology at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich, described the challenges in 1873 in the yearbook of the Swiss Alpine Club - referring to Delkeskamp:

"Panorama artists are not artists in the strict sense of the word, nor do they want to be; their work is more scientific. To give a correct picture of the region, in which every line is taken exactly from nature is the main task, and therein lies at the same time the prime difficulty. If it is a question of recording quite distant mountain ranges, the best draughtsman will not be able to complete even the smallest piece in the most beautiful morning, unless he knows the range exactly beforehand. He sees certain ridges clearly and draws them; others, which also exist and are just as important, he cannot recognise because of the one-sidedness of the lighting. In the evening, he sees different things than in the morning, and almost only the horizon line remains the same. If high clouds cast shadows on individual parts, he is, I would almost say, the fool in the game; indeed, he may have spent eight or fourteen days in the brightest, most beautiful weather on a peak and believe that he has seen and drawn everything. When he comes up in a completely different wind, a front ridge suddenly separates itself clearly; he has never been able to distinguish it before. This can make it necessary to change the names again, and now the draughtsman, if he is conscientious, loses confidence in his work. Or: one finishes the work to a point that one has never been able to see clearly. The way to the top is arduous; one wants everything and goes up every day with joyful hope, but returns every day without having achieved anything, often in the fog, often in the rain, often

even in a snowstorm. (...) When it is particularly clear for drawing on high peaks, there is often a cold wind, one's whole body is stiff with frost, but one wants to use the lights and draws for hours with such stiff fingers that one can hardly feel the pencil in one's hand."<sup>223</sup>

Delkeskamp was the first and only person to take up the challenge of drawing a bird's-eye portrait of the original Switzerland between Glärnisch in the east and Mount Pilatus in the west, Thalwil in the north and Wassen on the St. Gotthard Road in the south, an area of about 3760 km<sup>2</sup>. Heim had drawn panoramas himself. His detailed description reflects Delkeskamp's experiences. In the preface to the *Picturesque Relief*, Delkeskamp confessed:

"The difficulties, however, often increased to such an extent that, during four summers, only untiring perseverance and the endurance of all the discomforts associated with the high mountain world, not infrequently with danger to life, could succeed in solving this task satisfactorily. (...) If one is familiar with the scope and content of this undertaking from the following overview, one will find the remark understandable that I drew for the sole purpose of this work (without the drawing of the individual houses and the like), on more than seven hundred standpoints, mostly on the summits of the mountains up to an altitude of 9500 feet above sea level, often surrounded by snow and ice, often enveloped by fog clouds, often showered with rain, waiting for hours for favourable moments". Delkeskamp had printed the preface long before the relief was finished and had obviously completely overestimated the time still needed until publication. In fact, it took six years, instead of four, which he spent entirely or partly on location in Switzerland (1825, 1827-30, 1832), as he admitted in 1837

in the advertisement section to the appendix of his *New Panorama of the Rhine* from Mainz to Cologne.

Only a single pencil drawing has survived as evidence of Delkeskamp's first trip to Switzerland in 1825: The Lausanne Historical Museum houses a small panorama of the city, measuring 10.4 x 25.9 cm, with the view from the west over houses and towers to Lake Geneva and the Alps. During this walk through Switzerland, Delkeskamp must have realised that he had to limit the intended representation geographically and that it was not advisable to tackle the whole of Switzerland straight away. It would be more than 20 years before Lausanne was to find its way into his second relief, the bird's-eye panorama of the whole of Switzerland with neighbouring areas.

Delkeskamp first concentrated on the *Picturesque Relief of the Classical Soil of Switzerland*: "Of the three original cantons of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden, it contains two thirds of the former, but the latter entirely, as well as the entire canton of Zug. Larger parts of the cantons of Lucerne and Zurich, smaller parts of Aargau and St. Gallen, as well as some high Alpine valleys of Grisons and Bern."<sup>224</sup> He thus covered the most commercially interesting part and at the same time the one that was still easiest to put down on paper, though also the one that showed the most towns, villages, roads and streets.

As early as 1825, Delkeskamp made the acquaintance of the Swiss cartographer and panorama pioneer Hans Heinrich Keller (1778-1862) in Zurich, a "kindred spirit" who also ran a shop in Zurich on the Untern Zäune selling landscape views, panoramas and maps.<sup>225</sup> Keller had studied with the art dealer Johann Heinrich Füssli since 1797 and worked for his publishing house until 1815. As early as 1807, his 360° leporello panorama of the Uetliberg was published, a 15 x 170 cm panorama of Zurich's local mountain, coloured by Franz Hegi (1774-1850), who was known to Delkeskamp by name from his time in Rogalin and who was later to work for him - as was Johann Jakob Scheurmann

(1771-1844), who had engraved Keller's travel map of Switzerland in copper, published in 1815 and repeatedly reprinted and pirated. The popular Uetliberg panorama - like Delkeskamp's Rhine panorama - saw various updated new editions, as did Keller's Rigi panorama, which he also brought onto the market in 1815. Keller had become self-employed and from 1823 ran his publishing house from his own home in Zurich - no doubt a role model for Delkeskamp, who from 1834/35 started his self-publishing business in his flat in Frankfurt. From then on, Delkeskamp stayed with Keller and his family whenever he travelled to Switzerland. At the end of 1828 he even took up official residence with him for about one and a half years, in order to prepare the first drawings of the *Picturesque Relief*. At the same time, Keller marketed Delkeskamp's early works in some of his regular advertisements in the *Zürcherisches Wochen-Blatt*. For example, in no. 98 and 100 of the 8th and 15th "Christmonath" 1828 (December), Keller placed identical advertisements for the sale of some views, including (contrary to his assurance to Wilmans) "80 leaves Rhine views by Delkeskamp 18 Fr., Berlin and Silesian views, large coloured views".<sup>226</sup>

Keller was close friends with Johann Gottfried Ebel and the polymath and politician Hans Conrad Escher (1767-1823), who edited Keller's work and helped in particular with the naming of the mountains.<sup>227</sup> All three together had set a tourist milestone by laying the foundation stone for the first guesthouse on the Rigi. From there, an incomparable view of Lake Lucerne, the Alps and the "classical soil of Switzerland", the areas of the original cantons that were to become decisive for Delkeskamp, opens up.

It was probably Keller who put Delkeskamp in touch with Ebel, who in turn put him in touch with the Escher family in Zurich. Ebel was a well-known personality and very well connected with many important players in politics, business and culture. He was in contact with Goethe, Schiller and Hölderlin and generously made his connections available to



Lausanne, Musée historique de Lausanne, 10.4 x 25.9 cm



Delkeskamp. Ebel wrote a recommendatory preface for the Picturesque Relief - surely an indication of the recognition Delkeskamp enjoyed with him and invaluable for marketing. Delkeskamp was to use it until the mid-1850s.

Unfortunately, only one of Delkeskamp's letters to Ebel has survived. The letter from the end of 1827 shows that it was Ebel who got him an entrée with the Prussian envoy to the Bundestag in Frankfurt, Karl Ferdinand Friedrich von Nagler. Von Nagler had already been in contact with the publisher Friedrich Wilmans on the question of the pirated copy of the Rhine panorama and on Prussian privileges for further panoramas, but probably without Delkeskamp knowing about it. Delkeskamp made his first visit to von Nagler on 2 December 1827 to present him with the first drafts of his Switzerland panorama and to ask the influential diplomat for help against pirates: "His Excellency saw my work with much participation and discussed many things, but thought the cost too great, namely 4 to 5,000 fl., and wondered whether Mr Wilmans or another publisher, if they saw the size of the work, would not agree to an acceptable fee. (...) I carefully refrained from any remote request for financial support; on the other hand, I announced my plan that I was willing to first complete and publish the middle part [with Lake Lucerne], for which the costs were not so significant, and I hoped to be able to work on the rest through a fund to be gained from this, after I had first made an effort to obtain a subscription, which I would, however, only open after completing these first two leaves. His Excellency has graciously promised me that he will do his utmost for the subscription [i.e. a subscription to the total of nine individual leaves by King Friedrich Wilhelm III] as well as for my only request for the privilege to be granted by the Kingdom of Prussia."<sup>228</sup>

It will not only have been sympathy that prompted von Nagler to take on Delkeskamp over the next decade and a half. In a later letter, he opened by writing: "Her Royal Highness, Princess Wilhelm - sister-in-law of His Majesty - strongly recommended such [Delkeskamp] to me several years ago. He enjoys the reputation of being a very proper legal man and an excellent artist in his field."<sup>229</sup> Unfortunately, it is not known what relationship King Friedrich Wilhelm III's sister-in-law, Princess Marianne of Prussia (1785-1846), also known as "Princess William", had with Delkeskamp. Her full and comprehensive diary does not provide any information on this.

The letter to Ebel also reveals that Delkeskamp no longer wanted to commit himself to his client Wilmans, who had already suffered three minor strokes. In fact, Wilmans died in February 1830, a few months before the first delivery of the Picturesque Relief was published. Delkeskamp refused all offers to take on other work, except for the execution of sketches still missing for the second edition of the Small Views of the Rhine over the winter of 1827/1828.

"Thus, only the gloomy winter days are lost for me and yet I gain a small fund for my work, on which I could not have done much without damaging my eyes in these gloomy days."<sup>230</sup>



Heinrich Keller, Neujahrsblatt der Künstlergesellschaft Zürich 1865

Indeed, it is only under the magnifying glass that the richness of detail of the nine leaves of the *Picturesque Relief*, published in a large folio, 47 x 62 cm, becomes apparent and, almost more so than in the case of the Rhine panorama, the delicacy of the work impresses and exceeds all previous achievements of the artist. The smaller scale, which the depiction of significant parts of Switzerland and its mountain nature required, also contributes to this. This is perhaps also the reason why Delkeskamp used the term "relief" in Switzerland, while he called his entire "narrow" German river views "panoramas". "Relief" in the sense of the Latin verb "relevare", to raise out of the surface, is a term that has only been in use in German since 1712, but in cartography it has been in use since the early 16th century as an "illusionistic two-dimensional model of reality".<sup>231</sup>

For his depiction of Switzerland, Delkeskamp chose the bird's-eye view from an altitude of about 33° from north-northeast to south-southwest with a deviation from the north-south axis of about 12-13° and a scale of 1:45,000 and vertically about 1:80,000.<sup>232</sup> In his later relief of the whole of Switzerland, he felt compelled to justify himself and stated in a preface the "reasons why the relief was drawn from north to south", while almost all maps were now oriented to the north: "Firstly, visiting and entering Switzerland is predominantly from the north side; from Basel, Schaffhausen or Constance, to the foot of the Alps, one sees them in the direction I have chosen; by the time one gets there, one is already familiar with their forms, and they also appear in their sublime size. (...) The northern valleys and passes, or sheaths of the northern chain of the

Alps, which are visited by all tourists, show all the mountain forms and imprint them on the memory, whereas from the Rhone valley all the foothills rise so high that the peaks of the main chain usually disappear ... likewise on this [northern] side one finds good hotels in the numerous villages, while on the southern side one often finds no human habitation for hours. Since, as a result of this, the ratio of travellers from the north to those from the south is 400 to 1, my work would have been useless for the greater part of it, if I had taken the representation from this side."<sup>233</sup>

Of the countless preliminary sketches for the *Picturesque Relief*, only a few have survived for places around Lake Zurich: Auw, Lachen, Galgenen, Siebnen, Uznach, Stäfa, Cham and Hedingen, and for the 2282 m high Drusberg a sketch as well as an executed, coloured version. Some were initially attributed to Heinrich Keller, who left behind town views in addition to his famous panoramas. The Delkeskamp sketches, however, are all drawn from the north side and can be found reduced and clearly recognisable in the *Picturesque Relief*. In the preliminary sketches, Delkeskamp designated mountains, schools, churchyards, inns or the colours of the façades in Courant script, and he used his own symbolism for trees, for example.

After three years of preliminary work, Delkeskamp decided to complete the drawings for the engraving of the Switzerland panorama on site in Zurich, where, unlike in Frankfurt far away from Switzerland, he could always get qualified support in naming the localities and mountains in his map series. For a longer stay, however, Delkeskamp needed official permission. And so, in the archives of the City of Zurich, the residence permit has been preserved, which sheds more light on the history of the panorama's creation. Already from the address "Untere Zäune 367",

Keller's house, Delkeskamp addressed a petition to the city council on 18 November 1828:

*"Respected Mayor! Your Eminence. Respected gentlemen.*

*Your Highness, the undersigned respectfully requests that you graciously grant him a stay for some time in Zurich, which is so distinguished by science and art. A great work I began three years ago, to draw a part of beautiful Switzerland as a pictorial relief and to publish it in copper engraving (as a part of the Rhine, from Mainz to Cologne under the name Panorama of the Rhine, was previously worked on by me), captivates me to such an interesting country. For this purpose, I have already devoted 3 whole summers to drawing in the high mountains in order to collect the necessary materials for this indescribably difficult undertaking, but since unfortunately the last summer was extremely difficult for me due to almost continuous unfavourable weather, I was not able to complete the work, which would have been the case if the weather had been favourable, and so I would like to use the first beautiful days of the future summer to obtain the still missing drawings, which I am only able to make on the brightest days.*

*Incidentally, it is also very useful for the success of the work to carry it out in the place itself or at least in its vicinity, because both the naming of the objects with greater certainty, as well as the possession or use of some auxiliary means, greatly promotes the matter itself and saves me the significant and useless travel costs to my former place of residence, Frankfurt a/M, or my even more distant home, Bielefeld in Westphalen.*

*Trusting that my most humble request will find a favourable hearing, and that I may be graciously granted residence in this city for 1 or 1 1/2 years, I have the honour to be with all respect.*

*Respected Mayor! Most esteemed gentlemen!*

*Your most obedient servant*

*Friedr. Wilh. Delkeskamp, Painter and engraver"*<sup>234</sup>

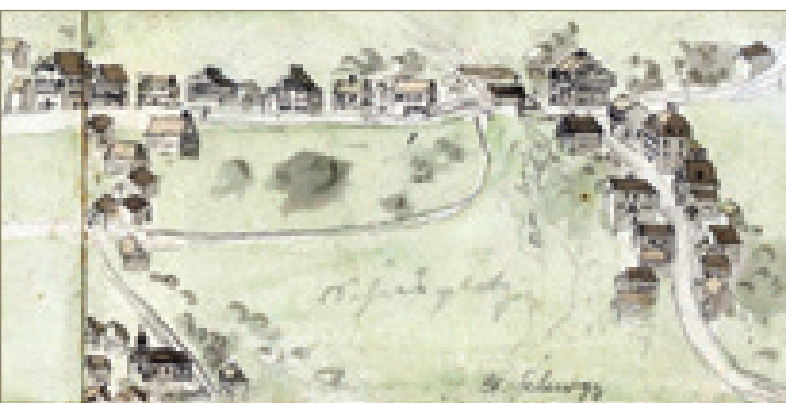


View of the Waag valley and the Drusberg group seen from Ober Yberg, 20.2 x 40.5 cm, Staatsarchiv Schwyz





