and although the sea battle on the latter undoubtedly owes something to the pictures of Cornelis de Wael (1592–1667), the design of these pieces must be from the hand of someone in the orbit of Cambiaso and Bernardo Castello. It is interesting to recall that at about this time Lazzaro Tavarone (1556–1641), an artist who fits perfectly into this category, painted those frescoes which depict the military adventures of certain other members of the Grimaldi family, particularly those derived from Giovanni Villani's History on the subject of Renato Grimaldi (Palazzo Spinola, Piazza Pellicceria – now Galleria Nazionale della Liguria). If however this silver is to be associated with Giacomo Lomellini 'il Moro' then a more likely candidate emerges, and one moreover we know was working for Giacomo at exactly this time, Domenico Fiasella. The frescoes in the family palace already referred to, were painted after Fiasella's return from Rome (*c.*1621), and he continued to be employed by Giacomo in SS. Annunziata. But one other fact of Domenico's life is especially relevant in the present context: namely, that his father, Giovanni Fiasella, was a goldsmith. Soprani specifically mentions a basin and some silver vessels made by him which belonged to Sarzana Cathedral.[27]

To consider the matter of authorship at this stage of the article may seem an ungrateful way of honouring the maker's memory; but if he is relegated to what can only be a postcript it is because nothing is known about him, and because the present writer is not qualified to speculate on who he might have been. Apart from observing that these pieces may be the products of two workshops (that the smaller set were made by a northern goldsmith has already been hinted at), there is little to say; except that our inability to put names to artists of this calibre underlines the woeful inadequacy of present knowledge – a deficiency that must in part be due to the fact that the little Genoese silver of the period to have survived has not encouraged scholars to continue the work of Alizeri and Varni. In some ways, therefore, the present pieces create more problems than they solve, and their existence poses the kind of questions which an article such as the present one – which is based almost entirely on published sources – cannot hope to answer. Who were the important goldsmiths working in Genoa at this time; what were their nationalities, and how were their workshops organized? And to what extent did contemporary artists prepare designs for goldsmiths? Some of the answers to these questions will undoubtedly be found in the notarial archives in Genoa;[28] but the person following this line of research may have to be prepared to interpret the documents in a vacuum because, of the great quantity of Genoese silver that once existed, there is a suspicion that most of it has been lost for ever. The present pieces together with those basins included in the Genoa exhibitions of 1868 and 1892[29] may be the sum total of what has survived. But future discoveries, however magnificent they be, can only confirm what the present basins and ewers prove and what the literary sources have always led us to believe: that Genoa was one of the most important centres in Italy for the goldsmith's art. Anyone with an interest, therefore, in Genoese silver, or indeed in Italian goldsmiths' work generally, is urged to come to Oxford and see these marvellous objects for himself.

[27] SOPRANI, *op. cit.*, p.245.

[28] Father Belloni told me that in his researches into Genoese painting of this period he came across many references to silver in the *atti notarili* preserved in the Archivio di Stato.

[29] Because of the rarity of the catalogues ,the entries on the relevant seventeenth-century objects exhibited are reprinted here: M. STAGLIENO and L. T. BELGRANO: *Catalogo dell'Esposizione artistico archeologico industriale aperta nelle sale dell'Accademia Ligustica* [1868], pp.115–16: (50) the Columbus basin from the Spinola collection, now in the Galleria Nazionale di Palazzo Spinola (MACANDREW, *op. cit.*, p.8, note 14); (53) *Piatto in argento . . . del diametro di cent. 29, con veduta di Genova cavata da un antico dipinto; di proprietà delle signore Duchesse Melzi e di Galliera*; (54) *Altro come sopra, rappresentante una conversazione di dame e cavalieri genovesi all'aperta campagna. Delle suddette signore Duchesse*; (55) the basin for which the Strozzi oil sketch in the Ashmolean Museum is a design; (56) *Due grandi piatti d'argento cesellati . . . del diametro di cent. 64, rappresentanti l'uno il Ratto di Europa, l'altro una Battaglia di Tritoni; del march. Carlo Piuma*; (59) *Piatto argento e due ampolle, con cesellatura e lavori di sbalzo . . . di proprietà del March. G.B. Negrotto-Cambiaso.*

V. POGGI, L. A. CERVETTO and G. B. VILLA: *Catalogo degli oggetti componenti la Mostra d'Arte Antica aperta nelle sale del Palazzo Bianco* [1892], p.84: (86) see the Exhibition of 1868, No.55; pp.92–96: (64) see the Exhibition of 1868, No.50; (67) *Piatto d'argento* (? seventeenth century). *Esposto dal Marchese Filippo Gentile*; (68) *Piatto in argento, con al centro una mano che versa acqua in una coppa; intorno corre un fregio di colombe e ramoscelli d'ulivo* (? seventeenth century). *Esposto dal Cav. Angelo Treves*; (74) *Bacino in argento ovale, di stile barocco. Esposto dal Cav. Angelo Treves*; (79) *Piattino ovale d'argento cesellato, stile barocco con decorazioni e fiorami. Esposto dal March. Franco Spinola*; (80) *Piatto in argento cesellato* (?seventeenth century). *Esposto dal Marchese Francesco Donghi*; (110) *Piatto grande in argento a margine ondulato, con al centro un leone rampante su albero e decorazioni a sbalzo* (? seventeenth century). *Esposto dal Cav. Angelo Treves.*

HELMUT BÖRSCH-SUPAN

Caspar David Friedrich's Landscapes with Self-Portraits

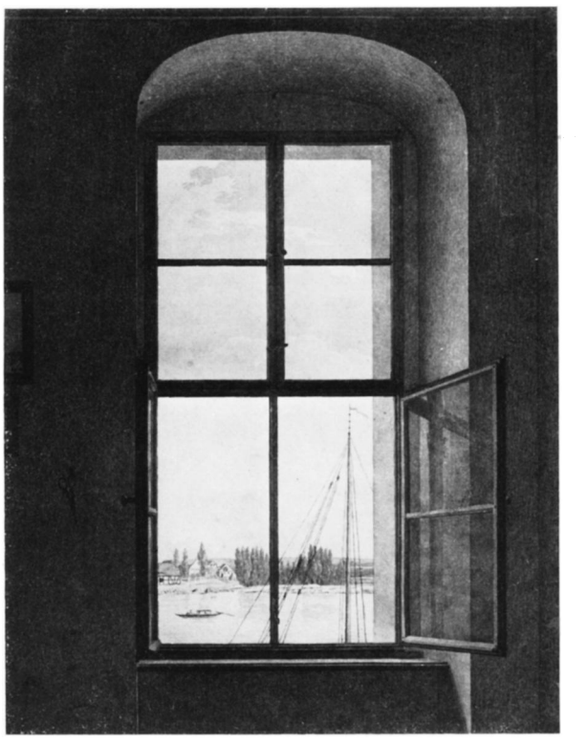
STAFFAGE figures in landscapes that are also recognizable as self-portraits are rare in the history of art. The best-known example is Lucas van Valckenborch's *View of Linz* in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt.[1] The motif of the painter or draughtsman in the foreground of a landscape sometimes prompted an artist to identify himself with the staffage. When this occurred it underlined the character of the painting as a *veduta*.

