

I Nazarene Friendship Portraits by Nineteenth-Century Silesian Painters

The portrait was not a major genre in the art of the Nazarenes. There was, however, a type they did paint, in large numbers, so that it almost became their specialty. These were pictures of other artists, their colleagues and friends, oils and drawings. Research by an expert on this movement, Hans Geller, reveals the scale of this phenomenon.¹ Geller counts over two thousand portraits of German artists active in Rome in 1800–30, most of them by the Nazarenes and most of them drawings. It is noteworthy that the tradition of artists portraying artists initiated by this group was continued in centres of Nazarene activity in Germany, sometimes well into the second half of the nineteenth century.

The friendship portrait is consistent with the Romantic image of friendship, which Klaus Lankheit discusses in his important study *Das Freundschaftsbild der Romantik*.² Lankheit distinguishes its two types, the northern as represented by Caspar David Friedrich and Philipp Otto Runge, and the southern, of the Nazarenes. Despite the passage of time and new research on Romanticism, many of Lankheit's observations, especially his analysis of the reasons why these artists portrayed their friends, remain valid. Lankheit lists their break with the academy and scarcity of social ties, and the resultant insecurity, material difficulties, loneliness and crisis of faith.³ In these circumstances, painters of the same artistic orientation would reach out for support to their fellow artists, and their friendships would become something sacred and frequently evoked, in portraits and as allegories. This feeling of community stemmed not only from a similar creative drive, but also from joint undertakings, such as fighting in the War of Liberation of 1813 or belonging to the same organizations (Lankheit mentions the student fraternities, *Burschenschaften*), shared interests (for instance, hunting) or regional connections, which played an important role in the large cities where these artists lived and worked.

The friendship portraits are most often busts, sometimes only heads, and less often half-figures, shown against a neutral background, usually without professional attributes. The paintings are small, and the drawings even smaller, since most were made on the pages of friendship albums and travel sketchbooks to record ties and to be shown to only a handful of

¹ Hans Geller, *Die Bildnisse der deutschen Künstler in Rom 1800–1830* (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1952).

² Klaus Lankheit, *Das Freundschaftsbild der Romantik* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1952).

³ Lankheit writes that early on, the Nazarenes “also share in the general uncertainty, belong to those who doubt or are indifferent towards their childhood” (*ibid.*, p. 93). Subsequent studies of this group almost without exception stress their remarkable religious faith and involvement in the activities of the Catholic Church by taking on commissions and joining church-related associations.

people. Thus, for instance, Anton Merk⁴ mentions the pictures of absent friends hanging in the dining room where the Nazarenes would gather. Group portraits honoured the principle of treating each figure autonomously and showed the artists in a single line without letting any one of them stand out. Sometimes a symmetrical layout was used, with two groups facing each other, two or more men per side. In each configuration, the figures remain unconnected because all were given equal attention and the relationships among them were not revealed. They gaze in different directions, usually not at the viewer.

As for the drawings, the principles of both composition⁵ and execution – a clear, well-defined line, emphasizing the outlines and focussing solely on the faces, usually merely sketching hair and clothing – made these portraits abstract, symbolic. Their style alluded to the work of the Old Masters of both the northern and southern schools. The use of a hard, well-sharpened pencil, sometimes a silver point, aimed to reproduce a medieval and Early-Renaissance drawing technique, which most of these artists did well, creating drawings of unmatched sensitivity and precise execution.

Attesting to the Nazarenes' connections and their community founded on artistic goals are not only these portraits, but also studies of attire for which these artists posed during their gatherings, beginning at Sant' Isidoro in Rome. Many of these studies also include the models' faces and, therefore, depending on their degree of detail, may be included in the category of friendship portraits. Pictures of artists at work, for instance sketching outdoors during their common excursions, may also be considered friendship portraits. Finally, this category should also include representations of the social life of the German colony in Rome, such as scenes from the Caffè Greco where they often gathered.

These types of portraits, and their formal characteristics, in their pure form were the rule in the Rome milieu headed by Johann Philipp Overbeck, from c. 1810 to about 1830, but also appeared later in slightly different form in circles that continued the Nazarene tradition in Germany, mostly in Düsseldorf.⁶ Wilhelm Schadow (1788–1862), one of the leading Nazarenes, directed the academy of art there in 1826–59. It was here that a decorative, slightly Biedermeier-like, late-Nazarene style developed among the students of Carl Ferdinand Sohn (1805–67), Julius Hübner (1806–82) and Eduard Bendemann (1811–89), and continued as late as the second half of the century.

In Silesia, the presence of the friendship portraits was proportional to the reception of Nazarenism there: initially minor, appearing in the work of a single painter, it grew beginning in the 1830s, emerging in the work of several artists, students of the Berlin and Düsseldorf academies. This was the late-Nazarene style, with various degrees of the Biedermeier influence. This coexistence of the two artistic traditions is very characteristic of Silesian art in a period that can most generally be defined as the pre-March (*Vormärz*) era, which leads writers about the art of this time to give it many different names.

The only Silesian artist who lived at the same time as the first generation of the Nazarenes and whose work to some degree resembled the friendship portrait was Carl Adalbert Herrmann

⁴ "Zur Bildnismalerei der Nazarener," in *Die Nazarener*, Klaus Gallwitz, ed., exh. cat., Städel. Städtische Galerie im Städelchen Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, 28 April – 28 August 1977 (Frankfurt am Main: Städtische Galerie, 1977), p. 151.

⁵ They are described here on the basis of Lankheit's account, op. cit., passim.

⁶ For a study of friendship portraits in Düsseldorf, see Irene Markowitz, "Rheinische Maler im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts im Rheinland*, vol. 3, *Malerei*, Eduard Trier and Willy Weyres, eds (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1979), pp. 79–84, section of chapter on "Freundschaftsbilder Düsseldorfer Maler."