View of Galgenen church, 6 x 18 cm, March-Museum Rempen



Siebten, 6.5 x 18 cm, Collection Lorenz Hahn, Siebten



Auw, 7 x 19 cm, Staatsarchiv Aargau



Above: Village of Uznach, 11.6 x 22.8 cm, Heimatkundliche Sammlung Uznach  
Below: Village centre of Lachen, 6 x 18 cm, March-Museum Rempen



Stäfa-Uttenberg, 23.7 x 29.3 cm, Zentralbibliothek Zürich



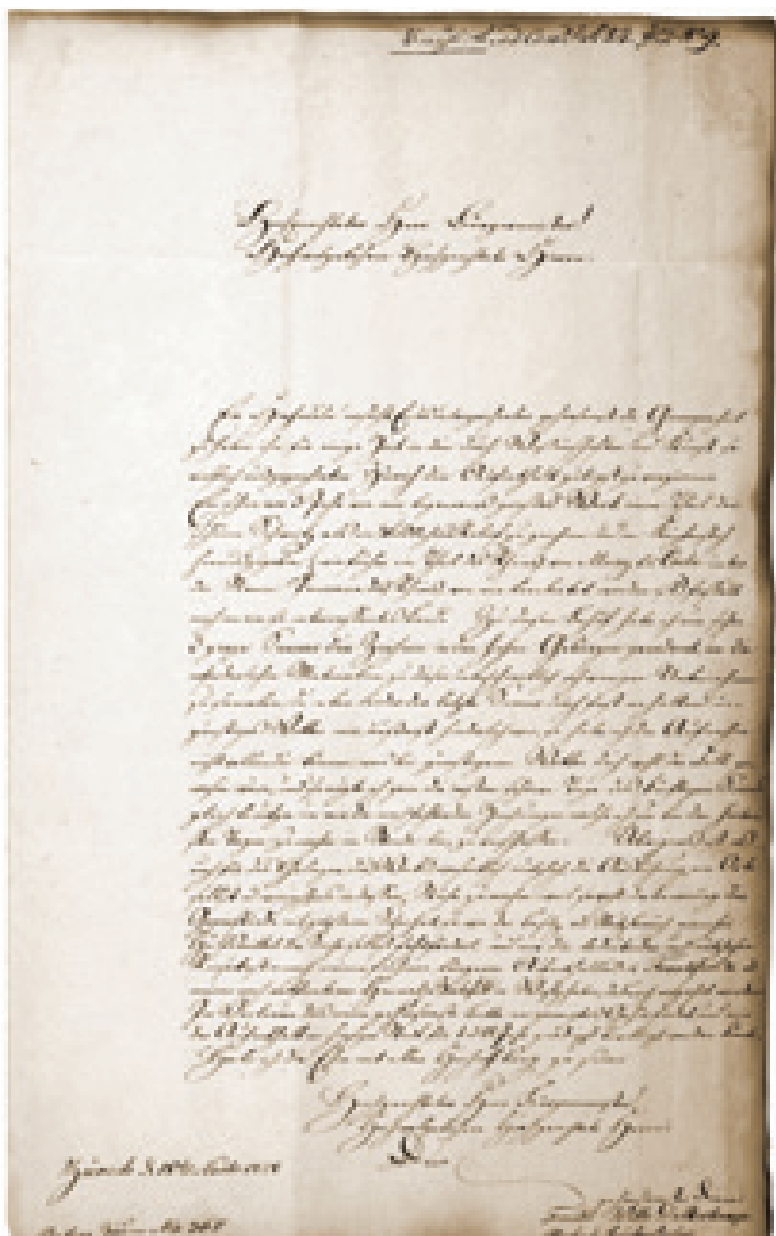
Stäfa-Oetikon, 12.6 x 20.5 cm, Zentralbibliothek Zürich



Above: Stäfa, 7,1 x 17 cm Historisches Museum Frankfurt  
Below: Lachen, 9.3 x 24 cm, March-Museum Rempen







Letter to the Mayor of Zurich, 18.11.1828, Staatsarchiv Zürich

Delkeskamp was asked to provide two guarantors and then received the requested settlement permit for one and a half years on 18 February 1829. As the preface to the *Picturesque Relief* shows, Delkeskamp was still working in Zurich in June 1830.

Despite all his efforts, Delkeskamp found neither sponsors nor publishers willing to take a risk with him for his adventurous undertaking. In this respect, as mentioned in the conversation with Nagler's envoy, he had to publish the nine sections of his *Picturesque Relief* in individual instalments and by subscription, in order to finance the work on the next section from the current proceeds.

Delkeskamp started with the first two copper plates that depicted Lake Lucerne. The drawings for the engraving and the outlines on the copper plate were made by Delkeskamp himself. He commissioned the Zurich engraver Franz Hegi with the "completion in aqua tinta" and Johann Jakob Scheurmann for the typeface. In order to speed up the

publication of the *Picturesque Relief*, he later commissioned Johann Jakob Sperli (1794-1843), who lived on the outskirts of the then Zurich city limits in Aussersihl, to work on additional sections in parallel. In the preface to the relief, Sperli is not yet listed as an engraver; unlike in the subsequently produced bilingual German-French title page.<sup>235</sup> The first map leaves appeared together with a likewise bilingual introduction by Delkeskamp and the letter of recommendation by Ebel. Finally, two smaller copperplate engravings completed the work: a title vignette with the legendary Rütli Oath and an overview map showing the arrangement of the nine sections. Both copper plates have been preserved.<sup>236</sup>

The French preface to Delkeskamp's panorama of the whole of Switzerland, published in the 1850s, indicates that the *Picturesque Relief* was not complete until 1835. An advertisement by Wilmans Verlag reflects that Delkeskamp originally assumed a different timetable: "One section appears every 3 months: the whole will be completed by the Easter Fair of 1832."<sup>237</sup> The publication intervals of the first sections can be reconstructed well and is almost on schedule.

The first section, "Part of the original cantons Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden with the eastern half of Lake Lucerne" appeared in April 1830, as evidenced by the advertisement dated 18 May 1830, which Delkeskamp's cousin, pharmacist Wilhelm Adolf Delkeskamp in Merklingen, Oberamt Leonberg bei Stuttgart (today: Weil der Stadt), had placed in the *Intelligenzblatt* of the renowned *Morgenblatt für Gebildete Stände* [Morning Paper for the Educated Classes], published by Cotta.<sup>238</sup> With this advertisement, subscription was introduced in Germany with a price of "for the whole 17 fl. Rh. [Rhenish florins]", and Wilhelm Adolf Delkeskamp announced at the same time the second delivery for June, "part of the original cantons of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden with the western half of Lake Lucerne and part of the canton of Lucerne", and of the third section for "September at the latest"<sup>239</sup>, "part of the Engelberg valley, the large and small Melchtal, the Sarner and Lungern lakes in the original canton of Unterwalden". "After publication, the subscription will cease and the retail price of 25 fl. 30 kr. will apply."

In the very detailed "publication advertisement", Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp presented himself in a promotionally effective manner as the "author of the Panorama of the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne", already widely known in Germany, and essentially quoted from the preface to his *Picturesque Relief*. The contemporary reader will not have noticed the self-critical undertone of the perhaps still guilty artist's conscience behind the promise of quality in view of the "quick and dirty story of the creation" of the first Rhine panorama: "I have made it my strictest duty not to neglect any parts, not to fill in any gaps arbitrarily, but to draw everything faithfully according to nature ..."

The advertisement in the *Intelligenzblatt* also allows one of the rare insights into the artist's private life and his close ties with the descendants of Peter Friedrich Delkeskamp,



Malerisches Relief, Overview sheet, 17 x 10.5 cm



Malerisches Relief, Overview sheet copper plate, Zentralbibliothek Zürich



Detail enlargement

the younger brother of his father Adolf Friedrich Delkeskamp. Uncle Peter Friedrich had been the first Delkeskamp to take up the pharmacy profession, leaving Bielefeld to run pharmacies first in Kassel and then in Fritzlar and Homberg/Efze in northern Hesse. Friedrich Wilhelm had visited his uncle and his family in Homberg in 1814/15. Through a series of articles in specialist journals, pharmacist Delkeskamp achieved national fame, but had already died in Homberg in 1820 at the age of 60. His son Wilhelm Adolf and, as indicated by his middle name, godson of the bookbinder, was born in Fritzlar in 1801 and also decided to become a pharmacist. In 1829 he emigrated from Homberg in the Electorate of Hesse to Württemberg and took over the pharmacy in Merklingen. In May 1851, he left Germany with his family for the USA.

The title page of *Malerisches Relief* listed the other distribution channels and depots: "In commission in Mannheim at Artaria & Fontaine, art shop, in Zurich at Heinrich Keller, art publisher and geographer, and in the art shop of Heinrich Füssli & Co" and, despite the earlier reservations: "in Frankfurt a/M in Friedrich Wilmans Kunst- und Sortimentshandlung [art and book shop] as in all art shops", i.e. in Wilman's network of bookshops throughout Germany. An advertisement by Wilmans Kunst- und Sortimentshandlung states that the *Picturesque Relief* is "to be obtained through all serious book and art shops in Germany, France and England". Wilmans also relied on Delkeskamp's fame: "The name Delkeskamp is already so generally and most praiseworthy known in the art world through his Panoramas of the Rhine and Main published by Friedrich Wilmans in Frankfurt am Main that no special recommendation is needed for this product of his art and his 4 years of diligence to draw the attention of all art lovers and travellers to it."<sup>240</sup>

The apothecary's lengthy advertisement also contains revealing information about the successful market launch of the work: "The esteemed art-loving public will certainly be happy to dispense with a self-advertisement, as this is in keeping with my character. I only have to mention that in art-loving Zurich, where the subscription was first opened, I have so far received 80 subscribers; this is probably a good testimony to the usefulness of the work. Zurich, end of April 1830, Untere Zäune No. 367. Friedr. Wilhelm Delkeskamp. Author and publisher."<sup>241</sup> The first commercial success in Zurich could at the same time be attributed to the good networks of Keller and Ebel.

It was not until 26th "Heumonath" (July) 1830 that Heinrich Keller advertised, among other products, the *Picturesque Relief* in the *Zürcherisches Wochen-Blatt*: "View of Lake Lucerne and its surroundings with numerous designations, in 2 leaves, which together are 1 foot high and 3 feet long. This piece, highly interesting in subject, rich in content and true and excellently drawn by the artists Delkeskamp and Hegi, may be recommended to the public with full justification. For a limited time, the initial subscription price is 7 Swiss francs for black copies, but 21 Swiss francs for coloured copies, which will be available at the beginning

of August. If you want the 2 leaves put together, please note this. These representations form the beginning of a larger undertaking, which is calculated on nine such leaves and appears under the name 'Picturesque Relief of the Classical Soil of Switzerland' and can be signed for 24 Swiss francs."<sup>242</sup>

The list of works published in the first half of 1830 reported: "1st a. 2nd Sect. with 1 overview leaf and 1 leaf text in German and French. Large folio, Frankfurt, Fr. Wilmans. Velinp. Subscr. Pr. 16 thl."<sup>243</sup> Goethe had the existing leaves of the *Picturesque Relief* sent to him from the Weimar library on 4 October 1830, in order to go through his Swiss travels again for his last-hand edition of his work. He presumably also saw the next deliveries; he kept the panorama until 1831/32.<sup>244</sup> The entire *Picturesque Relief* is preserved in the Duchess Anna Amalia Library and is marked in the catalogue with Goethe's date of loan.

Cooperation with Friedrich Wilmans' widow (he died in February 1830, but she continued the business until 1837) and the authorised signatory initially proved to be less than pleasant for Delkeskamp. His four preserved letters from Frankfurt to the "Friedrich Wilman'sche Kunst und Sortimentshandlung here [in Frankfurt]" shed light on the further stages of the publication of the *Picturesque Relief* on the ruthless business practices in the book trade of the time, but above all on Delkeskamp's disappointment at the unexpectedly low demand in relation to his Rhine panorama. The lack of payments threatened to plunge Delkeskamp into serious financial difficulties. On 17 July 1831 he wrote:

*"I have the honour to inform you of the correct receipt of your kind letter of the 22nd of this month, but I regret that I cannot agree with the enclosed invoice, according to which a cash balance of 376 fl. 38 kr. would have existed in your favour at the time of closing. Without dwelling on a few other points this time, I cannot refrain from finding it unexpected that the activity of your company should not have achieved a better sale. Why then should my relief of Switzerland be so inferior to the panorama of the Rhine? Now you write that they [Wilmans' business partner bookshops in Germany] still want to return the few copies that have been sold. Indeed, I cannot understand this, but I do not feel alarmed by it either, because I can only see in it a trick of action to stop the payments.*

*Furthermore, you list 91 copies as being in the booksellers' current account; however, it might be more expedient to send several copies, especially of the first sections, to other bookshops for inspection. However, enough time has now passed in which the booksellers could explain themselves, especially at the Leipzig Fair, the last Easter. In general, our contract does not know this expression of current accounts with bookshops at all. These copies are rather to be regarded as sold.*

*You declare that 85 copies are still in stock. It is hardly conceivable that no mistake has been made here. Why would you have asked me for 34 more copies for the last Leipzig Fair, if you still had at least 85 in stock here?*

*Since I have now delivered the 7th Section to you several weeks ago<sup>245</sup>, I hereby request you:*

*I. To pay me as soon as possible, in accordance with Article 5 of our contract, the copies which can be regarded as actually sold.*

2. To pay me the guaranteed advance in accordance with Article 7 of our contract.

3. To take care of the collection of the amount for the 4 copies handed over to you to private individuals.

If, contrary to expectations, you should not wish to meet these demands, which are just as reasonable as they are fair, then I would personally find myself in the greatest embarrassment, in that I would not be able to continue the work without enjoying the fruits of my many years of effort and the sums sacrificed for this work, and would therefore also not be in a position to deliver further copies to you. However, I would also be obliged to ask you to make the receipts of your invoice known more closely and precisely to an expert to be appointed by me for this purpose, so that I can take my further measures according to the conviction to be drawn from this.