In the case of Caspar David Friedrich his conception of landscape as allegory creates a new basis for the admission of self-portraits. The religious, confessional message of his landscape made it seem natural to include self-portraits. Yet Friedrich delayed for some years before he adopted the

[1] L. GOLDSCHEIDER: *Fünfhundert Selbstporträts von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Vienna [1936], fig. p.115. *Ibid.* (p.107), self-portrait of Maerten van Heemskerck drawing on his Roman *vedute*, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

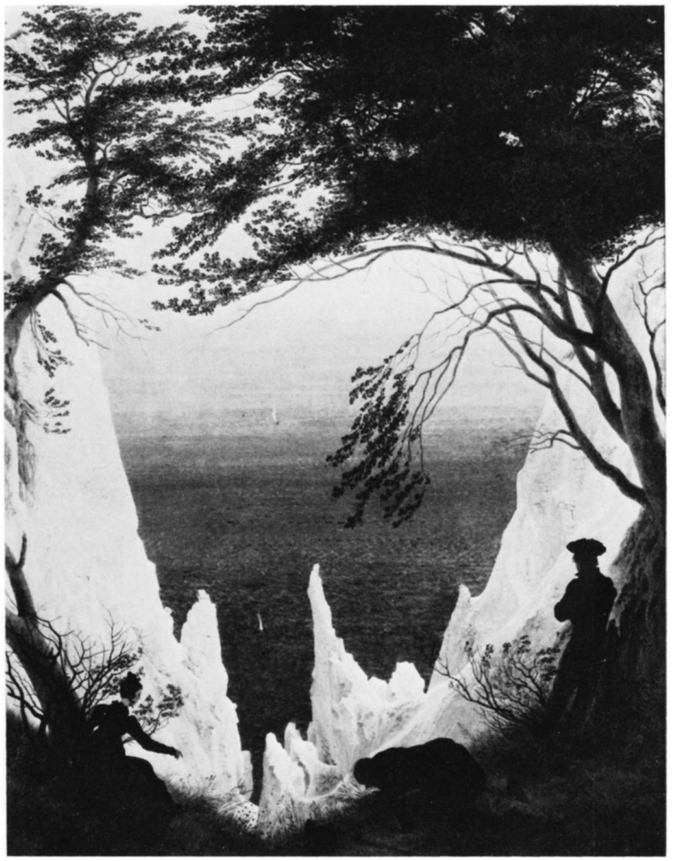
35. Detail from the *Monk by the Sea* illustrated in Fig.40.

36. *Studio window* (*left*), by Caspar David Friedrich. Sepia drawing, 31 by 24 cm. (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.)



37. *Studio window* (*right*), by Caspar David Friedrich. Sepia drawing, 31 by 24 cm. (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.)

38. *Self-portrait*, by Caspar David Friedrich. Pencil and chalk, 23 by 18 cm. (Nationalgalerie, Berlin.)



39. *Chalk cliffs on Rügen*, by Caspar David Friedrich. Canvas, 108 by 170 cm. (Stiftung Oskar Reinhart, Winterthur.)

40. *Monk by the sea,* by Caspar David Friedrich. Canvas, 110 by 171 cm. (Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin.)

41. *Abbey in the oakwood,* by Caspar David Friedrich. Canvas, 109 by 170 cm. (Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin.)

practice. In the early woodcuts of *c.*1803 he used landscape symbols to depict women or boys face to face with death.[2]

Friedrich's first use of a landscape composition to refer to his own destiny occurred in a large sepia drawing of 1803 or 1804 entitled *My Burial* and known only from written accounts.[3] It contains no self-portrait; only the words: '*Hier ruht in Gott C. D. Friedrich*' are inscribed on a cross on a grave. Mourners, one of whom is a priest, stand round the open grave. Five butterflies, souls of relatives of the painter who had died before 1804, fly heavenwards. In the background appear the ruins of a Gothic church, probably the monastery church of Eldena near Greifswald that figures so often in Friedrich's work. A rainbow in the sky symbolizes peace.

The theme of the sepia drawing was inspired by Jacob van Ruisdael's *Jewish Cemetery* in the Dresden Gallery, a painting that was greatly admired during the Neo-classical and Romantic periods. A ruined church, a rainbow, tomb-stones, and in particular one bearing the name '*v. Ruisdael*' – here fulfilling the double purpose of a signature and a representation of an inscription – are motifs common to both works.

The sepia drawings of 1805–6 in Vienna[4] (Figs.36 and 37) with views from the two windows of Friedrich's studio, itself familiar from the paintings of Georg Friedrich Kersting,[5] belong to the group of landscapes with self-portraits, although they are not landscapes in any strict sense. The interior, however, symbolizing earthly life in its circumscription and lack of light, merely assumes the function performed in other paintings by the foreground. Erik Forssman has observed that the differing perspectives of the two sheets may be accounted for by the fact that the artist has followed different lines of sight from one and the same point in the room.[6] This has given the left-hand sheet a complex, restless spatial organization, whereas the right-hand sheet is divided simply and clearly into foreground and background. Both aspects of space illustrate a theme on which the details of the drawings comment.

On the left-hand sheet a letter bearing the address: '*Dem Herrn C. D. Friedrich in Dresden vor dem Pirnaschen Thor . .*' lies on the window sill. From the window there is a view of the Elbe and the Augustus Bridge. Boats cross from the far to the near bank and so cannot symbolize death, as a river with boats – on the analogy of the Charon motif – does elsewhere in Friedrich's work. As in the cycles of the hours of the day, the seasons of the year and the ages of man formerly in private ownership in Göttingen and in the Kunsthalle in Hamburg, this river is a symbol of active life.

Reflected in the mirror cut by the right-hand edge of the drawing is part of a door-frame situated behind the spectator. There is a connection between the doorframe and a key that hangs on a nail a little lower down. The significance of these objects is clarified by the corresponding details in the companion drawing. There, below the right half of the mirror, hangs a pair of scissors; it is an allusion to Atropos, the eldest of the three Fates, and is therefore a symbol of death. This would suggest that the door may have the opposite meaning of entrance upon life. In the right-hand half of the mirror at the bottom we see the top half of Friedrich's face. This shows that Friedrich identifies himself with the right-hand drawing. Here again the view extends across the Elbe to the far bank, on which a group of houses and some poplars appear. Poplars are always symbols of death in Friedrich's work. The houses, therefore, must be regarded as heavenly habitations. Nothing of the near bank is visible except the mast and rigging of a ship lying offshore; she awakens a presentiment of an imminent crossing to the far bank and hence of death.

These two sepia drawings reveal Friedrich's ability at once to depict his surroundings with precision and to see them in a religious light. We often find in Friedrich's work a naturalistic, earthly landscape and a transcendental one juxtaposed to illustrate a religious development, as, for example, in *Monk by the Sea* and *Abbey in the Oakwood.*

Knowledge of the lost sepia drawing *My burial* is essential to a correct understanding of the *Abbey in the Oakwood* of 1809 (Fig.41). The painting depicts monks bearing a coffin past on open grave in the foreground, through the portal of a ruined church – once again the west front of the monastery church of Eldena – to a cross flanked by two torches. It recreates the atmosphere of a winter evening. The graves give an added emphasis to the theme of death in the painting. The bare oaks symbolize the pagan aspect of death, illustrated in particular by the weird, jerky lines of the branches. The heroic gesture suggests an expression of despair. It is answered by the cross, the clearing of the sky as the promise of eternal life, and by the moon, which in Friedrich's work is the light that lightens the night of death and is hence a symbol of Christ. The slender sickle of the waxing moon, the dull disc of which is faintly painted in, betokens the growing knowledge and nearness of Christ and frames a prospect of hope.