(1791–1845). He came into contact with the group of German artists associated with Overbeck during his first stay in Rome in 1817–20, joining in their social and artistic endeavours. In 1818 he took part in celebrations organized by the Nazarenes at the Villa Schultheiß to honour Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria. In April 1819 he participated in their exhibition at Palazzo Caffarelli by submitting his drawing *The Carrying of the Cross*. He frequented the renowned Caffè Greco; a drawing by Dietrich Wilhelm Lindau⁷ of the German artists at the café shows Herrmann in a group that includes Bertel Thorvaldsen. In September of the following year, Herrmann travelled to Umbria and Tuscany with Peter Cornelius, Carl Mosler, Konrad Eberhard, Johann David Passavant and Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld.

But, most importantly, Herrmann attended lessons at the so-called academy, of which drawings survive at the Archdiocese Museum in Wrocław. They are mostly studies of drapery, which in terms of technique and execution are of the kind the Nazarenes made as they learnt to draw from nature and for which they posed for each other. In some of these drawings, for example those of models leaning on sticks, they resemble poses usually favoured in the Overbeck circle, in the Sant' Isidoro days. But most, apart from being principally drapery studies, which can be seen in the meticulousness of their execution, were also a type of portrait to commemorate the friendships made at that time. Evidence of this are the descriptions, varying in precision, of the painters who posed for them and their dates. These allow us to determine that the drawings represented Friedrich Helmsdorf,⁸ Peter Rittig,⁹ Johann Kaspar Schintz,¹⁰ Heinrich Immanuel Lengerich¹¹ and Zelinský (Jan Nepomucen Žyliński?),¹² and, also, something that we know from a drawing of which only reproductions exist, Gustav Heinrich Naeke.¹³ The literature on this subject also mentions a study for which the well-known engraver Ferdinand Ruschewieh (1785–1846)¹⁴ posed.

It is difficult today to determine the nature of Herrmann's relationships with these artists, but we do know that Gustav Heinrich Naeke made two portraits of him,¹⁵ which unfortunately have been lost, and which may mean that the two painters were close, all the more so since they had studied together at the Dresden academy. There is no question that these portraits were more than mere studies because, for all the sketchiness of the models' faces, they have

⁷ Geller, *Die Bildnisse...*, op. cit., n.p., fig. 263.

⁸ Johann Friedrich Helmsdorf (1783–1852), painter and engraver, active in Rome in 1816–20; *ibid.*, p. 60, cat. no. (307a), 447–50, p. 132, no. 148 (index of artists).

⁹ Peter Rittig (1789–1840), a painter and a pupil of David, active in Rome in 1816–40; *ibid.*, p. 94, cat. no. 1126–7, p. 138, no. 374 (index of artists).

¹⁰ Johann Caspar Schintz (1797–1832), a Swiss painter active in Rome in 1818–24; *ibid.*, pp. 100–1, cat. no. 1248–51, p. 139, no. 402 (index of artists).

¹¹ Heinrich Immanuel Lengerich (1790–1865), painter, Wilhelm Wach's pupil at the Berlin academy. He spent time in Rome in 1817–21, 1822–25, 1841–42 and 1843; *ibid.*, p. 76, cat. no. 769–70, p. 135, no. 256 (index of artists).

¹² The artist who has been identified as Jan Nepomucen Žyliński (1790–1838), recipient of a stipend offered by Count Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski; see Konrad Ajewski, "Jan Nepomucen Żyliński, malarz i stypendysta Stanisława Kostki Zamoyskiego," *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, Ann 4, nos 2–3 (1993), pp. 267–75.

¹³ Gustav Heinrich Naeke (1786–1835), student, later professor at the Dresden academy, spent time in Rome in 1817–24; see Geller, *Die Bildnisse...*, op. cit., p. 82, cat. nos 871–76, p. 136, no. 310 (index of artists).

¹⁴ See Ernst Scheyer, "Die Ausstellung 'Schlesisches Biedermeier,'" *Schlesische Monatshefte*, Ann 7, no. 4 (1930), p. 142, cat. no. 41.

¹⁵ They are mentioned in Ulrich Thieme, Felix Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, H. Vollmer, ed., vol. 16 (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1923), p. 490. I did not manage to find them during my archival survey of the Print Room in Dresden, where they were supposed to be located.

the attributes of portraits, recording the figures' characteristic features, which Herrmann, a skilled portraitist, captured. And this, together with the comments including the models' names, permits us to include them in the genre of friendship portraits.

The only surviving friendship portraits, in the strict sense of the word, are those of an anonymous young man in profile (**fig. 1**)¹⁶ and of the architect Karl Joseph Köbel (1796–1856),¹⁷ who must have been quite popular among the Nazarenes in Rome at the time of Herrmann's visits because we know of the existence of three more of his portraits from this period.¹⁸ The image of the former, however, whose name¹⁹ I have not been able to determine because the writing at the bottom of the drawing had been partly cut off, was more characteristic of this school. Confirming that it is the portrait of an artist may be both its location among Herrmann's drawings, which, with the exception of images of Pope Pius VII, are related to his activities in the Rome academy, and its stylistic features. It is a typical Nazarene portrait, a bust in pencil, in which the meticulously drawn head captures the viewer's attention, while the details of his clothing are rather superficial. The subject is shown slightly turned towards the viewer, *en trois quarts*, almost in profile against a neutral background, devoid of three-dimensional space and without professional attributes. The appearance of idealization and abstraction is enhanced by the model's gaze, directed straight ahead and at the same time seemingly lost in thought.

On the other hand, the representation of the architect Köbel is more painterly and decorative, if only because it uses wash; and yet here too we notice the typical features of the Nazarene friendship portraits. They include a focus on the subject's face, minimal attention to his clothing, his "absent" look, no allusion to his profession and a neutral background lacking depth. We can assume that the painter made more portraits of his colleagues during his time in Rome. He gained a reputation among the Nazarenes as a portraitist, and his picture of Pius VII seems to justify this. Yet his works have either not survived to this day or, if they are unsigned, have not been identified as his.