It would be very dear to me and most advantageous for both parties to promote the work in friendly harmony and in honest fulfilment of the contract. Finally, by declaring my willingness to do everything that can reasonably and moderately be expected and demanded of me, I respectfully insist on the following.<sup>246</sup>

Wilmans Verlag initially only responded by offering Delkeskamp the opportunity to take on further work, as his next letter of 28 August 1831 shows:

*"With regard to the request made to me to produce drawings, I have considered this and find it more advisable to reject it in order to be able to continue on my work without interruption, which will be of greater benefit to me for the next period. When the work is finished, I will gladly accept proposals of this kind. I am now hourly awaiting your reply to my letters, whereby I can inform you that the impressions of the fourth plate will arrive here next Saturday."*<sup>247</sup>

It was not until November that Wilmans Verlag offered a satisfactory agreement, as can be seen from Delkeskamp's letter of 17 November 1831:

*"I have received your letter of the 15th of this month and was pleased to learn of the final settlement of our business relationship. I am sorry that there have been disturbances and displeasures, but I am not to blame for them, but if you had complied with my request for settlement, and had filed it at the last Easter Fair, as is customary in the art and book trade (the one received in June could not suffice), many unpleasant things would have been avoided.*

*I find your accounts correct except for a presumable clerical error in your last letter, which puts the 110 impressions, which amount to 146 fl. 18 kr., at 143 fl. 18, and your balance stated at 58 fl. 9 kr. is therefore only 55 fl. 9 kr. I have found the 78 copies returned to me to be correct, but some have admittedly suffered greatly.*

*In accordance with your request, you will receive 9 copies of the 7th Sect. Switzerland, 1 copy of the I.II. Sect. coloured, of the VII. I can only send you 2 copies as I do not have any more coloured copies in stock, on the other hand I am so free as to send you 2 copies of the III. Sect. I will send you the missing 3 copies of the VIIth as soon as possible. Since the 3rd section is ready for delivery, please be so kind as to let me know by messenger, or at your convenience, whether you need 119 or how many copies,*

*and I will send them to you immediately. I would appreciate it if you would receive them immediately, but since I have a payment by bill of exchange for the 1st of December of this year, I would have to ask you to have the amount for it sent to me by money order or bill of exchange by this date, in order to no longer be an obstacle to the early completion of the work, and I may well look forward to the fulfilment of it with all the more certainty, because I have not received any payment from you for half a year.*

*I also note that the drawing of the 5th plate is in the hands of the engraver, and that I am working on the 6th drawing, and can thus look forward to a quicker appearance."*<sup>248</sup>

*Would you now have the goodness to send someone with the contract to destroy it at the same time as mine, in order to remove a stumbling block which has since disturbed our friendly relationship. Finally, I would like to say that I reserve the right to agree on certain provisions with you that may prevent the recurrence of misunderstandings.*

*With respect*

*Friedr. Wilh. Delkeskamp*<sup>249</sup>

The 8th section, "Die Sihl, der Zürich-See und ein Teil dieses Kantons, das Apl- und Biber-Tal im Kanton Schwyz, der Aegeri-See und die Lorze im Kanton Zug", is not believed to have appeared until 1833: The Zurich Central Library has a copy with a receipt from Heinrich Keller dated 15 June 1833<sup>250</sup>. Two of the seven surviving preparatory drawings from the Stäfa area are dated 31 July and 2 August 1832. The drawing for the engraving and the engraving itself will therefore have been made in the winter and spring of 1833 in Frankfurt and Zurich respectively.

In contrast, there is no indication of the date of publication of the 9th section, "Lake Zug, valley of the Reuss, Albis and Lindenberg, north-western half of the canton of Zug and parts of the cantons of Lucerne, Aargau and Zurich". The only sketch from this area, from Hedingen, bears no date. The preliminary drawings, however, were probably also made in the course of 1832. Delkeskamp did not work in Switzerland again before the relief was completed in 1835. When he was not busy with the relief, Delkeskamp was already documenting the Rhine for his next work from 1834.

The first sections of the Switzerland Relief were undoubtedly printed in Zurich, otherwise the opening of the subscription would not have been conceivable there. It is even possible that the entire printing was done in Switzerland. This is supported by the various shipping references in Delkeskamp's letters to the Wilmans Verlag and by the fact that the two surviving copper plates are kept in Zurich in the Central Library.

It was probably not until the end of the process that Delkeskamp had the title page printed at "C. Neumann's lithogr. Institut, Frankfurt a/M". Carl Christian Neumann ran a paper shop, a printing press and a lithographic institute in Große Sandgasse Lit. K 55.<sup>251</sup> Whereas it was previously assumed that Delkeskamp had not founded his own publishing house until 1837, the title page for the period from 1835 onwards proves that he was a publisher:



"To be found with the publisher Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp, draughtsman in the picturesque-topographical as well as landscape and architectural field." Here Delkeskamp said goodbye to his previous self-designation of "painter and engraver" and underlined his claim to cartographic correctness with the rather unwieldy term of "draughtsman in the picturesque-topographical field", without, however, wanting to call himself a "cartographer": In Delkeskamp's self-image, the picturesque and descriptive bird's-eye view rises above the technically reduced reproduction of topography by the cartographer.

Unlike his later publications, Delkeskamp did not note the address of his publishing house on the title page. The General Address Book of the Free City of Frankfurt in 1834 still listed Delkeskamp as residing at the noble Schöne Aussicht, Lit. A, No. 91 a r. From June 1835 at the latest, he resided in a small lane "Hinter der Rose"<sup>252</sup>, "behind the Rose", an inn on what is now Frankfurt's central shopping street, the Zeil. "Hinter der Rose" was also the address of his publishing house. The lane later became "Brönnerstraße". Delkeskamp remained there until the end of the 1860s.

Whether Hegi coloured the relief or Delkeskamp himself participated in this elaborate work is not known. Only the Pädagogische Blätter professed to know in 1900 that the sections were "sympathetically coloured by the painter Küttel from Lucerne".<sup>253</sup> With the exception of the Frankfurt city map, there is no reference to the colourist(s) in any other of the many Delkeskamp panoramas. Quite obviously, this artistry was less respected than that of the type engravers, whom Delkeskamp explicitly named in his essential panoramas.

## Resonance

Delkeskamp had gained a good reputation in German-speaking Switzerland early on. Thus, the pastor, church reformer and later state librarian in St. Gallen, Professor Alois Fuchs, confessed in a patriotic publication as early as 1832: "This noble German knows our country better than any of us!"<sup>254</sup> The reactions after the publication of the first sections of the *Picturesque Relief* as well as the reception from 1835 onwards were to further increase Delkeskamp's fame, especially in Switzerland.

As early as November 1830, as soon as the first sections were on the market, the *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* devoted a whole page to the relief in conjunction with the appreciation and purchase recommendation of the recently deceased Johann Gottfried Ebel from the preface to the panorama and in full length.<sup>255</sup> In the same year, the *Kritische Wegweiser im Gebiet der Landkarten-Kunde* wrote: "Only recently, the usefulness of the so-called panoramas for the correct and quick recognition of the character of the mountain regions was still being considered in this publication. The present beautiful leaf is such a panorama, which, as we can see from the title, will have several successors. ... The drawing seems to reproduce nature with great fidelity; it would have been desirable to explain the names of the visible objects by numbers, as well as a colouring, as we are

used to from the analogous leaves of Mr Keller. The continuation of this drawing is looked forward to with pleasure."<sup>256</sup> Delkeskamp followed this advice immediately: after the first two sections, all the others appeared with numbers and the colouring was no longer offered "for the sake of the necessary harmony of the whole ... only after completion of the work", as announced in the preface, but already in parallel.<sup>257</sup>

From the short note in the Frankfurt *Phoenix. Frühlings-Zeitung für Deutschland* of 20 January 1835, it could be inferred that the *Picturesque Relief* was already available in its entirety at the beginning of the year: "The recently published Swiss Alpine Panorama by Delkeskamp deserves lively attention as much for its accuracy in all details as for its ornateness of execution and practical value".<sup>258</sup> All other reactions, however, came much later. The Swiss Republican expressly excluded the panorama from its review of the 29th exhibition of the Zurich Artists' Society in 1835: "The conclusion of our observations is that in general such a poor exhibition has not been seen in Zurich for decades ... we commemorate in honour the picturesque relief by Mr F.W. Delkeskamp, a truly gigantic work, which is distinguished as much by statistical as by picturesque accuracy."<sup>259</sup>

The *Frankfurter Ober-Postamtszeitung* reported in September 1835: "After 9 years of work, Delkeskamp's picturesque relief of the classical soil of Switzerland is now complete. It comprises one of the most beautiful parts of the High Alps in the same manner as his panorama of the Rhine, known to the public, in so-called bird's-eye view, on 9 large folios ... During six summers Delkeskamp was occupied with drawing pictures from nature, the whole is etched by himself and completed to perfection in aquatint by Hegi and Sperli. An inspection of the work by the author (Lit. D. No. 8 in Frankfurt) or in the Wilmans' Kunsthandlung, where a copy is on public display, will convince every friend of nature and art that this work is not inferior to the Rhine panorama, which was received with such encouraging applause, and is just as useful to the traveller as the latter. Copies can be obtained from all art dealers (who are granted the usual advantages) or directly from the author against payment of the price of 27 Rthlr. As the author has a number of particularly beautiful prints, he hopes to be able to serve the honourable customers to their full satisfaction."<sup>260</sup> This article, which could almost be called an "advertorial", reflects the last stage of Delkeskamp's change of role from former contractor of the Rhine panorama to entrepreneur and now also publisher of his first own product, for which he had to bear the full financial risk.

The well-known historian and geographer and first state archivist of the Canton of Zurich, Gerold Meyer von Knonau (1804-1858), wrote in 1835 in his book on the Canton of Schwyz: "The best representation of the Canton of Schwyz is given by the picturesque relief of the classical soil of Switzerland ... Delkeskamp ... has delivered a work which can hardly be equalled or surpassed in faithfulness of recording both the high mountain nature and the inhabited areas, and in tasteful execution. Admirable is the diligence



of the artist, who spared no privations, even danger to his life, in order to conquer the manifold obstacles."<sup>261</sup> In 1839 Meyer von Knonau mentions the *Picturesque Relief* in his *Geography of the Swiss Confederation. A Handbook for Locals and Foreigners* again and calls it "a most excellent work".<sup>262</sup>

Decades later, the *Picturesque Relief* was still in demand: the dust jacket of the travel edition shows Delkeskamp's current publishing programme on its reverse side and thus makes it possible to date it.

The *Picturesque Relief* is appreciated to the present day. In 1923, *Der Bund* wrote: "Delkeskamp's map from the beginning of the 19th century is actually no longer a map, but a constructed aerial view of Switzerland and not even a bad one, considering the foundations of the time."<sup>263</sup> In 1978, the founder of the Institute of Cartography at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology Zurich and President of the International Cartographic Association, Prof Dr h. c. Eduard Imhof (1895-1986), dedicated a large-format (49 x 35 cm) bibliophile publication with facsimile reproduction of the map leaves to Delkeskamp's *Picturesque Relief*. "The *Picturesque Relief* of the Classical Soil of Switzerland remains probably Delkeskamp's finest legacy. To republish the leaves of this work, thus honouring their creator and delighting the lover of early depictions of the Swiss countryside, was our serious concern," concludes Imhof.<sup>264</sup>

In a review of Imhof, the Zurich geographer Prof Dr Hans Bernhard underlined Delkeskamp's achievement: "The work is impressive not only for the naturalness of its terrain forms, but also for its wealth of detail. Houses, churches, castles, monasteries, former battlefields, agricultural land-forms, roads and paths, orchards and forests, everything is meticulously marked. Numbers and letters inside the picture and the corresponding explanations on the edges of the sheets facilitate orientation."<sup>265</sup> So it is not surprising that numerous Swiss municipalities use extracts from the *Picturesque Relief* to illustrate their publications and on the Internet. They are thus making a valuable contribution to ensuring that Delkeskamp and his work are not completely forgotten in the Swiss Confederation.

In 1985, Bruno Weber, the long-time head of the Prints and Drawings Department of the Zurich Central Library, wrote: "These works, which are important in the topographical field, combine a virtuoso style of representation that is true to the terrain with cartographic precision."<sup>266</sup> Four years earlier, the Freienbach printing house Bruhin AG had dedicated a beautiful reproduction of Sections 7 and 8 to its business friends at the turn of the year.<sup>267</sup> Another facsimile was produced in 1991 on the double occasion of the 700th anniversary of the Swiss Confederation and the 50th anniversary of the Migros Lucerne Cooperative: the two leaves on Lake Lucerne (Sections 1 and 2) were put together for this purpose. The originals came from a coloured copy of the complete *Picturesque Relief*, a donation from Migros to the Lucerne Central Library.<sup>268</sup>

### Copyright protection and re-stitching

At the time of the publication of the *Switzerland Relief*, there were still no German-wide or even international legal regulations protecting the author; not even in the Swiss cantons. Accordingly, Delkeskamp was left only with the moral appeal in the preface - expressed by Johann Gottfried Ebel himself: "It is my privilege to add to this judgement the request that no one be so merciless as to damage the most well-behaved artist in the harshest way by reprinting this print - the work of so many years, the fruit of such unspeakable toil and effort - and to deprive him even of the compensation for his great financial outlay. One may certainly at least express the wish that every friend of nature and art, when acquiring this work by Mr Delkeskamp, may reject any re-engraving and demand the original, which is so extremely cheap."<sup>269</sup>

As a security feature to distinguish the original from any pirated copy, Delkeskamp used a not very forgery-proof oval blind embossed seal with his initials for his panoramas for the first time and until at least 1842: "An embossed stamp is a sign of the original", he emphasised in the preface to his relief.

In addition to the appeal to public spirit, Delkeskamp still asked Prussia and the Free City of Frankfurt for a privilege to protect the *Picturesque Relief* from renewed piracy. As mentioned in the letter to Ebel, Delkeskamp turned to Generalpostmeister von Nagler, Prussia's envoy to the Bundesrat in Frankfurt. Both processes were largely preserved. It is as astonishing as it is honourable that the king of such an important state as Prussia, which demanded a multitude of important and far-reaching decisions from him on a daily basis, took time for an artist such as Delkeskamp - and that in the highly centralised state system he also occupied two ministers at the same time with the request: in Berlin, Karl Freiherr vom Stein zum Altenstein, Prussian Minister of Culture since 1817, and Kaspar Friedrich von Schuckmann, Royal Prussian Minister of State for the Interior, submitted their request to King Friedrich Wilhelm III on 23 September 1830:

"The engraver Delkeskamp, who was born in Bielefeld in Westphalia, but is currently in Zurich, has applied for a

privilege for the picturesque relief of Switzerland that he has produced and is to publish, in order to be protected from any reprinting or reprinting in stone in Your Royal Majesty's States, and likewise from the sale of reprintings or reprints produced outside these States. The petitioner is the very same one who supplied the drawings for the panoramas of the Rhine and Main regions, for which a privilege was granted by His Highness to the book and art dealer Wilmans at Frankfurt am Main on February 3 of last year. Also, according to the sample of the 1st section of the now intended work submitted by him and respectfully enclosed, a good execution of the same can be expected. Since the author and publisher of this work, which is to be published in Switzerland, is not protected against re-engraving and reprinting in this country without a privilege, and since his enterprise should nevertheless deserve to be favoured, we see ourselves compelled to ask Your Royal Majesty for a favourable opinion and for the most hospitable granting of the privilege requested by the engraver Delkeskamp, the effect of which, however, would not be extendable to the re-engravings and reprintings of the already published 1st section that might have been made before the same."