Theodor Körner, writing as early as 1810, brought out the positive sense of the painting in two sonnets entitled *Friedrichs Totenlandschaft* that contradicted many other efforts to interpret it as a dispiriting depiction of death.[7]

It is easy to suppose the painting to be a variation on the theme of the sepia drawing *My Burial* and to identify the dead man whom the monks carry to the grave as Friedrich himself. The conjecture is corroborated by the companion to the painting, *Monk by the Sea* (Fig.40). Probably because they differ so greatly in the composition that it is impossible

[2] W. SUMOWSKI (*Caspar David Friedrich-Studien*, Wiesbaden [1970], p.136 f.) establishes the right dating. Woodcuts *Woman with Spider's Web, Woman with Raven in Valley, Boy asleep on a grave* reproduced in the catalogue of the London exhibition (*Caspar David Friedrich*, London [1972], Nos.21–23).

[3] Exhibited at the Dresden Academy in 1804 (No.296). Described in *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* [1804], p.239; *Der Freimüthige* [1804], p.330; *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* [1807], p.207; *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* [1807], col.580 f; *Jenaische allgemeine Literaturzeitung* [1809], p.IV. Cf. SUMOWSKI [1970], p.186, No.36 and p.192, No.73, whose descriptions wrongly refer to two sheets. He prints the above accounts, except for the one in *Der Freimüthige.*

[4] *Studio Window (right)* was shown at the exhibition at the Dresden Academy in March 1806.

[5] Hamburg, Kunsthalle, 1811; Berlin, Nationalgalerie, 1812; Mannheim, Kunsthalle, 1819. Cf. note 9.

[6] E. FORSSMAN: 'Fensterbilder von der Romantik bis zur Moderne', *Konsthistoriska Studier tillä gnade Sten Karling*, Stockholm [1966], p.289 ff.

[7] THEODOR KÖRNER: *Sämtliche Werke*, edited by KARL STRECKFUSS, Berlin [1835], p.45 f.

to imagine them as companion pieces designed for decorative purposes, it has not always been clearly recognized that these two paintings belong together as a pair.

We should notice, however, that in Friedrich's work companion pieces always illustrate an irreversible process of development from one painting to the other and that the differentiation of the thought inherent therein is expressed in the composition and often in the handling of the colour too.[8]

It has passed unnoticed until now that the figure in *Monk by the Sea* is a self-portrait (detail, Fig.35). The thick fair hair, the sprouting beard, the round-shaped skull and the gaunt stature are features of Friedrich's appearance as it is known from authenticated portraits[9] and written descriptions.[10] Moreover, Friedrich's secluded and modest way of life, for which there is ample evidence, not least George Friedrich Kersting's representation of his studio, justified him in depicting himself as a monk.

The thesis that the monk is a self-portrait is corroborated by an entry in the diary of the Jena bookseller Karl Friedrich Frommann, who saw *Monk by the Sea* and *Abbey in the Oakwood*, among other works, in Friedrich's studio on 24th September 1810 immediately before Friedrich sent the two paintings to the exhibition at the Berlin Academy.[11] Frommann writes: '*Vormittags Besuch bei Friedrich, Ansicht verschiedener seiner Gemälde. Vier kleine aus dem Fenster genommen und dargestellt. Mehrere andere auch in Sepia, alle in seinem Charakter, zwei ganz grosse Oel-Landschaften, die eine im Winter mit sechs oder acht kahlen Baumen, um eine Kapelle, in deren Hintergrund eine Doppellampe ein schönes Licht macht und wo der Nebel sich im Vor-, Mittel und Hintergrund magisch hinzieht. Die andere die Ostsee mit schön blinkenden Wellen beim letzten Viertel des Mondes und dem schwach blitzenden Morgenstern . . .* [word illegible] *i. Dunkel mit eignem . . .* [word illegible, but must be '*Bildnis*' or '*Porträt*']. *Schwaches Auftragen der Farben: Welche Dauer werden diese feinen Oelgemälde haben? Anlage einer anderen grossen Landschaft aus dem schlesischen Riesengebirge. Aus dem Standpunkt der Schneeberge genommen, wo eine weibliche Figur den Maler selbst auf der höchsten Höhe am Kreuz liegend zu sich hinaufzieht; das untere Gebirge soll fast ganz in Wolken liegen und ein durchgehender Sonnenstrahl, das Kreuz, den Mann erleuchten. Noch geht er schwanger mit 3 ähnlichen Bildern, in denen er immer die Hauptrolle spielt. Kleines Medaillon von ihm in Marmor-Alabaster vom Bildhauer Kühn. Ganz originelle Natur des Meisters, doch weniger rauhe Aussenseite als ich mir gedacht.*'

This entry contains also a surprising reference to an earlier state of the painting, in the development of which it is now possible to identify four phases. The painting is first described as a new work in February 1809 by Christian August Semler in an account of a visit to the painter's studio.[12] In the background he saw '*eine graue, von Dünsten schwere Luft*' ('a grey atmosphere, heavy with vapours') and '*einen grauen, ruhigen, nirgends durch aufflackerndes Weiss gestörten Ton*' ('a grey, quiet tone, nowhere disturbed by a flicker of white'). This description accords with another by Helene von Kügelgen, wife of Friedrich's friend the painter Gerhard

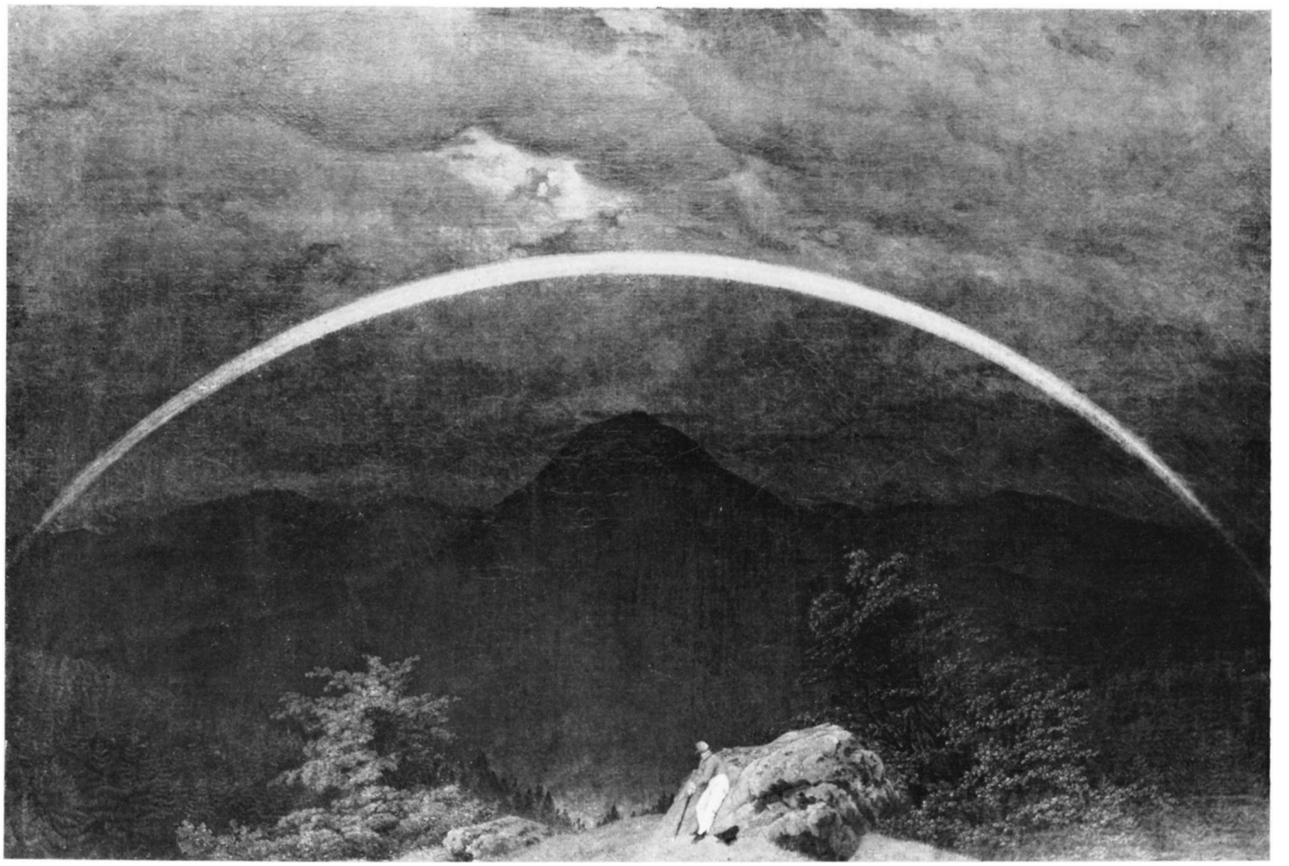
[8] For a discussion of this problem see H. BÖRSCH-SUPAN: '*"Einsamer Baum" und "Mondaufgang am Meer" – zu zwei Gemälden Caspar David Friedrichs*', *Kunstgeschichtliche Gesellschaft zu Berlin, Proceedings*, New Series [1969/70], p.16 f.