Herrmann grew close to the Nazarenes at a time when their art was still absolutely anti-academic. The group consisted of German artists who had come to Rome from many places, drawn by the personality of Johann Friedrich Overbeck and by his concept of a revival in art connected to the masters of the Italian and Northern Middle Ages and early Renaissance. This trend is reflected in Herrmann's works for which these artists from various German cities posed. The group included one Pole. Scholars of their movement are currently defining their *œuvre*; for instance, Norbert Suhr recently discussed how Peter Rittig fit into Overbeck's Rome group.²⁰ What Herrmann shared with the artists he got to know then was the feeling that they had broken with academic practice and created a community of new artistic goals.

¹⁶ Pencil, paper, 27.5 × 20.5 cm, Archdiocese Museum in Wrocław; see Anna Kozak, "Carl Adalbert Herrmann – pomiędzy nazarenizmem i biedermeierem," *Roczniki Sztuki Śląskiej*, Ann 20 (2011), pp. 232–3, fig. 17.

¹⁷ See Ernst Scheyer, "Carl Herrmann. Ein oberschlesischer Nazarener," *Der Oberschlesier*, Ann 13, no. 1 (1931), fig. n.p. (after p. 8).

¹⁸ Geller, *Die Bildnisse...*, op. cit., p. 74: cat. no. (439), fig. 145, cat. no. (440), fig. 235, cat. no. 718, fig. 237.

¹⁹ The subject of this portrait is quite similar to Johann Carl Barth (1787–1853), an engraver popular among the Nazarenes in Rome at the time Herrmann stayed there (*ibid.*, p. 41: cat. no. 48, fig. 20, cat. no. 50, fig. 21, cat. no. 51, fig. 19). He also bears a resemblance to Konrad Eberhard (1768–1859), a sculptor, painter and engraver, who took part in an expedition to Umbria and Tuscany in September 1819, which also included Herrmann (*ibid.*, p. 49: cat. no. 231, fig. 80, cat. no. 232, fig. 79, cat. no. 235, fig. 77). But these similarities are insufficient to conclude that this is a portrait of either man.

²⁰ See *Die Nazarener – vom Tiber an den Rhein. Drei Malerschulen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Norbert Suhr and Nico Kirchberger, eds (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2012), pp. 65–70.

The note under Herrmann's drawing representing the Polish artist Zelinský (Jan Nepomucen Żyliński?) made at the end of "our German academy" illustrates his identification with the movement's precepts.²¹

Later, after Wilhelm Schadow (1788–1862) had helped Nazarenism make a home in the Berlin and, later, Düsseldorf academies, the tradition of reciprocal portraiture continued among both professors and students. *The Bendemann Family and Their Friends*²² (c. 1830/31) is its classic example: the artists Eduard Bendemann (1811–89), Theodor Hildebrandt (1804–74), Julius Hübner (1806–82), Wilhelm Schadow and Carl Ferdinand Sohn (1805–67) portrayed each other during a collective expedition to Rome.

The most talented of the younger generation of Silesian Nazarenes was Raphael Schall (1814–59), who had been educated at the Berlin and Düsseldorf academies. Surviving from his time at the Berlin academy is the drawing *The Breslau Painters Robert Eitner and Albert Korneck* (**fig. 2**) of 1833,²³ typical of this trend. The painter made it in two stages, on 25 June he painted the first artist, and on 17 July the second. The drawing is nonetheless cohesive, both as a composition and in its method of execution. Schall intentionally made it resemble the Nazarene portraits. It is drawn in pencil, with lights emphasized very accurately in white with thick hatching. It is strictly symmetrical, which Lankheit remarks on in the context of this type of composition, as "it always has a festive and symbolic effect."²⁴ He strengthens the focus on the models' faces by portraying them from the shoulders up and by stressing plasticity with chiaroscuro modelling, to make them symbolic and abstract. With their neutral background, they almost have the effect of antique medals and, even when they are joined into a single composition, each artist retains his individuality. Contributing significantly to this is a technique characteristic of this type of work, in which the subjects' eyes do not meet. Even though they face each other, they are not looking at one another, which makes their images sovereign.

The portrait of Robert Eitner and Albert Korneck expresses a tendency that played an important role in the creation of the friendship portraits, common regional origins serving as a connection within a larger artistic community. Both Schall and the two men in the portrait came from Silesia and began their education in Wrocław (Breslau). Robert Eitner (1809–83) studied with Johann Heinrich König and married his daughter. After training in Berlin, when this portrait was made, he returned to Wrocław and remained there for the rest of his life. Albert Korneck (1813–1905), originally from Wrocław, like Eitner and Schall studied with König, then at the Berlin academy and, like Schall, at the Düsseldorf academy. He settled in Berlin after 1840, and focussed on painting portraits, winning some renown for it.

Korneck's drawing of Amand Pelz (1812–41)²⁵ (**fig. 3**), a painter friendly with the Nazarene circle, was made in the same year as the portrait discussed above. It references

²¹ Pencil, paper, 22.2 × 18.7 cm, Archdiocese Museum in Wrocław.

²² Kunstmuseum Krefeld, see *Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts...*, op. cit., p. 80, fig. 26.

²³ Pencil, lights in white, paper, 15.5 × 24.3 cm, on the left under the portrait, the date: 23. Juni 1833., on the right: 17. Juli 1833., bottom, on left: Eitner, right: Korneck, inv. no. Rys.Nm.XIX 591 MNW, the National Museum in Warsaw; see Scheyer, "Die Ausstellung...", op. cit., p. 146, cat. no. 102, and Ernst Scheyer, *Schlesische Malerei der Biedermeierzeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Wolfgang Weidlich, 1965), p. 66, fig. 30.

²⁴ Lankheit, op. cit., p. 124.