On 30 September 1830, Daniel Ludwig Albrecht, Privy Cabinet Councillor and Head of the King's Office, noted on this request:

"In response to your report of the 23rd of this month, I wish to grant the engraver Delkeskamp the requested privilege, which secures the pictorial relief of Switzerland in My States to be published by him against reprinting, but which cannot refer to the first section already published and perhaps already reprinted."<sup>270</sup>

Albrecht sent back the draft together with the annex, and the privilegium was published in all official gazettes of the Prussian provinces with the date of 25 October 1830.

The Free City of Frankfurt only granted the local privilege on 27 September 1831, but for a period of 25 years and inheritable, "subject to the penalty of confiscation and an appropriate fine as well as condemnation for the damage caused". The magnificent document with seal and signature of Mayor Georg Friedrich von Guaita is kept in the Frankfurt Institute of City History.<sup>271</sup>

Nevertheless, but only from 1848 onwards and therefore presumably largely harmless to Delkeskamp, who had long since been working on his next Switzerland relief at the time, a slightly reduced pirated copy (picture width 23.5 instead of 27.5 cm) of the first two sections, *Klassischer Boden oder Malerisches Relief der Umgebungen des Vierwaldstättersees - Plan pittoresque du Lac des IV Cantons*, was published in Lucerne by the Eglin Brothers.<sup>272</sup>

The following is recorded by Delkeskamp's son Alfons: "When a printer from western Switzerland published a direct reprint of his Swiss Panorama, Delkeskamp, vigorously supported by the Free City of Frankfurt, sued the robber at the Swiss Federal Court and won the case. The entire reprints were sent from Switzerland to Frankfurt for

destruction. They were still used there ... as wrapping paper ... for a long time."<sup>273</sup> Neither in the case of this late and qualitatively weak pirated copy, nor in the case of another, could the process be verified.

After completing his Picturesque Relief, Delkeskamp again used the familiar route via the Postmaster General on 20 June 1835 to present his work to King Friedrich Wilhelm III:

*"Most Sublime and Great King! Most Gracious King and Lord!*

*The most exalted favour with which Your Royal Majesty most graciously conferred on me a privilege for the Most Highly Distinguished States for the previously announced Picturesque Relief of Switzerland obliges me to reverently lay down the humblest thanks for it at the steps of Your Royal Majesty's throne. Since then, the arduous undertaking has been happily completed, and encouraged by the kindness of His Excellency the Postmaster General and Most Highly Authorised Minister in the German Bundestag, Mr v. Nagler, I dare to present Your Royal Majesty the fruits of my many years of labour in the enclosed work, Picturesque Relief of the Classical Soil of Switzerland, in one painted and one black copy, and I will count it a special favour and it would be a great encouragement to me, if these samples of a new art subject, which forms the transition between landscape and plan depiction, were to be honoured by His Highness with a favourable glance.*

*I who die in deepest submission*

*Your Royal Majesty's most humble servant*

*Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp Painter and Engraver*

*Frankfurt a/M the 20th of June 1835*

*behind the Rose Lit: D. Nro 6*"<sup>274</sup>

Von Nagler forwarded Delkeskamp's letter with a recommendatory cover letter to the new Royal Privy Cabinet Councillor Carl Christian Müller (1773-1849) in Berlin:

"Your Reverence's predecessor in office had previously sent under my mediation several works of art by the local engraver Delkeskamp, who drew and published the Rhine panorama, which was received with great approval, to be presented to His Royal Majesty. His Majesty the King graciously accepted the works of this artist. Mr Delkeskamp has asked me to send His Royal Majesty his latest work in the same way, consisting of a coloured copy of the Picturesque Relief of Switzerland in 9 sections or leaves, together with the title and inserts, and a black copy of the same work. I therefore humbly enclose with this letter addressed to His Majesty the King, together with the package containing these works of art, leaving the rest to your discretion and renewing the assurance of my highest esteem and devotion. Frankfurt a/m. 21 June 1835. Nagler"<sup>275</sup>

Müller replied on 20 August 1835:

"Your Excellency, in response to the honoured letter of 21st June this year, I do not refrain from informing you most humbly that His Majesty has been pleased to receive a painted and black copy of the relief of the classical soil of Switzerland sent in by the painter and engraver Delkeskamp and will bear witness to this; in addition to thanks, however, it will be a matter of remuneration. Your Excellency, who is familiar with the personal circumstances of the sender, I



**N**achdem Seine Majestät der König von Preußen u. d. Hoh. Würzburglicher Herr, unterm Würzburglicher Subscribenten vom 14ten September d. J. 3. p. persönlich gütlich haben, daß dem Würzburglicher Zellsirafung in Zürich, die hat von dem herausgehenden mangelnde Relief der Schweiz, hat nachgehenden Verfolgungen, welcher sich aber auf die vor besten Zusammenhang bereits ertheilten und welche ihnen nachgehenden erst Zellen nicht begeben kann, welche werte, und die entsprechenden Verfahren lassen, in Hinsicht auf die Würzburglicher Zellsirafung, hat gütlichen Verfolgungen haben anstehenden lassen, so wird nicht hindern der öffentlichen Anwesenheit und Nachsichtung bekannt gemacht.

Zürich, den 24ten October 1830.

**Drivetrain**

In dem Kaiserlichen Kellerkammer in Zürich.  
 In Gemäßheit der unterm 20ten v. M. erlassenen kaiserlichen Anordnung  
 wird dem Kaiserlichen Kellerkammer in Zürich bei nachfolgender Vertheilung die  
 bei von ihm beantragte und mehrmals wiederholte Bitte der Erben begünstigt, daß  
 solche innerhalb kaiserlicher Preussischer Staaten, oder nachgelassen und nach-  
 gelassen, und auch gegen die Rechte der Nachkommen keine Verluste haben soll,  
 bei Vertheilung der durch das kaiserliche Landrecht festgesetzten Folgen bei einem  
 rechtlichen Nachbarn. Es versteht sich jedoch von selbst, daß diese Vertheilung  
 auf die von ihnen beantragte Weise erfolgen und vielmehr ihnen nach-  
 gelassen wird, wenn sie nicht begünstigt sein.  
 Berlin, den 20ten October 1838.

(L. S.)  
Königlich-Preussisches Ministerium  
der Geheimen, Höflichen- und  
Reichsjustiz- Angelegenheiten.      des Innern und der Polizei.  
Zu v. Mücheln.      Zu v. Bismarck.

[illegible]

therefore most humbly request that you send me your favourable opinion on the amount and the nature of the gift. If the work is in the book trade, it will probably only require payment of the retail price.’<sup>276</sup>

In the appendix to the New Panorama of 1837, Delkeskamp had still advertised his *Picturesque Relief* bound in cardboard for 21 fl. (92 fl. coloured). In 1840 Delkeskamp then tried a radical new price and product policy: in the appendix to his 1840 Rhine panorama there are "Remarks on

The relief was now found in loose sheets reduced to 12 fl., almost half the price, in cardboard to 12 fl. 36 kr., folded in the narrow travel format at the same price and drawn on canvas in small octavo for 13 fl. 36 kr. Coloured in gilt cardboard, the price dropped to 70 fl., for loose coloured sheets even to 40 fl., less than half the price of 1837. Delkeskamp seems to have actually succeeded in strengthening demand by lowering the price: In the mid-1850s, the *Picturesque Relief* was still available and the price for the cheapest variant remained stable at 12 fl. The nine sections "patent-folded" in the handy coat-pocket travel format 16 x 33 cm were attractive to new groups of customers who liked to wander: three sections each (5-4-3; 6-1-2; 7-8-9) were glued together for this purpose and bound in a sturdy cardboard dust jacket.<sup>279</sup>





*Der Ur-Kanton Uri, Schwyz und Unterwalden mit der östlichen Hälfte des Vierwaldstätter Sees*

*Verfasser: Johann Heinrich Müller, Geograph, in Zürich. Herausgeber: Johann Heinrich Müller, Geograph, in Zürich. Verleger: Johann Heinrich Müller, Geograph, in Zürich.*



*Verfasser: Johann Heinrich Müller, Geograph, in Zürich. Herausgeber: Johann Heinrich Müller, Geograph, in Zürich. Verleger: Johann Heinrich Müller, Geograph, in Zürich.*

Part of the original Cantons Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden with the eastern half of Lake Lucerne, 47 x 62 cm, S.P.Lohia Collection



und Hitzewellen mit der wachsenden Hitze des Verwahrlosender Jahres und einem Theil des kaiserlichen Lebens.

[illegible]

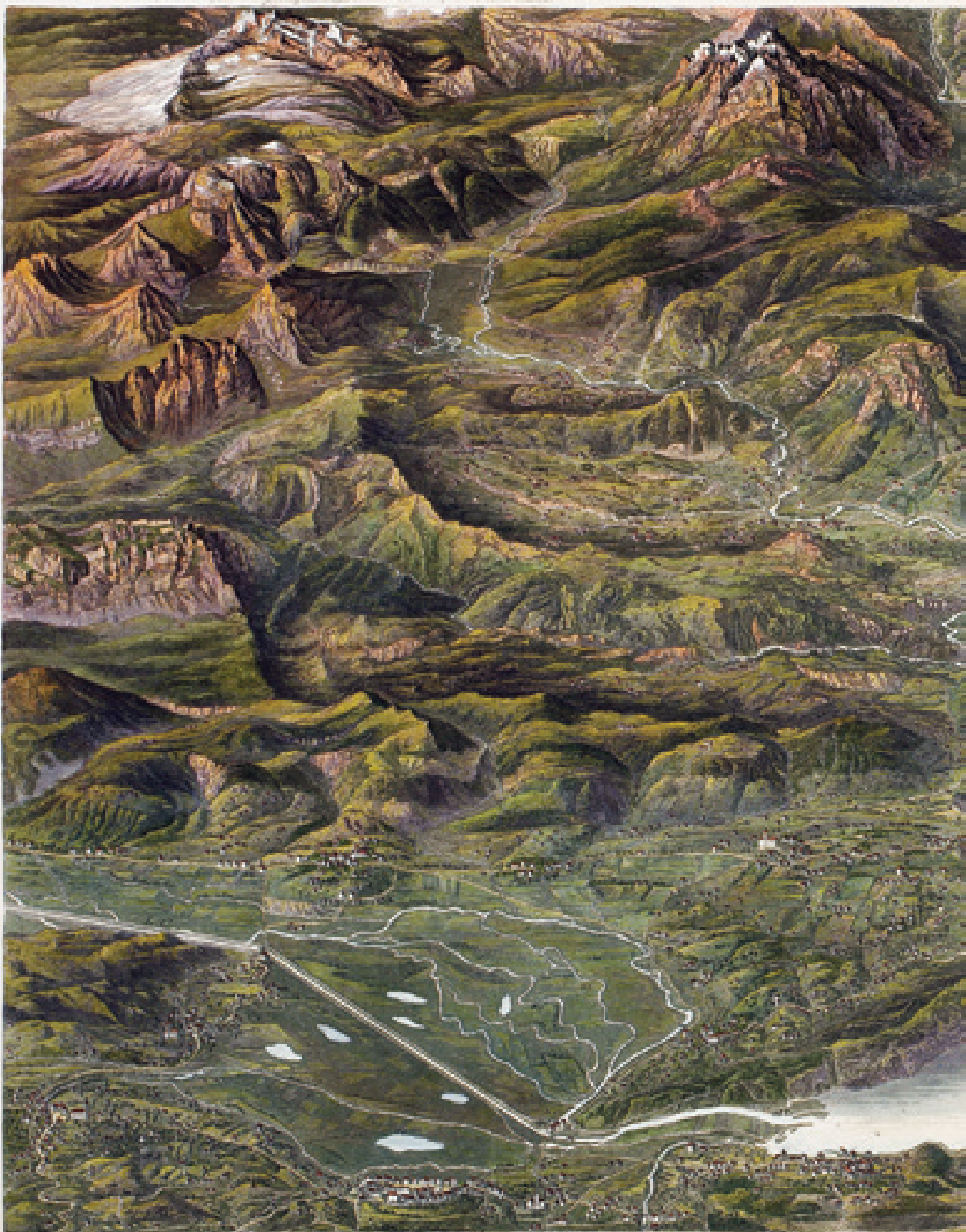
Palace		Gibson	
East on Hastings between 1st & 2nd Sts. N. W. 100 ft. x 100 ft.	East on Hastings between 1st & 2nd Sts. N. W. 100 ft. x 100 ft.	East on Hastings between 1st & 2nd Sts. N. W. 100 ft. x 100 ft.	East on Hastings between 1st & 2nd Sts. N. W. 100 ft. x 100 ft.
East on Hastings between 1st & 2nd Sts. N. W. 100 ft. x 100 ft.	East on Hastings between 1st & 2nd Sts. N. W. 100 ft. x 100 ft.	East on Hastings between 1st & 2nd Sts. N. W. 100 ft. x 100 ft.	East on Hastings between 1st & 2nd Sts. N. W. 100 ft. x 100 ft.
East on Hastings between 1st & 2nd Sts. N. W. 100 ft. x 100 ft.	East on Hastings between 1st & 2nd Sts. N. W. 100 ft. x 100 ft.	East on Hastings between 1st & 2nd Sts. N. W. 100 ft. x 100 ft.	East on Hastings between 1st & 2nd Sts. N. W. 100 ft. x 100 ft.