[9] The following portraits of Friedrich are known: 1800, J. L. G. Lund, miniature, Hanover, Kestnermuseum (*Ausstellung deutscher Kunst aus der Zeit von 1775–1875*, Nationalgalerie, Berlin [1906], No.1086, with reprod.), engraved by J. C. B. Gottschick. 1800, self-portrait, drawing, Copenhagen, Print Room (K. WILHELM-KÄSTNER: *Caspar David Friedrich und seine Heimat*, Berlin [1940], figs.2–7.9). 1800, self-portrait, drawing, Dresden, Print Room (SUMOWSKI [1970], fig.399). 8.3.1802, self-portrait with cap and eye-flap, drawing, Hamburg, Kunsthalle (*Kunst in Dresden*, Heidelberg, Kurpfälzisches Museum [1964], exhibition catalogue, No.157, with reprod.). *c.*1802, self-portrait in profile, drawing, Hamburg, Kunsthalle (WILHELM-KÄSTNER [1940], fig.3), preliminary drawing for woodcut by Christian Friedrich. *c.*1802, self-portrait of the artist seated at a table, drawing, Hamburg, Kunsthalle (s. HINZ: *Caspar David Friedrich in Briefen und Bekenntnissen*, Berlin [1968], reprod. at p.97). *c.*1803, C. C. A. Böhndel (?), painting, formerly Stralsund, F. Pflugradt (unpublished). *c.*1803, self-portrait, drawing, owner unknown (unpublished). *c.*1806, self-portrait in profile, drawing, Dresden, Stadtmuseum (WILHELM-KÄSTNER [1940], fig.1). *c.*1806, K. G. Kühn, bust, plaster, Dresden, Stadtmuseum (E. SIGISMUND: *Caspar David Friedrich, eine Umrisszeichnung*, Dresden [1943], fig. at p.32). *c.*1808, G. von Kügelgen, portrait as Saul, drawing, study for the following painting (L. VON KÜGELGEN: *Gerhard von Kügelgen, ein Melereben um* 1800, Stuttgart [1924], p.54). 1807, G. von Kugelgen, portrait as Saul, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie engraving by C. F. Stolzel (VON KUGELGEN [1924], p.19). 18.7.1810, Friedrich walking in the Riesengebirge, back-view, drawing, Berlin, Nationalgalerie (B. DÖRRIES: *Zeichnungen der Frühromantik*, Munich [1950], p.70). *c.*1810, G. von Kügelgen, painting, Hamburg, Kunsthalle (*Katalog der Meister des 19. Jahrhunderts in der Hamburger Kunsthalle*, Hamburg [1969], p.165). *c.*1810, G. von Kügelgen, three drawings, in the Julius Freund Collection, Berlin, in 1928 (*Der Kunstwanderer*, IX [1928], p.246). *c.*1810, G. von Kügelgen, drawing, Dresden, Print Room (unpublished). *c.*1810, self-portrait (here Fig.38), drawing, Berlin, Nationalgalerie (catalogue of the London exhibition [1972]). *c.*1810, K. G. Kuhn (?), marble relief, privately owned (catalogue of the Caspar David Friedrich exhibition, Griefswald Museum [1956], No.129, with reprod., perhaps the relief mentioned in Fromman's diary). 1811, C. Bardua, painting, Berlin, Nationalgalerie (*Grosse Deutsche Bildnissen in ihrer Zeit*, Berlin [1936], fig. p.328). 1811, G. F. Kersting, portrait of the painter in his studio, Hamburg, Kunsthalle (*Katalog* [1969], p.154). 16.11.1811, G. F. Kersting, Friedrich walking in the Harz, back-view, drawing, Berlin, Nationalgalerie (DÖRRIES [1950], p.71). 1812, G. F. Kersting, portrait of the painter in his studio, painting, Berlin, Nationalgalerie (catalogue of the London exhibition [1972], No.36). *c.*1815, J. C. F. Finelius, formerly in private ownership in Stralsund (SUMOWSKI [1970], fig.391). 1818, G. F. Kersting, drawing, lost, lithographed by L. Zoellner (SIGISMUND [1943], fig. at p.128). 1819, G. F. Kersting, portrait of the painter in his studio, painting, Mannheim, Kunsthalle (*Kunsthalle Mannheim, Verzeichnis der Gemälde- und Skulpturensammlung*, Mannheim [1957], fig.16). 23.11.1823, C. Vogel von Vogelstein, drawing, Dresden, Print Room (SUMOWSKI [1970], fig.206). 27.3.1824, J. C. C. Dahl, back-view, drawing, Oslo, Nasjonalgalleriet (L. ØSTBY: *Johan Christian Dahl, Tegninger og Akvareller*, Oslo [1957], p.137). 1834, David d'Angers, plaquette, Angers, Musée David d'Angers (C. DE PRYBRAM-GLADONA: *Caspar David Friedrich*, Paris [1942], pl.1). 1836, J. C. Bähr, painting, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (catalogue of the exhibition *Meisterwerke des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts aus der Gemäldegalerie Dresden*, Düsseldorf [1958], No.61, fig. p.29). 1839, C. Bardua, painting, Dessau, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen (SIGISMUND [1943], fig. at p.96). 1839, G. A. Friedrich, drawing, Greifswald, Städtisches Museum (catalogue of the Greifswald exhibition [1956], No.128, with reprod.)

[10] E.g. by Carl Gustav Carus, Wilhelm von Kugelgen and Gotthilf Heinrich Schubert, printed in HINZ [1968], pp.201, 226, 228.

[11] I am indebted for knowledge of this entry to a transcript by the late Hans Geller, the art historian, among the literary remains of the Friedrich scholar Karl Wilhelm Jähnig. 'In the morning visited Friedrich, saw several of his paintings. Four small ones taken and painted from the window. Several others too in sepia, all in his character, two quite large landscapes in oils, one in winter with six or eight bare trees round a chapel, in the background of which a double lamp makes a fine light and the mist in the fore-, middle- and background magically disperses. The other the Baltic with the waves finely glinting under the last quarter of the moon and the palely gleaming morning star . . . [word illegible] in the dark with own . . . [word illegible, but must be '*Bildnis*' or '*Porträt*']. Colours laid on thinly: what permanence will these fine oil paintings have? Study for another large landscape of the Silesian Riesengebirge. Taken from the view-point of the Schneekoppe, where a female figure lying on the cross on the topmost slope draws the painter himself up towards her; the mountain below is to lie almost hidden in the clouds and a penetrating sunray to illuminate the cross and the man. He is also full of plans for three similar paintings, in each of which he plays the main part. A small medallion of him in marble-alabaster by the sculptor Kühn. The master of an entirely original character, yet his exterior less rough than I had imagined'.