²⁵ Pencil, paper, 18.1 × 14.8 cm, bottom centre: Am. Pelz, bottom right signed and dated: A Kornek | Berlin Juni. 1833, inv. no. C 63, Stadtmuseum Landeshauptstadt, Düsseldorf; see *Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts...*, op. cit., p. 81, fig. 28; I would like to thank Dr Christoph Danelzik-Brüggemann of that museum for providing this information about the drawing.

the representations of the German artists active in Rome in c. 1800–30 in both its composition and execution techniques. It is a small portrait showing the subject as a bust, in profile, with subtle and precise pencil strokes, like most portraits by this group. The date and name of the subject were written down to memorialize the connection between portraitist and portrayed. The artist was presenting a fellow painter from his home region who had gone through similar stages of artistic training. Pelz had been born in Altweistriz (Stara Bystrzyca), Glatz (Kłodzko) District in Lower Silesia, in c. 1831/32 he studied with Johann Heinrich König in Wrocław and in 1833 attended the Berlin academy. He would continue along a similar path, as in 1834 he moved from Berlin to Düsseldorf, like Korneck, Schall and Hoyoll. He painted mostly landscapes and portraits.

The drawing by Pelz representing himself and Schall, with the city of Düsseldorf and students from its academy as background, dates from 1834 (**fig. 4**).²⁶ Its exhaustive title, given in the catalogue by Ernst Scheyer, an expert on Silesian painting of that period,²⁷ tells us that the two artists' Silesian roots set them apart from the school's other students. We can deduce from Schall's nature study of this period, which notes that it was painted in Pelz's garden in Altweistriz, that they had probably met while they were studying with Johann Heinrich König in Wrocław.²⁸ Their friendship lasted until the artist's premature death in 1841, but its memory lived much longer. Schall reminisces in his Italian travel diary of 1844 about "the beautiful time long ago" he had spent in Berlin with the "good, departed Amand."²⁹ Pelz's work owes a lot to Nazarene models not only in its references to friendship paintings, but also in terms of style. This is most noticeable in his method, resembling contour drawing, which precisely outlines both the figures in the foreground and the silhouettes of passers-by in the background. Even the slightly geometric hatching, which draws out the plasticity of the presentation, does not diminish this effect.

The portrait *Three Silesian Painters*³⁰ (**fig. 5**) of 1835, depicting Philipp Hoyoll (1816–1871?), Pelz and Schall (left to right) may be the most perfect expression of friendship based on regional ties. Hans Geller,³¹ who identified the men, questions its earlier attribution to Carl Ferdinand Sohn, interpreting a remark in an old exhibition catalogue to argue that in fact they had painted one another.³² After analysing their work and the placement of monograms in the corners of the painting, he proposes the following attributions: Raphael Schall painted Philipp Hoyoll, Philipp Hoyoll painted Amand Pelz and Amand Pelz painted Raphael Schall.

²⁶ Pencil, ink wash, paper, 25.3 × 20.6 cm, signed and dated: A.P. 1834, inv. no. Rys.Nm.XIX 546 MNW, the National Museum in Warsaw; see Scheyer, "Die Ausstellung...", op. cit., p. 145, cat. no. 88, fig.

²⁷ Scheyer gives the title of the drawing as "A. Pelz and his friend R. Schall, Düsseldorf painters and the city of Düsseldorf in the background," *ibid.*

²⁸ It represents horseradish and was drawn in Amand Pelz's garden in 1832, as is affirmed by the writing under the drawing (inv. no. Rys.Nm.XIX 602 MNW, the National Museum in Warsaw).

²⁹ *Tagebuch des schlesischen Malers Raphael Schall über seine italienische Reise und seinem Aufenthalt in Rom 1844 u. 45 als Stipendiat der Königl. Preussischen Regierung*, typescript, the National Museum in Wrocław, inv. no. 7668, p. 50.

³⁰ Nationalgalerie Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz; see *Verzeichnis der Gemälde und Skulpturen des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Nationalgalerie Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Barbara Dietrich, Peter Krieger, Elisabeth Krimmel-Decker, eds (Berlin: Verlag Bruno Hessling, 1977), p. 177.

³¹ Hans Geller, "Drei schlesische Maler," *Berliner Museen*, Ann 9, vol. 2 (1960), pp. 42–7.

³² Additional confirmation of this attribution is a list of works by Raphael Schall in the documentation of the former Schlesisches Museum der bildenden Künste in Wrocław, to be found in the National Museum in Wrocław Documents Room in a folder labelled II/85.

From a stylistic point of view, the portrait comes from the late Nazarene tradition at the Düsseldorf academy, which is the reason why Geller points to the already mentioned *The Bendemann Family and Their Friends*³³ as a potential source of its inspiration. This group portrait of the teachers of the young Silesian painters, made five years earlier, was created in a similar fashion, as reciprocal images. Another Late Romantic tradition in it is the symbolism of their signatures, which Geller discusses: Pelz's monogram (upper left corner) resembles Dürer's, and the crack in the shield symbolizes the painter's illness, which a few years later would contribute to his early death; the shape of the letters in Hoyoll's monogram (bottom left corner) is modelled on the crutches he used, which appear in his portrait. I believe that the painting's stylistic features also serve as evidence of its connection to the late Nazarene school: the exceptionally delicate modelling of their faces and the precision of their facial features, hair styles and dress, references to works by Old Masters; furthermore, the arrangement of the composition as tondi bordered by a painted frame, which masterfully conveys the structure of wood, and finally the small size of the canvas so typical of friendship portraits.