[illegible]



*Modernes Relief des klassischen Bodens der Schweiz VII Section, enthalten die Ober Zürich-See.*

*Baslerstadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im*  
*Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im*  
*Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im*



*Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im*  
*Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im*  
*Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im* *Basler Stadt u. d. Mithrasberg im*



# Malerisches Relief des klassischen Bodens der Schweiz, VIII. Section, enthaltend die Süd- den Zürich-See und einen

1. Schindelberg 2. Kienleiten 3. Bären 4. Bären 5. Kienleiten 6. Kienleiten 7. Kienleiten 8. Kienleiten 9. Kienleiten 10. Kienleiten 11. Kienleiten 12. Kienleiten 13. Kienleiten 14. Kienleiten 15. Kienleiten 16. Kienleiten 17. Kienleiten 18. Kienleiten 19. Kienleiten 20. Kienleiten 21. Kienleiten 22. Kienleiten 23. Kienleiten 24. Kienleiten 25. Kienleiten 26. Kienleiten 27. Kienleiten 28. Kienleiten 29. Kienleiten 30. Kienleiten 31. Kienleiten 32. Kienleiten 33. Kienleiten 34. Kienleiten 35. Kienleiten 36. Kienleiten 37. Kienleiten 38. Kienleiten 39. Kienleiten 40. Kienleiten 41. Kienleiten 42. Kienleiten 43. Kienleiten 44. Kienleiten 45. Kienleiten 46. Kienleiten 47. Kienleiten 48. Kienleiten 49. Kienleiten 50. Kienleiten 51. Kienleiten 52. Kienleiten 53. Kienleiten 54. Kienleiten 55. Kienleiten 56. Kienleiten 57. Kienleiten 58. Kienleiten 59. Kienleiten 60. Kienleiten 61. Kienleiten 62. Kienleiten 63. Kienleiten 64. Kienleiten 65. Kienleiten 66. Kienleiten 67. Kienleiten 68. Kienleiten 69. Kienleiten 70. Kienleiten 71. Kienleiten 72. Kienleiten 73. Kienleiten 74. Kienleiten 75. Kienleiten 76. Kienleiten 77. Kienleiten 78. Kienleiten 79. Kienleiten 80. Kienleiten 81. Kienleiten 82. Kienleiten 83. Kienleiten 84. Kienleiten 85. Kienleiten 86. Kienleiten 87. Kienleiten 88. Kienleiten 89. Kienleiten 90. Kienleiten 91. Kienleiten 92. Kienleiten 93. Kienleiten 94. Kienleiten 95. Kienleiten 96. Kienleiten 97. Kienleiten 98. Kienleiten 99. Kienleiten 100. Kienleiten



1. Schindelberg 2. Kienleiten 3. Bären 4. Bären 5. Kienleiten 6. Kienleiten 7. Kienleiten 8. Kienleiten 9. Kienleiten 10. Kienleiten 11. Kienleiten 12. Kienleiten 13. Kienleiten 14. Kienleiten 15. Kienleiten 16. Kienleiten 17. Kienleiten 18. Kienleiten 19. Kienleiten 20. Kienleiten 21. Kienleiten 22. Kienleiten 23. Kienleiten 24. Kienleiten 25. Kienleiten 26. Kienleiten 27. Kienleiten 28. Kienleiten 29. Kienleiten 30. Kienleiten 31. Kienleiten 32. Kienleiten 33. Kienleiten 34. Kienleiten 35. Kienleiten 36. Kienleiten 37. Kienleiten 38. Kienleiten 39. Kienleiten 40. Kienleiten 41. Kienleiten 42. Kienleiten 43. Kienleiten 44. Kienleiten 45. Kienleiten 46. Kienleiten 47. Kienleiten 48. Kienleiten 49. Kienleiten 50. Kienleiten 51. Kienleiten 52. Kienleiten 53. Kienleiten 54. Kienleiten 55. Kienleiten 56. Kienleiten 57. Kienleiten 58. Kienleiten 59. Kienleiten 60. Kienleiten 61. Kienleiten 62. Kienleiten 63. Kienleiten 64. Kienleiten 65. Kienleiten 66. Kienleiten 67. Kienleiten 68. Kienleiten 69. Kienleiten 70. Kienleiten 71. Kienleiten 72. Kienleiten 73. Kienleiten 74. Kienleiten 75. Kienleiten 76. Kienleiten 77. Kienleiten 78. Kienleiten 79. Kienleiten 80. Kienleiten 81. Kienleiten 82. Kienleiten 83. Kienleiten 84. Kienleiten 85. Kienleiten 86. Kienleiten 87. Kienleiten 88. Kienleiten 89. Kienleiten 90. Kienleiten 91. Kienleiten 92. Kienleiten 93. Kienleiten 94. Kienleiten 95. Kienleiten 96. Kienleiten 97. Kienleiten 98. Kienleiten 99. Kienleiten 100. Kienleiten

1991-92	1992-93	1993-94	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98	1998-99	1999-00	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19	2019-20	2020-21	2021-22	2022-23	2023-24	2024-25	2025-26	2026-27	2027-28	2028-29	2029-30	2030-31	2031-32	2032-33	2033-34	2034-35	2035-36	2036-37	2037-38	2038-39	2039-40	2040-41	2041-42	2042-43	2043-44	2044-45	2045-46	2046-47	2047-48	2048-49	2049-50	2050-51	2051-52	2052-53	2053-54	2054-55	2055-56	2056-57	2057-58	2058-59	2059-60	2060-61	2061-62	2062-63	2063-64	2064-65	2065-66	2066-67	2067-68	2068-69	2069-70	2070-71	2071-72	2072-73	2073-74	2074-75	2075-76	2076-77	2077-78	2078-79	2079-80	2080-81	2081-82	2082-83	2083-84	2084-85	2085-86	2086-87	2087-88	2088-89	2089-90	2090-91	2091-92	2092-93	2093-94	2094-95	2095-96	2096-97	2097-98	2098-99	2099-00	2100-01	2101-02	2102-03	2103-04	2104-05	2105-06	2106-07	2107-08	2108-09	2109-10	2110-11	2111-12	2112-13	2113-14	2114-15	2115-16	2116-17	2117-18	2118-19	2119-20	2120-21	2121-22	2122-23	2123-24	2124-25	2125-26	2126-27	2127-28	2128-29	2129-30	2130-31	2131-32	2132-33	2133-34	2134-35	2135-36	2136-37	2137-38	2138-39	2139-40	2140-41	2141-42	2142-43	2143-44	2144-45	2145-46	2146-47	2147-48	2148-49	2149-50	2150-51	2151-52	2152-53	2153-54	2154-55	2155-56	2156-57	2157-58	2158-59	2159-60	2160-61	2161-62	2162-63	2163-64	2164-65	2165-66	2166-67	2167-68	2168-69	2169-70	2170-71	2171-72	2172-73	2173-74	2174-75	2175-76	2176-77	2177-78	2178-79	2179-80	2180-81	2181-82	2182-83	2183-84	2184-85	2185-86	2186-87	2187-88	2188-89	2189-90	2190-91	2191-92	2192-93	2193-94	2194-95	2195-96	2196-97	2197-98	2198-99	2199-00	2200-01	2201-02	2202-03	2203-04	2204-05	2205-06	2206-07	2207-08	2208-09	2209-10	2210-11	2211-12	2212-13	2213-14	2214-15	2215-16	2216-17	2217-18	2218-19	2219-20	2220-21	2221-22	2222-23	2223-24	2224-25	2225-26	2226-27	2227-28	2228-29	2229-30	2230-31	2231-32	2232-33	2233-34	2234-35	2235-36	2236-37	2237-38	2238-39	2239-40	2240-41	2241-42	2242-43	2243-44	2244-45	2245-46	2246-47	2247-48	2248-49	2249-50	2250-51	2251-52	2252-53	2253-54	2254-55	2255-56	2256-57	2257-58	2258-59	2259-60	2260-61	2261-62	2262-63	2263-64	2264-65	2265-66	2266-67	2267-68	2268-69	2269-70	2270-71	2271-72	2272-73	2273-74	2274-75	2275-76	2276-77	2277-78	2278-79	2279-80	2280-81	2281-82	2282-83	2283-84	2284-85	2285-86	2286-87	2287-88	2288-89	2289-90	2290-91	2291-92	2292-93	2293-94	2294-95	2295-96	2296-97	2297-98	2298-99	2299-00	2300-01	2301-02	2302-03	2303-04	2304-05	230
---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	---------	-----

[illegible]

2. Hof- u. K. Bibliothek / Pappmischer  
unvergleichlicher Proben  
in 10. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 84



# Malerisches Relief des klassischen Bodens der Schweiz IV<sup>te</sup> Section, enthaltend einen Theil des Engadiner-

a. Wiesen mit d. Roth. 2522'    d. Pfaffenmühl-Bühel    e. Hunsen-Bühel    f. Farnigen 4200'    m. Balgen    g. Hunsen-Bühel u. Alp    h. Die Hölzer    n. Balgen  
 b. Hunsen mit d. Roth. 2522'    e. Hunsen mit d. Roth. 2522'    f. Farnigen 4200'    m. Balgen    g. Hunsen-Bühel u. Alp    h. Die Hölzer    n. Balgen  
 c. Die Hunsen    f. Hunsen-Bühel    g. Hunsen mit d. Roth. 2522'    m. Balgen    g. Hunsen-Bühel u. Alp    h. Die Hölzer    n. Balgen



a. Ardinghausen und Hunsen    a. Schindler    d. Hunsen    e. Hunsen    f. Hunsen    g. Hunsen    h. Hunsen    i. Hunsen  
 b. Hunsen mit d. Roth. 2522'    e. Hunsen mit d. Roth. 2522'    f. Farnigen 4200'    m. Balgen    g. Hunsen-Bühel u. Alp    h. Die Hölzer    n. Balgen  
 c. Die Hunsen    f. Hunsen-Bühel    g. Hunsen mit d. Roth. 2522'    m. Balgen    g. Hunsen-Bühel u. Alp    h. Die Hölzer    n. Balgen

*Thal, den Lucernen Pafs, einen Theil des Reufs-Thals, das Erstfelder und Mayen-Thal, im Ur-Kanton Uri.*

1. Pankel ad Menden  
2. Pankel ad Menden  
3. Pankel ad Menden

4. Pankel ad Menden  
5. Pankel ad Menden  
6. Pankel ad Menden

7. Pankel ad Menden  
8. Pankel ad Menden  
9. Pankel ad Menden

10. Pankel ad Menden  
11. Pankel ad Menden  
12. Pankel ad Menden

13. Pankel ad Menden  
14. Pankel ad Menden  
15. Pankel ad Menden

16. Pankel ad Menden  
17. Pankel ad Menden  
18. Pankel ad Menden



19. Pankel ad Menden  
20. Pankel ad Menden  
21. Pankel ad Menden

22. Pankel ad Menden  
23. Pankel ad Menden  
24. Pankel ad Menden

25. Pankel ad Menden  
26. Pankel ad Menden  
27. Pankel ad Menden

28. Pankel ad Menden  
29. Pankel ad Menden  
30. Pankel ad Menden

31. Pankel ad Menden  
32. Pankel ad Menden  
33. Pankel ad Menden

34. Pankel ad Menden  
35. Pankel ad Menden  
36. Pankel ad Menden

37. Pankel ad Menden  
38. Pankel ad Menden  
39. Pankel ad Menden

*• Historisches Relief des kaiserlichen Bezirks der Schwarz-III-Station, enthaltend einen Theil des Engadiner*

- |                     |                |                |                |                |                |
|---------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1. St. Moritz       | 11. St. Moritz | 21. St. Moritz | 31. St. Moritz | 41. St. Moritz | 51. St. Moritz |
| 2. Engadiner Alpen  | 12. St. Moritz | 22. St. Moritz | 32. St. Moritz | 42. St. Moritz | 52. St. Moritz |
| 3. Engadiner Alpen  | 13. St. Moritz | 23. St. Moritz | 33. St. Moritz | 43. St. Moritz | 53. St. Moritz |
| 4. Engadiner Alpen  | 14. St. Moritz | 24. St. Moritz | 34. St. Moritz | 44. St. Moritz | 54. St. Moritz |
| 5. Engadiner Alpen  | 15. St. Moritz | 25. St. Moritz | 35. St. Moritz | 45. St. Moritz | 55. St. Moritz |
| 6. Engadiner Alpen  | 16. St. Moritz | 26. St. Moritz | 36. St. Moritz | 46. St. Moritz | 56. St. Moritz |
| 7. Engadiner Alpen  | 17. St. Moritz | 27. St. Moritz | 37. St. Moritz | 47. St. Moritz | 57. St. Moritz |
| 8. Engadiner Alpen  | 18. St. Moritz | 28. St. Moritz | 38. St. Moritz | 48. St. Moritz | 58. St. Moritz |
| 9. Engadiner Alpen  | 19. St. Moritz | 29. St. Moritz | 39. St. Moritz | 49. St. Moritz | 59. St. Moritz |
| 10. Engadiner Alpen | 20. St. Moritz | 30. St. Moritz | 40. St. Moritz | 50. St. Moritz | 60. St. Moritz |



- |                     |                |                |                |                |                |
|---------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1. St. Moritz       | 11. St. Moritz | 21. St. Moritz | 31. St. Moritz | 41. St. Moritz | 51. St. Moritz |
| 2. Engadiner Alpen  | 12. St. Moritz | 22. St. Moritz | 32. St. Moritz | 42. St. Moritz | 52. St. Moritz |
| 3. Engadiner Alpen  | 13. St. Moritz | 23. St. Moritz | 33. St. Moritz | 43. St. Moritz | 53. St. Moritz |
| 4. Engadiner Alpen  | 14. St. Moritz | 24. St. Moritz | 34. St. Moritz | 44. St. Moritz | 54. St. Moritz |
| 5. Engadiner Alpen  | 15. St. Moritz | 25. St. Moritz | 35. St. Moritz | 45. St. Moritz | 55. St. Moritz |
| 6. Engadiner Alpen  | 16. St. Moritz | 26. St. Moritz | 36. St. Moritz | 46. St. Moritz | 56. St. Moritz |
| 7. Engadiner Alpen  | 17. St. Moritz | 27. St. Moritz | 37. St. Moritz | 47. St. Moritz | 57. St. Moritz |
| 8. Engadiner Alpen  | 18. St. Moritz | 28. St. Moritz | 38. St. Moritz | 48. St. Moritz | 58. St. Moritz |
| 9. Engadiner Alpen  | 19. St. Moritz | 29. St. Moritz | 39. St. Moritz | 49. St. Moritz | 59. St. Moritz |
| 10. Engadiner Alpen | 20. St. Moritz | 30. St. Moritz | 40. St. Moritz | 50. St. Moritz | 60. St. Moritz |

Der Thale, das Grosse und Kleine, Nebstthal, das Grosse und Kleine, bei im H. Kanton Unterwalden

1. Grosse Thal  
2. Grosse Thal  
3. Grosse Thal

4. Grosse Thal  
5. Grosse Thal  
6. Grosse Thal

7. Grosse Thal  
8. Grosse Thal  
9. Grosse Thal

10. Grosse Thal  
11. Grosse Thal  
12. Grosse Thal

13. Grosse Thal  
14. Grosse Thal  
15. Grosse Thal

16. Grosse Thal  
17. Grosse Thal  
18. Grosse Thal

19. Grosse Thal  
20. Grosse Thal  
21. Grosse Thal

22. Grosse Thal  
23. Grosse Thal  
24. Grosse Thal



25. Grosse Thal  
26. Grosse Thal  
27. Grosse Thal  
28. Grosse Thal

29. Grosse Thal  
30. Grosse Thal  
31. Grosse Thal  
32. Grosse Thal

33. Grosse Thal  
34. Grosse Thal  
35. Grosse Thal  
36. Grosse Thal

37. Grosse Thal  
38. Grosse Thal  
39. Grosse Thal  
40. Grosse Thal

41. Grosse Thal  
42. Grosse Thal  
43. Grosse Thal  
44. Grosse Thal

45. Grosse Thal  
46. Grosse Thal  
47. Grosse Thal  
48. Grosse Thal

49. Grosse Thal  
50. Grosse Thal  
51. Grosse Thal  
52. Grosse Thal

53. Grosse Thal  
54. Grosse Thal  
55. Grosse Thal  
56. Grosse Thal  
57. Grosse Thal  
58. Grosse Thal  
59. Grosse Thal  
60. Grosse Thal  
61. Grosse Thal  
62. Grosse Thal  
63. Grosse Thal  
64. Grosse Thal  
65. Grosse Thal  
66. Grosse Thal  
67. Grosse Thal  
68. Grosse Thal  
69. Grosse Thal  
70. Grosse Thal  
71. Grosse Thal  
72. Grosse Thal  
73. Grosse Thal  
74. Grosse Thal  
75. Grosse Thal  
76. Grosse Thal  
77. Grosse Thal  
78. Grosse Thal  
79. Grosse Thal  
80. Grosse Thal  
81. Grosse Thal  
82. Grosse Thal  
83. Grosse Thal  
84. Grosse Thal  
85. Grosse Thal  
86. Grosse Thal  
87. Grosse Thal  
88. Grosse Thal  
89. Grosse Thal  
90. Grosse Thal  
91. Grosse Thal  
92. Grosse Thal  
93. Grosse Thal  
94. Grosse Thal  
95. Grosse Thal  
96. Grosse Thal  
97. Grosse Thal  
98. Grosse Thal  
99. Grosse Thal  
100. Grosse Thal