[12] *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* [1809], p.233 ff.

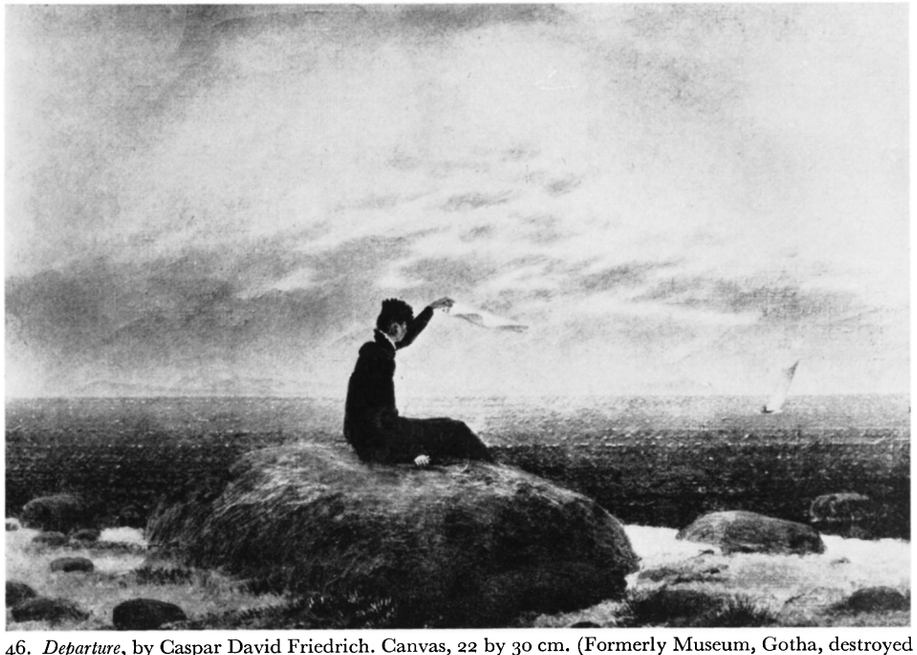


42. *Landscape with rainbow*, by Caspar David Friedrich. Canvas, 108 by 170 cm. (Museum Folkwang, Essen.)

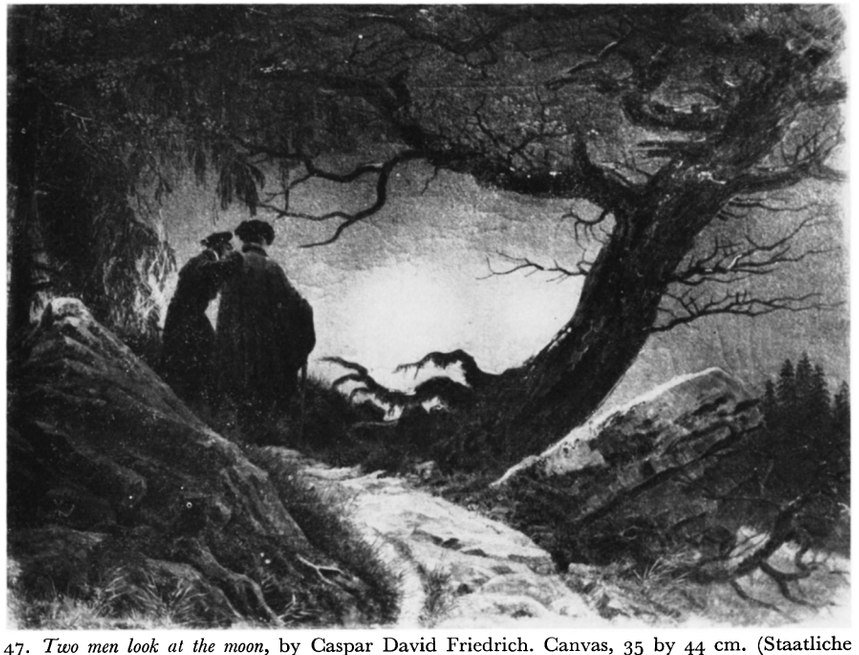
43. *Cross in the Riesengebirge*, by Caspar David Friedrich, Canvas, 108 by 170 cm. (Staatliche Schlösser und Gärten, Berlin.)

44. *Evening walk*, by Caspar David Friedrich. Canvas, 33 by 43 cm. (Private Collection, Heidenheim.)

45. *Ages of Man*, by Caspar David Friedrich. Canvas, 73 by 94 cm. (Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig.)



46. *Departure*, by Caspar David Friedrich. Canvas, 22 by 30 cm. (Formerly Museum, Gotha, destroyed by fire in 1931.)



47. *Two men look at the moon*, by Caspar David Friedrich. Canvas, 35 by 44 cm. (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.)

von Kügelgen, who wrote of the painting in a letter of 22nd June 1809: '*Ein grosses Bild in Öl sah ich auch, welches meine Seele garnicht anspricht. Ein wetier, unendlicher Luftraum. Darunter das unruhige Meer und im Vordergrunde ein Streifen hellen Sandes, wo ein dunkel gekleideter oder verhüllter Eremit unherschleicht. Der Himmel ist rein und gleichgültig ruhig, kein Sturm, keine Sonne, kein Mond, kein Gewitter – ja ein Gewitter wäre mir ein Trost und Genuss, dann sähe man doch Leben und Bewegung irgendwo. Auf der ewigen Meeresfläche sieht man kein Schiff, nicht einmal ein Seeungeheuer, und im Sande keimt auch nicht ein grüner Halm, nur einige Möwen flattern umher und machen die Einsamkeit noch einsamer und grausiger*'.[13] Helene von Kügelgen did not know, as she deplored the absence of a ship, that Friedrich had originally planned to have two ships close inshore that were to heel over and were to be viewed bow on. Closer examination reveals some of the preliminary drawing under the thin paint and the ships have shown up more clearly on an infra-red photograph.[14] The two vessels approaching the shore were meant, as Friedrich often means them, as ships of life and were intended to symbolize his premonition of impending death.

Between the visits of Helene von Kügelgen and Karl Friedrich Fromman Friedrich must have transformed the painting into a night-piece. The waning moon, visible only in the morning, and the morning star provide a more exact reference to the time of day. The only other appearance of a sickle moon in Friedrich's work is in the painting *House in the Pinewood* in Cologne[15] and probably signifies despair and the remoteness of God, while dawning day may stand for Judgment Day.

It would appear that Friedrich wished to replace the existential uncertainty expressed in the grey sky by a more positive landscape allegory.

Immediately after Frommann's visit Friedrich must have decided to repaint the sky again and to transform the painting back into a day-piece. He left the nocturnal blue undisturbed at the top of the painting and as a dark wall of vapour above the horizon, and placed between them a sunlit line of cloud and a light blue sky. One can clearly see that these light parts, contrary to the normal procedure of painting from light to dark, are laid on top of dark blue. This spectacle of light signifies the promise of eternal life in the menacing atmosphere of earthly existence.