Assigning this painting to the Düsseldorf Nazarene school³⁴ has not been the only attempt to place it within the evolution of the portrait in the first half of the nineteenth century in Germany. Its reproduction was used on the covers of two publications about Biedermeier art in Silesia, Ernst Scheyer's prominent *Schlesische Malerei der Biedermeierzeit*³⁵ and the catalogue of the exhibition "Schlesien in der Biedermeierzeit."³⁶ But this was not equivalent to a stylistic classification since the authors of both texts use the concept of Biedermeier very broadly, to define the whole period between the War of Liberation and the revolution of 1848. Still, connections to Biedermeier as a painting style are evident in this portrait and, most importantly, in its narrative character. We are witnessing a scene underway in one of the artists' studios, probably Pelz's, as he sits before his easel in a painter's smock, seemingly interrupting his work to pay attention to what Hoyoll is saying. Schall stands on the right, leaning on the arm of a chair, holding a stick tipped with black and white chalks listening intently to his friend, his head leaning slightly forward. We can surmise from the speaker's gestures that they are discussing the drawing that Pelz holds in his hand, intending to transfer it onto the canvas, which is evident from the prepared palette. It may be Schall's work, since he may still be holding the stick he used to make it, and the conversation is about the relationship between the drawing and the painting. But this explanation is valid only if theirs was a joint undertaking, like the portrait being analysed. It is therefore not out of the question that the artists were telling the story of its creation, revealing the discussion about its conception, led by Hoyoll, whom the first owner of the canvas called a "people's tribune."³⁷

³³ See n. 22.

³⁴ Apart from Hans Geller's ("Drei schlesische...", op. cit.) and my analysis, the painting has been treated as an example of late Romanticism in the tradition of the Düsseldorf academy, e.g., in the collections catalogue of the Nationalgalerie in Berlin; see n. 30 above.

³⁵ Scheyer, *Schlesische...*, op. cit.

³⁶ Its full title is *Schlesien in der Biedermeierzeit. Kultur und Geschichte Schlesiens in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Elisabeth Trux, ed., exh. cat., Historisches Museum und Glasmuseum der Stadt und Grafschaft Wertheim am Main, 3 May – 14 June 1987 (Würzburg: Bergstadtverlag Wilhelm Gottlieb Korn GmbH, 1987).

³⁷ Its first owner was Robert Eitner, Jr., son of the painter Robert Eitner, whose portrait Schall had done. He wrote that Hoyoll had "in 1848 become a people's tribune and disappeared"; quoted from Geller, "Drei schlesische...", op. cit., p. 42.

Hoyoll was one of the most interesting Silesian painters of the 1830s and '40s. Like the two other artists in the portrait, he studied first with König, then at the Berlin and Düsseldorf academies and finally returned to Wrocław. After 1864 he moved to London, where he painted Biedermeier-style portraits and genre scenes, which continue to appear at West European auctions to this day.

The canvas *A Painter Distracted*³⁸ (fig. 6), from his student days in Düsseldorf, represents Pelz sitting in a small garden painting busily, a happening which was developed into a small genre scene. Appearing in a hole in the wooden fence is a young girl's head, which has been identified as the painter's fiancée, Luise Kettenbeil.³⁹ Her appearance distracts the artist from his work as he looks in her direction, which adds a narrative element in the Biedermeier style. The painting's adherence to this style can further be seen in its love of detail, visible in the precise reconstruction of the subject's clothing, his painting tools, the vegetation and the structure of the fence – although this is also a feature of Nazarene art.⁴⁰

Interpretations of this painting also discuss its connection to the genre painting at the Düsseldorf academy⁴¹ and to Biedermeier,⁴² as well as its potential allegorical significance, presenting an opposition of common and idealized nature. Common nature would be symbolized by the painter's closest surroundings, which he represents as he sits in the dark garden, enclosed by high fence posts resembling a shaft, while idealized nature is the young woman's lit-up face, as she opens his eyes to the ideal beauty of nature.⁴³ This interpretation would correspond to the hidden meaning in some friendship portraits, some of which, for instance *The Three Silesian Painters*, concealed debates about the conception of the art being practised. The subject itself, an image of the painter's friend immersed in his work, connects this canvas to the Nazarene representations of artists at work. There are further examples, such as Schnorr von Carolsfeld's drawing of Friedrich Olivier⁴⁴ or later sketches by Joseph Anton Nicolaus Settegast of the Düsseldorf milieu, in which Hoyoll and Pelz were active at that time, representing Andreas Müller⁴⁵ and the painters Ihlee and Achtermann, who also drew.⁴⁶

Three portraits, which we know solely from documentation in the Schlesisches Museum in Wrocław for a 1935 exhibition of Schall's work, can be added to the list of portraits by Silesian

³⁸ Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte der Stadt Dortmund; see *Von Friedrich bis Liebermann. 100 Meisterwerke deutscher Malerei aus dem Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte der Stadt Dortmund*, Brigitte Buberl, ed., exh. cat., Veste Coburg, 31 January – 25 July 1999 (Heidelberg: Umschau/Braus, 1999), p. 125, fig. 112, p. 268, cat. no. 47, plate p. 202 (see earlier literature). I am very grateful to Dr Piotr Łukaszewicz of the National Museum in Wrocław for pointing this painting out to me and for giving me valuable information to use in this article.

³⁹ Helmut Börsch-Supan, *Die deutsche Malerei von Anton Graff bis Hans von Marées. 1760–1870* (Munich: C.H. Beck, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1988), p. 313, comment under fig. 67.

⁴⁰ An essay by Peter Märker and Margret Stuffmann, "Zu den Zeichnungen der Nazarener," in *Die Nazarener*, op. cit., p. 183, discusses this tendency in Nazarene drawing.

⁴¹ Börsch-Supan, op. cit.; see n. 39.

⁴² Veronika Schroeder, "Biedermeierliche Genremalerei," in *Von Friedrich bis Liebermann...*, op. cit., p. 125, fig. 112.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Geller, *Die Bildnisse...*, op. cit., p. 84, cat. no. 909, fig. 324.