## Other Work on Switzerland

Very few independent works by Delkeskamp have survived from the years in which the *Picturesque Relief* was created. This may be due to the fact that most of the artist's estate fell victim to the Second World War, but is more likely the result of Delkeskamp having to devote all his energy to his panorama. In 1865 Delkeskamp wrote to Johann Müller-Wegmann (1810-1893), a passionate draughtsman of panoramas and mountains and one of the founding fathers of the Swiss Alpine Club: "In taking up the relief, for which I had to draw everything as a ... coherent whole, whether it was picturesquely beautiful or not but was necessary as a link to the whole and therefore had to be included. This has often led me into the situation of leaving the most charming points as picturesque images aside with a heavy heart, so as not to fall into the trap of following my passion for the scenic, and would have lost the desire for relief drawing, and would then never have come to the completion of the relief. I know best, of course, what an effort this cost me, and, at many opportunities, I had to carefully avoid going deeply into the geognostic, mineralogical and botanical fields."<sup>280</sup>

One of the few dated pictures is from 1829, a pen and ink drawing for the Zurich Artists' Society, which Heinrich

Keller had introduced Delkeskamp to. In the Artists' Society it was customary for members to donate drawings for painters' books. Quite contrary to his habit of drawing only "from nature", Delkeskamp contributed a "fantasy landscape with mediaeval castle", which is now kept in the Kunsthau in Zurich.<sup>281</sup> In the foreground sits an artist drawing, perhaps Delkeskamp himself.

Another time he captured himself painting in the foreground - in front of the Pfaffensprung bridge of the St. Gotthard Road over the Reuss, looking south towards the church of Wassen and towards the pass, people and animals surrounded by magnificent nature. The 55 x 40 cm watercolour remained the property of grandson Otto Delkeskamp until the end of the 1960s. It was last sold in Zurich at Koller Auctions in September 2021.

In the *Picturesque Relief*, Wassen is the outermost point in the southeast. Delkeskamp must have been there again in 1830, for his (now lost) sketch of the new "Devil's Bridge", which was completed in 1830 and formed the basis for two aquatint etchings by Hans Jakob Kull (1796-1846) published by Heinrich Keller. An advertisement in the *Zürcherisches Wochen-Blatt* of 30 September 1830 promoted the prints, which were published in large folio and octavo format.



*Fantasy landscape with mediaeval castle, 30.5 x 40.6 cm, Kunsthau Zürich*



The Pfaffensprung bridge and the St. Gotthard Road, in the background the church of Wassen, 55 x 40 cm



Neue und alte Teufelsbrücke

Les Ponts du diable 1830

*New and old Devil's bridges in the Canton of Uri, 40 x 29.5 cm*

The "Devil's Bridge", as the name suggests, has been portrayed in countless dramatic variations over the centuries, but in Delkeskamp's work the documentary focus is on the engineering structure over which intensive travel and haulage traffic passes.<sup>282</sup> Bruno Weber has described the work as a "propaganda leaf of the new Devil's Bridge", with which Delkeskamp celebrates the wide causeway to the St. Gotthard with its main sight, which had just been completed after 10 years of construction by the engineer Karl Emanuel Müller from Uri, "as a triumph of architecture"<sup>283</sup>. Above the bridge, he portrayed a seated observer looking down on what was then Switzerland's most important road and on the old bridge from the mule-train era of the 16th century and the Reuss river, which was still roaring at the time.

Every year from spring to autumn, Delkeskamp roamed Germany and Switzerland to record the preliminary sketches for his panoramas. During this time, his wife Elise was alone at home in Frankfurt, taking care of the children and certainly also of the business. On a round trip through Switzerland with his wife from 30 July to early September 1840, he succeeded in infecting her with his enthusiasm for the Alps. She reported to her brother in a euphoric letter that she managed to hike up to 8 hours a day: "Oh dear Georg! How we would have been so happy, if only you had been with us in this glorious country."<sup>284</sup> But her husband

will also have told her that he wanted to spend another ten years in Switzerland from May until the first snow in October, and only in Frankfurt in winter and spring, in order to be able to put the whole of Switzerland and the neighbouring regions on paper in addition to the river panoramas he was still planning. In Delkeskamp's understanding, this meant nothing less than the area from Salzburg in Austria across Lake Constance, the upper Italian lakes to beyond Mont Blanc and Annecy in what was then the Kingdom of Sardinia, now France.

After travelling through the Black Forest and via Donaueschingen, where they visited the birthplace of their friend Johann Nepomuk Zwerger (1796-1868), professor of sculpture at the Städelsches Institut in Frankfurt, Delkeskamp first guided his wife to the famous Rhine Falls near Schaffhausen. In Zurich he introduced Elise to his Swiss friends. For ten days they stayed with Heinrich Keller and his family, and from there visited the pastor and song composer Johann Jakob Sprüngli (1801-1889) in Thalwil and the family of the landscape painter Johann Jakob Meyer (1787-1858) in Meilen. The Delkeskamps spent several evenings with the Escher family at their country estate on Lake Zurich, the "Eschergütli", and on joint boat trips. Johann Gottfried Ebel had spent his summers there for over two decades as a guest of the Escher-Gossweiler families and had written the works he produced between 1810 and 1830. Ebel, who

"stood by the family like a brother and had the most intimate relations with them"<sup>285</sup>, may have been the one who introduced Delkeskamp to the Eschers. The head of the family, Hans Kaspar Escher (1769-1847), a merchant, banker and member of the Great City Council of Zurich, did not miss the opportunity to personally accompany the Delkeskamps on their journey to the tourist highlights of Switzerland.

Their personal "Grand Tour" began with steamboat rides across Lake Zurich and Lake Walen. This was followed by a walk to the Panthen Bridge, "a very narrow footbridge over a 200-foot abyss where the water rages below", the Linth Gorge, then through Glarus to the resort of Stachelberg, where "Friedr. Wilh. Delkeskamp with wife" signed the visitors' book on 14 August 1840 as a painter from Frankfurt a/M.<sup>286</sup>

It was there, at the latest, that Hans Kasper Escher will have addressed Delkeskamp about the misfortune that had struck the Escher-Gossweiler family in the spring. Escher had married into the family of the silk manufacturer Gossweiler. Friedrich Dürler, the son of his wife's sister, Anna Barbara Gossweiler, and the Lucerne merchant, Xaver von Dürler, born in 1804, had died dramatically. After his father's early death, Friedrich Dürler had first learned to be a merchant, but then devoted himself to art, archaeology and gymnastics in the style of the founder of gymnastics, Friedrich Ludwig Jahn. Delkeskamp probably knew Dürler from meetings in the Zurich Artists' Society. Dürler had also gained an excellent reputation as secretary of the Zurich poor relief and as a mountaineer. On 8 March 1840 he climbed the Uetliberg, Zurich's local mountain, with friends. A bet tempted him to slide down a steep gully on his alpine pole, and he fell fatally. Before that, he had begun a panorama of the Linth valley landscape around Bad Stachelberg, which the heartbroken mother Barbara Dürler-Gossweiler now

wanted Delkeskamp to complete. Delkeskamp's correspondence with her and the correspondence with Hans Kaspar Escher have been preserved. Delkeskamp agonised for a long time over the 24 x 87 cm drawing, as the suffering and early death of his daughter Emilie had also thrown him off balance for some time. The work was therefore not finished until spring 1842 and then exhibited in Zurich.<sup>287</sup>

On 16 May 1842 Delkeskamp sent the completed panorama to Barbara Dürler-Gossweiler and an accompanying letter in which he described to her his problems with this particular task:

"Dear Mrs Türlér,

*At last I am so happy to be able to send you the dear memory of your blessed son, the completed panorama of the Stachelberg Baths designed by him, and I hope that it will become a pledge of love to your motherly heart; I would gladly have put it in your possession sooner, if the immense extent of this work had not often destroyed my most ardent wishes for its early completion; the sight of the completed drawing alone must convince every observer of the greatness of the work, but this visible part is truly only the lesser part of it; for the time being, the foresight was for the partly almost completely extinguished outlines, which I often could not recognise with 3 candles, and then the tedious inking on the paper, which was not sufficiently glued, whereby one could neither ink large areas at once nor treat smaller ones in the same practical way, but the ink was absorbed into the paper immediately, instead of being able to distribute it on the paper, ink stains arose, which I could then only displace with an unspeakable effort of reworking these areas. I hardly believe that your son was willing to actually execute the drawing, or if this was the case, that his perseverance would have sufficed to complete it. For I must confess that despite my spirit of enterprise, which does not easily shrink from something laborious, I have not yet had the courage to execute one of similar size from the large mass of my own drawings."*<sup>288</sup>



Panorama of the Linth valley and surroundings seen from the area of the Stachelberg Kurhaus, 24 x 87.5 cm, National Archives Glarus



A letter sent by Delkeskamp to Mrs. Dürler-Gossweiler a little later reveals her delight at the work:

"... the feeling that moved me when I read your letter about the reception you have given to my work was indescribably gratifying and almost moved me to tears, even though I knew what a treasure of your motherly love you had entrusted to me, it makes me doubly happy to have ... carried it out .... I can assure you without blushing that love for the dearly departed, whom I also knew, the deepest sympathy for you, dear Madam, and your lamentable fate, as well as the feeling of the deepest friendship and love for the honoured Escher family, always guided me in this laborious work, and when the difficulties increased, the spiritual view of all the good ones gave me new strength to continue it, then thank God it was completed and I have only one regret, that for you this period of time may have been an infinitely long one until you came into possession of it again. I would have liked to shorten this period if it had been within my power. I was surprised that the panorama got into the exhibition so quickly, of which I happened to know nothing, and am glad to have found recognition there too."<sup>289</sup>

The Delkeskamps' trip to Switzerland continued over the Urnerboden and the Klausen Pass to Altdorf, from there to the sights that Elise knew from her husband's pictures, the Pfaffensprung near Wassen and the new and old "Devil's Bridge", to the St. Gotthard Pass. Then on in William Tell's footsteps to Lake Lucerne and the Rigi, "60 strangers from all over the world saw the sun rise beautifully the other morning and the snowy mountains in the Oberland in the glow of the sun". Via Küssnacht, Lucerne, Sarnen, the group hiked over the Brünig Pass to Meiringen, into areas that Delkeskamp would later capture in his great panorama of Switzerland, to the Reichenbach Falls, past the picturesque Rosenlauri Glacier over the Große Scheidegg to the glaciers around Grindelwald, to Staubach, to Interlaken, went over Lake Thun to Thun, through Simmenthal to Château d'Oex, over the Col de Jaman to Vevey on Lake Geneva, from there to Geneva by steamboat, where Hans Kaspar Escher left them. The Delkeskamps then visited Elise's aunt and cousin in Lyon and their beer-brewing family who had immigrated from Frankfurt.

Via Geneva, Lausanne, Bern, past Lake Biel through the Münstertal valley, the Delkeskamps finally reached Basel. In neighbouring Wiesenthal, they visited Thurneisen's paper factory, "where we were again very kindly received". The artist obtained all his paper there - even decades later for his Picturesque Plan of Frankfurt. From Basel, Elise and Friedrich Wilhelm took the ship towards Frankfurt, "since we both have free steam navigation from Düsseldorf to Basel"<sup>290</sup>, Elise reported to her brother. "That is all I can write to you for now, I am still completely filled with the beautiful country." When the two competing predecessor organisations of the Köln-Düsseldorfer Deutsche Rheinschiffahrt GmbH granted the Delkeskamps this privilege can no longer be determined, as the KD company archive fell victim to various Rhine floods. However, it is reasonable to assume that both companies did good business as partners in the distribution of Delkeskamp's Rhine panoramas.



Letter by Elise Delkeskamp to her brother Georg Heerd, 7.10.1839

Fremdenbuch		Fremdenbuch	
Nr.	Name	Ort	Abreise
1	...	...	...
2	...	...	...
3	...	...	...
4	...	...	...
5	...	...	...
6	...	...	...
7	...	...	...
8	...	...	...
9	...	...	...
10	...	...	...
11	...	...	...
12	...	...	...
13	...	...	...
14	...	...	...
15	...	...	...
16	...	...	...
17	...	...	...
18	...	...	...
19	...	...	...
20	...	...	...

Fremdenbuch, Bad Stachelberg, Landesarchiv Glarus

## Beyond the Panorama Production: The Delkeskamps in Private (1826-1840)

Delkeskamp will have met his future wife during his visits to the painter "Bruderus" [brother] Anton Radl, who lived as a subtenant with the Heerdt family at Friedbergerstraße 31. The burgher and merchant Clemens Heerdt had been given eleven children by his wife Anna Maria Götz between 1805 and 1821, but four of them died early. The two eldest, Susanna Sybilla, born in 1806, and Elisabetha, born in 1808, supported their mother in raising the younger siblings and remained closely connected throughout their lives. Clemens Heerdt came from a widely branched Frankfurt dynasty of master craftsmen, grease merchants, wine-growers and innkeepers, his wife from a family of master wainwrights.