Abbey in the Oakwood and *Monk by the Sea* appear in the appendix of the catalogue of the Berlin Academy exhibition, with the paintings that were sent in late, under one number as 'two landscapes in oil'.[16] The exhibition had opened on 23rd September, that is, on the day previous to the one on which Fromman saw the paintings in Friedrich's studio. A document in the archives of the Akademie der Künste in Berlin enables us to infer with a high degree of probability that Friedrich originally sent to Berlin only *Abbey in the Oakwood* and a sepia drawing, keeping back *Monk by the Sea* in order to repaint it. And, indeed, the Academy's note recording the receipt on 27th September 1810 of a consignment of paintings from Dresden states that two cases containing six paintings and a drawing had arrived.[17] This must refer to the combined consignment of Friedrich and Gerhard von Kügelgen, since von Kügelgen sent the five works listed in the catalogue immediately before those of Friedrich; presumably, therefore, Friedrich originally sent one painting only.

By the beginning of October, however, *Monk by the Sea* must have arrived too, for Kleist's enthusiastic article on the painting appeared on 15th October in the *Berliner Abendblätter* in response to an ironical dialogue by Clemens von Brentano on the effect of the painting on the public.[18]

There would appear to be a second instance in Friedrich's *œuvre* of his having made later alterations to a composition; this is *Landscape with a Rainbow* in Essen (Fig.42), which was painted at approximately the same date as *Monk by the Sea*. Herbert von Einem has already recognized the staffage figure as a self-portrait.[19] The rainbow is painted over the dark sky in unnatural, glaring whitish colours. A source of light is visible in the dark clouds; this is inconsistent with the rainbow, which requires the sun to be behind the spectator, and must be moonlight. The painting has been wrongly named *Moon Rainbow* because of it. It would therefore appear to have been originally planned as a night-piece. Helene von Kügelegn may have seen the painting in this state and this may be the one she describes in the same letter of 22nd June 1809 following her account of *Monk by the Sea*: '*Eine Mondlandschaft aber wurde mir sehr gefallen haben, wenn sie besser gemacht wäre, es ist überall eine Härte, von der die Natur nichts weiss. Aber der dunkle, schweigende Wald und der aufsteigende Nebel sind überaus schön.*'[20]

As Sumowski has noted,[21] a critical remark about paintings by Friedrich made by Duke August von Sachsen-Gotha-Altenburg in a letter of 9th October 1810 to the Dresden painter Therese aus dem Winkel, in which he writes of rainbows '*die wie Conditor-Arbeit aussehen*'[22] ('that look like confectionery') clearly refers to the final version with the rainbow. Friedrich's painting is a confession of faith. Distinguished by his dress as a townsman and there-

[13] MARIE HELENE VON KÜGELGEN: *Ein Lebensbild in Briefen*, edited by A. and E. VON KÜGELGEN, 3rd impression, Leipzig [1901], p. 161. 'I saw too a large painting in oil, which does not please my spirit at all. A broad, endless sky. Beneath it a restless sea and in the foreground a strip of light-coloured sand, about which prowls a hermit in a dark habit or cloak. The sky is clear and insipidly calm, no tempest, no sun, no moon, no thunderstorm – indeed, a thunderstorm would have consoled and delighted me, then somewhere after all one would see life and movement. No ship, not even a sea-monster is visible on the eternal surface of this sea; no blade of grass sprouts in the sand, only a few gulls flap about and make the solitude yet more lonely and more dreadful.'

[14] H. BÖRSCH-SUPAN: 'Bemerkungen zu Caspar David Friedrichs "Mönch am Meer" ', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, XIX [1965], p.63 ff.

[15] R. ANDREE: *Katalog der Gemälde des 19. Jahrhunderts im Wallraf-Richartz Museum*, Cologne [1964], fig. p.180.

[16] *Verzeichnis derjenigen Kunstwerke, welche von der Königlichen Akademie der Künste ... den 23sten September und folgende Tage ... ausgestellt sind*, Berlin [1810], No.339.

[17] Spec. X Abt. No 1 d (*Acta betr. Academische Kunstausstellung* [1810–1813]).

[18] Cf. BÖRSCH-SUPAN [1965], p.70ff.

[19] H. VON EINEM: *Caspar David Friedrich*, Berlin [1938], p.71.

[20] See note 13. 'A moonlit landscape would, however, have pleased me greatly if it had been better done; there is everywhere a harshness that is quite unknown to nature. But the dark, silent forest and the rising mist are exceedingly fine.'

[21] SUMOWSKI [1970], p.95.

[22] W. VON METZSCH-SCHILBACH: *Briefwechsel eines deutschen Fürsten mit einer jungen Künstlerin*, Berlin [1893], p.281.

fore as a stranger in these surroundings, he stands on the edge of the valley of death and leans against a rock, the symbol of faith. His hat lies on the ground symbolizing humility. The cone of the mountain, on the far side of the valley – hence in a transcendental realm – rises heavenwards. The rainbow above it is a sign of the peace of man with God. The moon breaking out of the clouds is a symbol of hope in Christ in dark times that often occurs in Friedrich's work.

There are many indications that this painting was some kind of reply to a compositionally quite different *Landscape with Rainbow* formerly in the Weimar Museum but missing since 1945. This painting was an illustration to the poem *Schäfers Klagenlied* by Goethe and appears to have been an attempt by Friedrich to characterize the poet's attitude to nature that differed so greatly from his own.[23]

The landscape in the Riesengebirge with the portrait of the painter mentioned by Fromman as having been begun was acquired in 1812 by Frederick William III of Prussia, and, like *Monk by the Sea* and *Abbey in the Oakwood* is today in Schinkel's pavilion in the park at Charlottenburg (Fig.43). When the painting was sent in March 1811 as a late entry to the exhibition at the Dresden Academy, a critic writing of the exhibition in the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* stated[24] that the man whom a woman in a white garment – presumably a personification of religion – draws up to the cross was Friedrich himself and that the staffage had been painted by Friedrich's friend Georg Friedrich Kersting. The rather imprecise painting of the figures seems to corroborate this statement, although it is not very clear why Friedrich should have enlisted Kersting's aid on this occasion and although, according to Frommann, the woman was originally depicted as lying on the cross. It is conceivable that Kersting had criticized the original conception and that Friedrich asked him to put in the staffage as he thought fit. No *pentimenti* are visible at this point.

The meaning of the painting is clear. The rock in the foreground, the realm of earthly life, signifies faith, which, with the cross, leads to heaven. The cross in the right-hand half of the composition relates to the rising sun in the left-hand distance to form a divine symbol and promise of eternal life. As in the mountain landscape in Essen, the mist-filled valley behind the foreground symbolizes death. This painting too once had a companion piece that, like *Studio Window* (*left*) represented earthly life.[25] This painting depicted a mountain peak veiled in clouds, denoting the mystery of God. In the foreground was a rock formation with a man lifting a girl from crag to crag. In contrast to the staffage of the companion painting, this figure signified the leading part played by man in earthly life. A waterfall and a navigable river in the background were presumably meant as symbols of active life. An overcast sky with the red of the setting sun indicated the approach of the night of death. It is uncertain whether the man in this painting was a self-portrait.

With this pair of paintings Friedrich appears for the time being to have exhausted the theme of the landscape with self-portrait. Not until the end of the second decade of the nineteenth century does Friedrich's work – obviously in connection with his marriage of 1818 – again contain clearly recognizable reflections on his own existence.