⁴⁵ *Joseph Anton Nicolaus Settegast 1813–1890. Retrospective zum 100. Todestag eines Spätnazarenen*, Gisela Götte, ed., exh. cat., Clemens-Sels-Museum Neuss, 4 November 1990 – 13 January 1991, Mittelrhein-Museum Koblenz, 10 February – 1 March 1991 (Koblenz: Mittelrhein-Museum Koblenz, 1991), p. 103, cat. no. 32, fig. 13.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 103, cat. no. 33, fig. 14.

painters of artists who were their friends.⁴⁷ They are two portrait drawings of Amand Pelz of 1831⁴⁸ and of Theodor Hamacher of 1844⁴⁹ and an oil portrait of Albert Korneck of 1833.⁵⁰ It is impossible to say anything more about them because no catalogue was made for this exhibition.

An engraving by Hoyoll used as the frontispiece of a brochure about Wrocław student celebrations in Zobtenberg (Mount Ślęza) on 8–9 July 1842, *Die Zobtenfeier der Breslauer Studenten am 8. und 9. Juli 1842*, is a veiled allusion to friendship based on regional ties and membership in student organizations, *Burschenschaften*.⁵¹ It represents a young man wearing the *Burschen* outfit made up of a jacket, beret decorated with plumes and high boots with spurs, holding a sword in one hand and a cup in the other, standing next to a table covered with various carafes, goblets and messily strewn books. The composition is enclosed in a sort of border, which shows carriages with dressed-up people travelling to the celebrations at Zobtenberg. According to the brochure, people in Wrocław attributed values such as patriotism, love of freedom and great attachment to friendship to the students. This harmonized with the universal German phenomenon of continuing the idea of community born during the War of Liberation, now being pursued by the German student associations.⁵² The text of a toast quoted in the brochure, made by one of the *Burschen*, whose description served Hoyoll as a model for his engraving, brings up the fact that many of them had spilled their blood in the battlefields of Leipzig and Waterloo for “the freedom of our beloved country.”⁵³ This fact was a source of their friendship, which is discussed in a fragment describing the celebration: “Tables were set under the thick foliage of the linden, and when the sun, in its splendid magnificence, began to set in the west, tankards being held by the young men began to ring, alternating with song, to fill the air. All barriers dropped, there are no colours, there is only joy and friendship.”⁵⁴

As well as regional ties or *Burschenschaft* membership, ordinary feelings of friendship among the students served as the source of many friendship portraits. Portraits made in the 1830s by a group of friends at the Düsseldorf academy, Ernst Deger (1809–85), Carl Müller (1818–93) and his brother Andreas Müller (1811–90), Franz Ittenbach (1813–93) and Raphael Schall, are an example. The ties these artists established at that time would last for many years, and their closeness can be seen in Schall’s diaries from his trip to Italy in 1844–45, in which he repeatedly remembers his university mates with exceptional warmth. For example, in Munich, after visiting Wilhelm Kaulbach’s studio to see his work, he writes: “But I was happiest when I found my beloved Deger in an exceptionally faithful and perfectly captured drawing.”⁵⁵ Elsewhere, as he describes Fra Angelico’s frescoes in the Convent of San Marco

⁴⁷ *Ausstellung Raphael Schall, Gemälde und Zeichnungen eines schles. Romantikers im Schles. Museum der bild. Künste* 3, 3.–2. 5. 1935. Folder no. II/85 in the National Museum in Wrocław Documents Room.

⁴⁸ Pencil, 13.8 × 11.6 cm, signed: R. Schall d. 1831; see *Verzeichnis der nicht dem Museum gehörigen Werke*, no. 28. Folder no. II/85 in the National Museum in Wrocław Documents Room.

⁴⁹ Pencil, 21.4 × 17.5 cm, signed and dated: *Theodor Hamacher, 10 August 1844*; *ibid.*, no. 37.

⁵⁰ *Verzeichnis der zur Gedächtnis-Ausstellung Raphael Schall nach Breslau abgehenden Arbeiten*, B.) *Grössere Werke*, no. 3. Folder no. II/85 in the National Museum in Wrocław Documents Room. I am very grateful to Dr Piotr Łukaszewicz for telling me about this source.

⁵¹ *Die Zobtenfeier der Breslauer Studenten am 8. und 9. Juli 1842* (Leipzig: Verlag von K.F. Köhler, 1842).

⁵² Lankheit (op. cit., p. 111) is among those who have written about it.

⁵³ *Die Zobtenfeier...*, op. cit., p. 35.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵⁵ *Tagebuch des schlesischen Malers...*, op. cit., p. 11.

in Florence, he remarks on his *Annunciation*, which he had seen earlier in a drawing by his “dear Carl Müller.”⁵⁶ His diary mentions some other antiquities he knew via the works of these painters, who had been to Italy a few years earlier to prepare themselves to paint frescoes in the Church of Saint Apollinaris in Remagen. As we can read in his diary entries about receiving their letters, together with correspondence from his fiancée, Schall kept in touch with the Müller brothers, Deger and Ittenbach, during his travels.⁵⁷

The Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin holds a portrait drawing of Carl Müller (**fig. 7**)⁵⁸ by Raphael Schall dated 27 December 1835. It shows Müller in right profile, his head slightly bent forward, wearing a student shirt, tie and beret. Its execution, a sharp pencil with minute hatching and shading, brings out the fineness of the subject’s features, making it resemble the classic Nazarene portraits created in Rome in 1800–30, many of them of models wearing student berets, showing their membership in a particular social group. In the way Schall presents the model, showing his head and his shoulders, emphasizing his inner concentration and detachment from the outside world, it is a continuation of this type of portraiture. But his portraits were further filtered through the decorativeness and elegance of the drawing method of teachers at the Düsseldorf academy, especially Julius Hübner and Carl Ferdinand Sohn.