Professionally, Clemens Heerdt relied on several pillars. He mainly dealt in ironmongery and galvanised sheet metal. In advertisements in Frankfurt's *Intelligenzblatt*, however, he regularly advertised more unusual goods: "all kinds of best quality fireworks"<sup>291</sup>, champagne chalk in lumps<sup>292</sup> and at the end of the year he offered "best quality punch essence, a bottle of 1 fl. 12 kr."<sup>293</sup>

Sometimes he risked his good name in the sale of dubious products: "Newly invented shiny powder, which gives leather the most beautiful shine in the deepest black, keeps it soft and supple without harming it, as attested in the certificate issued by the famous chemist and director of the royal Prussian Academy of Charitable Sciences in Erfurt, Privy Councillor and Professor Trommsdorf, and which is

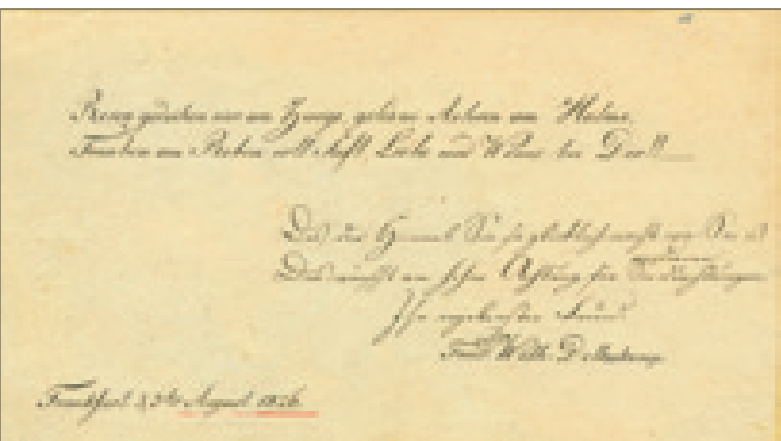
cheaper than the smallest jelly: together with instructions for use, the quarter pound is available at 12 kr. ...."<sup>294</sup> In the house he also ran a "teaching institute ... in commercial arithmetic and bookkeeping, instruction and training in German and French letter style"<sup>295</sup> A 90-page "Thorough treatise on the ratios, on the calculation of proportions or the rule of three, on the calculation with fractions and clear instructions for their correct knowledge and use" has survived - published by him in 1819.

Delkeskamp, who still did not have a permanent work and residence permit in Frankfurt, had to submit another application to the City of Frankfurt from his residential address, Lit. L No. 129 Nürnberger Hof, requesting an extension of his residence status: "To the High Senate, the humble presentation and request of a painter and engraver in landscape and architectural subjects, Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp from Berlin [for] gracious permission of a further stay here ..."

The application of 18 February 1826 was already approved by the Council on 21 February: "It is hereby entrusted to the noble police office to grant the substitute under the prescribed conditions further permission for one year to give lessons in drawing according to nature, in the teaching of perspective, in shadow construction as far as this extends to landscape and architectural objects."<sup>296</sup> Delkeskamp made no mention in his application of his professional work as a draughtsman and engraver, for which



*Poetry album leaf for Susanne Heerdt, 3.8.1826, 9 x 15.5 cm*



he had in the meantime become well-known in Frankfurt and far beyond. Perhaps, despite his manageable production of Frankfurt views and the unrivalled Rhine panorama, he still feared an objection against him from the painters' guild, or perhaps his order situation did not allow him any other secure livelihood, for the longer work on the *Small Views of the Rhine* did not begin until the end of May 1826.

A few months later, on 3 August 1826, on Susanna Sybilla Heerdt's 20th birthday, Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp, now almost 32 years old, wrote for her poetry album - an elaborate red and gold box with single leaves, bearing her initials and designed like a little book - a rather salacious contribution from today's point of view: "Roses thrive only on the branch, golden ears on the stalk, grapes on the vine full of sap, love and delight with you!!! That heaven will make you as happy as you deserve, this wish, imbued with very high esteem for you, your most devoted friend. Friedr. Wilh. Delkeskamp. Frankfurt, August 3, 1826." He combined this text with an artistic watercolour on the reverse.

It shows his hometown Bielefeld with the Sparrenburg in the background, in front of it Frankfurt's banks of the Main and in the foreground a fantasy landscape with two young ladies looking at a man who is painting a text on love and friendship on a rock face. The text is taken from Ludwig Kehr's *Sketches, Tales and Poems. For the Entertainment of the Fair Sex*: "The Creator wanted to make people happy and inspired their hearts with love. Gratefully they recognised this divine gift - he wanted to reward them for it and created - friendship."<sup>297</sup> Next to the three figures is a flower bowl with an anchor and roses, it bears the initials S.H. - Susanna Heerdt. The two female figures could represent Elisabetha, called Elise, and Susanna, the sisters who were so familiar with each other and who later even entered into marriage together in a double wedding.

Delkeskamp's elaborate and very personal contribution to the poetry box suggests that he had developed tender feelings for Susanne. But he was stringently pursuing his Switzerland project and was not on site in Frankfurt when the Heerdt's happiness came to an abrupt end with the death of their father and breadwinner. This may explain why Susanna's choice fell on Clemens Reifert, the later entrepreneur, master wainwright and producer of coaches and railway carriages, who was to become the employer of

the three eldest Delkeskamp sons in the late 1860s. From the year 1828, another family leaflet is preserved in the poetry box: C.R. is written under a drawing. Delkeskamp was to marry Susanna's sister Elise, who was two years younger, in 1831.

The unexpected death of Clemens Heerdt on 5 July 1828, shortly after his 50th birthday, hit his widow and their seven children hard. An unusually detailed obituary in Frankfurt's *Intelligenzblatt* reveals that Anna Maria Heerdt had fallen into great financial difficulties: "Death Announcement. Deeply saddened, I hereby report the sudden death on the 5th of this [month] of my beloved husband, the citizen and merchant, as well as teacher of arithmetic, Clemens Heerdt. His seven children, most of them still uneducated, weep for him with me, and only the thought of God, who never abandons widows and orphans, will be able to gradually ease my great pain. My eldest son, who for 10 years used his father's lessons in arithmetic as well as bookkeeping with the best success, will continue the lessons in the mornings and evenings and thus try to support me to the best of his ability. I therefore take the liberty of recommending this institution to an esteemed public. Frankfurt, 9 July 1828, Anna Maria Heerdt, née Götz".<sup>298</sup>

The son Johann Friedrich Heerdt, born in 1810, later actually took up the profession of teacher of "commercial sciences". A letter from Anna Maria Heerdt-Götz has been preserved in the Frankfurt city archives, in which she had to admit her precarious situation one month after the death of her husband and apply for a work permit for her daughters in order to support the family:

"To the Senate, the widow of the former local citizen and merchant, Clemens Heerdt, Anna Maria, née Götz, supplicant. The gracious permission for her two daughters, Susanna and Elisabetha Heerdt, to give instruction in female handicrafts.

Recently, my husband died very suddenly and left me, the undersigned, as a foodless widow with 7 children, none of whom are yet able to feed themselves completely. It is a great comfort for me in my present sad situation that my children are well brought up, educated and well-mannered. Of them, my two eldest daughters, Susanna Heerdt and Elisabetha Heerdt, the first of whom is 22 years old and the other 20 and a half years old, are the first to be able to support themselves and their brothers and sisters, as they are skilled in the production of female handicrafts and have acquired a great deal of skill in this.

If I must now, on the one hand, be most eager to obtain the necessary maintenance for myself and my family and to secure it for the future and, on the other hand, I have the conviction that my aforementioned daughters will not teach female handicrafts here without benefit, then I take the liberty of submitting to the esteemed Senate - in the hope that it will most graciously consider my needy situation - the most humble request: For the gracious permission to provide instruction in female handicrafts for my two daughters Susanna and Elisabetha Heerdt, with the deepest respect in which I will always insist.

Anna Maria Heerdt born Götz, subject of the esteemed Senate."<sup>299</sup>

The work permit was granted, but it was not until 28 September 1828 that the two placed the corresponding offer in the *Intelligenzblatt*:

"Advertisement. The irreplaceable loss of a dear and dearly beloved father, which recently affected us so suddenly, prompts us to publicise the instruction in female handicrafts which we had already begun at the beginning of this year, and which we have been enjoying ever since. Since we have devoted ourselves with the greatest pleasure to the production of all female handicrafts since our early youth, and have thereby acquired both the higher skills and those that relate only to ordinary female work, we hope to justify the trust placed in us not only in this respect, but also with regard to the education of the hearts of the pupils entrusted to us. In recommending ourselves to an honoured public, we also ask those parents who wish to entrust their children to our instruction to contact us and we will be pleased to provide more detailed and satisfactory information. S.S. Heerdt E. Heerdt Friedbergerstraße Lit. C No. 31".<sup>300</sup>

Anna Maria Heerdt also felt unable to continue her husband's business. On 6 September she again advertised in the *Intelligenzblatt*: "Due to the death of my husband Clemens Heerdt, I see myself forced to discontinue for the time being the ironmongery business he had run. However, I will try to clear out the still considerable stock of all articles in this field, and hereby make it known to an honoured public that I will sell both en gros and en detail at the most reasonable prices. Should someone be found who wishes to take over the whole business, I would make the cheapest conditions, but in the other case I am also willing to rent the shop together with the counter and a large room on the same floor, as well as a complete flat and a large vault, suitable for the storage of all goods, and recommend myself most humbly to those who wish to do so. A.M. Heerdt, widow, Friedberger Straße Lit E No. 31."<sup>301</sup> But it was not until December that a successor was able to communicate the reopening of the hardware store.<sup>302</sup>

During these difficult years for the Heerdt, Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp worked intensively on his Swiss panorama in Zurich. Only when his 1½-year residence permit there expired did he return to Frankfurt in the second half of 1830. Contrary to his original plans, he was unable to complete the preliminary drawings for the *Picturesque Relief* in Zurich, where he could have consulted Alpine experts in case of doubt in order to keep the inscriptions on his map free of errors.

Most of his (laterally reversed) drawings for the copper engraving were made in Frankfurt. There, however, both professionally and privately, a quiet artistic work was initially out of the question, which perhaps explains why the completion of the *Picturesque Relief* dragged on until 1835, much longer than initially assumed. At first, especially in 1831, Delkeskamp was adversely affected by the massive disputes with the successors of the late Friedrich Wilmans, who were to distribute Delkeskamp's reliefs exclusively in

Germany, England and France and on commission. Great financial worries were the consequence.

He successfully reconnected with the Heerdt family, and with the date of 23 February 1831, the Frankfurt files document this step, which was extremely significant not only for his right of residence in the Free City:

*"The Petition of Elisa Heerdt, suppliant, a burgher's daughter of legal age, submitted to the High Senate. The gracious granting of the local burgher's right as a painter and engraver upon marriage to her fiancé, Friedrich Wilh. Delkeskamp from Bielefeld.*

*High Senate. Having engaged myself in marriage, with the consent of my still living mother, to Mr Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp, a native of Bielefeld in Westphalia, who is a painter and engraver, and who has resided here for more than nine years in turn, and has executed various well-known works of his, among others the view of the Römerberg, the panoramas of the Rhine and Main published by Mr Friedrich Wilmans and many views of the Rhine with aplomb, thus demonstrating his skill; I do not fail to inform the High Senate of my intention and, with the verification of my baptismal certificate in Annex B, to make the humble request:*

*The High Senate will deign to pardon my fiancé, Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp from Bielefeld, for marrying me to the rights of a local citizen as a painter and engraver praestitis praestandis. Elise Heerdt."*<sup>303</sup>



Elisa Heerdt, 1832, by her brother, Johann Christian Heerdt



On 9 March 1831, Delkeskamp and his fiancée, who was more than 13 years younger, were summoned to the Mayor's office and the proceedings were recorded:

"Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp, a native of Bielefeld, appeared together with his fiancée, the local burgher's daughter Elise Heerdt, whose application for the former's acquisition of the Frankfurt citizenship by her marriage with the painter and engraver had been referred to the Mayor's office for instruction in advance by a resolution of the High Honourable Council of 1 March 1831. Both fiancées declared upon questioning:

According to the baptismal certificates attached to the presentation under A and B, he was born as the legitimate son of the bookbinder Friedrich Adolph Delkeskamp in Bielefeld, there on 20 September 1794, but she the fiancée as the legitimate daughter of the local burgher and merchant Clemens Heerdt on 7 January 1808, and her widowed mother had paid the income tax for 1829, which has been proven.

He had devoted himself to the art of drawing, painting and engraving. By the Honourable Council resolutions of 18 March 1823 and 21 February 1826, he was granted a residence permit here to teach drawing from nature, the science of perspective and shadow construction, as far as these extend to landscape and architectural objects. The view of the Römerberg, drawn by him from nature and engraved in copper, which was also submitted to the High Senate in December 1823, and the panoramas of the Rhine and Main and several views of the Rhine published by Friedrich Wilmans, would sufficiently legitimise him with regard to his art, to which he now also takes the liberty of drawing attention to a picturesque relief of Switzerland published by him according to the subl. registered advertisement and with privilege received from the Royal Prussian Ministry, Berlin Oct. 25, 1830, which has also been presented here; as such may neither be re-engraved nor reprinted in the Royal Prussian States, nor may any re-engraving or reprint be sold. He therefore respectfully

requests that he be admitted as a painter and engraver to the citizenship here, without entering the painters' guild here, in whose exclusive powers he would not allow himself any interference.

Both fiancés were still unmarried and adhered to the Lutheran religion, he had natural smallpox, but his fiancée had been inoculated with smallpox, he now possessed an estate of 600 fl. ..., which was to be legally confirmed on oath, and she, the fiancée, would also receive an appropriate endowment from her widowed mother.

He would then provide the dismissal from Prussian citizenship still owed by him, the Supplicant, if he were assured of the requested admission here."<sup>304</sup>

In Frankfurt, membership of the Lutheran confession was a weighty argument for the granting of citizenship. The Frankfurt Senate also decided the exemption from guild membership in his favour. Delkeskamp was able to present the release from Prussia on 11 April, and on 10 June 1831 the application was granted. On Monday, 25 July 1831, one month after the death of his brother Eduard, Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp and Elise Heerdt celebrated their wedding together with that of her sister Susanna Sybilla to Clemens Reifert in the St. Katharinenkirche in Frankfurt.

While the Reiferts' marriage remained childless, the Delkeskamps had a total of eight children, although only four of their sons reached adulthood. Their son Friedrich Adolph Delkeskamp, named after Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp's father, was born on 3 June 1832, but died after only 21 days. The death of their daughter Marie Emilie, born on 28 August 1833, at the age of only 4 years, 6 months and 13 days on 13 March 1838, hit them much harder. In a business letter dated 30 March 1838 to the famous geographer Carl Ritter in Berlin, Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp called the death "an event of the saddest kind" and described his misfortune to him in great detail.<sup>305</sup>

In autumn of the same year, on 11 October 1838, another daughter was born, the fourth child Charlotte Dorothea Susanna Emilie. She was only 2 years, 5 months and 5 days old when she died on 16 March 1841. Delkeskamp wrote to Hans Caspar Escher in Switzerland about her death: "It was a hard fate for me to see the third child, who had developed so beautifully in body and soul, go ahead to her eternal home. Night watches and a lot of crying had affected my eyes, so that I was not allowed to do anything in the evening."<sup>306</sup>

Only the third child, born on 29 July 1835, survived to a ripe old age. Son Clemens Julius was to live to the age of 71. This was followed by sons Carl Friedrich, born on 16 September 1841, who lived to be only 51, and on 16 October 1843 Christian Hermann Hugo, who died at the age of only 45. Franz Alfons was born on 11 November 1844 as the 7th child, he died aged 57. The last child, Susanna Clementine Louise, born on 14 September 1847, also died very early, at the age of only 3 ½ years, on 13 March 1851. Godmother was aunt Susanna Reifert.