A painting of 1818 formerly in Gotha but destroyed by fire in 1931 (Fig.46) returns to the theme of the sepia drawing *My Burial*. The woman seated on the rock in the foreground, the symbol of faith, waving her handkerchief in farewell to the departing vessel on the right is presumably Friedrich's wife. Friedrich undoubtedly means to depict the separation of husband and wife by death. It is characteristic of his habit of mind to imagine, so soon after his marriage, the situation that would ensue upon his death. Friedrich was forty-four at the time and his wife only twenty-one. *On Board the Sailing-Ship* in Leningrad,[26] painted soon after this, is a variation on the same theme. The couple on the deck of the ship are not, indeed, in this instance true portraits of Friedrich and his wife, although some identification may have been in Friedrich's mind inasmuch as his honeymoon journey to the Baltic and the crossing to Rügen – or rather the return from Rügen to Stralsund – provided the inspiration for the painting. The couple in the ship of life sail towards the distant Gothic harbour-city that symbolizes the beyond. The colours of the clothing of the man and woman play their part in the symbolism of the painting. The man wears a suit of striking blue that signifies faith, while the woman's red dress symbolizes love.

Another impression from the same journey is embodied in one of Friedrich's best-known paintings, the *Chalk Cliffs on Rügen* in the Stiftung Oskar Reinhart in Winterthur (Fig.39). It is a variation on the theme of the *Landscape with Rainbow* in Essen. The man in the blue coat who prostrates himself on the ground and seeks a hold in the grass as he gazes into the chasm is unmistakably Friedrich himself.[27] His hat lies on the ground, as in the Essen painting. The grass symbolizes the swift transience of life, the chasm is death. The blue of the coat corresponds with the blue of the sky and makes the symbolism of blue as the colour of faith clearly perceptible. This daring exploration of the concept of death is the distinctive feature of Friedrich's thought.

The bearing of the woman in the red dress – presumably Friedrich's wife – and her attitude to death are different. She clings almost fearfully with her left hand to the withered bush at her side and points with her right hand into the chasm or to the flowers growing to the left of the hat. The man on the right in a greyish-green suit who leans with folded arms against a tree-trunk, a symbol of death, and gazes across the chasm into the far distance represents yet another standpoint. It is difficult to be sure who this figure is supposed to be. It may be Friedrich's brother Christian,

[23] H. BÖRSCH-SUPAN: 'Die Landschaften mit dem Regenbogen von Caspar David Friedrich', *Kunstchronik*, 23 [1970], p.301 f.
[24] *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* [1811], p.371 ff.
[25] Exhibited with its companion piece in Weimar in 1811. Described in *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* [1811], p.115.
[26] Illustrated (No.00) in the catalogue of the London exhibition [1972].
[27] The conjecture that the man lying on the ground might be Friedrich has previously been advanced only by PAUL SCHAFFNER in an inaccessible place (*Sonntagspost, Literarische Beilage zum Landboten und Tageblatt der Stadt Winterthur*, No.5 [31.1.1948].

who accompanied the painter and his wife on their tour through Rügen. Nor can we be quite certain that we are justified in explaining the colour of his suit as a reflection of the green of the trees and a symbol of eternal life. If this is so, the painting is an allegory of the Christian virtues.

It is characteristic of Friedrich's work of this period and the early 1820's that, in contrast to the early works, he codifies his reflections on death in genial, sometimes cheerful, paintings. Thus the impression made by *Chalk Cliffs on Rügen* on an unprejudiced spectator is that of a straightforward reminiscence of an episode on the artist's travels.

Two Men look at the Moon (Fig.47) was painted at almost the same date as *Chalk Cliffs at Rügen* and the spatial situation is similar. Two men stand on a stony mountain path, symbol of the hard path of life, at the edge of a valley; they gaze at the sickle of the waxing moon, the full circle of which, as in *Abbey in the Oakwood*, is already visible. The dying oak which seems to be on the point of crashing down the slope signifies the heathen, combative way of life and contrasts with the Christian way symbolized by the fir-tree on the left. Dahl, who owned the painting until 1840 when he sold it to the Dresden Gallery, wrote on 26th September 1840 in a letter to the gallery that the figures were Friedrich's pupils August Heinrich and Christian Wilhelm Bommer, the latter of whom was also his brother-in-law.[28]

This is contradicted by a description of the painting by Wilhelm Wegener, who knew Friedrich from 1836 and states in an article of 1869 that the persons portrayed are August Heinrich and Friedrich himself.[29] Wegener's identification is the more probable for the following reasons. The bearing of the two men is so different – one stands there serenely while the other rests an arm on his shoulder – that it may well express the subordinacy of one to the other, a generation-gap and a teacher-pupil relationship. Later, probably in the 1830's, Friedrich repeated the composition with variations in a painting in the Nationalgalerie in Berlin[30] and replaced the younger of the two men (in Dahl's submission this would be the eighteen-year-old Bommer) by a woman. The fact that he changed only one of the figures might be explained by the death of August Heinrich in 1822. The woman who replaces him in the Berlin painting is probably Friedrich's wife. This would make the painting a variation on the theme of the Leningrad *On Board the Sailing-Ship*.

During the period that separates the Dresden and Berlin versions of the composition, staffage loses its importance in Friedrich's work, only to acquire from the end of the 1820's a new significance that results once more in self-portraits in landscapes.

The painting *Evening Walk* (Fig.44) published by Marianne Prause in 1967 probably dates from the 1830's rather than the period round 1820.[31] A tracing in Dresden with the figure of the man[32] occurs indeed on the same sheet as the figure-studies for two other lost paintings, one of them, depicting two male back-view figures standing side by side, being closely related to the figures of the unfinished *Northern Light* of *c.*1834–35.[33]

The man in the long fur-trimmed coat is obviously Friedrich himself, for he wears the same coat in the portrait by Caroline Bardua of 1839[34] and in the self-portrait in *The Ages of Man*. Walking to the cairn symbolizes expectation of death. The autumnal season and the evening atmosphere with the sickle of the waxing moon underline this notion, but also contain the certainty of a new day and a new spring as a metaphor for the resurrection. The theme of the picture prompts the conjecture that a companion piece, now lost, once existed, the staffage for which appears beside the drawing of the man on the sheet of studies in Dresden. The figures comprise three women walking towards the left, one of whom is veiled, and five others further in the background. This staffage is unusual for Friedrich and is probably connected with the painting *Easter Morning*, now lost but once owned by Wilhelm Wegener and described by him thus: '*Drei Frauen, eine in Trauer, wandeln still zum Gottesacker in des Morgens Frühe; noch ist die Sonne nicht aufgegangen, aber der Mond, der hoch am Himmel steht, verweilt noch, er leuchtet nicht mehr, er wirft keine Schatten. Die Erlen an beiden Seiten des Weges treiben junge Knospen, und auf den Feldern erblickt man die junge, grüne Saat, die den Winter überdauert hat, auch die Natur feiert ihren Auferstehungsmorgen*'.[35]

If this painting in fact formed the companion piece to *Evening Walk* it means that Friedrich had returned to the themes of the sepia drawing *My Burial* and the Gotha *Departure* and now combined them with symbols of the resurrection.

Friedrich portrayed himself for the last time in *The Ages of Man* (Fig.45). The painting seems to have belonged originally to Friedrich's brother Heinrich or Heinrich's son Karl Heinrich Wilhelm, who was staying in Dresden when, on 26th June 1835, the painter suffered a stroke, and it would appear that it was painted for the family. The boy who holds a Swedish pennon in his hand is presumably Friedrich's son Gustav Adolf, who doubtless received his name as a mark of the artist's respect for the great Swedish king. The two girls must then be his daughters Emma and Agnes. The identity of the man in the top hat who beckons to Friedrich with his right hand and points to the children with his left remains uncertain. He may possibly be that nephew Karl Heinrich Wilhelm, who was born in 1811 and was about twenty-four when the picture was painted. He was also Friedrich's godchild. The gesture may represent a promise to help the children after the father's death.

The ships are co-ordinated with the figures, that in the centre relating to the figure of the painter. The goal of its

[28] A. AUBERT: 'Caspar Friedrich', *Kunst und Künstler* 3 [1905], p.253.

[29] W. WEGENER: 'Der Landschaftsmaler Friedrich', *Unterhaltungen am häuslichen Herd*, 4[1859], p.71 ff.

[30] P. O. RAVE: *Die Malerei des XIX. Jahrhunderts, 240 Bilder nach Gemälden der National-Galerie*, Berlin [1945], fig.30. SUMOWSKI [1970], fig.275, reproduces a working drawing for the woman.

[31] M. PRAUSE: '"Spaziergang in der Abenddämmerung", ein neues Bild von Caspar David Friedrich', *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, XXI [1967], p.59 ff.

[32] PRAUSE [1967], fig.4.

[33] VON EINEM [1938], fig.31. Formed part of the artist's estate in 1840.

[34] Cf. note 9.

[35] WEGENER [1859], p.76 f. 'Three women, one in mourning, make their way silently to the churchyard in the early morning; the sun has not yet risen, but the moon, standing high in the heavens, lingers still; it has ceased to shine, it casts no shadow. The alders that line the path on either side put forth young buds and in the fields we glimpse the young green corn that has survived the winter; nature too celebrates its resurrection morning'.

voyage is at hand. The sails are already being hauled down. In this way Friedrich symbolizes his expectation of impending death. The evening mood and the sickle of the waxing moon, as in *Evening Walk* and *Two men look at the Moon*, complete the message. With its coffin-like shape, the up-turned boat on the shore is also a symbol of death.

The artist's confrontation with death is his constant theme from the early landscapes with self-portrait's right through to *The Ages of Man*: but we may also note a remarkable change in the sequence of images. In the early examples Friedrich sees only the problems of his own existence. This attitude is expressed most crudely in *Monk by the Sea*. Others are present only as the community that mourns the dead man or bears him to his grave. In the sepia drawing *My Burial* Friedrich includes his family, in particular the members who have died before him. His marriage to Caroline Bommer brought about a change. From then onwards joint religious contemplation becomes his favourite motif; yet the idea of his isolation in the face of death keeps on breaking through. Finally, in *The Ages of Man* the group of children introduces a life-affirming element, an allusion to the continuance of existence beside the artist's longing for death. Friedrich has transferred the theme of the ages of man, which had occupied his mind since the cycle of 1803 formerly in Göttingen,[36] to the destiny of his family; and whereas earlier he saw the process of ageing as a one-sided development, he has here achieved a truly cyclical concept of ageing and the regeneration of youth.

Yet with this train of thought *The Ages of Man* remains an isolated work.

In his collection of aphorisms *Betrachtung bei einer Sammlung von Gemälden von grösstenteils noch lebenden und unlängst verstorbenen Künstlern*, composed in 1830, Friedrich frequently admonishes the painter to match observation of the world with inward scrutiny of his own personality.[37] The landscapes with self-portraits that are not mere accessories to the composition but are its starting-point follow this precept exceptionally closely. Interior and exterior worlds coincide.

The subjectivity of Friedrich's art is linked with the peculiar spatial organization that has already been described by several scholars.[38] It found its most radical expression in *Monk by the Sea*. Space is here no longer the largeness of the landscape that lies open to the spectator and permits him to wander through the picture-space in his imagination or to comprehend it with a measuring eye. Such an experience of space is possible only in the foreground, while the background, lying close behind it with no intermediate bridging zone, is a spatiality of visionary character that eludes all comprehension.

Friedrich's abandonment of a continuous depth developing in accord with the laws of perspective is not primarily the expression of an enlarged horizon and the awareness of an endless exterior world existing in detachment from the spectator; it springs rather from the artist's meditation on God and the religious future of his own ego.

[36] SUMOWSKI [1970], figs.295–297; E. PLATTE: *C. D. Friedrich, die Jahreszeiten*, Stuttgart [1961].

[37] HINZ [1968], p.84 ff, in particular pp.86, 92.

[38] A. DORNER ('Zur Raumvorstellung der Romantik', *Zeitschrift für Ästtetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft*, Supplement [1931], p.130 ff.) was the first to discuss it in detail.

Shorter Notice

Presented by the Misses Rachel F. and Jean I. Alexander: seventeen paintings for the National Gallery[1]

BY ALISTAIR SMITH

FROM 10th August to 17th September, a small exhibition is to be seen in the Board Room of the National Gallery. The seventeen paintings, ranging from works by Corneille de Lyon to Whistler and including important pictures by Hals and Tiepolo, were donated by the Misses Rachel F. and Jean I. Alexander, who signed a Deed of Gift in 1959. The sisters stipulated, however, that they should have the 'possession, use and enjoyment' of the paintings for their lifetime and accordingly the pictures came to the Gallery only after the death of Miss Jean (aged 94) in March of this year.

Visitors to the National Gallery will form only a small proportion of those who have cause to be grateful to the Misses Alexander, for the sisters were, during their lifetime, as generous with their time and energies as they were with their house and paintings. Their parents, William Cleverley Alexander, F.S.A., and Rachel Agnes Lucas, seemed to have instilled in their family a capacity for public generosity, and provided practical examples in social work in the neighbourhood of the family home, Aubrey House, Kensington. W. C. Alexander was, too, the first member of the family to donate works of art to a national institution. He bequeathed to the National Gallery two large Whistler portraits of his daughters Cicely and Agnes Mary.[2] It was perhaps the latter who led her sisters in their concern for the inhabitants of North Kensington, through her activity as Guardian of the Poor for Kensington. Her pamphlet, *Some Kensington Problems* (1904), outlines the lamentable housing situation and makes a plea for its improvement; her words are strangely modern. Miss Rachel's record of public concern is no less worthy. Initially occupied with a tuberculosis dispensary and with what was, in effect, the first nursery school in Kensington, she extended her interest to found or assist with the Improved Tenements Association, the Kensington Housing Trust, the Kensington Council of Social Service and other welfare bodies. In the First World War, she worked in France with the Society of Friends and was decorated by the French government, while during the Second War she ran a hostel for refugees. The sisters also served the community by making Aubrey House into something of a social centre. Kensington residents will remember the frequency with which the house and garden were opened to raise money for various charities.

It was in 1873 that W. C. Alexander moved to Aubrey House with his wife and their son and six daughters. Mr Alexander, despite heavy business commitments with his banking firm, found time not only to preserve a fair standard in his sketches and water-colours, but also to form his remarkable collections. According to Roger Fry,[3] 'In Mr Alexander's case, taste seemed to be a quite special and peculiar gift, like that of second sight.' In effect, W. C. Alexander's aesthetic preferences existed without

[1] Of these seventeen paintings, the Eworth, Hogarth and Whistler are to be transferred to the Tate after the close of the temporary exhibition at the National Gallery. A number of paintings were also bequeathed to the National Art-Collections Fund for distribution to British art galleries. It is hoped to publish a list of these at a later date.

[2] Now Tate Gallery Nos.4622 (Cicely) and 5964 (Agnes Mary) the latter on loan at Leighton House.

[3] THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE, XXIX [May 1916], p.82.