Very similar to the one discussed above is the unsigned portrait (**fig. 8**),⁵⁹ drawn on the same day as the Berlin one, to be found in the Kolumba, the art museum of the Archdiocese of Cologne, in the collection of drawings from the Franz Ittenbach bequest, which is considered to be his work. Its subject is also most probably Carl Müller, a bust, in left profile, slightly *en trois quarts* towards the viewer. It is more painterly than the Berlin drawing, as it was done with firmer hatching and shading, as well as with lights painted in white, and it resembles many of Schall’s drawings. But because the Nazarenes tended to draw in a uniform style, it is not out of the question that its author was Ittenbach. Its absence of a signature and the date recorded differently from the Berlin drawing compel us to exercise caution in attributing it to Schall.⁶⁰ Even more striking is the way in which the model is presented, much more than in the previous case, giving the impression of being inaccessible, immersed in his thoughts, which is emphasized by his stare directed at a single point.

Two other portraits in this collection, which stylistically resemble Carl Müller’s, Raphael Schall⁶¹ and an anonymous young man’s bust (**fig. 9**),⁶² testify to the mutual representations

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 39.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 54.

⁵⁸ Pencil, paper, 21.7 × 19.5 cm, signed and dated under the subject’s head on the right side: RS [in ligature] | 27. Dec. 1835, under the portrait: *Carl Müller*, inv. no. A 393, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

⁵⁹ Pencil, lights in white, paper, 23.4 × 30.4 cm, dated underneath the portrait: *den 27^{ten} Dezember 1835*; inv. no. S.I. II c 3, Ittenbach collection, Kolumba, the art museum of the Archdiocese of Cologne.

⁶⁰ On similar difficulties concerning the portrait of *Three Silesian Painters*, see Hans Geller: “It remains to be explained which artist painted which in this picture. Since the method of painting is almost identical and there are no striking technical and compositional differences, we can only conjecture” (Geller, “Drei schlesische...”, *op. cit.*, p. 47).

⁶¹ Pencil, lights in white, paper, 26.8 × 22.5 cm, inv. no. S.I. I c 23, Ittenbach collection, Kolumba, Art museum of the Archdiocese of Cologne. The drawing may be Schall’s self-portrait or his portrait done by Franz Ittenbach, which cannot be resolved in the case of the unsigned work because of the two artists’ strikingly similar drawing styles; see n. 60.

⁶² Pencil, lights painted in white, paper, 30 × 23.4 cm, dated right centre: *Düsseldorf 19^{ten} März 1836*; inv. no. S.I. III c 4, Ittenbach collection, Kolumba, the art museum of the Archdiocese of Cologne.

among this group of artist friends. The latter, made shortly after Müller's two portraits, on 19 March 1836, shows the subject *en trois quarts* towards the viewer, almost *en face*, with a slightly bent head and half-closed eyelids. Its method of depicting the young man, with an inner autonomy and no contact whatsoever between him and the viewer, makes it an excellent friendship portrait. In presenting his friend with slightly closed eyelids, the author of the drawing has created an impression of inner focus and detachment from reality, which Lankheit stresses.⁶³ It is equally difficult to determine at this time whether the man is Franz Ittenbach or Raphael Schall, as it is with the portrait by Carl Müller.

Another riddle is the identity of the man in the drawing. A potential tip is his similarity to the young man in Schall's *The Exaltation of the Holy Cross* (fig. 10) of 1847 in the church in Lisięcice near Głubczyce,⁶⁴ who stands near the bishop, on the right side of the painting. In my opinion it represents Ernst Deger, even though his identification is also based mostly on an analysis of the connections between the figures in the portrait. This canvas is a particular type of Nazarene friendship portrait, which appears in historical and, even more so, religious compositions. One of its earliest examples is Overbeck's self-presentation in the company of Franz Pforr in the painting of *The Raising of Lazarus*⁶⁵ of 1808, on the left edge of the composition. Two years later the same artist painted himself again with a group of friends from the Brotherhood of Saint Luke in *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*,⁶⁶ this time with all the members of the brotherhood. According to Anton Merk, such portraits are "on the one hand a badge of friendship and on the other an expression of a desired connection to religious representations."⁶⁷

A similar approach is expressed in the painting *The Exaltation of the Holy Cross*, which shows the finding of the most precious relic for the Catholic Church, in which Schall presents himself on the left edge of the composition with a group of friends from the Düsseldorf academy, with idealized facial features bringing to mind their youthful portraits. Standing next to him is probably Franz Ittenbach, a figure similar to his self-portrait made in the 1830s,⁶⁸ and a bit further, a partly visible, difficult-to-identify man, who somewhat resembles Carl Müller. On the other side of the cross, near Bishop Makarios, we would like to see the man holding a candle as Ernst Deger, a close friend of Schall's, but his early portraits, such as the oils by Wilhelm Schadow⁶⁹ and Franz Ittenbach⁷⁰ or the engraved

⁶³ Lankheit, op. cit., esp. p. 128.

⁶⁴ See Joanna Lubos-Kozieł, "Wiarą tchnące obrazy," *Studia z dziejów malarstwa religijnego na Śląsku w XIX wieku* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2004), p. 95, fig. 7; I am extremely grateful to Dr Joanna Lubos-Kozieł for giving me a photograph of this painting.

⁶⁵ Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck; see *Johann Friedrich Overbeck 1789–1869. Zur zweihundertsten Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages*, Andreas Blühm and Gerhard Gerkens, eds, with essays by Frank Büttner, Rachel Esner, Jens Christian Jensen, M. Piotr Michałowski, Ulrich Pietsch, exh. cat., Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck – Behnhaus, Lübeck, 25 June – 3 September 1989, (Lübeck: [s.n.], 1989), p. 104, cat. no. 6.

⁶⁶ The painting does not survive; see *Die Nazarener*, op. cit., p. 152, fig.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ See Wilhelm Neuf, "Franz Ittenbachs künstlerische Entwicklung. Zur fünfzigsten Wiederkehr seines Todestages," *Kunstgabe des Ver. für christliche Kunst im Erzbistum Köln*, 3 (1929), p. 13, fig. 16.