Portrait medallions of Friedrich Wilhelm and Elise Delkeskamp,  
Historisches Museum Frankfurt

Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp's brother Eduard Heinrich Friedrich, who had moved his business as a case and "portefeuille" manufacturer to Katharinenpforte Lit. F 88, opposite the Graben, in 1825<sup>307</sup>, took their father Friedrich Adolph, born in 1758 and previously a bookbinder in Bielefeld<sup>308</sup>, to live with him in Frankfurt in November 1829. However, Eduard Heinrich Friedrich died on 22 June 1831, only four months after his 40th birthday. Father Friedrich Adolph did not stay with Eduard's widow Maria Margaretha, but moved to Friedrich Wilhelm in 1835 at the latest, where he lived until his death on 23 November 1836. Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp's relationship with his sister-in-law was probably not without conflict: Frankfurt's population registers show that widow Maria Margaretha Delkeskamp lived in poverty in the almshouse from the early 1840s. In 1862 she died in the Frankfurt Bürgerspital.

Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp seems to have moved in with the Heerdt in Friedberger Straße after his marriage. The first Frankfurt directory, published in 1834, already lists him at an exclusive address on the banks of the Main, the Schöne Aussicht, Lit. A 91 a. r. In 1835 he had settled with his family in the lane "hinter der Rose", Lit. D 6, later Brönnnerstraße 6. It is reported that the Delkeskamp children liked to play cops and robbers in the adjacent old cemetery.<sup>309</sup> He also had his workshop or publishing house "Hinter der Rose" until the end of the 1860s, when he and his wife moved to Bockenheim to join their sons, then and until 1895 still an independent town on the outskirts of Frankfurt.

In Frankfurt, Friedrich Wilhelm Delkeskamp was actively involved in social life. He became a member of the "Frankfurter Kunstverein", founded in 1829, to which many important citizens and artists of the city belonged. The purpose of the association was to promote the arts and the sense of art and to purchase works of art for the public.<sup>310</sup> Delkeskamp also remained a member of the successor organisation, the "Frankfurter Künstlergesellschaft", founded on 24 October 1857.

Quite obviously, he saw himself as more than just an artist, as his participation in the annual meeting of natural scientists and physicians in Bonn in September 1835 suggests.<sup>311</sup> The "Society of German Naturalists and Physicians", founded in 1822, is today the oldest German scientific association.

On 9 December 1836, Delkeskamp was also one of the founding members of the "Geographischer Verein zu Frankfurt am Main", the second oldest geographical society in Germany "for the promotion and dissemination of geography and related sciences"<sup>312</sup> and the fourth oldest in the world after Paris, Berlin and London. Carl Ritter (1779-1859) had inspired the founding. He had worked in Frankfurt for a time, but had held the chair for "geography, countries, peoples and states" at the University of Berlin since 1820 and was elected the first chairman of the Berlin "Gesellschaft für Erdkunde" [Geographical Society] in 1828. Alongside Alexander von Humboldt, he was the most important German geographer at the time.



Delkeskamp's residence at Brönnnerstr. 6, detail from the *Picturesque Plan of Frankfurt*, Historisches Museum Frankfurt

As early as 1838, the Frankfurt Geographical Society awarded him its first and, for decades, sole honorary membership. In 1836/37, in the early days of the "Geographischer Verein", Delkeskamp was a member of the executive committee, corresponded with Ritter, and served as auditor in 1838/39. On 16 May 1848, the members re-elected Delkeskamp to the board, to which he belonged in rotation until 1852. In 1866/67 the annual reports listed him as a member for the last time.<sup>313</sup> His resignation was probably due to his great financial hardship at the time.

## The Panoramas of the Delkeskamp Publishing House (1835-1858)

### New Panorama of the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne

In a letter dated 15 December 1835, Delkeskamp again turned to King Friedrich Wilhelm III, via von Nagler, and asked him quite bluntly for an interest-free loan for his latest projects, „Picturesque Relief of the Environs of the Rhine and its Valleys from Speyer to Düsseldorf in 14 large folio leaves and Picturesque Relief of the Moselle from Coblenz to Trier in 5 large folio leaves“.

*"I have largely completed the sketches for both and [this undertaking] is in the drawings before me. However, since the execution of such an extensive undertaking causes significant costs and I am currently without means, I confidently dare to recommend myself most humbly to the Most High Grace of Your Royal Majesty. It is by no means my intention to ask for support in the narrower sense of the word, but only to facilitate the publication by means of an interest-free loan of 1600 Thalers, which I will repay after completion of the work with the warmest thanks and blessings for this boon bestowed upon me; or what would be even more favourable for me, if Your Royal Majesty would graciously transfer the above sum to me as a praenumeration on 50 black as well as 12 coloured copies of the above works, which would be equal to this sum. Said copies could easily be distributed to the various plan depots of the kingdom, which*

*would later buy the work. This support would enable me to present the work to the public as quickly as possible and, through the most faithful representation possible of all that is beautiful in this most attractive part of the monarchy, would attract many a foreign traveller and encourage him to stay there longer, thereby increasing the sources of income for the inhabitants of the Rhine and Moselle, and establishing for me and my family a source of prosperity that I have hitherto lacked."*

Delkeskamp hastened to add:

*"As a native of Westphalia (Bielefeld), my greatest pride has always been to honour my fatherland as a Prussian through useful activity, just as I served as a volunteer under Your Royal Majesty's glorious flag in the freedom fights as a non-commissioned officer in the 2nd Westphalian Landwehr Regiment. May Your Most Wise Royal Majesty deign to grant a most gracious hearing to my most humble petition. I die in deepest submission..."<sup>14</sup>*

The answer - also to the Switzerland relief sent in June - was a long time coming. "I don't know anything about Delkeskamp's earlier communication - and whether and what he lost in it. You should have written it to me exactly, so that Hr. Geh. Cab. Rath Müller [a member of the Privy Council] could look it up in the files and claim it. Delk. is



Detail enlargement Cologne





modest - but his hopes and desires are such that in Vienna and Munich etc., even less attention would be paid to them than here"<sup>315</sup>, wrote von Nagler on 24 April 1836 to his confidant, Hofrat Kelchner. The answer from the palace was negative, as a marginal note on the letter reveals: "His Royal Majesty does not believe that the new relief, which the painter Delkeskamp is working on, will be of any benefit to the undertaking, since sales of such a valuable work can only be low. H.R.M. is therefore not inclined to take an interest in it."<sup>316</sup> Nevertheless, the king ordered further copies of the Switzerland relief, a total of three coloured and one black. Delkeskamp's receipt of 6 July 1836 for 207 thalers has been preserved.

Delkeskamp was not at all deterred in his determination, however; he was forced to change his plans: In May 1834 he had begun work in the Worms-Guntersblum area, but now he had to concentrate again on the commercially most interesting part, the Rhine between Mainz and Cologne, to which he had already confined himself with his panorama of 1825, as well as all the subsequent engravers. This time he invested a full three years in drawing and engraving his *New Panorama*<sup>317</sup> - as opposed to three weeks of sketches and 19 months of engraving as in his work for Wilmans. The completion of the panorama can be more precisely determined on the basis of Delkeskamp's preface dated "August 1837" in the enclosed travel guide and another letter which Delkeskamp addressed to the King on 15 August 1837:

*"Forgive Your Royal Majesty that I dare to lay down a work so recently completed by me on the steps of the throne of Your Royal Majesty most humbly. May Your Majesty most graciously look upon this new panorama of the Rhine, which depicts this magnificent river basin with the greatest possible fidelity. Due to a lack of time, it has not yet been possible to produce any coloured copies, but I believe I will be able to do so in late autumn."*<sup>318</sup>

The answer was received at the beginning of September. His Majesty requested four black and one coloured copy. Delkeskamp, however, was not able to deliver until the end of April 1838 and blamed the colourist, who lived outside Frankfurt, for the delay. In his accompanying letter to von Nagler, who had been recalled to Berlin in 1835 and had in the meantime advanced to the position of Privy Minister of State, but who continued to favourably promote the Frankfurt artist's concerns, Delkeskamp expressed a further request:

*"Forgive Your Most Worshipful if I address a modest question to your reverent self. In view of the close presence of Her Majesty the Empress of Russia, may I dare to send Her Majesty a copy of my Rhine Panorama and perhaps I copy of my Picturesque Relief of Switzerland? And how I would have to behave in order not to miss the right way."*<sup>319</sup>

Von Nagler left this to Delkeskamp's own judgement and recommended him, however, to ask for permission beforehand ...

For his new Rhine panorama, Delkeskamp drew the castles on the Rhine or what was left of the mediaeval walls,

for only Marksburg Castle and the toll castle Pfalzgrafenstein in the Rhine near Kaub had survived until the 19th century largely intact. In 1829, according to plans that went back to Karl Friedrich Schinkel, the ruins of Vaitzburg Castle (also known as "Vautsburg" in the *Kleine Rheinansichten*) had been resurrected as the romantic castle "Rheinstein" for a nephew of King Friedrich Wilhelm III, the Prussian Prince Friedrich Wilhelm Ludwig - the first of a whole series. And the discussion about romantic castle reconstruction was highly topical.

Delkeskamp therefore considered publishing a collection of views of the Rhenish castles and approached Carl Ritter in Berlin with this idea, with whom he was in contact as a member of the board of the Frankfurt Geographical Society, and with a request for mediation with Schinkel. He enclosed a drawing of Rheineck Castle, which had been virtually rebuilt by the Koblenz building inspector and architect Johann Claudius von Lassaulx (1781-1848) for Moritz August von Bethmann-Hollweg in the years from 1832. The letter itself has not survived, but Schinkel's reply to Ritter of 18 April 1837, shortly before the publication of Delkeskamp's *New Rhine Panorama*:

"Mr Delceskamp's drawing is quite accurate and clean and leads us to expect that his enterprise of publishing the Rhine castles in a collection will succeed quite happily and generate much interest. (...) However, the inclusion of the castles is no small matter; the level of the various building locations is a particular difficulty; I do not know what aids Mr Delceskamp will use for this and what support he will find, without which it is almost impossible, but the object is very much to be considered because of the cost calculation."<sup>320</sup>

Ritter's reply on 25 June 1837 flattered Delkeskamp, who excused his late reply dated 30 March 1838 with the death of his daughter Marie Emilie:

"I was very pleased that the execution of the drawing of Rheineck Castle satisfied you and gave you pleasure, and that it also met with the approval of Herr Geheimer Oberbaurath [Chief Architect of the Privy Council] Schinkel and others; thus my wish is fulfilled and I find in it the greatest reward for me; as I may also certainly hope on the other hand that you will, through your kind recommendation, take the most friendly interest in me, in order to provide my publications with even more acceptance through your weighty, much-favoured word, as is possible through my diligence alone. It is a well-known truth that the efforts of the artist are not always sufficient, but that the favourable assessment of an important man often only brings the artist the reward he deserves through the favour of the public."<sup>321</sup>

Delkeskamp had nevertheless decided to forego the planned publication and to immortalise castles, ruins, churches and other sights in the form of 60 pictures on the edge of his *New Panorama*. In the 1825 panorama, Delkeskamp had completely filled the pictorial space between two solid lines and reserved the space beyond the lines on the left and right for the inscription. Now he had





*Riverbank from Wollendorf to Gönnersdorf and Feldkirche near Neuwied, Historisches Museum Frankfurt*



*Oberdiebach, Historisches Museum Frankfurt*

created space by including the landscape to the left and right of the Rhine only to the extent necessary for places and sights. He, who had once introduced himself in Frankfurt as a "painter and engraver in the field of landscape and architecture", placed the inscriptions and his architectural drawings in the "gaps" of the picture border, which now meandered with the river and was no longer rigid. "These are not to be regarded as picturesque images, but I only intended to show the remarkable buildings contained in the panorama in a very small scale, as far as space permitted as large as possible, and limited myself to adding the buildings in their entire extent as friendly souvenir leaves ... to the river painting, avoiding all picturesque accessories and people."<sup>322</sup>

Delkeskamp's first panorama of the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne from a "half bird's-eye view" had prompted his publisher Friedrich Wilmans to commission a panorama from Heinrich Rosenkranz for travel in the opposite direction, upstream from Cologne to Mainz, but it was not published until 1830. Delkeskamp sought to thwart this kind of competition from the outset with his new edition: "Since the new panorama is executed even more in bird's-eye view, whereby both the interior of the valleys is depicted and the places appear more even, this new work can also be used with just as much benefit for the journey upstream."<sup>323</sup>

This new approach can be easily understood from a series of preparatory drawings: The bird's-eye views of the ruined castle, palace and town of Sayn<sup>324</sup> and of Boppard<sup>325</sup> are then reproduced in the New Panorama from a much higher perspective. Further preparatory drawings have survived in a number of collections.

For the expected large editions, Delkeskamp decided for the first time to use the contemporary steel engraving in which the third edition of his Rhine panorama produced for Wilmans had already been made five years earlier. Delkeskamp commissioned an entire team to engrave the

eight plates. At the foot of the panorama, the main actors are listed: "Engraved in steel under the direction of C. Deucker by Borniger and Collin. [The text] Engraved on steel by J.W. Igler. Printed by J. Back."

Georg Heinrich Karl Deucker (1801-1863), "engraver, also adjunct teacher at the drawing institute, Schlimmauer D 105" in Frankfurt, was born near Cologne in Niederrhein and lived in Frankfurt from 1805. After studies at academies in Munich and Milan he returned to Frankfurt and specialised in steel engraving.<sup>326</sup> Johann Peter Borniger was a Frankfurt draughtsman, engraver and publisher (Frankfurt Lit E No. 28; among others of the panorama of Bad Kreuznach in Delkeskamp style in 1843). Nothing else is known about Collin. Johann Wolfgang Igler (1796-1853), "calligraph and engraver, Bockgasse G 158" in Frankfurt, was responsible for the typeface, this was additionally noted at the bottom, in the image part of the panorama. He had already engraved a panorama for Wilmans and Rosenkranz. Joseph Back "engraver and printer, Hammels-gasse C 38" was also from Frankfurt. The ink came from the Balde-necker'schen Kupferdrucker-Schwärze-Fabrik [copper print ink company], Seilerstraße Lit. C No. II, Frankfurt.<sup>327</sup> The text booklet was printed by Stockmar & Wagner in Frankfurt. Later, Delkeskamp switched to the publishing house of Johann David Sauerländer (1789-1869) in Frankfurt, where his son Clemens had worked as an "assistant" since 1859.<sup>328</sup>

Delkeskamp had thus disclosed all those involved, except for the colourist from outside - just as he had confidently insisted for about 20 years that products in which he was involved should also appear under his name. This Frankfurt roster of artists remained identical in all editions, including the Igler entry at the foot of the panorama. In this respect, it can be assumed that the original printing plates "survived" all editions until the 1860s and that only selective updates were made to buildings, railway lines or bridges.