⁶⁹ On 12 May 1998 at Lempertz auction in Cologne; auction cat., p. 288, fig. Undated portrait, most likely from the 1830s.

⁷⁰ 1839, Louvre, Paris; see *Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts...*, op. cit., p. 97, fig. 42.

portrait by Friedrich Meyer,⁷¹ show him in profile, which makes a comparison very difficult. In Herrmann's drawing in the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw, the painter is shown from the back and only resembles the man in the painting by his hairstyle. Therefore, until we acquire new iconographic evidence, the identifications of both the painting and the drawing should retain their question marks.

Representing himself in a circle of old friends from the academy, who at this time were leading representatives of Nazarene religious painting, is a sort of artistic manifesto of Schall's, who declares himself in favour of art in the service of the Catholic Church and of the kind of painting represented by these artists. In the year the painting was created, they had significant successes, such as the frescoes underway in the church in Remagen and the efficiently functioning system of popularizing paintings through religious reproductions. Placing them in a painting in the more provincial Wrocław may represent an attempt by its author to promote himself, as a recommendation for potential commissioners.

A small drawing of studies of various figures at the National Museum in Warsaw represents the artists of the same circle (**fig. 11**).⁷² In its upper left corner we see Ernst Deger and Raphael Schall from the back, walking, their arms linked, no longer in their student berets but in top hats, thin walking sticks in hand. At first I thought that this sketch, which its first owner believed to be the work of Carl Adalbert Herrmann, had been made by a different artist with the same name.⁷³ But if we reject the assumption that it was drawn by Schall during his trip to Italy, we cannot disregard the possibility that Herrmann is its author. He may have painted his colleagues in a different place, such as Silesia, as evidence that he remained in contact with the later generation of Nazarenes.

In conclusion, let me mention a type of portrait that is closely related to the category under discussion here, those of teachers made by their students. Thus, Raphael Schall in 1833 painted Johann Heinrich König,⁷⁴ who had taught numerous artists in Silesia, and who was also his teacher before he left for Berlin that year. But his first Nazarene-style portrait was that of another famous teacher of German artists, Wilhelm Schadow (**fig. 12**), which is to be found among his drawings in the Archdiocese Museum in Wrocław. The model's identification is favoured by his similarity to Schadow's self-portrait in the Stadtmuseum Düsseldorf⁷⁵ and the famous drawing by Bendemann⁷⁶ made in 1860, where he is ill, close to death. The shape of his eyes, mouth and nose are the same as the artist's in this drawing, and what sets them apart is the shape of his skull, which does resemble him in his self-portrait.

Despite some technical shortcomings, Schall's drawing is striking for its exceptional insight in reproducing the subject's facial features. It is of a man with extremely thinned out

⁷¹ 1837; see *Portraits von Düsseldorfer Künstler nach dem Leben gezeichnet und radiert von Fr. Meyer*, 1838 erstes Heft, mit der Bildnissen von H. Plüddemann, C. Deger, C.F. Lessing und Ch. Köhle, 4. In this portrait, Deger's facial expression somewhat resembles the young man in the picture that has been linked to the painting; see n. 62.

⁷² Pencil, paper, 6.2 × 8 cm, inv. no. Rys.Nm.XIX 298 MNW, the National Museum in Warsaw.

⁷³ Kozak, op. cit., p. 227.

⁷⁴ Pencil, paper, 14.4 × 14.3 cm; inv. no. Rys.Nm.XIX 590 MNW, the National Museum in Warsaw; see Scheyer, *Schlesische...*, op. cit., p. 69, fig. 32.

⁷⁵ Stadtmuseum Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf; see *Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts...*, op. cit., p. 75, fig. 25; I would like to thank Dr Christoph Danelzik-Brüeggemann of this museum for providing information about this painting.

⁷⁶ See *Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Die Handzeichnungen des 19. Jahrhunderts. Düsseldorfer Malerschule, Teil 1: Die erste Jahrhunderthälfte, Text- und Tafelband*, collection cat., Ute Ricke-Immel, ed., Düsseldorf, vol. 1 (text) 1980, cat. no. 100, vol. 2 (tables) 1978, fig. 99.

hair, bags under his eyes and a despondent face expression, formed by furrowed brows and creases from his nose to the tips of his mouth. Like the majority of Schadow's portraits, his figure is filled with an inward focus. It is difficult to tell when this drawing was made, since even in his portraits as a youth he at times gives the impression of being older than his years. Certainly a few years before Bendemann's portrait drawing, in which he looks even older, he is unhealthily overweight and his face is sad and resigned. It is not out of the question that this portrait is somehow connected to the album of drawings dedicated to the painter by his students, which included works by Julius Hübner, Carl Müller, Wilhelm Sohn, Carl Friedrich Lessing.⁷⁷ Schall contributed to it a beautiful composition representing the parting of Saint Elisabeth of Thuringia and her husband and signed *Raphael Schall from Breslau to his beloved master, 30 Nov. 1851*.⁷⁸ It is not out of the question that he was in Düsseldorf at that time and took the opportunity to draw his "beloved" teacher. But this is mere conjecture, confirmed only by the appearance of the man in the drawing. In 1851 Schadow was sixty-three, possibly the age of the man in Schall's portrait. Here, what is more important is the author's attitude toward his subject, expressed in its dedication, that allows us to include this image in the category of friendship portraits.

⁷⁷ The album was prepared to honour Schadow's 25-year tenure at the Düsseldorf academy; see Katharina Bott, *Das Schadow-Album der Düsseldorfer Akademieschüler von 1851* (Hanau: Co-Con Verlag, 2009).

⁷⁸ Pencil, lights painted in white, paper, 44.9 × 35.5 cm, writing at bottom: *Raphael Schall in Breslau seinem geliebten Meister am 30. Nov: 1851*, inv. no. Z 1689, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne.