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## CASPAR DAVID FRIEDRICH THE ART OF DRAWING

2009

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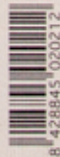
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*Caspar David Friedrich: The Art of Drawing* is dedicated to works on paper by the German Romantic artist (1774-1840) and offers a revealing perspective on the function of drawing in his creative process while also making apparent the substantive beauty of his works. Chosen from among major European museums and private collections – most of which have rarely been exhibited – these works of delicate beauty, meticulously rendered *en plein air*, were subsequently utilized by the artist as components of a modern system of pictorial architecture with which he constructed, far from nature – in his studio – the sublime landscapes that have made him the most celebrated painter of German Romanticism. The nearly 70 works by Friedrich reunited here – executed in pencil, gouache and watercolor – range from studies realized *en plein air* to finished works and are organized according to recurring themes in his *oeuvre* – architecture, ruins, mountains, trees and plants, among others. They are accompanied by illuminating essays and commentaries written for this catalogue by Christina Grammt, Helmut Börsch-Supan and Werner Busch.



Caspar David Friedrich: The Art of Drawing

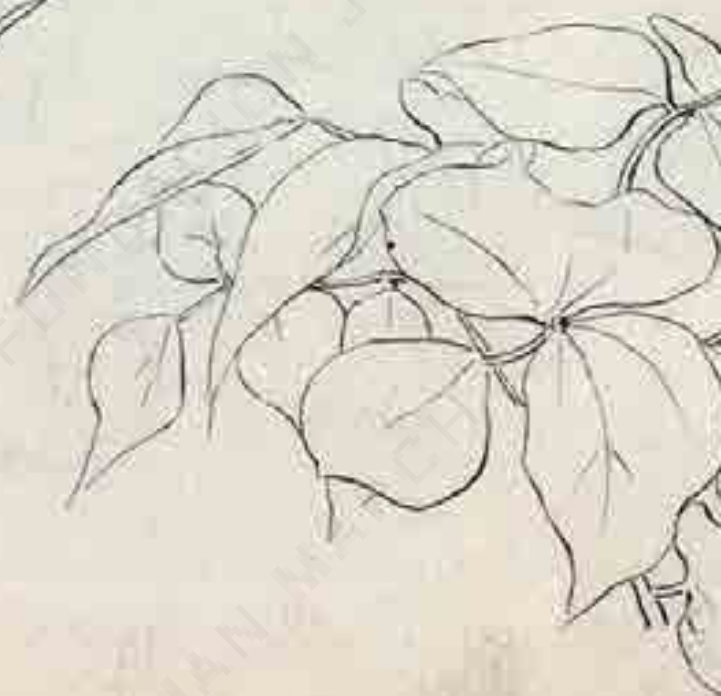
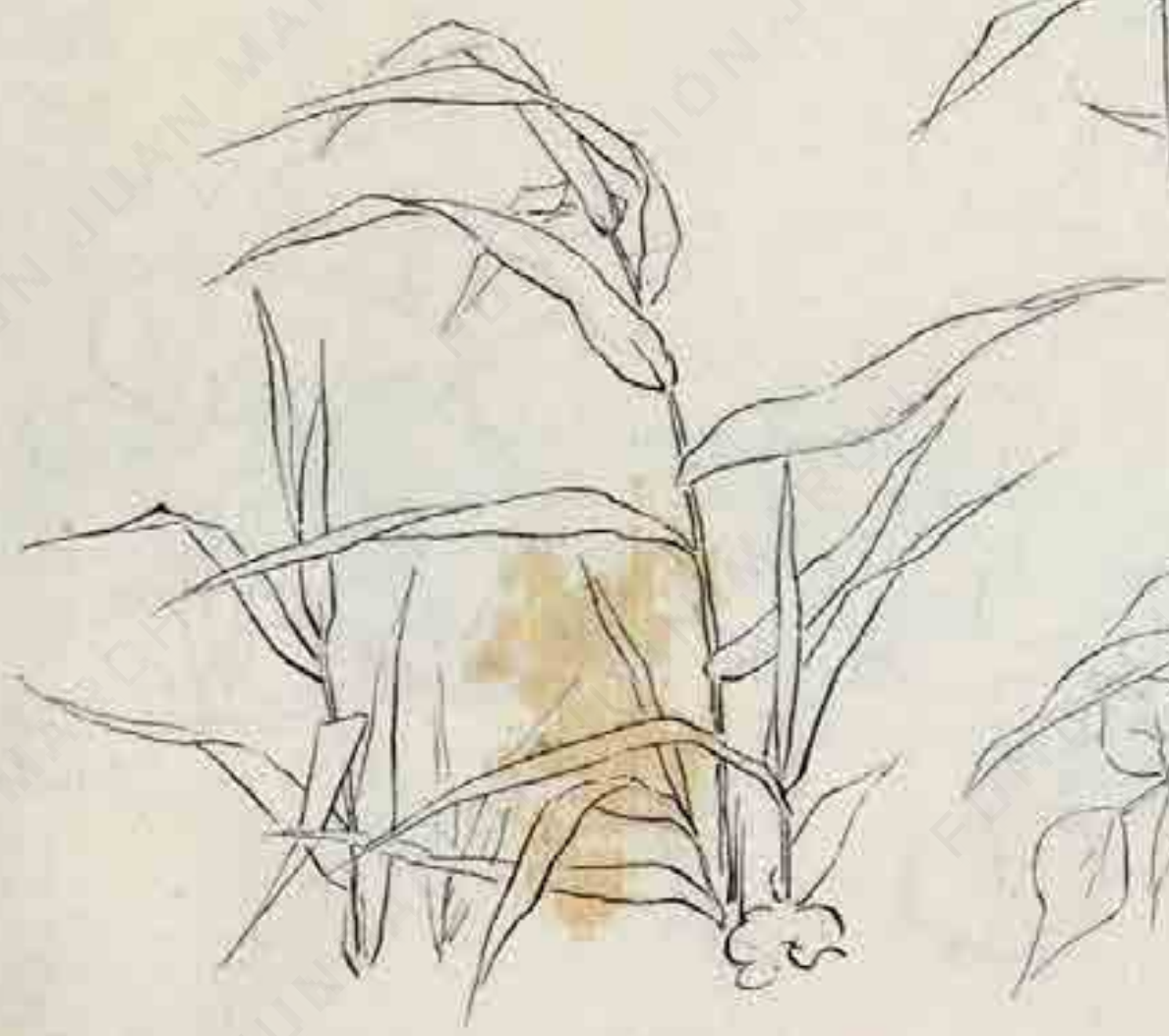
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# Caspar David Friedrich: The Art of Drawing

This catalogue, and its  
Spanish edition, are published on the  
occasion of the exhibition

## Caspar David Friedrich: The Art of Drawing

Fundación Juan March, Madrid  
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We would like to express our sincere appreciation to Dr. Christina Grummt, guest curator and co-author of the exhibition catalogue, and to her co-authors Prof. Dr. Helmut Börsch-Supan and Prof. Dr. Werner Busch for their important contributions to the catalogue.

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## Lenders

CZECH REPUBLIC	<b>Prague:</b> Národní galerie v Praze / National Gallery in Prague	CAT. 64
DENMARK	<b>Copenhagen:</b> Statens Museum for Kunst	CAT. 12
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GERMANY	<b>Berlin:</b> Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie	CATS. 14, 23, 24, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 48, 49, 55, 62, 67, 68 CAT. 1
	<b>Bremen:</b> Kunsthalle Bremen – Kupferstichkabinett – Der Kunstverein in Bremen	CATS. 17, 31
	<b>Dresden:</b> Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden Städtische Galerie Dresden · Kunstsammlung	CATS. 16, 21, 27, 38, 45, 58 CATS. 18, 19
	<b>Hamburg:</b> Kunsthalle	CAT. 2
	<b>Karlsruhe:</b> Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Kupferstichkabinett	CAT. 25
	<b>Mannheim:</b> Kunsthalle Mannheim, Graphische Sammlung	CATS. 15, 22, 56, 57, 65, 66, 69
	<b>Nuremberg:</b> Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg, Graphische Sammlung	CATS. 4, 5, 6, 7, 11, 30
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# Caspar David Friedrich: The Art of Drawing

In October 2007, the Fundación Juan March presented what was described as a “thesis exhibition” in its Madrid galleries with the descriptive title, *The Abstraction of Landscape: From Northern Romanticism to Abstract Expressionism*. The more than 100 works by two-dozen

artists selected for the exhibition and the well-grounded contributions to the accompanying catalogue presented – visually and theoretically – the argument for modern abstraction’s roots in European landscape painting. Born of German Romantic ideals, this genre extended throughout northern Europe and America by the early 19<sup>th</sup> century until its virtual dissolution within 20<sup>th</sup>-century pure abstraction.

On that occasion, we were able to open the exhibition – whose underlying thesis was inspired by another quite groundbreaking in its own day: Robert Rosenblum’s well-known *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition: Friedrich to Rothko* (1975) – with three extraordinary works: Caspar David Friedrich’s *Spring*, *Summer* and *Fall* from his *Seasons of the Year* series (1803). These sepias, lost for decades, were rediscovered in 2004, and the Fundación Juan March was host to their world premiere in this exhibition, which took place shortly after their 2006 presentation at the Kupferstichkabinett of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, following their restoration.

That fortunate circumstance was the first step leading to the organization of the present exhibition devoted to the celebrated Friedrich, who has been the subject of only one other monographic exhibition in Spain, the 1992 retrospective at the Museo Nacional del Prado. We sought to organize an exhibition from a relevant and suggestive viewpoint that would feature the most current research and provide a unique and revelatory perspective for the general public. Thus began our working relationship with Dr. Christina Grummt, who some years earlier had embarked on the ambitious project of preparing the catalogue raisonné of Friedrich’s work on paper, a monumental undertaking that will be published shortly.

That first contact with Dr. Grummt was followed by many others where ideas, proposals and counterproposals were exchanged and from which finally emerged a joint project that has extended over the past two years and for which the Fundación Juan March would like to express its most profound gratitude to Dr. Grummt.

The result of all of this effort is *Caspar David Friedrich: The Art of Drawing*. With the guidance of Dr. Grummt – today the most noted specialist on Friedrich's work on paper – the exhibition offers a revealing look at the function of drawing in the artist's creative process, while also making apparent the substantive beauty of these works.

The initial idea for the exhibition – which weathered the winds and tides of difficulties inherent in the loan of Friedrich's works – took up that dual perspective: on the one hand, to reveal the beauty and aesthetic value of Friedrich's work on paper, which has never been the subject of a monographic exhibition and has remained in the shadow of those landscapes that have made him a symbol of Romanticism, and, on the other, to illustrate the unique character of Friedrich's drawings. Specifically, to examine the function of these works on paper – especially his unusual sketches and detailed studies “nach der Natur” (from nature) that form the majority of the works in this exhibition – in the evolution of his large and celebrated landscape paintings.

Chosen from among major European museums and private collections – most of whose works have rarely been exhibited – the nearly 70 works presented here are of delicate beauty, meticulously rendered *en plein air*. Many were repeatedly used by the artist as components of a modern system of pictorial architecture with which he constructed – far from nature, in his

studio – the sublime landscapes that have made him the most renowned of German Romantic painters.

Drawn in sketchbooks or on loose sheets, in pencil or pen, during long sessions of work or on his journeys, Friedrich did not have a specific painting in mind when he sketched them and, therefore, they cannot be considered preparatory drawings. Rather, they are captured fragments of nature, the same nature that the artist “read” as God's Book of Creation, thus evincing a conviction without which – as Helmut Börsch-Supan writes in his essay – Friedrich's art cannot be understood. With these fragments he created a veritable library of pictorial sources, a “Baukastensystem,” or modular system, to compose landscapes that, as such, were not exact representations of their models in nature.

The interest in this working process – revealed in detail in the research and essays for this catalogue – is not solely to reveal this curiously “contemporary” working method – a type of do-it-yourself project that we are almost tempted to call “constructivist” – that Friedrich practiced. His studies and drawings “from nature” are executed with great detail, inscribed with date and time and filled with notations that recall the exact conditions under which each had been made. They testify not only to this unique working process but to the religious devotion to nature that guided his life and led him to see, even in the most ordinary fragments of life, the essence of the supernatural: something to be carefully, piously and faithfully recorded. It is from this that Friedrich's drawings obtain their significance. Friedrich did not paint *en plein air*; he only drew *en plein air* and, as a result, in his drawings one finds the artist's primordial treatment of nature, charged with meaning, where we find the immediate essence of the sentiment that inspired it.

The Friedrich works united here – pencil drawings, gouaches and watercolors – from *plein air* studies to finished works, are ordered according to recurrent motifs in his oeuvre: architecture, ruins, mountainscapes, trees, plants and varied landscapes, among others. They are accompanied by extensive catalogue entries and critical apparatus, as well as enlightening essays on the exhibition's premise by two noted authorities on the

artist: professors Helmut Börsch-Supan – who years earlier produced the catalogue raisonné on Friedrich's paintings and who, in his text, provides a revealing panorama of the artist's life and subject matter – and Werner Busch, author of the indispensable *Caspar David Friedrich: Ästhetik und Religion* (2003), and publications on some of the most innovative approaches to Romantic Art. Their contributions to this catalogue, along with those of Dr. Grummt, represent three generations of rigorous research on Friedrich and his age.

The numerous institutions and private collections that have made this exhibition possible are detailed in our acknowledgments but we would like to make special mention of the collaboration of the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, the Kunsthalle Mannheim, Kunsthalle Bremen, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden and, above all, the Kupferstichkabinett of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, as well as the generous international collectors whose works have so notably enhanced this presentation.

As a result of the thorough research carried out for this project, the Caspar David Friedrich who ultimately emerges from the works displayed here is not only the serious Romantic artist that tradition has bequeathed to us but also a painter and draftsman with a very “contemporary” manner of working. We are pleased to add that through a happy set of circumstances, the tradition and innovation revealed in the drawings presented here coincide with the inauguration of the newly renovated exhibition galleries of the Fundación Juan March, Madrid.

## Fundación Juan March

Madrid, October 2009

# Introduction

## Christina Grummt

“For my part, I require of a work of art an elevation of the spirit, and, not only and exclusively, religious inspiration.”

Caspar David Friedrich

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, while studying the work of his fellow compatriot Johan Christian Dahl, the Norwegian Andreas Aubert almost accidentally stumbled upon the art of a painter named Caspar David Friedrich, by then almost wholly forgotten. Fully aware that he had rediscovered a great artist, Aubert promptly published an essay in the journal *Kunst und Künstler*. He illustrated it with reproductions of sepias, watercolors, and drawings, and included a sketch of the artist based on contemporary sources.<sup>1</sup> It would seem to be no coincidence that in the following year, 1906, the *Jahrhundertausstellung deutscher Kunst* (Century Exhibition of German Art) at the Nationalgalerie, Berlin, included a few oil paintings, and many drawings, by Friedrich.<sup>2</sup> More than 60 years passed, however, before the first major retrospectives of Friedrich's work opened in Hamburg and Dresden in 1974.<sup>3</sup> At this point, the long-forgotten artist suddenly emerged as one of the most important early Romantic painters. A series of basic monographs by authors such as Aubert, Willi Wolfradt, Kurt Wilhelm-Kästner, Sigrid Hinz, Werner Sumowski, Karl Wilhelm Jähnig, and Helmut Börsch-Supan had already created a scholarly basis for Friedrich's reevaluation.<sup>4</sup> The Friedrich literature has continued to expand, and interest in Friedrich's work has grown beyond scholarly circles to include an enthusiastic public beyond northern Germany – as is confirmed by major exhibitions in London and Madrid, and especially the recent and highly acclaimed retrospectives in Essen and Hamburg.<sup>5</sup> Of the many more recent Friedrich publications, let me mention only those by Werner Hofmann, Wilhelm Vaughan, Karl Ludwig Hoch, Herrmann Zschoche, Hans Dickel, Hilmar Frank, Johannes Grave, and Werner Busch.<sup>6</sup> With few exceptions, however, art historians have focused primarily on Friedrich's paintings, treating his nearly one thousand drawings only peripherally, as mere preliminary studies. A catalogue raisonné of the drawings has long been needed.<sup>7</sup> Friedrich the painter has been rediscovered, Friedrich the draftsman not at all.

The present exhibition therefore aims to present a selection of drawings by Caspar David Friedrich in the light of the most recent research. It is further hoped that the exhibition will counter the prevailing misconception that one Friedrich drawing is as sketchy and unimposing as any other, little more than a necessary preliminary exercise in the creation of an incomparably

more ambitious work such as a painting.<sup>8</sup> In fact, the first response to a Friedrich drawing is always an awareness of its artistry. Its possible function as part of the artist's working method is only one side of the coin; the other is its aesthetic dimension. In his lectures on aesthetics, Hegel explains why drawings are so fascinating and inspire such enthusiasm. Referring specifically to works by Dürer and Raphael, he writes: "Drawings are so very interesting because one sees in them the miracle of an entire personality's being conveyed into the dexterity of a hand, which now with the greatest of ease, without any false starts, instantaneously captures everything the artist is thinking about."<sup>9</sup> Another aim of the present exhibition, then, is to provide a sense of the personality of this major artist of German Romanticism as he expressed it in the selected examples of his draftsmanship.

Every Friedrich drawing exemplifies this deeply religious artist's search for an art form appropriate to his subjective feelings. Friedrich's turn toward nature was part and parcel of his belief in the need for a new art and new religion; in the spirit of his time, he nurtured his religious faith through an artistic dialogue with God's creation. This is particularly apparent in the nature studies that incorporate Christian symbols relating to the story of salvation (Cats. 23, 37, 38). Friedrich's drawings represent his devoted reading in the "book of Nature." In utmost humility he dedicated his art to the glory of the Creator.

In Friedrich's concept of art the choice of subject matter was of primary importance. In the present exhibition his drawings are grouped according to the subjects he chose – landscape, elements of landscape, mountainous regions, coastal landscapes, and so on. While the exhibition reflects the artist's range of subjects, it does not constitute a retrospective in which each stage of his career is equally represented. The studies drawn from nature (for example, Cats. 26, 44, 53) are of particular interest, for above and beyond their function as part of the artist's method,

they reflect his belief that art, nature, and religion were inseparable.

That belief explains why even in his drawings Friedrich managed to give the most unlikely objects (as in Cats. 40, 43, 45) a distinct beauty. As Novalis put it, even in his studies drawn from nature Friedrich manages to give "profound meaning to the commonplace, an aura of the mysterious to the ordinary, the distinction of the unknown to what is perfectly familiar, and to the finite a glint of the infinite."<sup>10</sup> Friedrich simply gives a Romantic twist to everyday subjects. As a child of his time, and accordingly fired with the vision of a new kind of landscape art appropriate to it, Friedrich patiently created his studies of the details from which he would ultimately compose finished sepias, watercolors, and oil paintings. He built up his compositions by combining their motifs (for example, Fig. 5 [p. 70], Cats. 23-26), creating landscapes that he had not seen in just that way in nature but that matched his "inner vision." He revised reality to the point that a single tree might be a composite of several trees he had drawn from nature (see Cat. 30). He frequently reused his studies from nature – even years later – when creating new compositions. In the present exhibition, the study *Bare Tree* (Cat. 27) impressively illustrates his method. It can be recognized in such very different works as *Cairn by the Sea* (Fig. 7 [p. 75]) and *Monastery Cemetery in the Snow* (Fig. 6 [p. 75]). And in fact Friedrich borrowed from this study a third time, for his oil painting *Winter* (Börsch-Supan/Jähning 1973, n.º 165), formerly in Munich.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to explaining how Friedrich used his studies for his finished works the exhibition takes into account the original context of a given drawing, whether it can now be seen to have been a loose single sheet (for example, Cats. 21, 30, 31) or part of a bound sketchbook. Careful study of the papers themselves has made it possible to distinguish between sketchbook pages and loose sheets. Some of the drawings presented have been virtually overlooked in the previous literature (for example, Cats. 5-7). Others have only recently been discovered, and are here presented as the fruit of exhaustive study of Friedrich's draftsmanship (Cats. 47, 50; also see my essay in the present catalogue). Both groups enrich the selection and add to the stature of the exhibition.

To supplement the visual pleasures offered by Friedrich's drawings, the catalogue text presents the drawings' characteristics and peculiarities. For example, scholars have heretofore wholly overlooked the fact that when creating his sepias and watercolors Friedrich made use of a special pencil technique. By adding a variety of pencil lines on top of his colors he

was able to create a much greater sense of three-dimensionality (Cats. 13, 50). Also, the most recent findings regarding the locations in which certain studies were made (Cats. 21, 49) help to flesh out the facts of the artist's biography (Cat. 33).

1 Andreas Aubert, "Caspar Friedrich," *Kunst und Künstler III* (1905), pp. 197-204, 253.

2 "Ausstellung deutscher Kunst aus der Zeit von 1775-1875, Zeichnungen, Aquarelle, Pastelle, Ölstudien, Miniaturen und Möbel" (Exhibition of German Art from the Period 1775-1875, Drawings, Watercolors, Pastels, Oil Studies, Miniatures, and Furniture), Nationalgalerie Berlin, 1906.

3 *Caspar David Friedrich 1774-1840*, ed. Werner Hofmann, exh. cat. Hamburger Kunsthalle (Munich, 1974); *Caspar David Friedrich und sein Kreis*, exh. cat. Gemäldegalerie Neue Meister Dresden (Dresden, 1974).

4 Andreas Aubert, *Caspar David Friedrich, Gott, Freiheit und Vaterland*, ed. G. J. Kern, (Berlin, 1915); Willi Wolfradt, *Caspar David Friedrich und die Landschaft der Romantik* (Berlin, 1924); Kurt Wilhelm-Kästner, Ludwig Rohling, and Karl Friedrich Degner, *Caspar David Friedrich und seine Heimat (= Bekenntnisse Deutsche Kunst*, Kurt Wilhelm-Kästner, ed., vol. 2) (Berlin and Greifswald, 1940); Helmut Börsch-Supan, *Die Bildgestaltung bei Caspar David Friedrich*, Ph.D. diss., Berlin, 1958 (Munich, 1960); Werner Sumowski, *Caspar David Friedrich-Studien* (Wiesbaden, 1970).

5 *Caspar David Friedrich 1774-1840, Romantic Landscape Painting in Dresden*, ed. Helmut Börsch-Supan, exh. cat. The Tate Gallery (London, 1972); *Caspar David Friedrich, Pinturas y dibujos*, exh. cat. Museo del Prado (Madrid, 1992); *Caspar David Friedrich, Die Erfindung der Romantik*, ed. Hubertus Gassner, exh. cat. Museum Folkwang, Essen, and Hamburger Kunsthalle (Munich, 2006).

6 Werner Hofmann, *Caspar David Friedrich, Naturwirklichkeit und Kunstwahrheit*, Munich, 2000; William Vaughan, *Friedrich* (London, 2004); Karl-Ludwig Hoch, *Caspar David Friedrich in Böhmen, Bergsymbolik in der romantischen Malerei* (Stuttgart and elsewhere, 1987); idem, *Caspar David Friedrich in der Sächsischen Schweiz, Skizzen, Motive, Bilder* (Dresden and Basel, 1995); Herrmann Zschoche, *Caspar David Friedrich auf Rügen* (Amsterdam and Dresden, 1998); idem, *Caspar David Friedrich im Harz* (Dresden, 2000); Hans Dickel, *Caspar David Friedrich in seiner Zeit, Zeichnungen der Romantik und des Biedermeier (= Die Zeichnungen und Aquarelle des 19. Jahrhunderts der Kunsthalle Mannheim*, ed. Manfred Fath, vol. 3) (Weinheim, 1991); Hilmar Frank, *Aussichten ins Unermessliche. Perspektivität und Sinnoffenheit bei Caspar David Friedrich* (Berlin, 2004); Johannes Grave, *Caspar David Friedrich und die Theorie des Erhabenen. Friedrichs "Eismeer" als Antwort auf einen zentralen Begriff der zeitgenössischen Ästhetik* (Weimar, 2001); Werner Busch, *Caspar David Friedrich, Ästhetik und Religion* (Munich, 2003).

7 After years of careful study of the artist's drawings, I will soon publish a catalogue raisonné of Friedrich's drawings.

8 See Walter Koschatzky, *Die Kunst der Zeichnung, Technik, Geschichte, Meisterwerke*, 10<sup>th</sup> ed. (Munich, 2003), p. 10.

9 G.W.F. Hegel, *Ästhetik* (Berlin, 1955), p. 763.

10 Gerhard Schulz, ed. *Novalis Werke*, with commentary, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Munich, 2001), p. 385.

11 This circumstance was first rightly noted by Wilhelm-Kästner, and no longer doubted by subsequent scholarship; see Kurt Wilhelm-Kästner, Ludwig Rohling, and Karl Friedrich Degner, *Caspar David Friedrich und seine Heimat (Bekenntnisse Deutsche Kunst)*, vol. 2, ed. Kurt Wilhelm-Kästner (Berlin and Greifswald, 1940), p. 70, under n.º 23.

“A painting  
must not  
be invented  
but felt”

Caspar David Friedrich



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# Changes in Friedrich's Drawings

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Helmut Börsch-Supan

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■ ■  
 Fig. 1. Caspar David Friedrich. *Rügen Landscape with Distant View from Stresow Toward Reddewitz and Zicker*, June 17, 1801. Pen over pencil. 21.9 x 34.9 cm. Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

■ ■  
 Fig. 2. Caspar David Friedrich. *Self-Portrait*, September 7, 1800. Pencil. 17.9 x 11.4 cm. Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden





o understand the works of Caspar David Friedrich, one must recognize how closely his life and his art were intertwined. Visible changes in his work reflect the tensions

and even the struggles between internal pressures and outside influences. Though frequently used, the term “development” is too one-sided; it fails to take into account the artist’s reactions to experiences – his complete collapses as well as his attempts at recovery. While the tremendous sense of calm generally evoked by Friedrich’s work is captivating – highly soothing in troubled times – it masks a powerful undertow that has not been properly appreciated.<sup>1</sup>

To get at Friedrich’s “singularity” – an attribute he consciously cultivated – it is extremely helpful to study his drawings. By the term “singularity” I do not mean simply the stylistic uniqueness – the elaboration of an idea – that is expected of any artist today, but rather the distinct stamp imposed on him by fate.

Friedrich’s best-known works are of course his oil paintings. Aside from a few early experiments, he produced these between 1807 and 1836, when a stroke left him with only limited use of his hand. They are formulations of thoughts, proclamations of his Christian world view in the truest sense of the word. But the same can be said of the *Bildmäßigen* (finished pictorial drawings) created before 1807 and in his last years, occasionally at the same time as his oil paintings. The etchings and woodcuts (156) that he made between 1799 and 1804 can be grouped with the pictorial drawings.<sup>2</sup> These can be distinguished from the nature studies produced as workshop material and not exhibited. The watercolors, painstaking *vedute* based on nature studies, form a separate group.

Friedrich’s character and the forces that shaped it are well captured in the memoirs of Carl Gustav Carus, a friend of the artist who was 15 years his junior:

By birth from the shore of the Baltic ... with blond hair and sideburns, an imposing head and a gaunt, rawboned body, he typically wore a melancholy look in his generally pale face, whose blue eyes lay so deep beneath the protruding orbital bones and bushy eyebrows, also blond, that in them one already sensed the characteristic gaze of the painter concentrating intently on the effect of light. As a boy Friedrich experienced the horror of seeing an especially beloved brother, with whom he had gone ice-skating near Greifswald, break through the ice and disappear into the depths. Given his exalted concept of art, an essentially gloomy temperament and a profound dissatisfaction with his own accomplishments that derived from both of these, one can easily understand how he could once have been tempted to try suicide. He always cloaked this in deepest secrecy, but one can imagine how such a deed, once attempted, necessarily left muted and dark traces on such a personality. He began his studies at the academy in Copenhagen, and in 1795 [actually 1798] came to Dresden, where he was elected a member of the academy in 1817 and later appointed professor of landscape painting. In Dresden he had always remained aloof, befriended none of the professors of those years, and on his own developed a deeply poetic, but often somewhat gloomy and brusque landscape style.<sup>3</sup>

Carus gives no date for the suicide attempt, but it must have been at the beginning of 1801. By the end of February, at the latest, Friedrich had virtually fled Dresden – even though he had begun to find his place in the artistic life of the city and had produced a number of studies, including life drawings, and despite being surrounded by a circle of friends – and returned to his parents’ home in Greifswald.<sup>4</sup> From there he took nature-study trips to Rügen (Fig. 1). Out of his experience of the coastal landscape, he developed a sense of space that must be seen as the basis for his later pictorial imagination: the principle of a limited foreground and an unlimited background of a wholly different quality. In July, by which time he had turned 28, he returned to Dresden. From that point on his technique in drawing and painting steadily improved, and he gradually developed his theory of landscape as the revelation of God’s creation.

Looking back at his earlier work from this vantage point, one can see how he could have felt “profound dissatisfaction with his own accomplishments.” There he appears to be searching, unable either to entrust himself to a forceful teacher or find his way on his own. His *Self-Portrait as Draftsman* from September 7, 1800 (Fig. 2), probably from the Small Mannheim Sketchbook (Cats. 16, 17, 65, 66), is informative as a kind of diary of his life crisis.<sup>5</sup> (Johann Christoph Erhard, who so profoundly influenced the young draftsman and etcher Ludwig Richter, took his own life in 1822 at the age of 26, leaving behind a mature oeuvre. Had Friedrich’s life ended in 1801, he would have left little of any note, and would still be unknown.)

We can at best dimly imagine what drove the young Friedrich to choose the profession of artist. It must have been something other than a powerful, compelling talent; the earliest surviving

studies are so tentative that they certainly give no evidence of one. Of his works from his time at the academy in Copenhagen, a few watercolors stand out for their renderings of motifs with symbolic expressiveness, for example springs and tomb monuments from landscaped gardens in the city's environs (Fig. 3).<sup>6</sup> Their delicate colors and fluttery brush strokes still suggest something of the fugitive ideal of the rococo, and frustrate any search for serious content. The only depictions of urban architecture are two pencil drawings, with painterly smudges, of motifs that were presumably among the ruins of the burned Christiansborg Palace (Cat. 10).<sup>7</sup> As we see from the indefinite strokes in his oak tree study "*nach der Natur 1797*" (from nature 1797), the draftsman was at a loss when faced with the challenge of rendering a tree as the primary motif of a landscape painting. Friedrich continued to work on this in the following years. His ship studies dating from around 1798 seem heavy-handed.<sup>8</sup> The meager results of his study at the Copenhagen academy explain why he made the decision in 1798 to make a change

and continue his studies in Dresden, the liveliest art center in Germany at that time.

Friedrich dedicated a self-portrait from 1800 to his friend Johan Ludwig Gebhard Lund (Fig. 2). Despite all its insecurity of line and its conflicting disarray and extreme severity, and despite the expression of his dissatisfaction in the scrawled cancellation of the bust section, it communicates something of the determination with which Friedrich pursued the study of nature. Inscriptions on certain sheets attest that he took inspiration from works by Christian Wilhelm Ernst Dietrich,<sup>9</sup> Johann Philipp Veith,<sup>10</sup> Johann Friedrich Wizan<sup>11</sup> and Adrian Zingg.<sup>12</sup>

The studies produced on his wanderings throughout Dresden and the surrounding area nevertheless show that he rejected the formulaic sort of rendering of greenery taught at the academy, choosing instead to depict specific plants as unique phenomena, based on close observation. Like Zingg, he even turned his attention to smaller plants, and here too he avoided schematic approaches instead attempting to capture their specific qualities in precisely rendered outlines. His reverence for Creation apparently guided him in these meticulous efforts. Standing in front of his painting *Swans in the Reeds* in 1820, he could assure a visitor that "The divine is everywhere ... even in a grain of sand, there I once depicted it in the reeds."<sup>13</sup>

He favored a sturdy pen and a rather soft pencil. He often added modeling by means of hatching, and washes with brush and

ink. The human figure gave him trouble. In around 1799 he nevertheless ventured to produce illustrations for Schiller's "*The Robbers*" (Fig. 4), a play that apparently accorded with his state of mind and inner rebelliousness at the time.<sup>14</sup> He appears to have borrowed some of his greatly elongated figures from Chodowiecki. Even the relatively large figures from his later years do not manage to assert themselves as three-dimensional bodies in space, but seem virtually dematerialized by the force of manifest infinity. The few crayon portraits of relatives are different. Probably executed some time after the self-portrait from 1800, they reveal his love for the subjects that lends them a three-dimensional nature and accords them a certain heft.<sup>15</sup> The hatching of their clothing turns into patterns of stripes that model their bodies, a style he apparently learned in Copenhagen.

In the 11 etchings he made between 1799 and 1804 (precise preliminary drawings for some of these survive), he was required to adapt his way of drawing in short strokes to the technique.<sup>16</sup> Vegetation, terrain, occasional glimpses of architecture and



Fig. 3. Caspar David Friedrich. *Landscape with Pavilion*, ca. 1797. Watercolor. Hamburger Kunsthalle

Fig. 4. Caspar David Friedrich. *Scene from Schiller's "The Robbers"*, June 22, 1799. Pen, watercolor. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

Fig. 5. Caspar David Friedrich. *Winter*, 1803. Brush with sepia ink over underlying pencil drawing on vellum. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, acquired in 2006 with the generous assistance of the Herrmann Reemtsma Stiftung and the Kulturstiftung der Länder

here and there even skies are rendered in light and shadow.

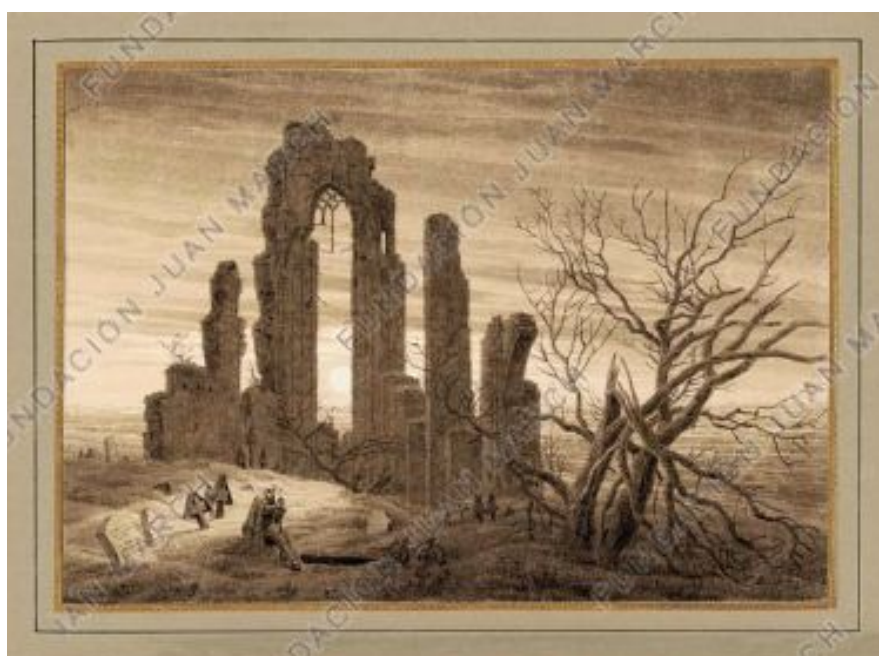
The surviving holdings include two sketchbooks (now in Berlin) with a total of 152 drawings. He filled these sketchbooks with drawings in 1799 and 1800, during his first Dresden sojourn, from the autumn of 1798 up to the point of his crisis in early 1801. Friedrich was not only determined to practice his drawing, but also to create a store of studies that might be used for other purposes. Very few of the drawings from this period are finished, that is, executed in pen and completed with brush washes. Friedrich's later practice of borrowing details from his nature studies for use in larger compositions is in evidence as early as around 1800 in etchings and in one drawing, now lost, *Cottage between Trees*.<sup>17</sup>

In the process of overcoming his crisis in the years 1801 and 1802, Friedrich swiftly arrived at a new maturity and a recognition of his mission as an artist. As a result, he not only developed a more disciplined signature but managed to clarify his way of working. Design as working process and its result go together. One is struck by how little Friedrich was inclined to experiment once he hit upon his working method; Carus describes his friend's procedure when producing oil paintings.<sup>18</sup>

It was probably while still in Greifswald in 1802 that Friedrich painted small gouaches – two views of Rügen survive (Fig. 1) – a first step in the direction of oil painting.<sup>19</sup> Then in Dresden he produced the four larger views from the Plauenscher

Grund, meticulous *vedute* that are highly convincing despite their strong colors (Cats. 18, 19).<sup>20</sup> But Friedrich chose not to pursue that route any further. Later he only very rarely resorted to gouache. In that his watercolors too present *vedute*, they are the descendants of these sheets. Four woodcuts produced by his brother Christian, after drawings that Friedrich made around 1803, are probably illustrations for a book that was never published, and represent another isolated episode in his career.<sup>21</sup> A series of pictorial views drawn from nature in pen and brush from the late summer of 1802 and early 1803 can be related to the gouaches, but fall somewhere between nature studies and finished pictures.<sup>22</sup>

The first version of Friedrich's four-part cycle on the times of day, the seasons (Fig. 5) and stages of life from 1803 is a major step forward. It not only accommodates complex layers of meaning that the artist would repeat like a credo in at least three additional versions by 1834, but the quality of the drawing is striking.<sup>23</sup> Friedrich had exchanged his pen for the more delicate pencil, and he was now able to represent



both small details and large masses with his brush, illuminating areas in delicate shadings and creating deepest shadows. At 19.5 x 27.5 cm the format is still small, but in the following years Friedrich opted for larger and larger sheets up to a meter in width. The sepia *View of Arkona at Moonrise* (Fig. 6) in Vienna's Albertina – unique among his large works because of its flawless state of preservation – measures 61 x 100 cm.<sup>24</sup> His achievement of such gradations in the color of the evening sky borders on the miraculous. Such a work demands as much of the artist as a painting. In fact, in 1807, virtually without a break, Friedrich began producing oil paintings, which then took the place of the sepias.

While he was perfecting his brushwork, his pencil lines also became more refined. His sparse, low landscapes with elongated horizon lines and towering skies from the year 1801 were still drawn with a pen, but a few pencil studies from this same period—for example, the sheet dated April 10, 1801, with studies of architecture in Neubrandenburg (Cat. 8), are already astonishing in their new precision. These works demonstrate the artist's ability to achieve dramatic effects of light and shadow with the most minimal means. None of these works has the slightest hint of affectation; on the contrary, everything image Friedrich

creates is an expression of profound humility. His necessary haste produce only occasionally produces a cursory feeling. (When studying each sheet, one ought to try to imagine how much time the draftsman invested in his work.)

The mature drawing style of Friedrich's nature studies is already almost fully developed in a fragmentary sketchbook with pencil drawings from 1804 in a private collection.<sup>25</sup> The delicate drawings in the sketchbook in Oslo that he used on his trip to his homeland in 1806 and even later, filled with brush and pencil studies of clouds, go one step further.<sup>26</sup> At that time he also produced a few studies of oaks in which he managed to render the cracked bark, the gnarled branches that abruptly change direction and the vivid contrasts of light and shadow in the foliage simply by changing the pressure on his pencil. They are like portraits of trees (Fig. 7). The trees are taken as seriously as human beings—treated as individuals, each with its own fate. When Friedrich transferred such trees into his paintings, he painted every branch precisely as it is in the study, unless his composition or the point of his picture necessitated some change. The difference between these studies of oaks (Fig. 8) and one from nine years before is enormous.

In another journey to Pomerania in 1806, he again became fascinated with the bizarre shapes of the oak trees, and once again outdid himself (Cat. 27). When he traveled in the Riesengebirge with Georg Friedrich Kersting in 1810 he took along his watercolors, and enlivened his studies with sparing touches of color (Cats. 50,

51), but he only rarely sought a painterly effect; an example is his rendering of the choir of the sacristy atop the Oybin from July 4, 1810 (Fig. 9).<sup>27</sup> When hiking in the Harz Mountains the following year, he once again tended to limit himself to pencil. His journeys with his new wife, to the Baltic in 1815 and 1818, again brought a rich harvest of studies, especially of ships, which called for extreme precision in the rendering of technical details (Fig. 10).<sup>28</sup> This aspect of his art is apparent in his architectural drawings, designs for monuments and especially his designs for the planned renovation of the St. Mary's Church in Stralsund from 1817-18 (Fig. 11, Cats. 4-7).<sup>29</sup> All were meant to be so precise that others could work from them.

The happiest years of the artist's life began with his marriage in 1818 and his acquisition of new friends, above all Johan Christian Dahl and Carl Gustav Carus. In most of his paintings from 1818, not all, the severity of his compositions relaxed. His palette blossomed, and beginning in roughly 1821 his paintings begin to include natural scenes that could be considered *vedute*, but nevertheless carry a message. In 1824 his realistic approach led to a series of at least 37 watercolors presenting views of Rügen. On December 18 of that year, Johann Gottlieb von Quandt reported: "Friedrich has drawn a numerous series of views of



■ Fig. 6. Caspar David Friedrich. *View of Arkona at Moonrise*, ca. 1806. Sepia. Albertina, Vienna



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 Fig. 7. Caspar David Friedrich. *Old Oak with Stork's Nest*, May 23, 1806. Pencil. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg



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 Fig. 8. Caspar David Friedrich. *Oak Stripped of Leaves*, May 3, 1806. Pencil. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo



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 Fig. 9. Caspar David Friedrich. *Choir of the Sacristy of the Monastery Church Oybin*, July 4, 1810. Pencil, watercolor. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg



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 Fig. 10. Caspar David Friedrich. *Greifswald Harbor with the Steinbecker Bridge*, September 10, 1815. Pencil. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo



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 Fig. 11. Caspar David Friedrich. *Altar*, 1817-18. Pen, wash. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Graphische Sammlung, Nuremberg

the island of Rügen (Fig. 12) with touches of color, inasmuch as illness, the result of overwork, prohibited his undertaking larger works, and it is hoped that an engraver and publisher for these drawings can be found.”<sup>30</sup> He planned to include depictions of traditional Rügen costumes by the genre painter Simon Wagner and an accompanying text by the Stralsund preacher Adolf Friedrich Furchau, but for unknown reasons that undertaking was never realized. Perhaps it was because Friedrich’s health took a turn for the worse. In May 1826 he traveled to Sassnitz on Rügen for a three-week cure. From this journey only a few drawings are known, and almost all of the Rügen watercolors, which were based on earlier nature studies, have disappeared.<sup>31</sup> After 1818 Friedrich made relatively few drawings from nature. His stock of studies was apparently large enough to support his activity as a painter.

In 1826 a deep break must have occurred in Friedrich’s life. The gloomy spirit in his paintings from this year, dominated by winter landscapes, cannot be ignored. Carus writes, tentatively to be sure, about this change.<sup>32</sup> The artist’s production stalled, and for the first time since 1814, Friedrich failed to submit any paintings to the annual Dresden Academy exhibition – the event had been cancelled in 1815, although he sent a new version of the times-of-the-day cycle, expanded to seven sheets.<sup>33</sup> In technique, these sheets in pencil, brush and sepia reach the same level as the ones drawn before 1807, and surpass the version from 1803 (Cats. 58, 59). A few composed seascape drawings in pen, one of which bears the date 1826, must also have been executed around this time, perhaps for use as gifts.<sup>34</sup>

Several watercolors with motifs from Greifswald, from the Elbsandsteingebirge and from the Riesengebirge are known from the following years. Some of these were definitely based on earlier nature studies, in which the careful but delicate execution of the details betrays a devotion to the beauties of nature.<sup>35</sup> Such works must have been easier to sell than the melancholy fantasies in oil. In 1829 he considered one of these watercolors, *Recollection of the Nollendorf Heights*, worthy of exhibition, but it has been lost. In a discussion of the work, Carl August Böttger remarked: “Uncommonly inviting, however, is the small sketch in watercolor, *Recollection of the Nollendorf Heights*. We hear with pleasure that a connoisseur had found this small picture worthy of his interest and purchased it. The master has many sketches of this kind that doubtless deserve to be known.” We know that Friedrich was plagued by financial worries at this time, as his paintings were finding very few buyers.<sup>37</sup>

On a trip to Teplice in May 1828 he may have combined a cure with a search for new motifs, which he now rendered from nature in swiftly executed watercolors. Two finished watercolor paintings based on these are known, a view of the palace ruin at Teplice from May 9, 1828, and another of

the Bohemian Mittelgebirge from May 14, 1828.<sup>38</sup> He no longer produced the sort of precise studies drawn with a sharp pencil that he had made on his travels up until 1818. His line becomes broader, and he even sketches with brush and ink (Cats. 67, 68), as in the case of a special group of 17 drawings on transparent paper that include figures from his paintings, dated between 1820 and 1835.<sup>39</sup> On three washed pencil studies with anchors he even wrote the date, “Mai 1827,” with a brush.<sup>40</sup>

Hoping to recover from a stroke that he suffered on June 16, 1835, he once again sojourned in Teplice, from the middle of August to the end of September of that year. Thirteen drawings produced between September 2 and 23 (Fig. 13) betray his weakened hand, but also his wish to document vast panoramas of mountain ranges and close-up views of rock formations.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps he was only trying to discover what he was still capable of, or he may have produced these studies in the hope of being able to use them for future works.

The last of these, from September 23, appears to be more than a mere nature study. Executed in pencil with white chalk highlights, it depicts the peak of the Milleschauer towering majestically above clouds, and a wooded mountain ridge rising to the right in front of it.<sup>42</sup> “Teplitz den 23<sup>r</sup> September 1835” is written in the center, directly beneath the mountain, and forms part of the picture. He was surely remembering that in 1808, on commission from Count Thun von Bodenstein, he had painted the Milleschauer as a symbol of divine hope in a picture devoted to evening and death.





In 1836 Friedrich produced what he knew would be his last painting, the large nighttime landscape *Moon behind Clouds above the Seashore*, now in Hamburg. In it two fishing boats are returning to port, two rowboats are lying on the shore and several anchors in the form of a cross are included as symbols of hope. It was based on a study dated June 1, 1826.<sup>43</sup>

After that, so far as we know, Friedrich made only watercolors and sepia drawings, mainly using motifs he had already recorded. They include, as though in a replay of his artistic career, various coastal scenes with and without figures, dolmens and caverns. But new subjects also appear: coffins above freshly dug graves, and, as if foreshadowing the artist's own death, an owl is depicted in startling close-up in a window of the Oybin ruin.<sup>44</sup> Thoughts of death dominate this last creative phase, which ends around 1838-39. Many details in these late drawings appear to have been committed to paper with greater speed than before, while others seem to have been added only hesitantly, as though with a weary hand. A precise ordering of the late drawings that might document the waning of his powers is impossible.

Friedrich was unlike no other painter of his time. He cannot be assigned to

any school, and describing his style as "Romantic" hardly captures his "singularity." His work as a draftsman further distinguishes him within the rich flowering of this genre in Germany around 1800.

- 1 The material in this essay is drawn from my book *Caspar David Friedrich. Gefühl als Gesetz* (Munich and Berlin, 2008).
- 2 Helmut Börsch-Supan and Karl Wilhelm Jähnig, *Caspar David Friedrich. Gemälde, Druckgraphik und bildmässige Zeichnungen* (Munich, 1973) (henceforth abbreviated Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973), nos. 24-32, 34, 84, 107-110 (etchings), nos. 60-62, 73 (woodcuts).
- 3 Carl Gustav Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen und Denkwürdigkeiten*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1865-66), vol. I, p. 205.
- 4 Börsch-Supan 2008 (see above note 1), pp. 124-38.
- 5 Hans Dickel, "Kleines Mannheimer Skizzenbuch," in *Zeichnungen und Aquarelle des 19. Jahrhunderts in der Kunsthalle Mannheim III, Caspar David Friedrich und seine Zeit* (Wienheim, 1991), pp. 2-41.
- 6 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973 n.° 5-12.
- 7 Sigrid Hinz, "Caspar David Friedrich als Zeichner. Ein Beitrag zur stilistischen Entwicklung der Zeichnungen und ihrer Bedeutung für die Datierung der Gemälde," Ph.D. diss. Greifswald, 1966 (henceforth abbreviated Hinz 1966), nos. 35, 37; Marianne Bernhard, *Caspar David Friedrich. Das gesamte graphische Werk* (Munich, 1974) (henceforth abbreviated Bernhard 1974), pp. 35, 37.
- 8 Hinz 1966, n.° 40, 41, 54-57, 59; Bernhard 1974, pp. 40, 41, 47-51.
- 9 Werner Sumowski, *Caspar David Friedrich-Studien* (Wiesbaden, 1970), p. 60; Hinz 1966, n.° 170/19 (Bernhard 1974, p. 160).
- 10 Hinz 1966, n.° 218-19.
- 11 Hinz 1966, n.° 32 verso.
- 12 Hinz 1966, n.° 216 (Bernhard 1974, p. 205).
- 13 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 266; L. Förster, *Biographische und literarische Skizzen aus dem Leben und der Zeit Karl Försters* (Dresden, 1864), pp. 156, 157.
- 14 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 22, 23, 46; Hinz 1966, n.° 206 (Bernhard 1974, p. 195) and 207 (Bernhard 1974, p. 196).
- 15 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 63-71.
- 16 Hinz 1966, n.° 197 (Bernhard 1974, p. 180), 199, 200, 201 (Bernhard 1974, p. 186), 202 (Bernhard 1974, p. 188), 203 (Bernhard 1974, p. 190) and 204.
- 17 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 35.
- 18 Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen* (see above note 3), vol. I, p. 209.
- 19 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 85-88; 88 has been lost.
- 20 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 85-87.
- 21 See above note 2.
- 22 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 81-83; Hinz 1966, n.° 331, 332, 342, 344 (Bernhard 1974, pp. 330, 331, 344, 346); Bernhard 1974, pp. 333, 345, 347.

- 23 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973 n.° 103-6; The *Summer* sheet, n.° 104, has been lost; *An der Wiege der Romantik, Caspar David Friedrichs "Jahreszeiten" von 1803*. Kupferstichkabinett Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Berlin, 2006. The other versions: Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 153-56, 338-44 and 428-34.
- 24 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 128.
- 25 Unpublished with the exception of single sheets.
- 26 Ludwig Grote, *Caspar David Friedrich. Skizzenbuch aus den Jahren 1806 and 1818* (Berlin, 1942). Not altogether complete facsimile reproduction of the two sketchbooks.
- 27 Hinz 1966, n.° 536 (Bernhard 1974, p. 520).
- 28 Hinz 1966, n.° 635-70 (Bernhard 1974, pp. 599-619, 622, 632-35); for the 1818 Sketchbook, see above note 26.
- 29 Compilation of the designs for architecture and handicrafts, Hinz 1966, n.° 802-81. See Sumowski, *Friedrich-Studien* (see above note 9), p. 104. Designs for St. Mary's Church in Stralsund, Bernhard 1974, pp. 651-58.
- 30 *Kunstblatt* 6 (1825), p. 4.
- 31 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 324-26 appear to belong to the series of Rügen watercolors.
- 32 Carus, *Lebenserinnerungen* (see above note 3), vol. II, p. 303.
- 33 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 338-44.
- 34 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 347-49, 445, 446.
- 35 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 373-78, 385-88.
- 36 *Artistisches Notizenblatt*, 1829, p. 65.
- 37 Herrmann Zschoche, ed., *Caspar David Friedrich. Die Briefe* (Hamburg, 2005), pp. 204-6.
- 38 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 377, 498.
- 39 Hinz 1966, n.° 776, 780-93, also two tracings, not listed in Hinz, of *Hutten's Tomb* (Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 316) and *Woman Climbing Toward the Light* (Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 334).
- 40 Hinz 1966, n.° 737-39 (Bernhard 1974, pp. 710-12).
- 41 Hinz 1966, n.° 756-68 (Bernhard 1974, pp. 766, 768-72, 775); Sumowski 1972 (see above note 9), figs. 428, 431.
- 42 Hinz 1966, n.° 768 (Bernhard 1974, p. 772)
- 43 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 453; Helmut Börsch-Supan, *Caspar David Friedrich. Meeresufer im Mondschein, 1836* (Hamburg, 1992 [Kulturstiftung der Länder, Patrimonia 56]).
- 44 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.° 459-460.



Fig. 12. Caspar David Friedrich. *View of the Sea Through a Gap in the Shore*, ca. 1824. Watercolor. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett

Fig. 13. Caspar David Friedrich. *Mountain Landscape near Teplice with the Milleschauer*, September 23, 1835. Pencil, chalk highlights. Germanisches Nationalmuseum Graphische Sammlung, Nuremberg

“The divine  
is everywhere,  
even in a  
grain of sand”

Caspar David Friedrich

Notations  
on Friedrich's  
Drawings

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Werner Busch

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riedrich neither signed nor dated his oil paintings, probably for a variety of reasons. This habit may reflect his inherent humility (it was the picture, not the artist, that mattered). Perhaps he feared that viewers might associate his

name with a particular school and on that basis alone either approve the painting or dismiss it out of hand. In his highly ironic essay on Friedrich's *Monk by the Sea*, Clemens Brentano makes fun of precisely such attempts at classification by exhibition visitors and critics.<sup>1</sup> Once classified, a picture is neutralized – one can proceed to the next one. But Friedrich – and this is another reason why he avoided signing and dating his paintings – demands that the viewer linger undisturbed before his pictures, so as to become fully absorbed in the kind of contemplation that leads to self-reflection. He effects this mainly by imposing a special structure on all his pictures, one that results from his application of certain uncommon principles to the organization of the picture surface. Their effectiveness is apparent in the way that the viewer pauses to appreciate the overall effect of the work, pondering its particular feeling, rather than looking from one detail to the next.<sup>2</sup>

Friedrich does several things to enhance this effect. His pictures are devoid of action – even the figures within them have paused to reflect. The viewer does not follow a narrative sequence but a given situation. Yet aside from a few orthodox religious pictures based on axial symmetry – the exceptions that prove the rule – the situation is not wholly static, for in the application of glazes of delicate colors way he creates subtle transitions that bring the scene to life, almost making it breathe.<sup>3</sup> It is this vibrancy of color, within a calming pictorial arrangement, that causes the viewer to proceed from simple appreciation to the kind of absorption that is tantamount to meditation – whether or not it leads to a transcendent experience. Friedrich might not have been conscious of the reason why he did not sign his oil paintings himself. It may have simply have been a result of his unusual approach to organizing his pictures – one that largely defies classical compositional principles, in that it relates to the look of the picture itself, not its content. All are unmistakably his and no one else's – at least in the eyes of viewers who have once succumbed to their appeal.

Friedrich's drawings are another matter. The study drawings carry multiple notes and inscriptions. However, this is only true of the study drawings as, logically enough, the finished pictorial drawings, watercolors and gouaches are treated in much the same

way as his oil paintings. Most of the study drawings – roughly 1,000 survive – are precisely dated, and more often than not the location is noted as well, as a reminder of where he had come upon the motif. Virtually all are views of specific landscape prospects, tracts, plants, rocks, ships or boats that Friedrich drew from nature, painstakingly capturing their appearance in every detail. It was important to him to record the point of view, light and shadow relationships, distance, whether the motif was seen from above or below, size and proportions, occasionally even coloring – even if that required additional notes.<sup>4</sup> In only a few years, Friedrich developed a system for these annotations, one that he would follow the rest of his career. Friedrich's studies are pure pencil drawings, in which he usually limited himself to outlining the object and the details of the landscape. He occasionally used cross-hatching for one or another dark area – but indicated little more than the essence, the skeleton of the object.

Friedrich hoarded his study drawings, most of them made on sketchbook pages, for possible use in the future. They were not, as a rule, made with a specific painting in mind; they are not preliminary drawings, but simply pattern material that he might not use for years. They were potential building blocks. He might borrow a basic landscape, place a boulder here, a tree or arrangement of trees there, specific plants, boats – sometimes singly, sometimes in groupings – but always in virtually the identical form as his original sketch. Friedrich stopped producing *vedute* early on, even though he had enjoyed success with them shortly after 1800 in the form of large-format sepia drawings that took up the tradition of Adrian Zingg's Saxon view paintings. From his atelier Zingg had sold quantities of his own work and that of his gifted pupils: sepia drawings of motifs from the Saxon Switzerland, the mountains of Bohemia, the Riesengebirge and Dresden and its environs. For those with less capacious purses, Zingg had these motifs reproduced as prints, usually hand-colored, which were deceptively similar to the sepia originals.<sup>5</sup> Friedrich also supplied prints to this market for a time, and later had some of his early drawings, especially views of Rügen, reproduced as prints.<sup>6</sup>

But after Friedrich took up oil painting in 1806-7, in many respects his paintings promptly ceased to have the quality of *veduta*. They still depicted identifiable regions and motifs, to be sure, but

increasingly they combined different motifs, even features from wholly different contexts, and created a new context by means of abstract organizational principles determined in advance and applied to the picture surface. But what is important – and cannot be emphasized too strongly, though it completely ignores classical concepts of art and composition – is that the features borrowed from his study drawings, portions of landscape, single objects, even the most insignificant details, look the same as when he first recorded them. Only two sorts of variations occur, and these are rare: tree branches are extended slightly if a picture requires it, and proportions between objects may be slightly altered. But in their essential appearance the motifs remain the same: in trees with the most complex overlaps, in the relationships between trees in groupings, the original point of view is preserved, whether from above or below, as is the distribution of light and shadow. And Friedrich is very meticulous – even the roots of trees are characteristic of the genus. So as to be able to recall all this after an extended period of time, and successfully transfer it, he made notes on the study drawings.

**A**t around the same time that Friedrich began painting in oil, he began to develop the annotation system for his study drawings. Between 1806-7 and 1810, from *Cairn in the Snow* or *Summer Scene with Lovers* to *Monk by the Sea* and *Abbey in the Oak Forest*, he had fully perfected his system. In the following analysis I first describe the main kinds of inscriptions he used and suggest when they might have first appeared. I then discuss a typical example of each type, some of which are in the present exhibition, and explain not only how the given inscription influenced the painted picture, but above all how the artist's design process related to the creation of meaning.

¶ Color specifications FIRST APPEAR IN 1806, in a sketchbook now in Oslo.<sup>7</sup> Many other artists still used similar conventions. If space permits, the name of the color is inserted in the relevant spot in the drawing, and in the case of smaller drawings it is represented on the sheet by a symbol, generally a small cross. These symbols are repeated (usually) at the bottom edge together with the color name. Common as this was, Friedrich appears to have followed the advice of a specific artist, to whom I will repeatedly refer below.

¶ BEGINNING IN 1807, again in another Oslo sketchbook bearing that date, many drawings include a horizontal line with the word "Horizont" next to it.<sup>8</sup> This would seem self-evident in an expansive landscape

view, especially one looking toward the sea. But for long stretches this Oslo sketchbook is devoted to simple tree studies, and finding an indication of the horizon next to a tree is unusual, to say the least. But Friedrich goes even further. Such an indication seems utterly bewildering next to a tangle of roots, a tree stump, a boulder or a rocky cliff that blocks any distant view.<sup>9</sup> In Friedrich's drawings the indication of the horizon is the most frequent inscription of all.

¶ BEGINNING IN 1808, as a result of a study tour to northern Bohemia on which Friedrich recorded distant views in mountainous regions, numbers begin to appear in his drawings.<sup>10</sup> Friedrich scholars assumed that these numbers were related to his color specifications. This seemed plausible, as various earlier artists had employed such symbols, but no legend relating the numbers to specific colors has ever been found. Moreover, two things suggest that these numbers do not indicate colors. First, as already noted, Friedrich wrote the names of colors directly on the drawing, and second, the numbers increase by tens, up as far as 50.<sup>11</sup> These cannot be simply color codes; they must be indications of spatial relationships. The use of ratios makes sense particularly for layers of distant mountain ridges and landscape depths. Friedrich's simple outline drawings could not in themselves indicate these relationships. Yet when translated into an oil painting, a sepia or a watercolor, the ratios can be made visible as atmospheric perspective: the colors lose intensity from foreground to background, until an object becomes wholly devoid of color and its outlines blur. To this extent, of course, the numbers have to do with color after all: they provide indications of the intensity of the color to be used, of tonal gradations.<sup>12</sup>

¶ BEGINNING IN 1810 there are notes that more precisely fix the artist's relationship to the object. Occasionally one finds the words "Mittelgrund" (middle distance) or even "halb Mittel-halb Vorgrund" (half middle, half foreground), indicating that what he was picturing was not directly in front of him but seen from a certain distance. The simple word "Vorgrund" (foreground), generally coupled with a long horizontal line that closes off the drawing at the bottom, is more important.<sup>13</sup> Here we must assume that with this line the draftsman marked the spot where he stood as he sketched the landscape. But that is not all. With this baseline Friedrich not infrequently combines an additional indication of size –

or relative size: he inserts vertical lines cut off at top and bottom with short horizontal strokes that indicate the size of an adult figure in the landscape.<sup>14</sup> Occasionally several such lines are stacked diagonally, decreasing in length one behind the other. These tell the artist what size a person would appear to be at the spot indicated. What concerned him here, even more than the layering of landscape elements in space as indicated by numbers, was the projection of what was being observed from the artist or spectator's viewpoint. And here too it is clear that when developing his design drawings Friedrich followed a known manual of instruction.

This was Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes's *Éléments de perspective pratique*, published in Paris in 1799/1800 – or the year VIII in the revolutionary calendar. Scholars were long unaware that the work appeared in a two-volume German version only three years later, under the elaborate title *Praktische Anleitung zur Linear- und Luftperspektiv für Zeichner und Mahler. Nebst Betrachtungen über das Studium der Malerey überhaupt, und der Landschaftsmalerey insbesondere. Aus dem Franz. übers. und mit Anmerk. und Zusätzen vermehrt von Johann Heinrich Meynier* (Practical Instruction in Linear and Atmospheric Perspective for Draftsmen and Painters. Along with Observations on the Study of Painting in General and specifically Landscape Painting. Translated from the French and Augmented with annotations and Addenda by Johann Heinrich Meynier).<sup>15</sup> In the French edition, Valenciennes's treatise runs to more than 600 pages, of which the last two hundred are devoted to landscape painting. Then comes an appendix with 36 plates dealing with perspective and spatial issues. Reading the whole of this formidable text, one finds in both the sections on perspective and on landscape a wealth of suggestions that proved of great value to Friedrich. Of the four kinds of inscriptions mentioned above, three are directly traceable to Valenciennes; the only one he does not discuss is that which uses numbers to indicate relative distances. But Valenciennes's detailed remarks on atmospheric perspective, which Friedrich quite obviously studied with great care, more than compensate for this. For example, he observes aspects of mist that clearly inspired several of Friedrich's compositions. Especially when there is nothing to compare them to, objects

emerging from mist appear larger than they really are.<sup>16</sup> Friedrich depicts this phenomenon in one of his earliest paintings, probably dating from 1807 (Vienna), in which a sailboat and rowboat appear out of the mist, their spatial relationship to the still clear strip of shoreline not altogether clear.<sup>17</sup> This optical illusion is easily explained: we experience blurred objects as farther away from us, so if something blurred appears closer to us we perceive it as huge.



Valenciennes also describes the experience possible in mountain regions when the peak of a mountain rises up out of the mist while its lower slopes, which we would perceive as anchoring the whole to the earth and establishing its proper position in space, are still completely obscured.<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, the peak appears to hover confusingly in a space we do not understand. Friedrich depicts this phenomenon in Rudolstadt's *Morning Mist in the Mountains*, probably from 1808, using the appearance of unreality to make the mountain, crowned by a tiny cross, appear to belong to a different sphere – even while rendering it with painstaking accuracy.<sup>19</sup> Thanks to the cross, the vision takes on the quality of a revelation – or to put it another way, the cross can suggest hope for the afterlife. Valenciennes also describes how mist absorbs color and alters it, depending on whether the sky is completely overcast or whether the sun is already beginning to penetrate the mist, lending it a yellowish tint.<sup>20</sup>

In his famous and often-quoted chapter on producing oil sketches under relatively rapidly changing atmospheric conditions, his emphasis is on “catching nature red-handed.”<sup>21</sup> In nature, light and shadow are in constant flux, so that even in halfway stable weather an oil sketch from nature has to be

completed within two hours at most; under changing conditions even a half-hour can be too long.<sup>22</sup> If it is impossible to capture a phenomenon quickly enough, in the chapter on atmospheric perspective Valenciennes recommends making a quick pencil drawing on which the color names are inscribed.<sup>23</sup> Friedrich followed this advice when making studies of the most fleeting of phenomena, namely clouds. In the back of the Oslo Sketchbook, which he certainly used between 1806 and 1808, is a whole series of cloud studies with color specifications. In larger areas he notes the color on the body of the cloud, usually hatched, and in smaller, intervening spots he inserts a tiny cross, which is equated with a color in a picture legend. One drawing is dated 1807, and the others were likely produced around this same time.<sup>24</sup>

Valenciennes's comments about space and perspective are more important for Friedrich. Even in his introductory remarks, he proclaims:

In every perspective distortion and to apply the rules of perspective one has to fix three lines on the surface of the panel at the outset .... The first of these lines is the earth or ground line, which is the lowest line in the painting and runs parallel to the horizon line. The second is the horizon line, which is always assumed to be the height of the eye. The third the vertical line that divides the painting into two equal parts, intersects the horizon line at right angles and descends to the ground line. In perspective the point at which the vertical line intersects the horizon line is called the vanishing point.<sup>25</sup>

It is highly significant that Friedrich adopted the practice of establishing the horizon and ground lines, but not the vertical line, though for a time, as we will see, he specifically marks the vanishing point with two tiny concentric circles and the label “Augpunkt” (eye point, or vanishing point). He omitted the vertical line because he did not wish to treat the landscape space as a whole, in terms of central perspective. He often deliberately inserted a gap between foreground and background, to indicate two separate spheres that can be thought of as different levels of reality, as allusions to the here and now and the hereafter or possibly simply the temporal and the otherworldly. It is up to the viewer to bridge the gap. Valenciennes

also considers the problem of establishing the horizon line, and here we find why Friedrich indicated the horizon even on simple tree or boulder studies. Valenciennes writes:

For the beginner there is yet another difficulty, namely establishing the horizon. Nothing is simpler, to be sure, if one happens to be at the seashore, for we might say that the horizon is the line that seemingly separates the sky from the sea, and it is always the height of our eye; but inland it is a trickier business, for no matter how flat the ground may appear to be, the line that separates it from the sky is higher than the true horizon. If one wishes to find the height of the true horizon even in the midst of mountains and in cities and forests, one has to fix it in one's imagination as the sightline that extends, like the surface of the earth, from our eye toward the horizon, and is interrupted by the mountains, buildings or trees standing in the way.<sup>26</sup>

Much farther along, in chapter 6, paragraph 4, Valenciennes divulges an “abbreviated method ... for finding the height of the figures in a landscape whose foreground is higher than the level on which these figures appear.”<sup>27</sup> This paragraph is accompanied by an explanatory plate (Fig. 1/Cat. 70) that proposes a relatively simple way of calculating of the size of figures in the landscape space.<sup>28</sup> In it the figures are shown stacked one behind the other at an angle, indicated by vertical lines cut off top and bottom with short strokes and in some cases human figures sketched on top of them. We find such lines in Friedrich as well. Significantly enough, he omits the actual perspective lines since he is not interested in creating a consistent space, and only indicates the relative sizes of any figures. He also notes whether figures extend above the horizon or stay below it. Friedrich adopted several less important practices from Valenciennes, such as including a widening ray in the upper corner of a drawing to indicate the angle of the sunlight – also in Friedrich as an indication of the wind direction – a practice that has a long tradition in art.<sup>29</sup> When the ray is meant to indicate the light, Friedrich tends to place the word “Licht” (light) between the two lines.<sup>30</sup> By now it should have become clear

that in his work Friedrich largely follows Valenciennes, occasionally modifying his practices to suit his own ends.

Friedrich's application of these four principles from Valenciennes is evident in the following analysis of six drawings from the exhibition. In only one of these is it possible to follow his conversion of the drawing into a painting – but that example is interesting enough.

¶ *Study of Stolpen Castle* (Fig. 2/Cat. 9). This drawing captures the view from the south toward the castle's St. John Tower where Countess Cosel was imprisoned. In the foreground we see the ruin of the Seiger Tower, since rebuilt. (The fact that Friedrich does not expressly indicate that Stolpen Castle was built atop a huge basalt intrusion, for which it is famous, is astonishing.) The two large stone fragments in the foreground are hardly recognizable as basalt columns. But Friedrich's notations,

Fig. 1. Delettre. Schematic representation of the reduced perspective of figures at different distances, in Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes, *Éléments de perspective pratique, à l'usage des artistes, suivis de réflexions et conseils à un élève sur la Peinture, et particulièrement sur le genre du Paysage*. Paris, Year VIII [1799/1800], pl. XXXV Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (CAT. 70)



Fig. 2. Caspar David Friedrich. *Study of Stolpen Castle*, August 27, 1820. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo (CAT. 9)



dated August 27, 1820, are more important. The horizon line is low (accompanied by the word “Horizont”), just above the ground line. Above, in the center, the word “Vorgrund,” leaves no doubt about the fact that the artist stood just here, which is only possible if the grassy cliff falls steeply away at this point. This is in fact confirmed by a visit to the spot. Thus, as a further consequence of these conditions, Friedrich depicts the castle at a steep angle from below. As it happened, the St. John Tower ended up too tall as compared to the Seiger Tower – a flaw that Friedrich himself noted beneath the ground line: “die Thürme zu hoch (tower too tall). Three vertical lines with horizontal ticks top and bottom can be seen in spatial foreshortening next to the right-hand block of basalt. The first and largest is labeled “Mensch” (person). The indications of people shown here in foreshortening are again only possible, given the level of the horizon, if the ground between the first and third vertical lines is perceived as rising. So one has to say that Friedrich has made precise notes that explain the general situation in his depiction, but does not render the perspective altogether correctly. The greatly

foreshortened defense wall with rounded arches on the inside does not convincingly suggest its distance from the tower, simply because the St. John Tower ended up too large – here Friedrich, altogether typically, avoided a strict perspective – just as one has to say that he does without greatly foreshortened architectural configurations as much as possible. Friedrich prefers to spread things out horizontally, so that the meditative viewer can more readily appreciate them.

¶ *Study of an Oak Tree* (Fig. 3/Cat. 30). It was recognized long ago that this 1809 drawing in Nuremberg served as the pattern for a tree in the famous *Abbey in the Oak Forest* (Fig. 4), the companion piece to *Monk by the Sea*, painted in 1809-10.<sup>31</sup> The sketch, one of a whole series of studies of

oak trees, was made in Neubrandenburg on May 31. The only feature of the work of interest here is the notation in the upper right, “Eiche das Licht von vorne” (oak the light from the front), accompanied by Friedrich’s signature – an unusual addition, as if he wished to guarantee the accuracy of this particular view. In the drawing the oak appears to be of somewhat medium size, but in the *Abbey* it becomes gigantic. In the center is the ruined abbey Eldena, much as it appears to this day, at the mouth of the Ryck on the Greifswalder Bodden not far from Greifswald. The oak in this drawing appears as the first one to the left of the ruin. Friedrich followed the branching of the tree as best he could, adding a few tips to the branches that form bizarre shapes against the pale evening light.

Most important, the oak in the painting also receives “das Licht von vorne.” We have to imagine the setting sun at the painter’s back. Darkness is already climbing up the tree trunk, and only the top portion is still in the light, precisely as Friedrich drew it. Indeed, one could argue that it was this unimposing drawing that gave Friedrich the basic idea for his painting of the abbey. Light and darkness are separated by a





gentle curve with blurred boundaries. This curve – and this too was noted early on – takes the form of a flattened hyperbola.<sup>32</sup> I have shown elsewhere that even the definition of the hyperbola suggests infinity. Its religious context was emphasized primarily by the philosophical theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher, who was familiar with Friedrich. In Romantic mathematics the figure becomes a virtually ideal metaphor referring to the divine: the arms of the hyperbola infinitely approach their respective asymptotes without ever reaching them. This seems to suggest the Romantics’ – unrequited – longing for union with the divine, expressed by infinite distance.<sup>33</sup>

But this is not all. The abbey itself, with its large lancet window, marks the central

vertical axis of the picture. The two oaks to the left and right of it lie precisely on the vertical lines of the “golden section,” the division ratio to which Luca Paccioli referred earlier, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as the “divina proportione” and which is perceived as particularly satisfying aesthetically. The arms of the hyperbola follow this ratio as well, in that they strike the vertical edges of the picture at precisely the point of the golden section.<sup>34</sup> Thus the calculation in this picture is precise; it is filled with allusions to a better world, of which, to Friedrich’s thinking, man can only attain a presentiment in his passage through death.

¶ *Group of Firs* (Fig. 5), dated July 1, 1812. I have only a passing comment on this drawing. The artist made the group of trees a bit too large for the format of the sheet, and felt it necessary to add two notes to that effect. In the upper left we read “nicht höher (no higher); so even though the branches strike the edge, everything is included in the drawing. On the right, however, he noted – if I decipher his handwriting correctly: “Vorgrund nicht ein ganzes Bild” (foreground not a whole picture). With this somewhat cryptic

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Fig. 4. Caspar David Friedrich.  
*Abbey in an Oak Forest*, 1809-10.  
Oil on canvas; 110.4 x 171 cm.  
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,  
Alte Nationalgalerie

■ ■ ■  
Fig. 3. Caspar David Friedrich.  
*Study of an Oak Tree*,  
May 5, 1809. Germanisches  
Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg,  
Graphische Sammlung  
(CAT. 30)

■ ■ ■  
Fig. 5. Caspar David  
Friedrich. *Group of Firs*, July  
1, 1812. Pencil; 15.5 x 21.6 cm.  
Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche  
Kunstsammlungen Dresden



comment he apparently wished to say that there was not enough room at the bottom to indicate the ground line, so that from the drawing itself one cannot determine precisely how far away the trees were. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that much further down in the center of the group Friedrich drew two tiny interlocking circles and labeled them “Augpunkt.” He thus compensated for the absence of a ground line, allowing us to imagine the height of the artist’s eye.

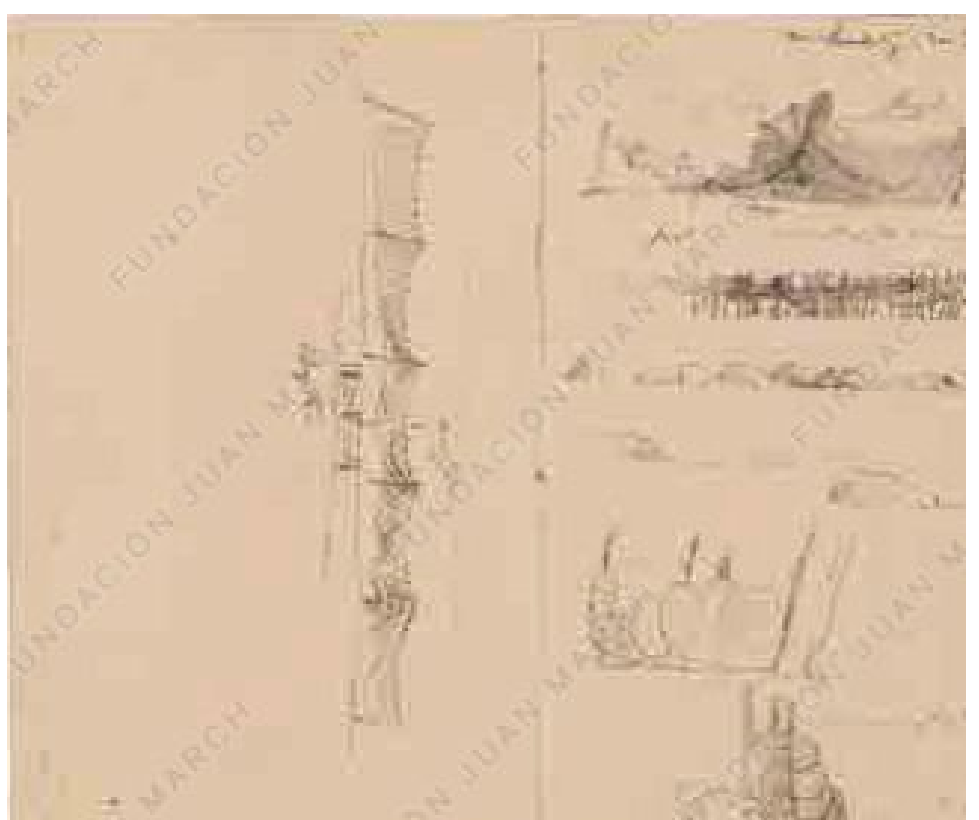
¶ *Boulders Village and Ferns* (Fig. 6/Cat. 51). This wonderful drawing consists of two parts. The bottom half depicts the farmstead of the title in a broad group of trees, and some fern studies. The title should be extended to include the roots at the bottom right, labeled “Tannenwurzeln” (fir roots). These sections are dated June 13 to 15 – the year is not noted. It is more than probable that they date from between 1808 and 1810; much would seem to indicate 1810. Only the upper portion, which includes a whole series of inscriptions, is of interest here. It depicts a pile of boulders surrounded by firs, viewed from slightly below, because the horizon line with the accompanying label “Horizont” is marked here, as is the vanishing point by a tiny circle with a dot in the center and next to it the word “Auge” (eye), at the foot of the main boulder that looks like a lion’s head. A vertical line slightly above and to the left of the “Augpunkt” is cut off at top and bottom, as the substitute for a figure; its size would indicate that the boulder was not far away from Friedrich as he sketched it. At the foot of the entire pile, in an empty

space at the bottom right, is the note “Weg von durren Nadeln roth (path red from dried needles), and finally, on the far right, are two tiny circles and two tiny crosses. Closer examination reveals three of each. In the upper right, next to the little crosses, the artist writes, “etwas tiefer” (somewhat lower), and next to the circle below, “noch tiefer” (still lower). After a little reflection, one senses Friedrich’s meaning. The scale of the drawing, divided in two by an additional line, does not allow the placement of the small boulders with the little crosses on them farther down, where they belong. Friedrich first notes that they are actually “etwas tiefer,” then realizes that they are more than “etwas tiefer,” and adds the second inscription.

This degree of precision may seem a little absurd, but one should not dismiss Friedrich’s almost fanatic fidelity to nature. It was not a matter of mere accuracy: according to Lutheran belief even the most unassuming aspects of nature – one thinks of the much-vaunted grain of sand – were testimony to God’s creation, and had their designated place in the world, like mankind, according to God’s plan. Thus everything was equally worthy of being depicted, and deserved to be shown in the spot God in his wisdom assigned to it.

¶ *Weirs, Nets and Boulders* (Fig. 7/Cat. 60), a double-sided sketchbook page from 1815 in Oslo. Again, the word “Horizont” prevails. On the right side of the sheet Friedrich drew fishing weirs in four zones, one above the other. In each case there is the faint suggestion of a coastline in the distance, beyond what is presumed to be water – in two spots on the left side he expressly refers to water. We can assume that during his visit to Rügen in 1815 Friedrich was in each case sketching one of the island’s bays, not at Vitt in the far north on Cape Arkona, as he often did, but more likely at Ruschvitz on the Tromper Wiek, or possibly he was already on his way back to Greifswald. Because he regularly indicates the level of the horizon, it is possible to place the weirs in relation to the distant landscape space. In the second layer from the top he also includes the typical boulders found in the shallow water along Rügen’s beaches. He suggests a row of such boulders, which also serves as the ground line.

¶ *Two Landscape Studies (Mittelgebirge Landscapes)* (Fig. 8). The date “den 25<sup>ten</sup> Juni 1811,” written between the two landscapes, tells us that the sketches were produced during Friedrich’s hiking tour of the Harz Mountains with the sculptor Gottlieb Christian Kühn. Both document the use of numbers to mark the different layers of the landscape. In the upper one we find the numbers “3” to “9” on the hills from back to front. The viewer is assumed to be standing at “10.” In the lower, more detailed drawing are three



kinds of marks: numbers from “2” to “8” (at least that is how I read the looping figure at the bottom); the usual vertical line cut off top and bottom suggesting a person towering hugely above the horizon; and small crosses (in the middle distance on the landscape layer marked “4”). These are glossed in the foreground on the left, where we read “Felder gelb” (fields yellow) and “Wiese” (meadows). The bottom view makes it especially clear that from the “6” layer, which is still part of the high foreground – it is here that there is an indication of a person towering above the horizon – it is a relatively steep descent to layer “5,” where objects appear considerably smaller.

To summarize, Friedrich developed a system of notation closely modeled after Valenciennes’s recommendations, one that made it possible for him to use his drawings in new compositional contexts at any given time without doing violence to what he had once observed. In a painting, a given object can present all the qualities it exhibited to the artist when he sketched it, and so accurately represent God’s creation. Yet, the new arrangement of such previously recorded views and details can nevertheless fail to uphold the sacred

obligation to reality, to the extent that within the framework of the preconceived setting it creates effects that transcend reality, at least in the perception of the viewer.

- 1 New transcription, critical edition, and extensive commentary on the text that appeared as reworked by Kleist in the *Berliner Abendblätter* on October 13, 1810, in *Empfindungen vor Friedrichs Seelandschaft. Caspar David Friedrichs Gemälde ‘Der Mönch am Meer’ betrachtet von Clemens Brentano, Achim von Arnim und Heinrich von Kleist*, ed. Lothar Jordan and Hartwig Schultz, exh. cat. Kleist-Museum (Frankfurt an der Oder, 2004).
- 2 For more on Friedrich’s organizational principles and the construction of his pictures, see Werner Busch, *Caspar David Friedrich. Ästhetik und Religion* (Munich, 2003); Werner Busch, “Friedrichs Bildverständnis,” in *Caspar David Friedrich. Die Erfindung der Romantik*, ed. Hubertus Gassner, exh. cat. Essen/Hamburg (Munich, 2006), pp. 32-47.
- 3 For Friedrich’s technique, see Ingo Sander and Hans Peter Schramm, “Beobachtungen zur Maltechnik C. D. Friedrichs,” in *Caspar David Friedrich, Winterlandschaften*, ed. Kurt Wettengl, exh. cat. Museum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte der Stadt Dortmund (Dortmund, 1990), pp. 75-81.
- 4 For the first summary of his notation, here further investigated, see Busch 2003 (see above note 2), pp. 75-81.
- 5 For an in-depth study of Zingg, see Sabine Weisheit-Possel, *Adrian Zingg (1734–1816). Landschaftsgraphik zwischen Aufklärung und Romantik*, Ph.D. diss., Freie Universität (Berlin, 2007).
- 6 Colored aquatints by Carl Friedrich Thiele in the series *Malerische Reisen durch Rügen* (Picturesque Journeys through Rügen), published in Berlin in 1821.
- 7 For example *Caspar David Friedrich. Das gesamte graphische Werk*, ed. Marianne Bernhard (Munich, 1974), henceforth abbreviated Bernhard 1974, pp. 418-21 (cloud studies), 706.
- 8 *Ibid.*, pp. 457, 459.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 561 (drawing from 1812).
- 10 *Ibid.*, p. 478.
- 11 *Ibid.*, p. 716.
- 12 Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld also uses this technique in his tonally graduated sepias from the *Italian Landscape Book*. See “... ein Land der Verheissung.” *Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld zeichnet Italien*, ed. Petra Kuhlmann-Hodick, exh. cat. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett (Cologne, 2000), n.º 96 (dated 1826); Werner Busch, “Trennendes und Verbindendes in der Zeichnungsauffassung von Caspar David Friedrich und Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld,” *Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden* 29 (2001), pp. 107-8.
- 13 Bernhard 1974, pp. 518, 548, 557, 559, 564, 703, 707, 714 and so on.
- 14 An early example with the label “Mensch”: *ibid.*, p. 515.

- 15 Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes, *Éléments de perspective pratique, à l’usage des artistes, suivis de réflexions et conseils à un élève sur la peinture, et particulièrement sur le genre du paysage*. Paris, An VIII (1799/1800); idem, *Praktische Anleitung zur Linear- und Luftperspektiv für Zeichner und Maler. Nebst Betrachtungen über das Studium der Malerey überhaupt und der Landschaftsmalerey insbesondere. Aus dem Franz. übers. und mit Anmerk. und Zusätzen vermehrt von Johann Heinrich Meynier*, 2 vols. (Hof, 1803).
- 16 Valenciennes 1803 (see above note 15), vol. 1, pp. 242-99 (on atmospheric perspective), pp. 263-7 (on mist).
- 17 Helmut Börsch-Supan and Karl Wilhelm Jähnig, *Caspar David Friedrich. Gemälde, Druckgraphik und bildmässige Zeichnungen* (Munich, 1973) (henceforth abbreviated Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973), n.º 159.
- 18 Valenciennes 1803 (see above note 15), vol. 1, p. 265.
- 19 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.º 166.
- 20 Valenciennes 1803 (see above note 15), vol. 1, pp. 264-65.
- 21 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 29.
- 22 *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 30.
- 23 *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 271.
- 24 Bernhard 1974, pp. 414-23.
- 25 Valenciennes 1803 (see above note 15), vol. 1, p. 23.
- 26 *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.
- 27 *Ibid.*, p. 144.
- 28 *Ibid.*, plate 35.
- 29 Bernhard 1974, p. 416 bottom; in connection with the passage of the clouds in stronger wind the note makes perfect sense.
- 30 *Ibid.*, pp. 462, 531; see also p. 502, with the notation “das Licht von vorne” next to one of the boulders of a cairn.
- 31 Börsch-Supan/Jähnig 1973, n.º 168 (*Monk by the Sea*) and 169 (*Abbey in the Oak Forest*); for a detailed interpretation of the pair of paintings, with reference to the drawing of the oak, see Busch 2003 (see above note 2), pp. 46-81.
- 32 First called this in Willi Wolfardt, *Caspar David Friedrich und die Landschaft der Romantik* (Berlin, 1924), p. 126.
- 33 For the Romantics’ interpretation of the hyperbola, especially in Schleiermacher, and for Friedrich’s use of this geometric figure, see Busch 2003 (see above note 2), pp. 78, 123-26, 140, 161-69.
- 34 For Friedrich’s multiple uses of the golden section, see *ibid.*, pp. 22-23, 43-45, 76-79, 96-97, 101-22, 127-28, 154-58, 179, 184, 188.

■ ■ ■  
Fig. 6. Caspar David Friedrich. *Boulders, Village and Ferns*, June 13, 14, and 15 [1810]. Private collection (CAT. 51)

■ ■ ■  
Fig. 7. Caspar David Friedrich. *Weirs, Nets and Boulders*, ca. October 7-8, 1815. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo (CAT. 60)

■ ■ ■  
Fig. 8. Caspar David Friedrich. *Two Landscape Studies (Mittelgebirge Landscapes)*, June 25, 1811. Pencil on vellum; 36 x 26 cm. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart / Graphische Sammlung



“All authentic art  
at a sacred moment  
nourished in a blind  
inner impulse or  
without the artist  
of it”

Caspar David Friedrich

is conceived  
ent and  
essed hour; an  
eates it, often  
t being aware

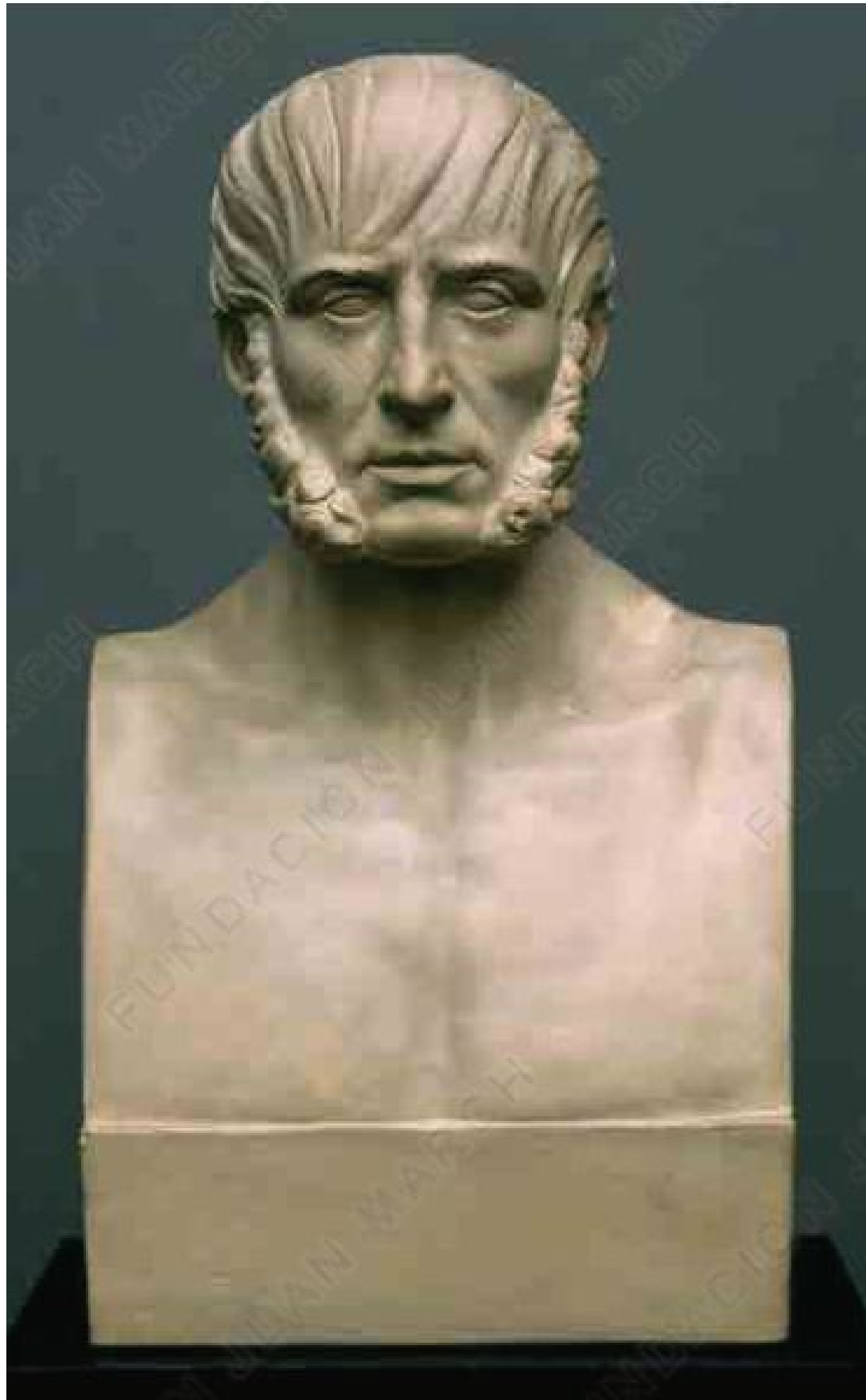


# Works in the Exhibition





CAT. 1  
Gottlob Christian Kühn  
(German, 1780-1828).  
*Portrait Bust of Caspar  
David Friedrich*, 1806.  
Plaster. 59 x 34 x 28 cm.  
Staatliche Museen zu  
Berlin, Nationalgalerie.  
Inv. B I 638





CAT. 2  
Gerhard von Kügelgen  
(German, 1772-1820)  
*The Painter Caspar  
David Friedrich*, 1806-9.  
Oil on canvas.  
53.3 x 41.5 cm.  
Hamburger Kunsthalle.  
Inv. HK-2670

CAT. 3  
Caspar David Friedrich  
(Greifswald, 1774  
– Dresden, 1840)  
*Self-Portrait*, ca.  
1803. Woodcut after  
a drawing by Caspar  
David Friedrich  
carved by his brother,  
Christian. 13.6 x 9 cm.  
Kunstmuseum Basel,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. 1953.153



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# I. Architecture



Ein Pfund zu sein  
am 27. August  
1820

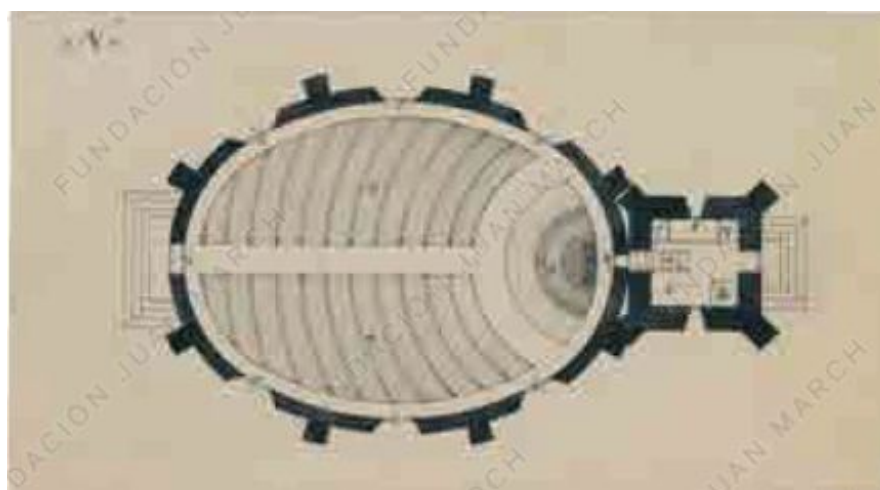
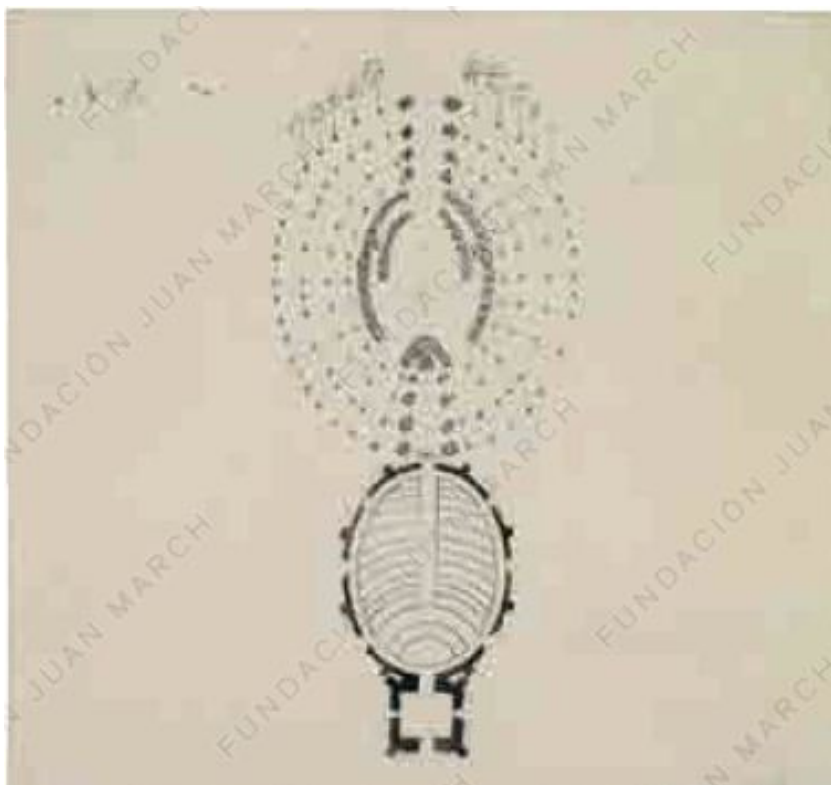


CAT. 4  
*Exterior View of a Church  
with a Tower*, ca. 1814-25.  
Watercolor, pen and gray  
ink, over pencil on vellum.  
12 x 12 cm.  
Germanisches  
Nationalmuseum,  
Nuremberg, Graphische  
Sammlung.  
Inv. Hz 3669-38



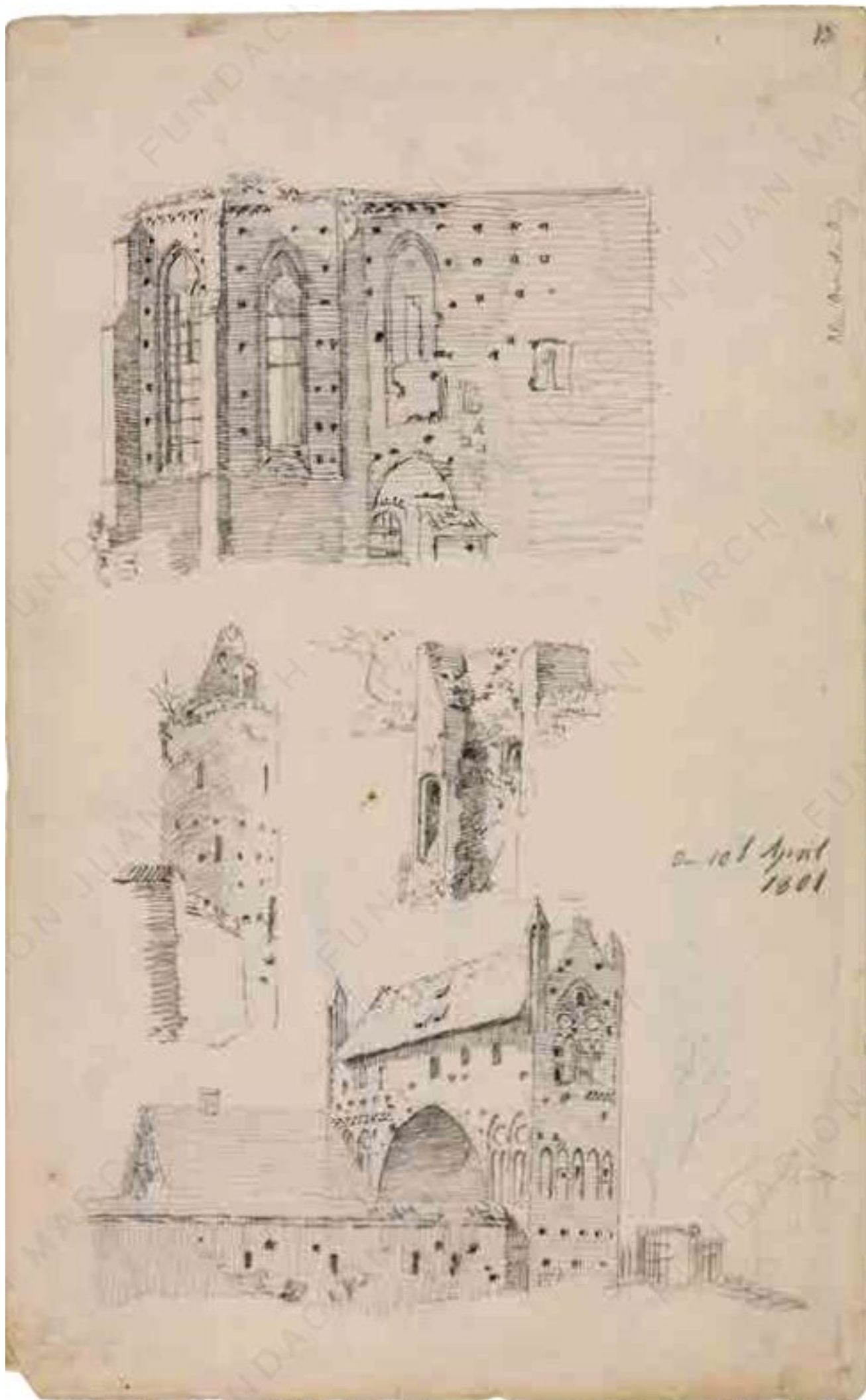
CAT. 5  
*Interior View of a Church  
with a Tower*, ca. 1814-25.  
Watercolor, pen and  
gray ink, over pencil  
on vellum.  
8.1 x 12.4 cm.  
Germanisches  
Nationalmuseum,  
Nuremberg,  
Graphische Sammlung.  
Inv. Hz 3669-40

CAT. 6  
*Ground Plan of an Oval  
Structure with a Tower  
in Front and Adjacent  
Park, ca. 1814-25.*  
Watercolor, pen and  
gray ink, over  
pencil on vellum.  
11.1 x 11.9 cm.  
Germanisches  
Nationalmuseum,  
Nuremberg,  
Graphische Sammlung.  
Inv. Hz 3669-36



CAT. 7  
*Ground Plan of an Oval  
Structure with a Tower  
in Front, ca. 1814-25.*  
Watercolor, pen  
and gray ink,  
pencil on vellum.  
6.8 x 12.4 cm.  
Germanisches  
Nationalmuseum,  
Nuremberg,  
Graphische Sammlung.  
Inv. Hz 3669-37

CAT. 8  
*Architecture Studies in  
Neubrandenburg,*  
April 10, 1801.  
Pencil on vellum.  
37.6 x 23.7 cm.  
The National Museum  
of Art, Architecture and  
Design, Oslo.  
Inv. NG.KH.B.16007







CAT. 9  
*Study of Stolpen Castle,*  
August 27, 1820.  
Pencil on vellum.  
17.8 x 11.1 cm.  
The National Museum  
of Art, Architecture and  
Design, Oslo.  
Inv. NG.KH.B.16029



CAT. 10  
*View Through Ruins*,  
ca. 1798.  
Pencil and black  
crayon on  
handmade paper.  
34.4 x 22.4 cm.  
Galerie Hans,  
Hamburg



CAT. 11  
*Choir Stall Design*,  
ca. 1817-18.  
Watercolor and  
gouache, pen and  
gray ink over  
pencil on vellum.  
43.1 x 57.3 cm.  
Germanisches  
Nationalmuseum,  
Nuremberg,  
Graphische Sammlung.  
Inv. Hz 3669-21



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# II. Ruins

4- 18 Mai 1900.



CAT. 13  
*West Facade of the  
Eldena Ruins with Bake  
House and Barn, after  
1834. Brush and brown ink,  
pencil, dark brown  
border on vellum;*  
17.6 x 23.9 cm.  
Musées d'Angers.  
Inv. MBA 364.40.23





FIG. 1  
*Winter*, not before 1806.  
Oil on canvas.  
73 x 106 cm. Destroyed.  
Formerly Bayerische  
Staatsgemäldesammlungen,  
Neue Pinakothek, Munich.  
Inv. 9675, destroyed in the  
Crystal Palace fire in 1931

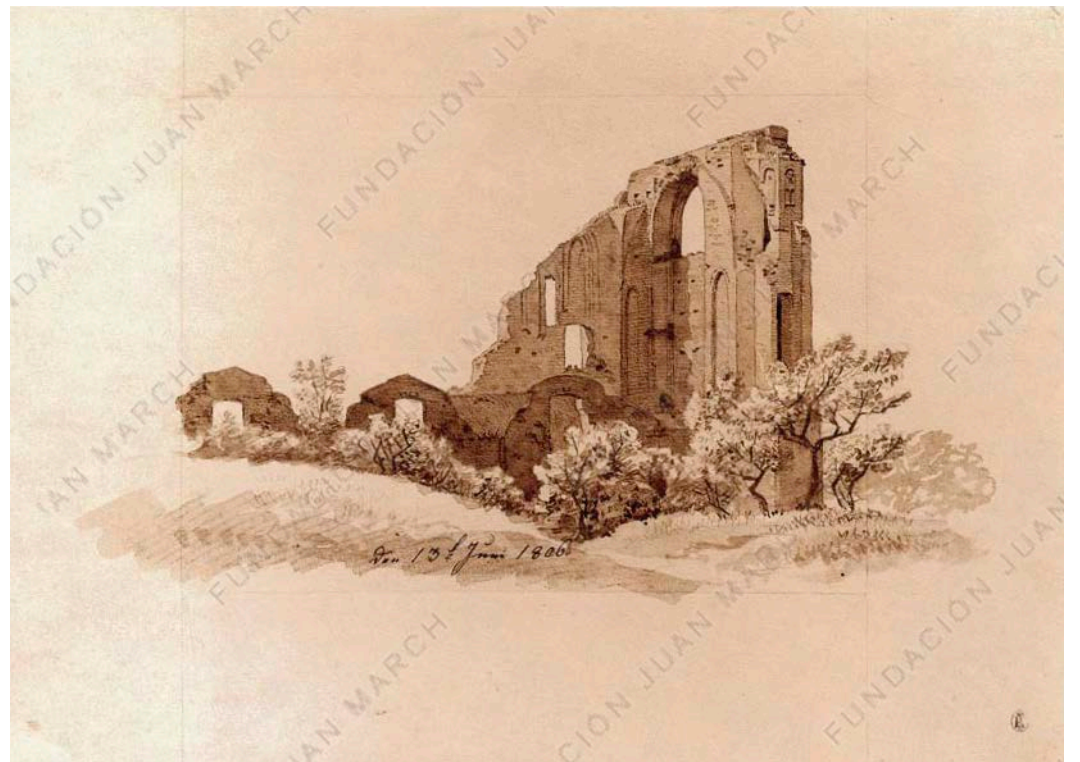


FIG. 2  
*Ruins of Eldena  
Abbey*, June 13, 1806.  
Lost. Formerly Coll.  
Friedrich August II.  
Inv. 99585

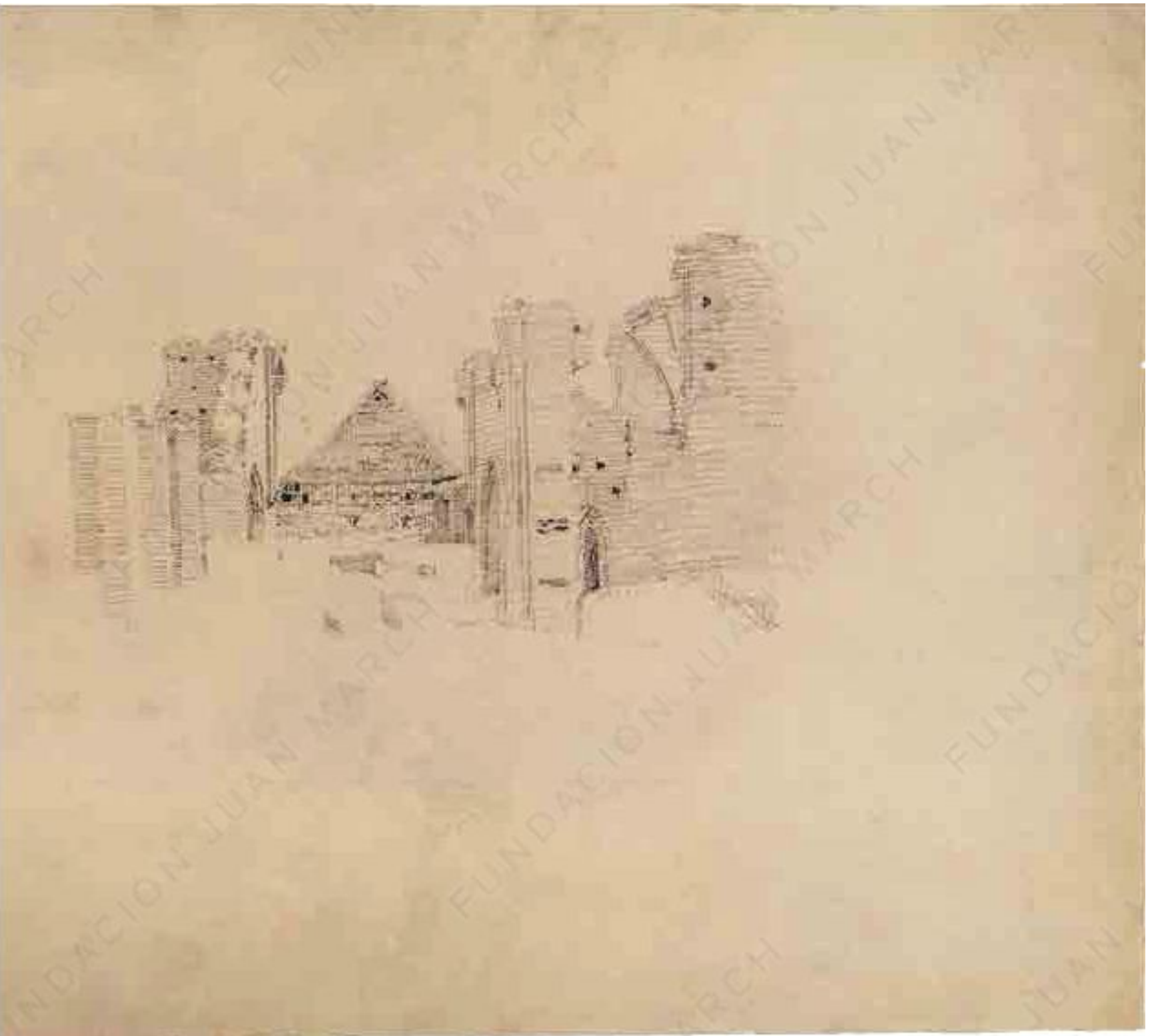


CAT. 12  
*Ruins of the Eldena  
Monastery*, January  
1814. Watercolor, pen  
and gray ink, traces  
of preliminary pencil  
drawing, on vellum.  
15.9 x 16.4 cm.  
Statens Museum for  
Kunst, Copenhagen.  
Inv. KKS GB 6486



CAT. 14  
*Ruins of Eldena  
Monastery*, ca. 1820.  
Pencil on vellum.  
24.4 x 35.8 cm.  
Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 27







CAT. 15  
*Castle Ruin in Tharandt  
and Tree Study, May 1  
and 2, 1800. Pen and  
brown and gray ink over  
pencil on vellum.  
37.8 x 23.5 cm.  
Verso:  
Quick Sketch of a Rocky  
Cliff and Two Quick  
Tree Studies (pen and  
brown ink over pencil).  
Kunsthalle Mannheim,  
Graphische Sammlung.  
Inv. G5842*



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# III. Nature



1890. 9<sup>o</sup> Juli' 1890

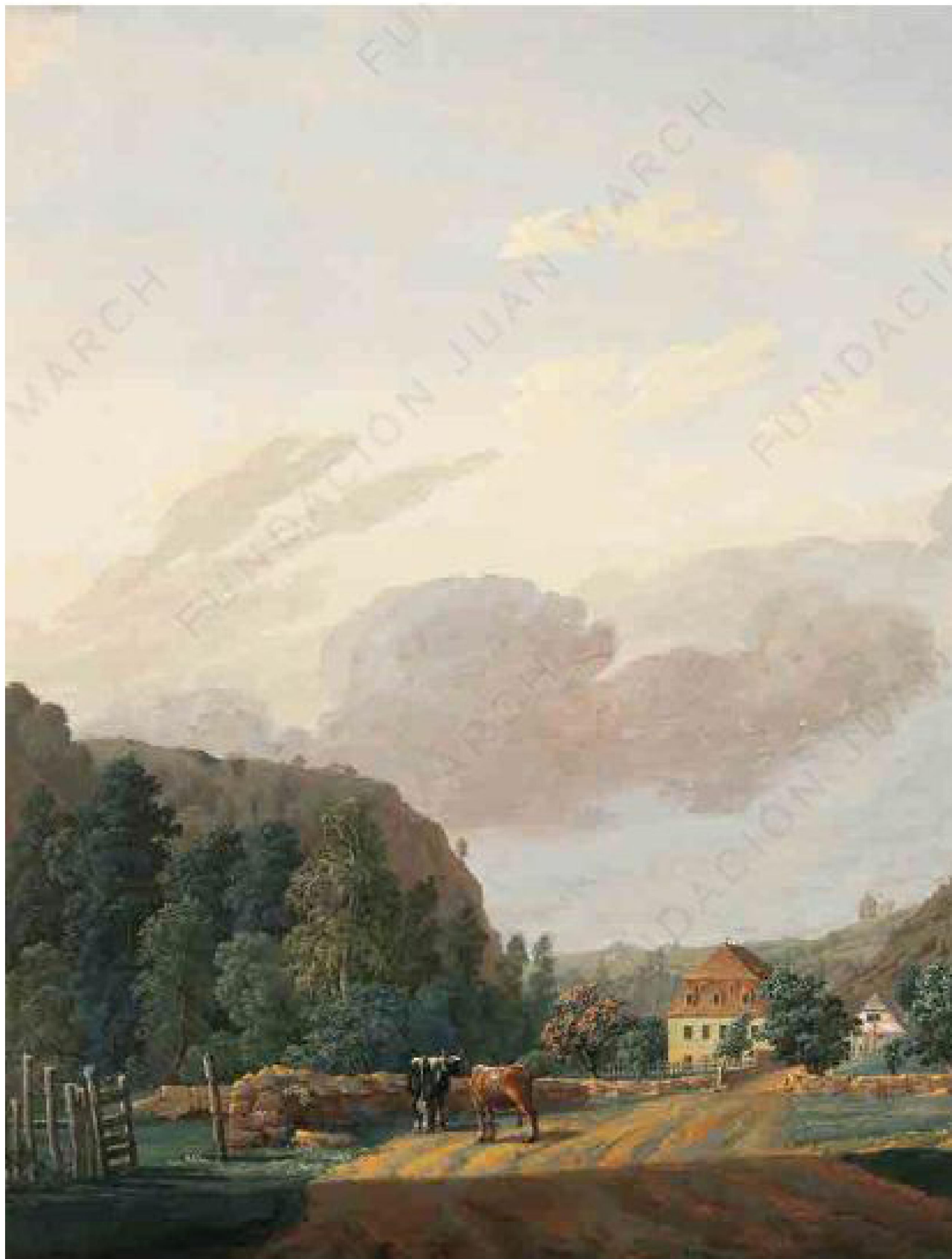
## A. Views of the Countryside



CAT. 16  
*Study of a Woman Reading  
and Study of a Cow and a  
Horse's Head*, October 6,  
1801. Pen and brush and  
brown ink over traces of  
pencil, wash, on vellum.  
18.5 x 11.8 cm.  
Kupferstich-Kabinett,  
Staatliche  
Kunstsammlungen  
Dresden. Inv. C 1919-71

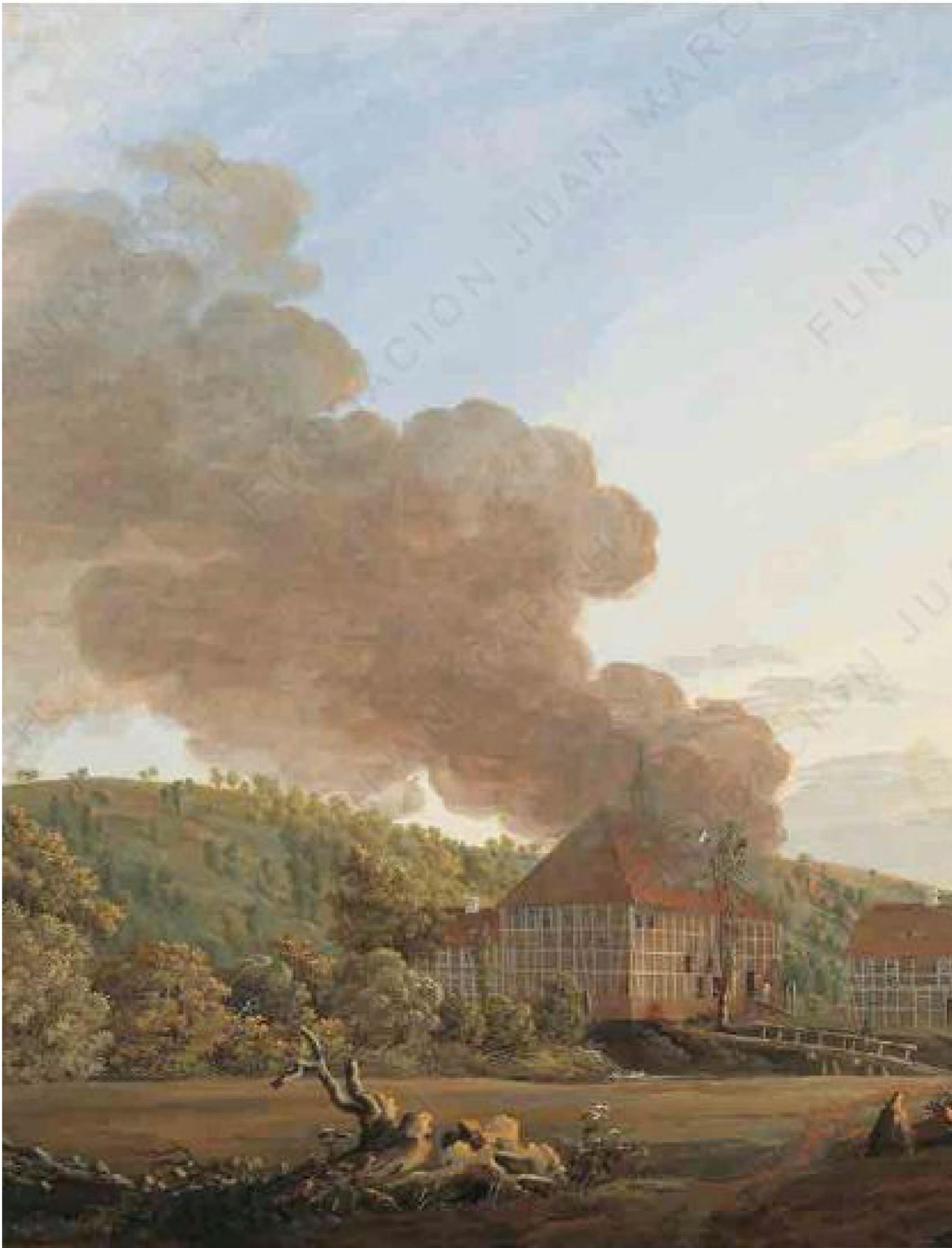


CAT. 17  
*Boy Asleep on a Grassy  
Mound and Study of an  
Axe*, January 15 and  
February 28, 1802. Pen  
and brush and brown  
ink over pencil, wash,  
on vellum.  
18.1 x 11.6 cm.  
Kunsthalle Bremen –  
Kupferstichkabinett –  
Der Kunstverein in  
Bremen. Inv. 1937/596



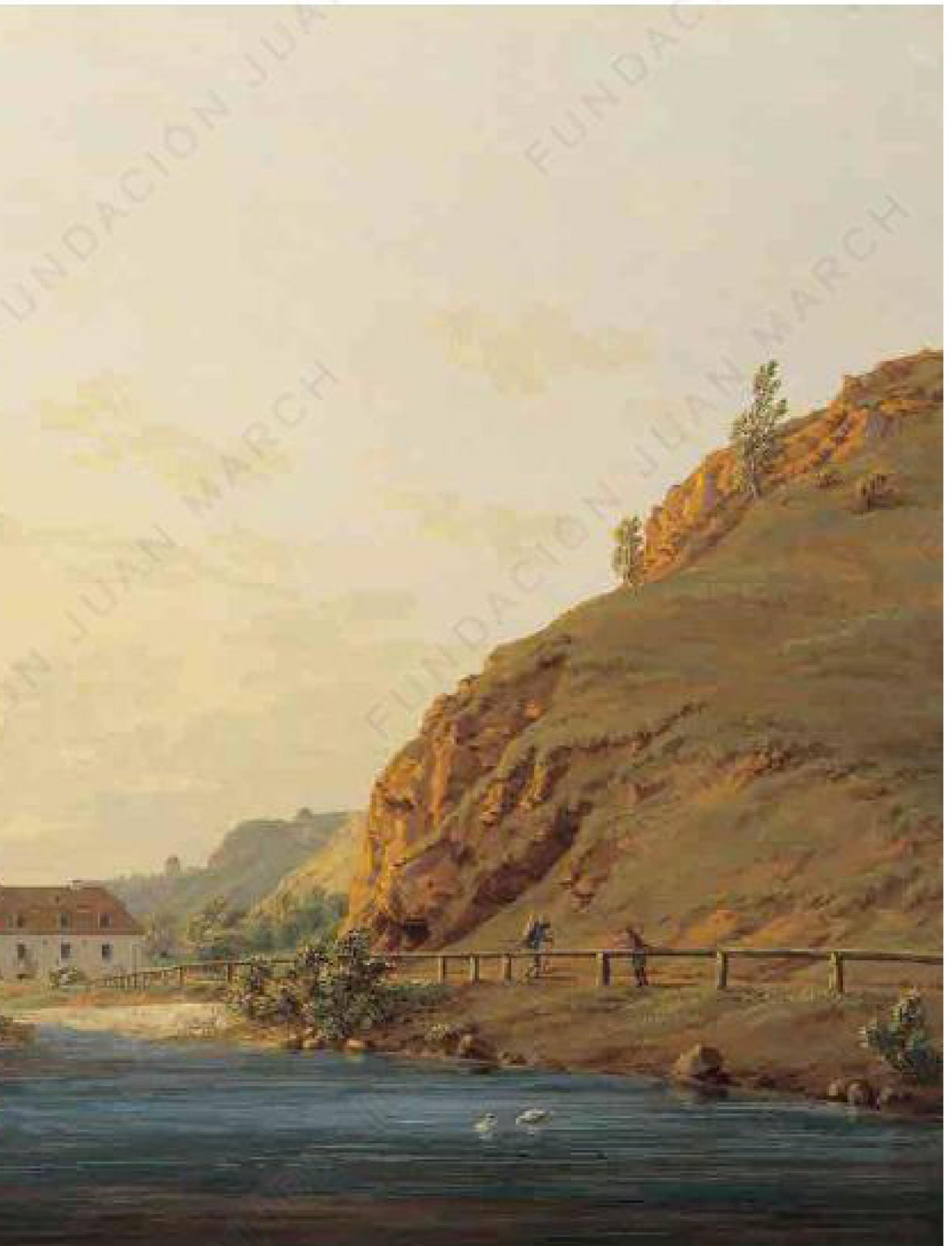
















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Around 1802, Friedrich painted four gouaches – today in the Städtische Galerie Dresden – of differing views of the Plauenscher Grund that are superb examples of the *Bildmäßigen*, or finished pictorial drawings, to which Helmut Börsch-Supan refers in his essay for the present catalogue. Their exceptional quality, the fact that they comprise a complete series and have rarely been shown together publicly have prompted us to illustrate all four works here, given the fact that for reasons of conservation two of the gouaches (Figs. 3, 4), could not be lent to the exhibition.

FIG. 3 (pp. 57–58)

*The New Mill in the Plauenscher Grund*, ca. 1802 at the earliest. Gouache over traces of pencil, black border, on vellum. 38.6 x 54.5 cm. Städtische Galerie, Dresden · Kunstsammlung. Inv. 2001/k2

FIG. 4 (pp. 59–60)

*The Hothouse at Potschappel*, ca. 1802 at the earliest. Gouache over traces of pencil, black border, on vellum. 38.1 x 53.8 cm. Städtische Galerie Dresden · Kunstsammlung. Inv. 2001/k3

CAT. 18 (pp. 61–62)

*The King's Mill in the Plauenscher Grund*, ca. 1802 at the earliest. Gouache over traces of pencil, black border, on vellum. 38.6 x 54.6 cm. Städtische Galerie Dresden · Kunstsammlung. Inv. 2001/k1

CAT. 19 (pp. 63–64)

*The Powder Mill in the Plauenscher Grund*, ca. 1802 at the earliest. Gouache over traces of pencil, black border, on vellum. 38 x 54 cm. Städtische Galerie Dresden · Kunstsammlung. Inv. 1978/k2



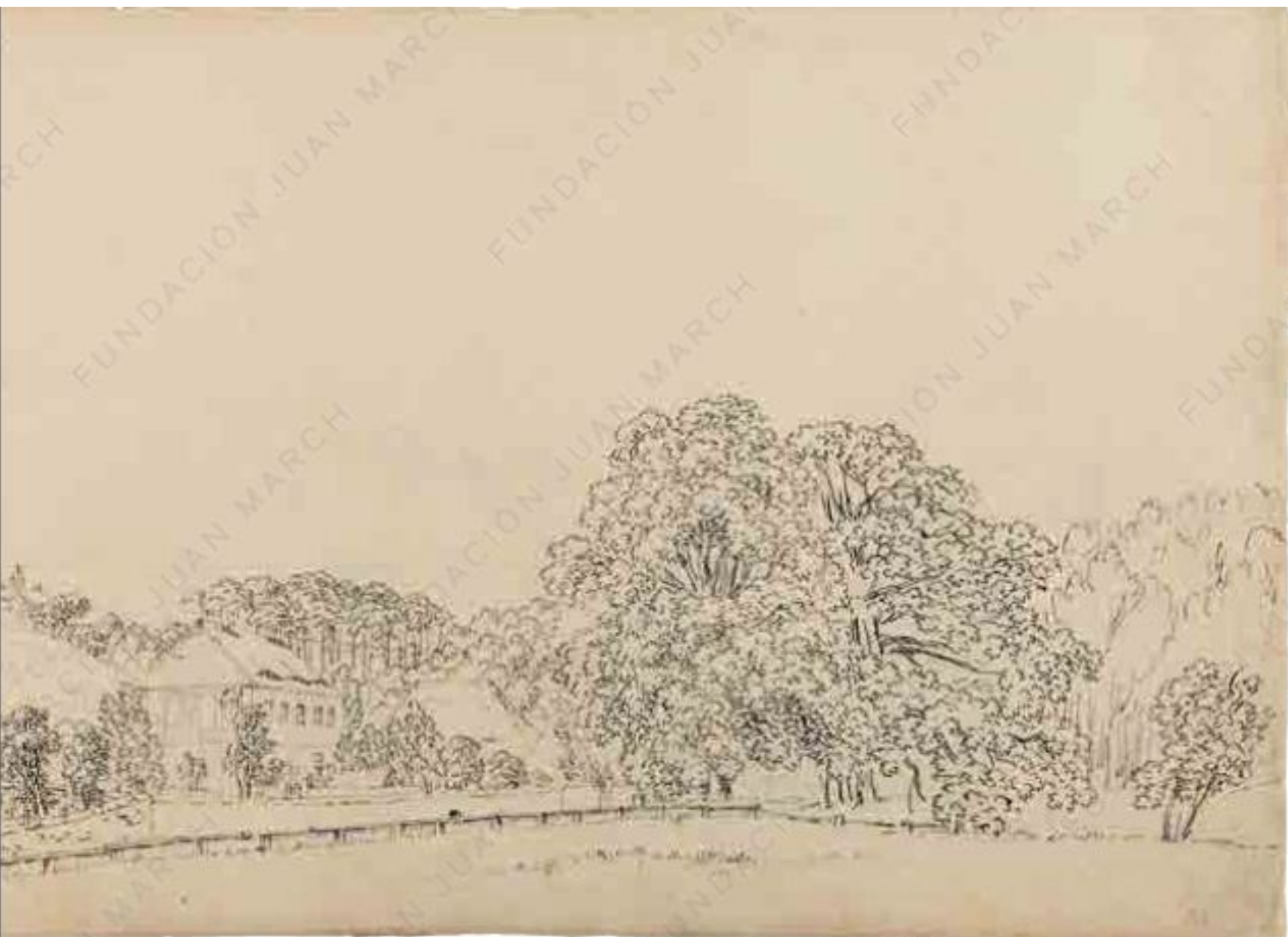




CAT. 20  
*Cottage in the Forest*,  
ca. 1797. Pen and  
black ink and  
watercolor over traces  
of pencil, gray border,  
on handmade paper.  
21 x 27.8 cm. Galerie  
Hans, Hamburg

CAT. 21  
*Rügen Landscape with  
Windmill*, May 16, 1802.  
Pen and brown ink over  
pencil, wash, square  
grid, on vellum. 12.8 x  
20.4 cm. Kupferstich-  
Kabinett, Staatliche  
Kunstsammlungen  
Dresden. Inv. C 5711





CAT. 22  
*Landscape near Lössnitz,*  
1800. Pen and black  
and brown ink. 23.7  
x 37.9 cm. Kunsthalle  
Mannheim, Graphische  
Sammlung. Inv. G439.

## *B. In the Elbe Valley*



FIG. 5  
*View of the Elbe  
Valley*, ca. 1807. Oil  
on canvas, 61.5 x 80  
cm. Galerie Neue  
Meister, Staatliche  
Kunstsammlungen  
Dresden. Inv. 2197 F



CAT. 26  
*Small Fir*, [April] 14,  
[1804]. Pencil on vellum,  
brownish wash.  
18.4 x 11.9 cm.  
The National Museum  
of Art, Architecture and  
Design, Oslo.  
Inv. NG.KH.B.16031



CAT. 23  
*Cliff Face with Trees*,  
May 20, 1799.  
Pen and brown ink  
over pencil, washed, on  
handmade paper.  
23.7 x 18.9 cm.  
Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 50 recto

CAT. 25  
*Schinderloch*  
(*Hohnstein*), July 9,  
1800. Pencil on vellum.  
38 x 23.7 cm. Staatliche  
Kunsthalle Karlsruhe,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. VIII 1375



CAT. 24  
*Two Tree Studies and  
Washing Hung on a Line,*  
ca. 1799. Pencil on  
handmade paper.  
23.8 x 18.6 cm.  
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 46 recto



## C. Trees



CAT. 27  
*Bare Tree*, May 26, 1806.  
Pencil on vellum.  
27 x 19 cm.  
Kupferstich-Kabinett,  
Staatliche  
Kunstsammlungen  
Dresden. Inv. C 1927-73





FIG. 6  
*Cairn by the Sea*, ca.  
1806-7. Brush and  
brown ink, pencil  
on vellum.  
64.5 x 95 cm.  
Klassik Stiftung  
Weimar. Inv. KK 516



FIG. 7  
*Monastery Cemetery in  
the Snow*, ca. 1817-19.  
Oil on canvas.  
121 x 170 cm.  
Destroyed. Formerly  
Nationalgalerie Berlin,  
no. 1191. Inv. A II 13,  
burned in 1945



CAT. 28  
*Tree Study*, September  
1798. Pencil on  
handmade paper.  
26.9 x 21.1 cm.  
Private collection



CAT. 29  
*Fir Tree*, September 1798.  
Pencil on handmade  
paper. 27.7 x 22.1 cm.  
Kunstmuseum Basel,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. 1932.200



CAT. 32  
*Fir Tree*, June 4, 1813.  
Pencil on vellum.  
19.3 x 12.2 cm.  
The National Museum  
of Art, Architecture  
and Design, Oslo.  
Inv. NG.KH.B.16036

CAT. 31  
*Tree Studies*, June 9  
and 12, 1809. Pencil on  
vellum. 35.8 x 25.7 cm.  
Kunsthalle Bremen –  
Kupferstichkabinett –  
Der Kunstverein in  
Bremen. Inv. 1958/594



Esc. p. de 9 de junio 1809

12 de junio 1809



CAT. 30  
*Study of an Oak Tree*,  
May 5, 1809.  
Pencil on vellum.  
36 x 26.1 cm.  
Germanisches  
Nationalmuseum,  
Nuremberg,  
Graphische Sammlung.  
Inv. Hz. 4156



CAT. 33  
*Study of a Dead Tree*,  
October 6, 1815. Pencil  
on vellum. 18 x 10.6 cm.  
Private collection

## *D. Plants*



CAT. 34  
*Plant Studies and Tree  
Trunk*, ca. 1799.  
Pen and gray-black ink  
over pencil on  
handmade paper.  
18.9 x 24 cm.  
Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 44 recto





CAT. 36  
*Pole Beans*, July 21, 1799.  
Pen and gray ink  
over pencil on  
handmade paper.  
23.8 x 18.9 cm.  
Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 58 recto



CAT. 35  
*Plant and Leaf Studies*,  
June 26, 1799.  
Pen and gray-black ink  
over pencil, wash, with  
ink trials, on  
handmade paper.  
23.8 x 18.9 cm.  
Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 57 recto



CAT. 37  
*Plant Studies*, June 26,  
1799. Pen and gray ink  
over pencil, washed, on  
handmade paper.  
23.7 x 19 cm.  
Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 61 recto



CAT. 38  
*Coltsfoot*,  
January 3, 1807.  
Pencil on vellum.  
18.3 x 17.7 cm.  
Kupferstich-Kabinett,  
Staatliche  
Kunstsammlungen  
Dresden. Inv. 1919-89

CAT. 39  
*Two Plant Studies and  
Tree Studies*, ca. 1799.  
Pen and gray ink over  
traces of pencil, wash,  
on handmade paper.  
18.9 x 23.7 cm.  
Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 63 recto





CAT. 40  
*Plant Study*, ca. 1799.  
Pen and brown ink over  
traces of pencil, wash,  
brush and gray ink.  
23.6 x 18.7 cm.  
Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 65 recto



CAT. 41  
*Study of a Thistle and  
Tree Studies, July 7  
and August 24, 1799.*  
Pen and black ink over  
pencil, wash.  
23.8 x 18.9cm. Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 66 recto

CAT. 42  
*Plant Studies*,  
August 7, 1799.  
Pen and black-gray ink over  
pencil (p. 4); pen and  
gray-black ink over  
pencil, wash (p. 1).  
24.2 x 37.8 cm.  
Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 82 verso





27 August 49



CAT. 44  
*Plant Studies,*  
August 15, 1799.  
Pen and black ink over  
traces of pencil on  
handmade paper.  
24.2 x 37.9 cm.  
Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 87 recto



2- 18 Aug 1989



CAT. 43  
*Willow Stump with New  
Shoots*, August 12, 1799.  
Pen and black ink over  
traces of pencil, wash,  
on handmade paper.  
19 x 24.2 cm.  
Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 86 recto





CAT. 45  
*Plant Study*,  
December 30, 1806.  
Pencil on vellum.  
15.9 x 13.5 cm.  
Kupferstich-Kabinett,  
Staatliche  
Kunstsammlungen  
Dresden. Inv. C 1988-587

## *E. Mountainscapes*



CAT. 48  
*Cliff Face*, ca. 1799.  
Pen and gray ink,  
washed, on  
handmade paper.  
23.7 x 18.9 cm.  
Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 55 recto



CAT. 49  
*Study of Rocks, Steps  
on the Right,*  
August 10 and 12, 1799.  
Pen and gray-black ink  
over traces of  
pencil, wash, on  
handmade paper.  
19 x 24.2 cm.  
Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 85 recto





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CAT. 46  
*Rocks with Waterfall*,  
September 1798.  
Pencil on handmade  
paper, traces of brush.  
27.4 x 23.2 cm.  
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart /  
Graphische Sammlung.  
Inv. C 1974/2421



CAT. 47  
*Rock Studies*,  
October 7 and 8 [1799].  
Pen and black ink over  
traces of pencil on  
handmade paper.  
24.2 x 19 cm.

Verso:  
*Tree Study and Woman in  
an Outhouse*. Pencil, pen  
and black ink over pencil.  
Private collection, Berlin





Asper Janie Friedrich, f.  
7.37 Dresden d. 7. Juli 1841



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(pp. 102-103)  
CAT. 50  
*Study of a Forest Brook*,  
ca. 1810.  
Watercolor, pencil, trial  
colors on vellum.  
35.8 x 25.8 cm.

Verso:  
*Boulders and Trees*.  
Pencil, pen and brown ink.  
Private collection

CAT. 51  
*Boulders, Village and Ferns*,  
June 13, 14, and 15 [1810].  
Pencil, pen and brown  
ink on vellum.  
35.7 x 26 cm.  
Private collection



CAT. 52  
*Landscape in the  
Riesengebirge,*  
July 8, 1810.  
Pencil on vellum.  
18 x 28 cm.  
Muzeum Narodowe w  
Warsawie / The National  
Museum in Warsaw.  
Inv. Rys.Nm.XIX237





Jun 8 1876 1870



1870

Jun 8 1876



CAT. 53  
*Towering Rock,*  
June 10, 1813.  
Pencil on vellum.  
19 x 11.8 cm.  
Raimar Jochims



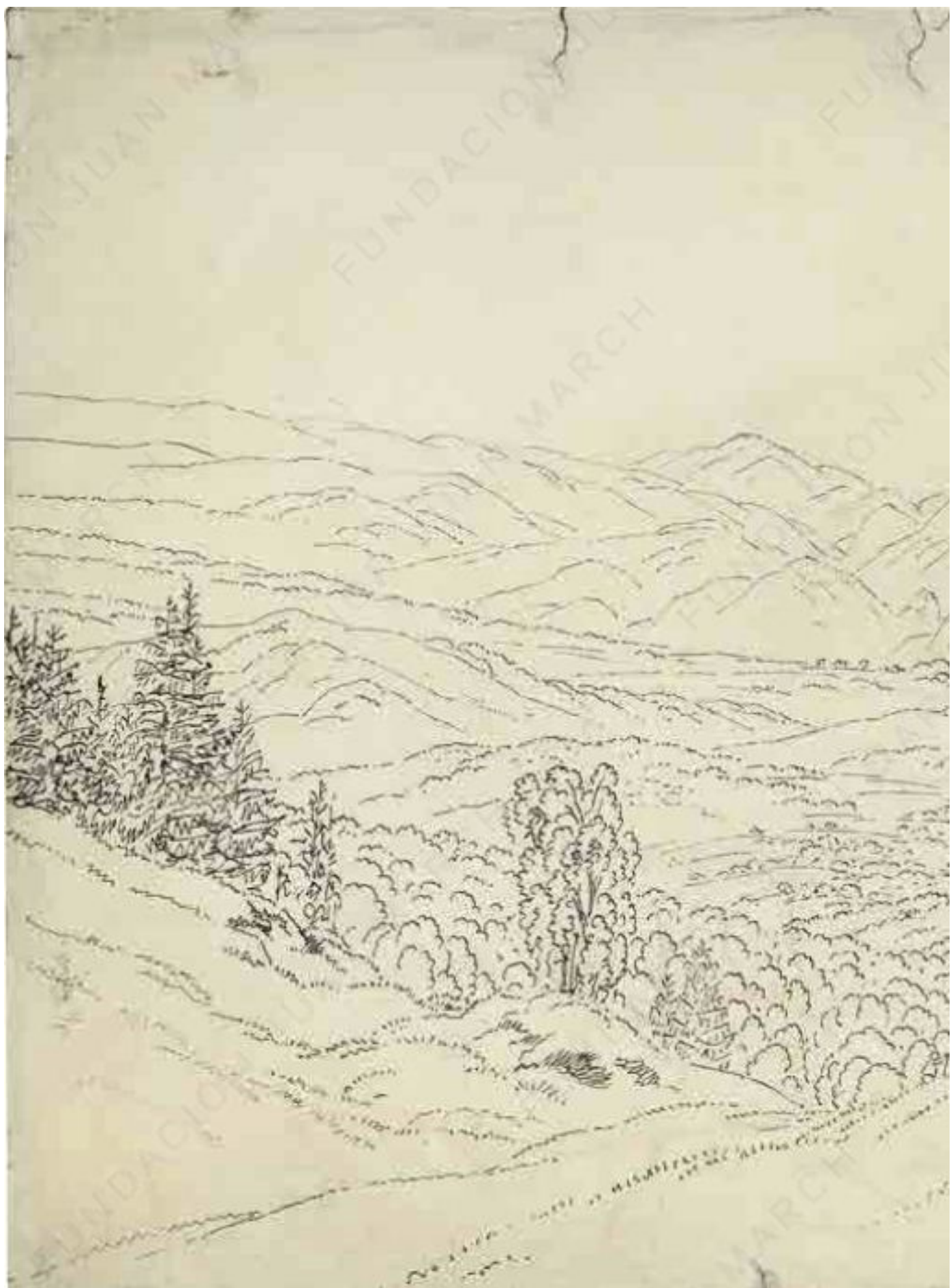
CAT. 56  
*Hilly Landscape with  
Boulders near Teplice,*  
September 4, 1835.  
Watercolor,  
pencil on vellum.  
13.1 x 20.5 cm.  
Kunsthalle Mannheim,  
Graphische Sammlung.  
Inv. G432

CAT. 54  
*Mountain Landscape  
with Forested Valley,*  
not before 1825.  
Pen and gray ink over  
pencil, border line in  
pencil on vellum.  
25.4 x 37 cm.  
Staatsgalerie Stuttgart /  
Graphische Sammlung.  
Inv. C 1959/896





CAT. 55  
*Mountain Landscape  
with Forested Valley*,  
ca. 1810-25.  
Pen and gray ink over  
pencil on vellum.  
24.9 x 37.5 cm.  
Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 11





# *F. On the Water*



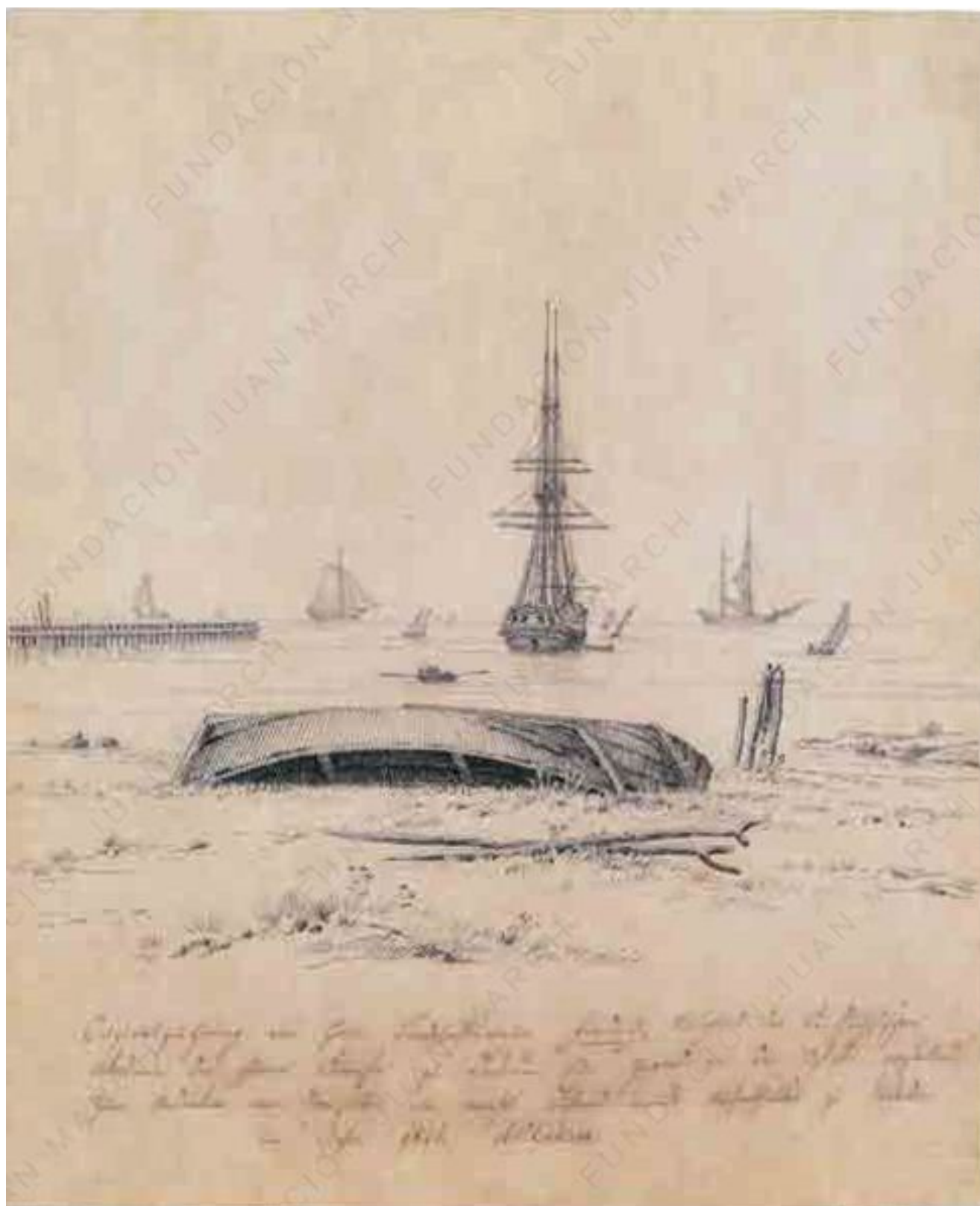
CAT. 57  
*Coastal Landscape on  
Rügen, June 29, 1806.*  
Pencil, square  
grid, on vellum.  
26 x 36 cm.  
Kunsthalle Mannheim,  
Graphische Sammlung.  
Inv. G444





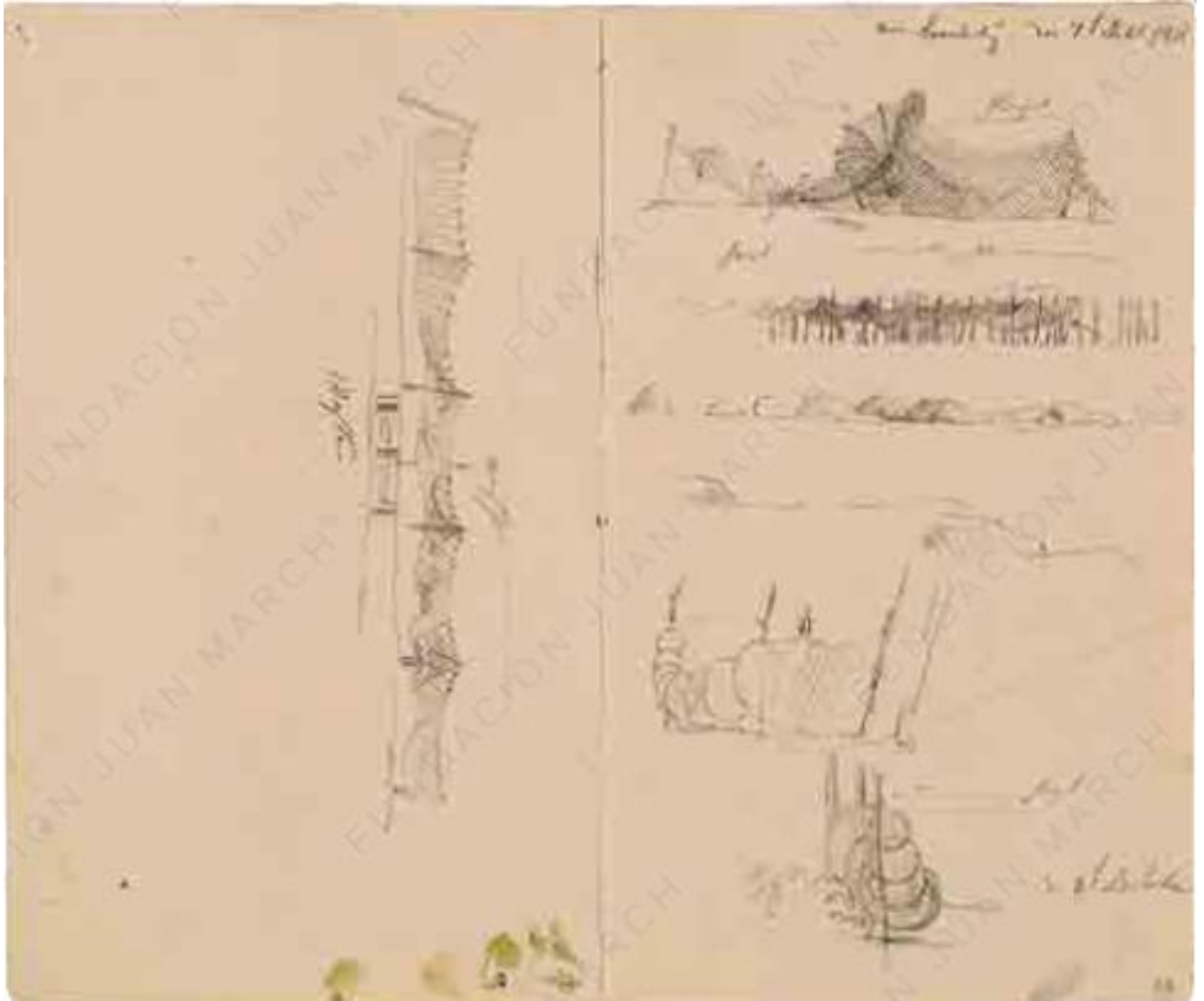


CAT. 58  
*Seacoast Scene with a Brig  
and Fishing Nets, Two Houses  
on the Left*, not before 1815.  
Pen and gray ink over traces  
of pencil on vellum.  
13.3 x 18 cm.  
Kupferstich-Kabinett,  
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen  
Dresden. Inv. C 1908-534

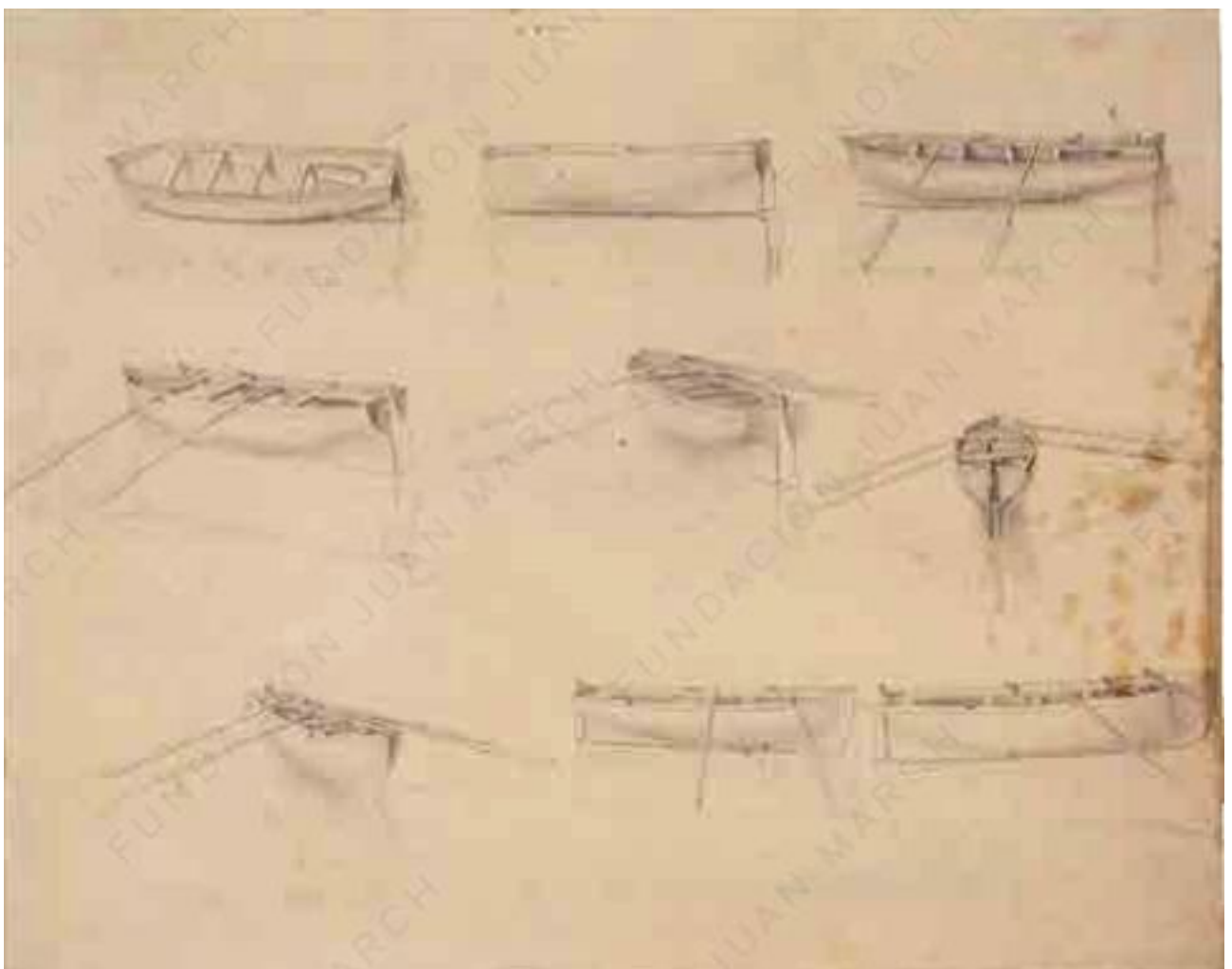


CAT. 59  
*Sailing Ships and Boats  
on the Shore*, 1816-21.  
Pen and black  
ink on vellum.  
21.8 x 17.9 cm.  
Courtesy Peter Eltz

CAT. 60  
*Weirs, Nets and  
 Boulders*, ca. October  
 7-8, 1815. Pencil, trial  
 colors, trial pen strokes  
 on vellum (double  
 sheet). 18 x 21.3 cm. The  
 National Museum of  
 Art, Architecture and  
 Design, Oslo.  
 Inv. NG.KH.B.16046



CAT. 62  
*Rowboat in Nine  
 Different Views*, ca. 1806.  
 Pencil on vellum.  
 19.5 x 24.5 cm.  
 Staatliche  
 Museen zu Berlin,  
 Kupferstichkabinett.  
 Inv. SZ 34



CAT. 61  
*Thatch-Roofed Cottage  
and Man with a Pipe next  
to a Fence, September  
25, 1815. Pencil, pen and  
brown ink over pencil,  
watercolor; pen and  
brown ink over pencil on  
vellum. 18 x 10.6 cm.  
Klüser Collection, Munich*



(pp. 120–121)  
CAT. 63  
*On the Ryck in  
Greifswald with a View  
of the Mills in front of  
the Steinbeck Barrier, ca.  
1822–23. Oil on canvas.  
27.7 x 41.1 cm. Stiftung  
Preussische Schlösser  
und Gärten Berlin-  
Brandenburg, Potsdam.  
Inv. GK I 30094*





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# IV. Figures







CAT. 64  
*Study of a Young Man  
with Legs Crossed*, May 7,  
1798. Pencil on  
handmade paper.  
14.6-14.9 x 20.6-20.9 cm.  
Národní galerie v Praze /  
The National  
Gallery in Prague.  
Inv. DK 464

CAT. 66  
*Figure Study of an Old  
Woman and Study of a  
Horse's Head,*  
November 23, 1801.  
Pen and brush and  
brown ink over pencil,  
wash; pencil on vellum.  
18.6 x 11.9 cm.  
Kunsthalle Mannheim,  
Graphische Sammlung.  
Inv. G427





CAT. 65  
*Standing Woman and Seated Woman with Child*, August 5 and 6, 1801. Pen and brown ink over pencil, wash. 18.5 x 11.7 cm.

Verso:  
*Woman with Parasol and Goose* (pen and brown ink over pencil, wash; pencil). Kunsthalle Mannheim, Graphische Sammlung. Inv. G425.



CAT. 67  
*Man with a Cane and Woman, Two Girls*, ca. 1825. Pen and brush and brown and black ink on tracing paper. 40.7 x 26.7 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 6



CAT. 68  
*Seated Man*, ca. 1822.  
Brush and black ink  
on tracing paper  
(mounted).  
9.9 x 6 cm. Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 13





CAT. 69  
*Woman with Candle  
Holder and Child,*  
ca. 1825. Brush and  
black ink on tracing  
paper. 24.3 x 17.5 cm.  
Kunsthalle Mannheim,  
Graphische Sammlung.  
Inv. G440

# Friedrich and his Use of Drawing: A Diagram



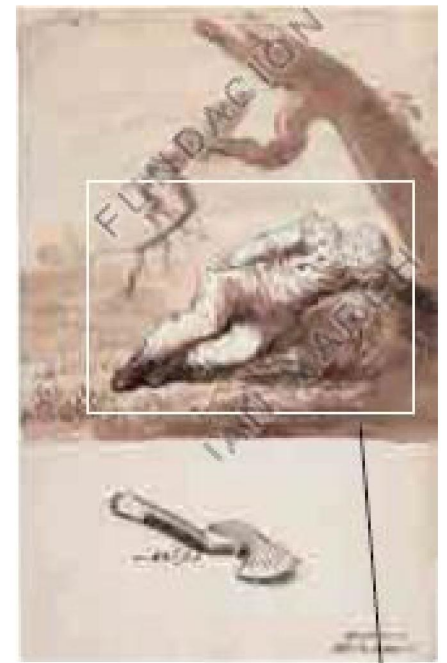


he accompanying diagram illustrates, in a visually intuitive and direct manner, the unique way in which Friedrich utilized his drawings, which he executed with great detail *en plein*

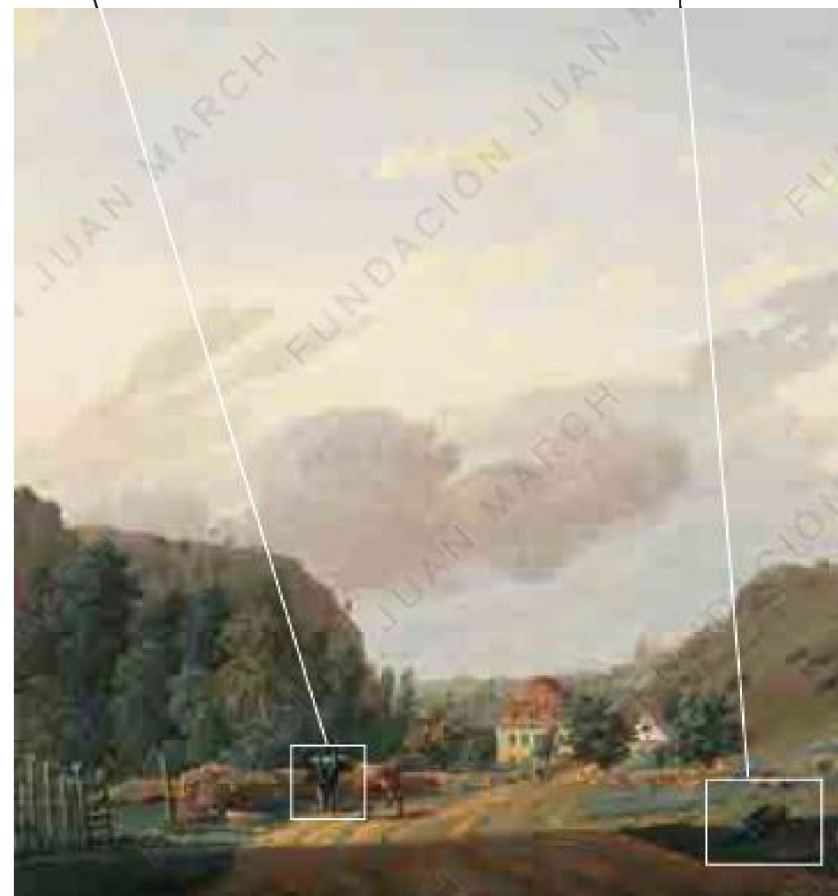
*air*, whether in sketchbooks or on loose sheets, in pencil or pen, during long work sessions or while on his journeys. Friedrich did not have a definitive painting in mind when he created these sketches; they are not, strictly speaking, preparatory drawings but rather fragments of nature that he captured on paper – the same nature that the artist “read” as God’s Book of Creation – and with which the artist established a veritable library of pictorial sources. Friedrich used the drawings as pieces in a “Baukastensystem” – as Werner Busch writes – “a modular system” that he later utilized in his workshop to create his painted compositions. Among the examples featured in this exhibition are studies of small human figures and animals (Cats. 16, 17) implemented in *The New Mill in the Plauenscher Grund* (Fig. 3), the trees (Cats. 23, 26) skillfully inserted into the *View of the Elbe Valley* (Fig. 5) and the *Study of an Oak Tree* (Cat. 30) employed at the extreme right of *Monastery Cemetery in the Snow* (Fig. 7), painted almost a decade later. Similarly, *West Facade of the Eldena Ruins with Bake House and Barn* (Cat. 13) can be recognized in works, now lost, such as *Winter* and *Ruins of Eldena Abbey* (Figs. 1, 2).

What is noteworthy is how Friedrich, using what Christina Grummt describes as a “very economical” working method, repeatedly borrowed motifs from his drawings, often for various works. Such is the case with the meticulously rendered *Bare Tree* (Cat. 27), whose sinuous outline can be recognized, somewhat more elongated, in *Winter* (Fig. 1), as well as in *Cairn by the Sea* (Fig. 6) and to the right of *Monastery Cemetery in the Snow* (Fig. 7). This work, like all of Friedrich’s studies and drawings “from nature” – painstakingly executed, inscribed with both date and time and filled with notations that precisely record the conditions under which each one was made – provide further proof of the artist’s unique manner of working and the religious devotion to nature that guided his life, one that led him to see, even in the most ordinary fragments of life, the essence of the supernatural.

CAT. 16  
*Study of a Woman Reading  
 and Study of a Cow and a  
 Horse’s Head*,  
 October 6, 1801.  
 Pen and brush and brown  
 ink over traces of pencil,  
 wash, on vellum.  
 18.5 x 11.8 cm.  
 Kupferstich-Kabinett,  
 Staatliche  
 Kunstsammlungen  
 Dresden. Inv. C 1919-71



CAT. 17  
*Boy Asleep*  
*Mound*  
 January  
 February  
 Pen and  
 brown i  
 wash, o  
 18.1 x 11.  
 Kunstha  
 Kupfers  
 Der Kun  
 Inv. 193



CAT. 17  
*Boy Asleep on a Grassy Mound and Study of an Axe*,  
 January 15 and  
 February 28, 1802.  
 Pen and brush and  
 brown ink over pencil,  
 wash, on vellum.  
 18.1 x 11.6 cm.  
 Kunsthalle Bremen –  
 Kupferstichkabinett –  
 Der Kunstverein in Bremen.  
 Inv. 1937/596



CAT. 23  
*Cliff Face with Trees*,  
 May 20, 1799.  
 Pen and brown ink over  
 pencil, washed, on  
 handmade paper.  
 23.7 x 18.9 cm.  
 Staatliche  
 Museen zu Berlin,  
 Kupferstichkabinett.  
 Inv. SZ 50 recto

FIG. 5  
*View of the Elbe Valley*,  
 ca. 1807. Oil on canvas,  
 61.5 x 80 cm.  
 Galerie Neue  
 Meister, Staatliche  
 Kunstsammlungen  
 Dresden. Inv. 2197 F



FIG. 3  
*The New Mill in the  
 Plauenscher Grund*,  
 ca. 1802 at the earliest.  
 Gouache over traces of  
 pencil, black border,  
 on vellum.  
 38.6 x 54.5 cm.  
 Städtische  
 Galerie, Dresden.  
 Kunstsammlung.  
 Inv. 2001/k2

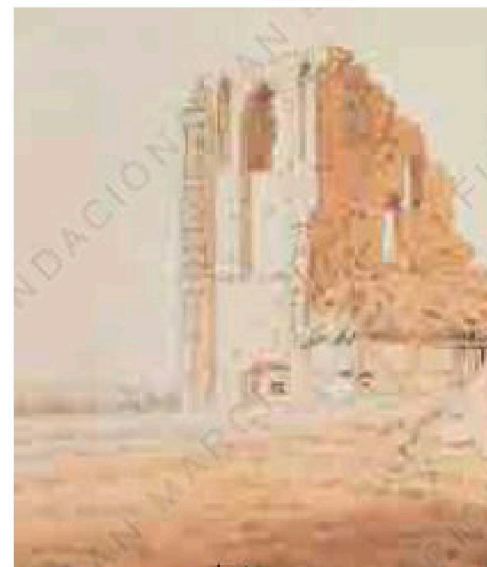
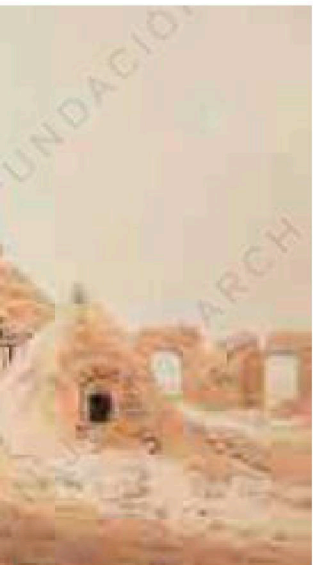


FIG. 2  
*Ruins of Eldena Abbey*,  
 June 13, 1806. Lost.  
 Formerly Coll.  
 Friedrich August II.  
 Inv. 99585, lost





CAT. 26  
*Small Fir*,  
 [April] 14, [1804].  
 Pencil on vellum,  
 brownish wash.  
 18.4 x 11.9 cm.  
 The National Museum  
 of Art, Architecture and  
 Design, Oslo,  
 Inv. NG.KH.B.16031



CAT. 13  
*West Facade of the  
 Eldena Ruins with Bake  
 House and Barn*,  
 After 1834.  
 Brush and brown ink,  
 pencil, dark brown  
 border on vellum.  
 17.6 x 23.9 cm.  
 Musées d'Angers.  
 Inv. MBA 364.40.23



CAT. 27  
*Bare Tree*,  
 May 26, 1806.  
 Pencil on vellum.  
 27 x 19 cm.  
 Kupferstich-Kabinett  
 Staatliche  
 Kunstsammlungen  
 Dresden. Inv. C 15

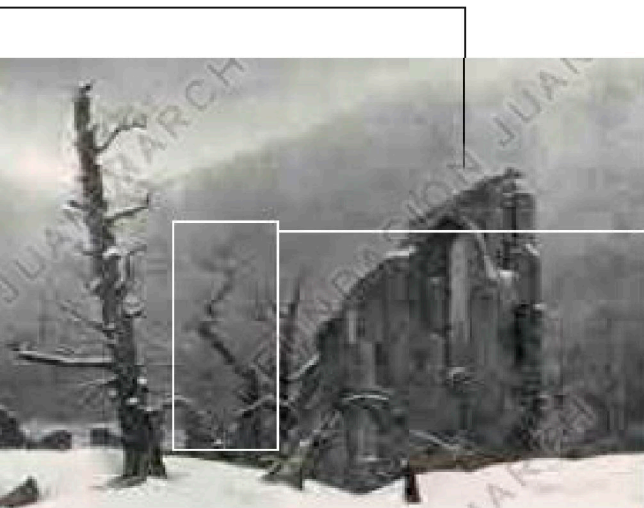


FIG. 1  
*Winter*, Not before 1806.  
 Oil on canvas.  
 73 x 106 cm. Destroyed.  
 Formerly Bayerische  
 Staatsgemäldesammlungen,  
 Neue Pinakothek, Munich.  
 Inv. 9675, destroyed in the  
 Crystal Palace fire in 1931

FIG. 6  
*Cairn by the Sea*,  
 ca. 1806-7.  
 Brush and brown ink,  
 pencil on vellum.  
 64.5 x 95 cm.  
 Klassik Stiftung Weimar.  
 Inv. KK 516



FIG. 7  
*Monastery Cemetery in  
 the Snow*,  
 ca. 1817-19.  
 Oil on canvas.  
 121 x 170 cm.  
 Destroyed. Formerly  
 Nationalgalerie Berlin,  
 no. 1191. Inv. A II 13,  
 burned in 1945

CAT. 27  
*Bare Tree*,  
 May 26, 1806.  
 Pencil on vellum.  
 27 x 19 cm.  
 Kupferstich-Kabinett,  
 Staatliche  
 Kunstsammlungen  
 Dresden. Inv. C 1927-73



CAT. 30  
*Study of an Oak Tree*,  
 May 5, 1809.  
 Pencil on vellum.  
 36 x 26.1 cm.  
 Germanisches  
 Nationalmuseum,  
 Nuremberg,  
 Graphische Sammlung.  
 Inv. Hz. 4156

“The pure, frank  
sentiments  
we hold in our  
hearts are the  
only truthful  
sources of art”

Caspar David Friedrich

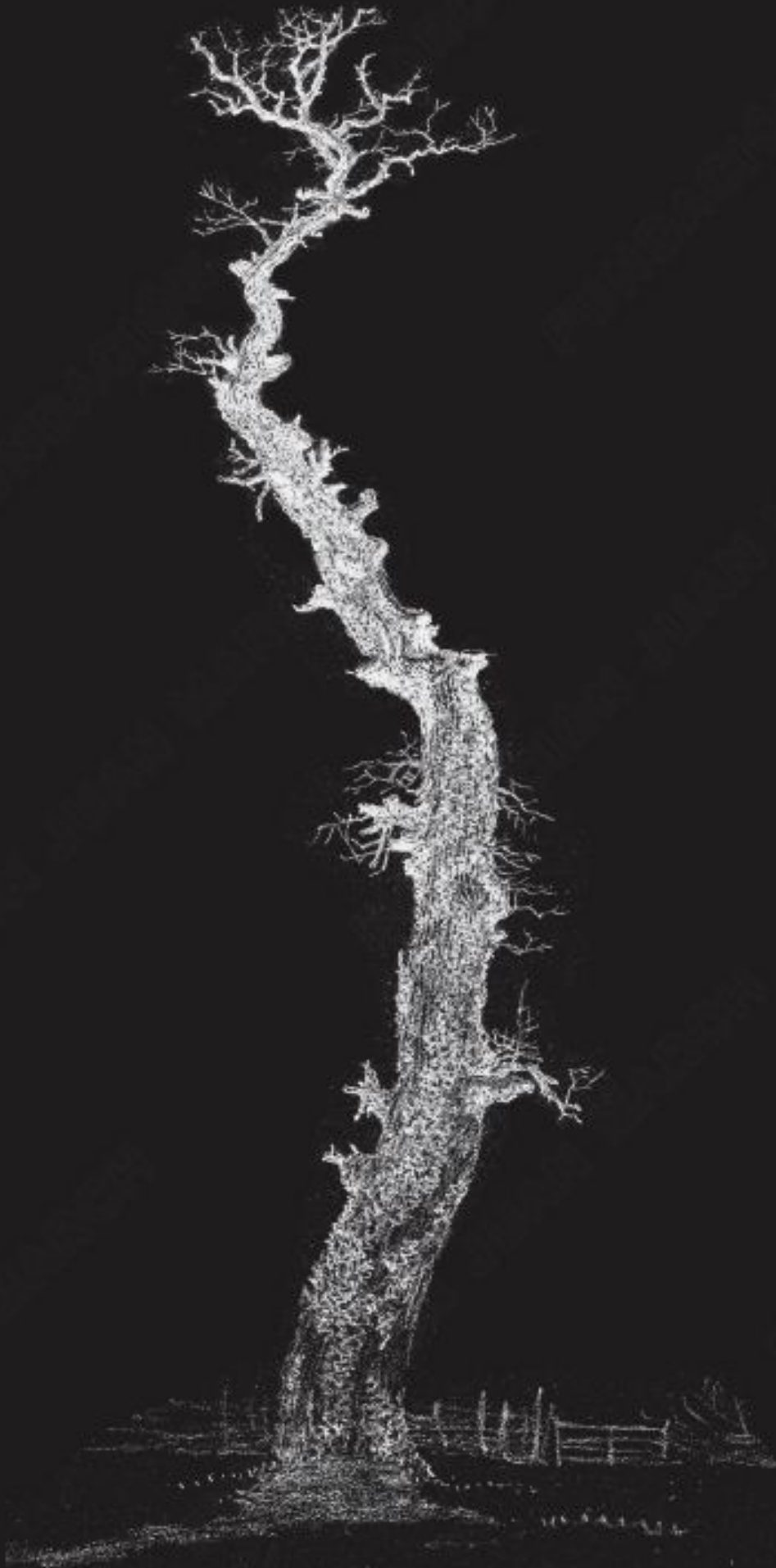


# Catalogue Entries

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Christina Grummt

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CAT. 1  
Gottlob Christian Kühn (German, 1780-1828). *Portrait Bust of Caspar David Friedrich*, 1806. Plaster. 59 x 34 x 28 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Nationalgalerie. Inv. B I 638

Just when Friedrich met the Dresden-born artist Gottlob Christian Kühn is not known (Zschoche 1988b [Kühn], p. 55), but the two artists became devoted friends, and according to Gerhard von Kügelgen, Kühn was Friedrich's "special friend" (Jähmig 1927, p. 106).

We do know when Kühn produced this bust, thanks to an article published in the *Dresdener Abendzeitung* in 1806. There we read: "A few weeks ago a young sculptor, Herr Kühn, who spent nearly a year in Italy, completed a bust of the talented landscape painter Friedrich" (quoted from Börsch-Supan/Jähmig 1973, p. 66).

Friedrich and Kühn repeatedly collaborated in the following years. For example, Kühn carved the frame for Friedrich's Dresden oil painting *The Crucifix in the Mountains* (Börsch-Supan/Jähmig 1973, n.º 167). He also executed stone tombstones after Friedrich's designs (Kluge 1993, pp. 47, 53). Friedrich made several drawings documenting their joint hiking tour of the Harz Mountains in the summer of 1811 (Zschoche 2000, pp. 42-98); one example is the Vienna sheet *Study of a Rocky Gorge*. The original plaster of Kühn's bust, formerly in Dresden's Stadtmuseum, has not survived (Berlin 2001, p. 221).



CAT. 2  
Gerhard von Kügelgen (German, 1772-1820). *The Painter Caspar David Friedrich*. Oil on canvas; 53.3 x 41.5 cm. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg. Inv. HK-2670



CAT. 3  
Caspar David Friedrich (Greifswald, 1774 - Dresden, 1840). *Self-Portrait*, ca. 1803. Woodcut after a drawing by Caspar David Friedrich carved by his brother, Christian. 13.6 x 9 cm. Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. 1953.153. Literature: Börsch-Supan/Jähmig 1973, n.º 74; Bernhard 1974, p. 338

This self-portrait belongs to a group of woodcuts that Friedrich's brother Christian (1779-1843) made after the artist's drawings. The other woodcuts are *Woman with Spiderweb between Bare Trees (Melancholy)*, *Woman with Raven next to an Abyss* and *Boy Sleeping on a Grave* (Börsch-Supan/Jähmig 1973, n.ºs 60, 61, 62). For the preliminary drawing for the last of these, see Cat. 17.

If these woodcuts were in fact intended as "illustrations for a planned book" (Börsch-Supan/Jähmig 1973, n.º 74), perhaps a volume of Friedrich's poems, it is conceivable that the present sheet would have served as the author's portrait in the front of the book.

## I. Architecture



CAT. 4  
*Exterior View of a Church with a Tower*, ca. 1814-25. Watercolor, pen and gray ink, over pencil on vellum. 12 x 12 cm. Verso: various fragments of landscape motifs (pencil). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Graphische Sammlung, Nuremberg. Inv.

Hz 3669-38. Literature: Eimer 1963, pp. 29-30; Hinz 1966, n.º 877; Bernhard 1974, p. 625; Eimer 1982, p. 55n8; Grave 2002, pp. 251-64

This drawing belongs to a group that Friedrich scholars all but ignored for a very long time, comprising: Cats. 5, 6 and 7, as well as Bernhard 1974, pp. 624 top, 624 bottom, 636 top, 626 bottom, 627, 628, 629 and



Hinz 1966, n.º 875. All are designs for a church, and unusual works in the Friedrich oeuvre. Gerhard Eimer, the first to study these sheets more carefully, linked them to Pastor Ludwig Theobul Kosegarten's desire to erect a chapel on Rügen, from which he could deliver his famous seacoast sermons even in rainy weather. Still, no one has been able to establish any direct connection between Friedrich's architectural drawings and the chapel that was ultimately constructed in Witt (see Grave 2002, pp. 251-64).

The present drawing depicts the exterior view of a church whose oval ground and a separate square tower plan Friedrich recorded in Cats. 6 and 7. The precise, perfect rendering of the structure and the sense of volume, achieved through extremely delicate transitions in the application of the colors, are remarkable.

The other drawings from the group of designs for a church that are included in the present exhibition are Cats. 5-7.



CAT. 5  
*Interior View of a Church with a Tower*, ca. 1814-25. Watercolor, pen and gray ink, over pencil on vellum.

8.1 x 12.4 cm. Germanisches

Nationalmuseum, Graphische Sammlung, Nuremberg. Inv. Hz 3669-40. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 874; Bernhard 1974, p. 624 (bottom); Eimer 1982, p. 55n8; Grave 2002, pp. 251-64.

This sheet belongs to a group of designs for a church (see Cat. 4). It shows a cross-section through the oval structure whose ground plan Friedrich depicted in Cats. 6 and 7.



CAT. 6  
*Ground Plan of an Oval Structure with a Tower in Front and Adjacent Park*, ca. 1814-25. Watercolor, pen and gray ink, over pencil on vellum. 11.1 x 11.9 cm. Germanisches

Nationalmuseum, Graphische

Sammlung, Nuremberg. Inv. Hz 3669-36. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 871; Bernhard 1974, p. 629; Eimer 1982, p. 55; Zschoche 1998, pp. 53-54n8, ill. n.º 15; Grave 2002, pp. 251-64

Also from the group of designs for a church (see Cat. 4), this drawing includes a grove of deciduous trees that is also oval in shape.



CAT. 7  
*Ground Plan of an Oval Structure with a Tower in Front*, ca. 1814-25. Watercolor, pen and gray ink, pencil on

vellum. 6.8 x 12.4 cm. Verso: *Fragment of a Landscape Study with Trees and Boulders* (pencil). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Graphische Sammlung, Nuremberg. Inv. Hz 3669-37. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 872; Bernhard 1974, p. 624 (top); Eimer 1982, p. 55n8; Grave 2002, pp. 251-64

Also from the group of designs for a church (see Cat. 4), this tiny drawing includes the entrances reached by stairs, at either end. A square tower projects from one end.



CAT. 8  
*Architecture Studies in Neubrandenburg*, April 10, 1801. Pencil on vellum. 37.6 x 23.7 cm. Verso: *Tree Studies* (pencil). From the Large Mannheim Sketchbook of 1799-1801. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo. Inv. NG.KH.B.16007.

Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 258; Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, under n.º 427; Bernhard 1974, pp. 248 (recto), 249 (verso); Zschoche 1998, p. 16

Friedrich produced this large-format sketchbook drawing during a trip to his Pomeranian homeland and the island of Rügen. It includes four studies of structures and parts of structures in Neubrandenburg (Hinz 1966, n.º 258), a few months before his brother Adolf married Margarete Brückner, the daughter of the poet Ernst Theodor Johann Brückner of that city.

The studies, distributed across the entire sheet, depict the old choir of St. John's Church (Scheven 1966, p. 10; Zschoche 1988 [Neubrandenburg], p. 148, but see Hinz 1966, n.º 258, who disagrees), the Fangel Tower beneath it on the left (Hinz 1966, n.º 258; Zschoche 1988 [Neubrandenburg], p. 148, but see Scheven 1966, p. 10, who disagrees), the city wall with a derelict *Wiekhaus*, or watchman's house, next to it on the right (Hinz 1966, n.º 258; Zschoche 1988 [Neubrandenburg], p. 148), and finally the inside of the Treptow Gate at the bottom (Hinz 1966, n.º 258; Zschoche 1988 [Neubrandenburg], p. 148).

Hinz proposed that Friedrich used this sheet when working on the oil paintings *Sunrise near Neubrandenburg* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.º 427) and *View of Neubrandenburg* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.º 225), but Werner Sumowski and Helmut Börsch-Supan (Sumowski 1970, p. 134n696; Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, under n.º 427) lightly disproved this.

The sheet is executed in a style that is both precise and sophisticated, comprising outlines as well as parallel hatching. The young artist was already remarkably skilled at capturing the effects of light and shadow.

Hans Dickel compiled additional sheets from the disbound Large Mannheim Sketchbook (1991, pp. 66-7).



CAT. 9  
*Study of Stolpen Castle*, August 27, 1820. Pencil on vellum. 17.8 x 11.1 cm. From the Small Sketchbook of 1820-21. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo. Inv. NG.KH.B.16029. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 712; Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, under n.º 427; Bernhard 1974, p. 703; Hoch 1995, p. 52; Busch 2003, p. 91

Hoch 1995, p. 52; Busch 2003, p. 91

Karl-Ludwig Hoch identified these portions of a castle, some of them in ruins, as belonging to Stolpen Castle, east of Dresden. Friedrich focused on the St. John Tower (called the Cosel Tower) on the south side, built around 1509, with its combined square staircase tower and round residential tower, to which Anna Constanze Countess von Cosel (1680-1765), the mistress of King Augustus the Strong, was banished when she fell out of favor at court.

Friedrich included the gun emplacements to the left of the tower and the fortification walls of the third bailey. Napoleon had ordered that the castle be blown up, hence the structure's partially derelict state.

Two things about this sheet are worth noting. One is that the tower appears much taller and thinner than it actually is; Friedrich habitually drew things too tall, a fault that can be seen over and over again. He was well aware of this, noting for his future reference: "towers too tall." (For Friedrich's notations on his study drawings, see the essay by Werner Busch in the present catalogue). Second, his obsessive accuracy is evident in his choice to include a privy jutting out from a window in the upper third of the dwelling tower.

Traces of an ochre pigment on the edges of the sheet indicate that it was once part of the Small Sketchbook of 1820-1, from which another drawing also derives (Bernhard 1974, p. 706).

Friedrich drew a horizontal line at the bottom of the sheet (see also Cats. 25 and 59) and used the space below for annotations. Vertical lines on the sheet mark the height of an imaginary person at various spots; see the discussion at Cat. 51. The drawing *Hilly Landscape with Boulders near Teplice* (Cat. 56) includes similar indications.



CAT. 10  
*View through Ruins*, ca. 1798. Pencil and black crayon on hand-made paper; 34.4 x 22.4 cm. Private collection. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 37; Bernhard 1974, p. 37; Hauswedell & Nolte, Auction 364, p. 52, n.º 268, color pl. 7; Hamburg 2006, n.º 4

The drawing presents a view through a round-arched window into a structure made up of several courtyards. Inside the first courtyard are various wooden huts, but the view into the second discloses little more than a clothesline hung with washing and the facade of a building behind it. There the wall opening takes the form of a round-arched window as well.

The subject matter and the artist's rendering of it indicate that the work dates from Friedrich's earliest years. Yet as Christine Szkiel suspects (Hamburg 2006, n.º 4), the artist did not produce the drawing while still a student at the academy in Copenhagen, but only after his move to Dresden. The present sheet is closely related to a lost Friedrich drawing (Bernhard 1974, p. 36) picturing a portion of the Altzella monastery. Altzella is near the town of Nossen, roughly thirty kilometers west of Dresden. Thus we know that by the time Friedrich produced the present drawing he must have already been settled in the city he had chosen as his new home.



CAT. 11  
*Choir Stall Design*, ca. 1817-18. Watercolor and gouache, pen and gray ink over pencil on vellum. 43.1 x 57.3 cm. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Graphische

Sammlung, Nuremberg. Inv. Hz 3669-21. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 866; Lankheit 1969, pp. 150-76; Bernhard 1974, p. 863 (top)

In this design the artist presents the left and right side views of a set of choir stalls. Wood paneling and a door are visible above the adjacent steps on the right; to the left of these Friedrich suggests further decorative panels.

The sheet is one of a group of designs for choir furnishings for St. Mary's Church in Stralsund that Friedrich produced in around 1817-18. See Lankheit for the documents relating to these furnishings.

## II. Ruins



CAT. 12  
*Ruins of Eldena Monastery*,  
January 1814. Watercolor, pen  
and gray ink, traces of  
preliminary pencil drawing,  
on vellum. 15.9 x 16.4 cm.  
Statens Museum for Kunst,  
Copenhagen.  
Inv.KKS GB 6486. Literature:  
Hinz 1966, n.º 628; Börsch-Supan/Jähni-  
g 1973, n.º 212;  
Bernhard 1974, p. 591

Here Friedrich depicts the eastern portions of the Eldena monastery from the southwest, with the nave arcades on the left and remnants of the south transept and cloister. For the location and history of the monastery, see Cat. 13. Drawings preserved in Stuttgart and Moscow (Bernhard 1974, pp. 252 and 254, respectively) are similar to the present view. Kurt Wilhelm-Kästner (1940, p. 69) observed that Friedrich used the drawing in Stuttgart as a preliminary study for the one exhibited here. Even earlier, Otto Schmitt (1931, p. 169) referred to this rendering as an “atelier repeat.”

In his composition of the present sheet, Friedrich focused on the portions of the monastery ruins seen in the right half of the Stuttgart drawing. To the left of the ruins he added an imaginary background seascape with sailing ships. Because of this, Helmut Börsch-Supan (Börsch-Supan/Jähni-  
g 1973, n.º 212) rightly rejected its interpretation as a *veduta*. Instead, he suggests that it was intended to convey a symbolic meaning, but the evidence for this seems insufficient.



CAT. 13  
*West Facade of the Eldena  
Ruins with Bake House and  
Barn*, after 1834. Brush and  
brown ink, pencil, dark brown  
border on vellum.  
17.6 x 23.9 cm. Musées  
d’Angers. Inv. MBA 364–40 (23). Literature: Hinz  
1966, n.º 392; Bernhard 1974, p. 435; Maaz 2004, p. 72

This drawing depicts the ruins at Eldena, a Cistercian monastery founded in 1199 in Greifswald where the Ryck flows into the Dänische Wiek, a bay of the Greifswalder Bodden. The ruins are the remains of Gothic structures from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Wilhelm-Kästner 1940, p. 40; Schmitt 1931; Schmitt 1944). The church and the cloister buildings to the south of it make up the core of the compound. In this view we see the church’s west facade with a pyramid-shaped bake house in front of it. Directly in front of the ruin is a half-timber structure roofed with thatch.

Friedrich had drawn this view of the monastery ruins before (Bernhard 1974, p. 612), though from a slightly different vantage point and omitting the adjacent structures. Portions of the same view appear to be included on an additional sketchbook page (Bernhard 1974, p. 615 left). The closest parallel to the present view of the west facade is a drawing in Dresden (Bernhard 1974, p. 242). Because the two works are so similar, Werner Sumowski (1970, p. 155) suspected that they were both based on a preliminary study that has been lost. Other views of the west facade from various angles are presented in drawings in Dresden, Hamburg, Berlin and Schweinfurt (Bernhard 1974, pp. 776, 357, 353, 434, respectively), as well as a drawing that has disappeared (Fig. 2).

The outstanding artistry of the sheet is evident in its large washes of delicate color, its subtle transitions between highly nuanced shading and finally the manner in which the color areas have been structured by the addition of pencil lines (see Cat. 56).

The drawing came from the collection of Jean Pierre David d’Angers (Sumowski 1970, p. 156), but since it is not mentioned in David’s Notebooks, Bernhard Maaz (2004, p. 72) suspects that David did not

acquire the work in 1834 (together with Bernhard 1974, p. 774), but “only in the later purchase arranged through Carl Gustav Carus in 1843.” Maaz’s suspicion seems confirmed by the fact that the verso of the sheet bears an executor’s notation by Johan Christian Dahl, indicating that in 1840, at the time of Friedrich’s death, the work was still in the artist’s possession.

On August 13, 1819, Carl Gustav Carus captured the same view, but without the bake house, in a drawing that is now in Dresden (Prause 1968, pp. 102-3).



CAT. 14  
*Ruins of Eldena Monastery*, ca.  
1820. Pencil on vellum.  
24.4 x 35.8 cm. Staatliche  
Museen zu Berlin,  
Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. SZ 27. Literature:  
Schmitt 1944, p. 10; Hinz 1966, n.º 310; Bernhard 1974,  
p. 309

The subject of the present drawing is the ruined monastery Eldena. For the history and location of the cloister, see Cat. 13.

Otto Schmitt (1931, p. 173; see also Schmitt 1944, p. 12) precisely identified the ruins: “Here Friedrich drew mainly the older (eastern) portions of the church, standing very nearly on the axis of the nave looking to the east. In front we see the pillars and walls of the late Romanesque east bay, on the left a part of the Gothic west pillar as well; the picture is closed off toward the back by a low, thatch-roofed, half-timber structure, and on the right there is a portion of the south transept.”

The dating of the sheet is disputed. Otto Schmitt (1944, p. 10) asserted that the drawing was “surely produced before [Friedrich’s] years of study at the academy in Copenhagen” (1794-8). But Sigrid Hinz (1966, n.º 310) and Marianne Bernhard (1974, p. 309) date the drawing to ca. 1810. In my opinion the draftsmanly approach and the grainy line structure indicate an even later date, probably around 1820.



CAT. 15  
*Castle Ruin in Tharandt  
and Tree Study*, May 1  
and 2, 1800. Pen and  
brown and gray ink over  
pencil on vellum. 37.8 x  
23.5 cm. Verso: *Quick  
Sketch of a Rocky Cliff  
and Two Quick Tree*

*Studies* (pen and brown ink over pencil). From the Large Mannheim Sketchbook of 1799-1801. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Graphische Sammlung. Inv. G5842. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 225; Bernhard 1974, p. 856 (not ill.); Dickel 1991, n.º 9

This sheet presents two separate studies, one above the other. A tree study fills the bottom half of the sheet, whereas the top half pictures the castle ruin at Tharandt (Dickel 1991, n.º 9). Tharandt lies southwest of Freital and Dresden.

The Tharandt ruin is a subject to which Friedrich was drawn again and again. It also appears in drawings in Berlin, Greifswald and Oslo (Bernhard 1974, pp. 198, 199 and 694, respectively). The present work most closely resembles the verso of a drawing in Düsseldorf dated August 4, 1799 (Bernhard 1974, p. 98). Both versions picture ruins lying on the west side of the castle mount, along with the adjacent steep slope and nearby half-timber houses above the foaming Weisseritz River.

Oddly enough, the drawing was not previously linked to the Large Mannheim Sketchbook. Hans Dickel (1991, n.º 9) simply indicated that it came “from a sketchbook.” Börsch-Supan (Börsch-Supan/Jähni-  
g 1973, p. 47n55) did not include it among the drawings he felt had come from the “Large Sketchbook.” However, an analysis of the paper proves that it was originally a page from the Large Mannheim Sketchbook.

For other drawings from this sketchbook, see Cats. 8 and 25.

## III. Nature

### A. Views of the Countryside



CAT. 16  
*Study of a Woman Reading and Study of  
a Cow and a Horse’s Head*, October 6,  
1801. Pen and brush and brown ink  
over traces of pencil, washed, on  
vellum. 18.5 x 11.8 cm. From the  
Small Mannheim Sketchbook of  
1800-2. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen  
Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett.  
Inv. C 1919–71. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 302; Bernhard  
1974, p. 301

With her left arm braced against a rock, a young woman in an ankle-length dress is lying on a patch of grass surrounded by a dense forest of deciduous trees and evergreens. Her head is turned toward the right as she gazes meditatively at the open book she holds in her hand.

Friedrich used the empty strip at the bottom of the sheet for two pencil sketches, one of a portion of the head of a cow and one of a horse with horns seen from the back.

Werner Sumowski (1970, p. 136) first associated the sheet with the Small Mannheim Sketchbook – identifying it only as the “Mannheim Sketchbook.” Hans Dickel (1991, pp. 8-9) later confirmed the attribution. According to Sumowski (1970, p. 67), Friedrich used the sheet when drawing the cow on the left in *The New Mill in the Plauenscher Grund* (Fig. 3). Though he is doubtless correct, he mistakenly identified the structure in that work as the Königsmühle, or King’s Mill (see Börsch-Supan/Jähni-  
g 1973, under n.º 86).

For further drawings from the Small Mannheim Sketchbook of 1800-2, see Cats. 17, 65 and 66.



CAT. 17  
*Boy Asleep on a Grassy Mound and  
Study of an Axe*, January 15 and  
February 28, 1802. Pen and brush and  
brown ink over pencil, washed, on  
vellum. 18.1 x 11.6 cm. From the Small  
Mannheim Sketchbook of 1800-2. Kun-  
sthalle Bremen, Kupferstichkabinett.  
Inv. 1937/596. Literature: Hinz  
1966, 311; Börsch-Supan/Jähni-  
g 1973, n.º 57;  
Bernhard 1974, p. 310

1966, 311; Börsch-Supan/Jähni-  
g 1973, n.º 57;  
Bernhard 1974, p. 310

Helmut Börsch-Supan (Börsch-Supan/Jähni-  
g 1973, p. 47n57) first associated this drawing with the Small Mannheim Sketchbook.

According to Hans Dickel (1991, pp. 10-11), the work was also included in Aubert’s list of works, which was the basis for his reconstruction of that sketchbook. In the upper half of the sheet a boy lies sleeping, his head pointing to the right, on a little hillock. He wears a jacket with two rows of buttons, trousers and calf-length boots. His legs are bent, and his sleeping body has adapted to the contours of his resting place.

A few weeks later Friedrich thriftily used the empty strip at the bottom of the sheet for the study of an axe with a broken handle.

This same figure appears in the foreground of Friedrich’s Dresden drawing *The New Mill in the Plauenscher Grund* (Fig. 3), a borrowing first noted by Werner Sumowski (1970, p. 67; see also Börsch-Supan/Jähni-  
g 1973, under n.º 86). It also served as the pattern for the woodcut *Boy Sleeping on a Grave* (Börsch-Supan/Jähni-  
g 1973, n.º 62). Friedrich blackened the back of the sheet, apparently to facilitate the transfer of the image. For other drawings from the Small Mannheim Sketchbook of 1800-2, see Cats. 16, 65 and 66.



CAT. 18  
*The King's Mill in the Plauenscher Grund*, ca. 1802 at the earliest. Gouache over traces of pencil, black border, on vellum. 38.6 x 54.5 cm. Städtische Galerie Dresden.

Kunstsammlung. Inv. 2001/k 1. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 245; Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.º 85; Bernhard 1974, p. 241; Schweinfurt 2000, n.º 17 B

Apparently from a boat, the artist looks across the Weisseritz River, past another boat and ducks on the water, at a distant landscape. On the left is a riverbank with boulders, plants, bushes and trees. A meadow lies beyond the riverbank, and in the background we see a dense deciduous forest. The right bank presents a tall cliff with only grass and sparse trees. Figures are seen on the road running along the riverbank. A two-story building stands in the middle distance on the right, next to a light-colored stretch of sand.

The sheet is one of a group of four studies of views of the Plauenscher Grund (Cats. 18, 19; Figs. 3, 4). The others are: *The Hothouse at Potschappel* (Bernhard 1974, p. 238) (Fig. 4), *The Powder Mill in the Plauenscher Grund* (Cat. 19) and *The New Mill in the Plauenscher Grund* (Fig. 3). For a detailed discussion of the provenance of these sheets, see Jens Christian Jensen (in Schweinfurt 2000, n.º 17 A).

Helmut Börsch-Supan (1960, p. 74n6) questioned Friedrich's authorship of the sheet, but Werner Sumowski (1970, pp. 66-67) confirmed the attribution and Börsch-Supan subsequently agreed (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.º 85). No preliminary studies for the work have yet been discovered.

In 1780 Adrian Zingg produced a pen drawing of this picturesque landscape from a different vantage point (now in Lübeck; Dräger/Stubbe 2007, p. 370).



CAT. 19  
*The Powder Mill in the Plauenscher Grund*, ca. 1802 at the earliest. Gouache over traces of pencil, black border, on vellum. 38.6 x 54.5 cm. Städtische Galerie Dresden.

Graphische Sammlung. Inv. 1978/k 2. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 243; Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.º 87; Bernhard 1974, p. 239

The composition of this view is comparable to that of the Dresden drawing *The King's Mill in the Plauenscher Grund* (Cat. 18). Here again the artist pictures the surrounding landscape from the middle of the Weisseritz River. Across the river, with its snags and boulders, he could see the Powder Mill in the middle distance. The banks of the river are lined with bushes and trees. Far in the distance on the right, above the higher bank of the river, are the vineyards of Dölzchen (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.º 87).



CAT. 20  
*Cottage in the Forest*, ca. 1797. Pen and black ink and watercolor over traces of pencil. gray border, on hand made paper. 21.4 x 27.5 cm. Galerie Hans, Hamburg.

Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 99; Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973 n.º 11; Bernhard 1974, p. 78; Essen and Hamburg 2006-7, p. 362, ill. p. 106 top and 100 (detail)

This work recently reappeared on the art market. Comparing it with watercolors from Friedrich's years at the academy in Copenhagen, Helmut Börsch-Supan (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.º 11) has proposed that it dates from ca. 1797. It presumably depicts a spot on the outskirts of Copenhagen. The same writer sees the influence of Friedrich's teacher Christian August Lorentzen in the composition and figures.

The work pictures a wooded area with a cottage at its edge. A hiker and a hunter accompanied by his dog converse in the foreground at the bottom. They are surrounded by towering trees. There is an open gate in the middle of the fence that runs from the right foreground into the background on the left, separating the cottage and its adjacent garden from the forest. Though obscured by foliage, the roof of the cottage is visible in the distance. Friedrich applied his colors on top of a pencil

drawing that is still visible in spots, then gave structure to the areas of color by adding distinct outlines and structural drawings of fine pen lines. In a few spots in the background he left the colors untouched.



CAT. 21  
*Rügen Landscape with Windmill*, May 16, 1802. Pen and brown ink over pencil, washed, square grid, on vellum.

12.8 x 20.4 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett. Inv. C 5711. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 318; Bernhard 1974, p. 318; Zschoche 1998, p. 28, ill. n.º 20

Helmut Börsch-Supan (1960, p. 70n3) first associated this sheet with the Small Sketchbook I of 1802-3, assuming that Friedrich had worked in only one sketchbook from those years, instead of two. Otto Schmitt (1936, p. 432) had already recognized the connection between this sheet and the Leipzig *Klein Stubbenkammer* and the Greifswald *Cottage with Well* (Bernhard 1974, pp. 323 and 316, respectively).

From an elevated vantage point the artist looks across a depression in a grassy hill at a distant landscape dotted with various kinds of bushes. The foreground is relatively dark, whereas the glimpse of landscape in the middle distance – where various fields, two half-timbered houses and a windmill are crowded together – is left white. The fields stretching into the far distance now and again include lines of trees and finally there is a glimpse of water. Tiny strokes on the horizon (to the right of the windmill) suggest the church towers of a distant city.

Kurt Wilhelm-Kästner (1940, pp. 51, 73) identified this setting as the Jasmunder Bodden, but later Sigrig Hinz (1966, p. 318; Helmut Börsch-Supan (1960, p. 70) and Werner Sumowski (1970, p. 184, n.º 25) referred to the work under the general title of *Rügen Landscape*, thereby adopting the term already used by Fritz Gurlitt (1916, n.º 41) and the 1940 Dresden exhibition catalogue (Cat. 41). Herrmann Zschoche, however (1998, p. 28), asserted that here, on May 16, Friedrich drew "the still functioning windmill north of Poseritz, in front of it in the middle distance the Poseritz close, and on the horizon the silhouette of Stralsund, with the towers of the Church of St. Nicholas on the right." According to Zschoche, the Greifswald sheet *Cottage with Well* (Bernhard 1974, p. 316), drawn on the same day, repeats "this view to the south from farther away, from an elevation south of Bergen."

The sheet dates from Friedrich's journey to his homeland and the island of Rügen in 1802.

The identical beveling of the two bottom corners of the sheet is original, whereas the two upper corners were cut later, probably owing to damage to the upper edge where it was bound into the sketchbook.



CAT. 22  
*Landscape near Lössnitz*, 1800. Pen and black and brown ink. 23.7 x 37.9 cm. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Graphische Sammlung. Inv. G439

## B. In the Elbe Valley



CAT. 23  
*Cliff Face with Trees*, May 20, 1799. Pen and brown ink over pencil, washed, on handmade paper. 23.7 x 18.9 cm. Verso: *Cloud Study* (pencil). From the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799, p. 15. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 50

recto. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 128; Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, under n.º 163; Bernhard 1974, p. 109; Grütter 1986, p. 110; Grummt 2003, p. 112

Friedrich presumably found this rock formation somewhere in the Saxon Switzerland, though its precise location has not yet been discovered (Grütter 1986, p. 110). Through the cross created by clefts in the rock, Friedrich manages to combine a depiction of nature with Christian symbolism.

At the lower right, with light pencil lines, the artist sketched a figure lying on his stomach and gazing up at the cross, thereby both drawing attention to the phenomenon and commenting on the marvel of discovering such a symbol in nature. With this nature study Friedrich gives pictorial form to the notion that God's word was to be studied not only in the Bible but also in the "book of nature" (Grummt 2003, p. 118). Sigrig Hinz (1966, p. 81) was the first to note that Friedrich used this sheet for the Dresden oil painting *View of the Elbe Valley* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.º 163) (Fig. 5); the small fir tree on the left in the painting is a nearly exact copy of the one in this study.



CAT. 24  
*Two Tree Studies and Washing Hung on a Line*, ca. 1799. Pencil on handmade paper. 23.8 x 18.6 cm. Verso: *Cloud Study and Male Bust* (pencil). From the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799, p. 8. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 46

recto. Literature: Hinz 1966, 124; Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, under n.º 163; Bernhard 1974, p. 105

The artist crowded several separate studies onto the upper half of this sketchbook page: two of trees and two articles of clothing hanging from a clothesline. The trees are shown in outline, with the specific forms of their tops observed, according to the artist's notation, "in the distance." By contrast, most of the articles of clothing are more specifically described with closely set lines, conveying the impression of fabric falling in three-dimensional folds.

Sigrig Hinz (1966, p. 81) noted that Friedrich used this sheet in his Dresden oil painting *View of the Elbe Valley* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.º 163) (Fig. 5).



CAT. 25  
*Schinderloch (Hohnstein)*, July 9, 1800. Pencil on vellum. 38 x 23.7 cm. Verso: *Ruins near Schinderloch* (pencil). From the Large Mannheim Sketchbook of 1799-1801. Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. VIII 1375. Literature: Bernhard 1974, p. 213; Dickel 1991, p. 66, n.º 10; Hoch

1995, pp. 40, 41, 68, 20

On the bottom half of this sheet is the artist sketched a landscape with a female figure next to a brook that winds between boulders. With her left arm raised, she seems to be leaning against the large boulder behind her. He used a relatively soft pencil, and a resulting

softness of line can be seen in the shaded areas beneath the boulders or in the stream, where the parallel hatching, already closely set, blurs into solid darks. A separate study of a single tree fills the left side of the upper half of the sheet. Friedrich drew a horizontal line beneath the bottom drawing (see Cats. 9, 52).

Helmut Börsch-Supan (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, p. 47n55) first associated the sheet with the Large Mannheim Sketchbook. For additional leaves from this sketchbook, see Hans Dickel (1991, pp. 66, 67) and Cats. 8 and 15 in the present exhibition.

For the identification of this topography, see the discussion by Karl-Ludwig Hoch (1995, p. 40).



CAT. 26  
*Small Fir*, [April] 14, [1804]. Pencil on vellum, brownish wash. 18.4 x 11.9 cm. From the Karlsruhe Sketchbook of 1804. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo. Inv. NG.KH.B.16031. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 603; Bernhard 1974, p. 567

A young conifer, identified as a fir in a note by the artist, fills the center of the sheet. Helmut Börsch-Supan erroneously links the drawing to the Oslo Sketchbook of 1806-8 (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, under n.º 163). Ohara, however (1984, p. 112n43), includes this sheet among those “probably belonging to the Karlsruhe Sketchbook or one that immediately preceded it,” and suggests that the “drawing style,” the “relative size of the object against the page format,” and the “year the paper was manufactured” (watermark) indicate that the drawing is from an earlier date.

Recent research, and especially an analysis of the paper, conclusively shows that the drawing did not come from the Oslo Sketchbook of 1806-8. In addition to differences in the shape of the corners, the papers bear two different watermarks. The present sheet is marked “[J Wh]atman [18]01,” while the pages from the Oslo Sketchbook of 1806-8 are watermarked “[J R]use[18]04.” Additional studies have determined that the present drawing definitely came from the Karlsruhe Sketchbook of 1804.

The study was used for the Dresden oil painting *The Crucifix in the Mountains (Tetschen Altar)* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, n.º 167; first noted in Sumowski 1970, p. 72) and for another painting also in Dresden, *View of the Elbe Valley* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, n.º 163) (Fig. 5).

## C. Trees



CAT. 27  
*Bare Tree*, May 26, 1806. Pencil on vellum. 27 x 19 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett. Inv. C 1927-23. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 385; Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, under n.º 147, 165, 254; Bernhard 1974, p. 430; Ohara 1983, pp. 215, 216, 218; Grütter 1986, p. 188

A tree swaying back and forth across the central axis fills almost the entire height of the sheet. Except for a few small branches at the top that suggest a crown, the tree has only a few stumps of branches. The draftsman-ship in the densely detailed trunk is striking, as are the extremely fine lines suggesting tiny shoots. The structural drawing of the trunk is made up of parallel hatching in the direction of growth and zigzag lines, the latter placed above the hatching for accents.

The 1928 Dresden catalogue of the Galerie Kühl (n.º 65) pointed out that Friedrich used the present drawing as a pattern for the Weimar drawing *Cairn by the Sea* (Fig. 6). This has also been noted by Kurt Wilhelm-Kästner (1940, p. 70, under n.º 23, p. 76, ill. n.º 47), Hinz (1966, n.º 385), Sumowski (1970, p. 145) and Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ (1973, under n.º 147).

Friedrich also used the study for the Munich oil painting *Winter* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, n.º 165), as Wilhelm-Kästner (1940, p. 70, under n.º 23) rightly observed and Börsch-Supan (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, under n.º 165) confirmed. It was the latter who observed that compared to the related “left-hand oak in the middle distance” of the *Winter* painting the tree trunk in the present study “is not so strongly curved.” Hinz (1966, p. 75n1) was first to note that the drawing also served as a pattern for the oil painting *Monastery Cemetery in the Snow* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, n.º 254, formerly in Berlin) (Fig. 7), specifically for the fourth oak on the right next to the choir. Sumowski (1970, p. 83n162) and Börsch-Supan (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, under n.º 254) repeated her finding. Friedrich produced the drawing during a visit to his homeland and the island of Rügen in the spring and summer of 1806. Since he is documented to have been in Breesen on May 14, 1806 (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, n.º 136) and in Neubrandenburg on May 29 (Bernhard 1974, p. 431), it can be safely assumed that he made the drawing in that region.



CAT. 28  
*Tree Study*, September 1798. Pencil on handmade paper. 26.9 x 21.1 cm. Verso, bottom right: *Framed Landscape Sketch* (pencil). Private collection. Literature: Essen/Hamburg 2006-7, p. 365, ill. p. 146 top

This tree study was only recently discovered in a private collection (my thanks to Hinrich Sieveking for providing information). In both motif and execution it seems especially close to a drawing preserved in Basel (Cat. 29). The artist captured the characteristic form of the conifer with a highly sophisticated distribution of light and dark lines. As Friedrich’s notation indicates, he also produced this study “from nature.”

To render the needles he used both short lines, some as parallel hatching, and zigzag elements. The areas left white tend to be bordered by the latter.



CAT. 29  
*Fir Tree*, September 1798. Pencil on handmade paper. 27.7 x 22.1 cm. Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. 1932.200. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 82; Bernhard 1974, p. 69; Basel 1982-83, n.º 27

The conifer is centered on the sheet, nearly filling its entire height. Using pencils of varying hardness, Friedrich used broad strokes to capture the shapes of the branches hung with needles. Now and again the trunk, shadowed from the left, is visible between the branches. These are offset by areas left white, through which light is incorporated into the artistic design of the tree.

The artist produced the drawing “from nature,” as his notation expressly states. Along with a sheet recently discovered in a private collection (Cat. 28), this is one of the first nature studies produced by the young graduate of the Copenhagen academy. Presumably the he made the drawing in the vicinity of Dresden, where Friedrich is documented as early as October 1798 (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, p. 11).



CAT. 30  
*Study of an Oak Tree*, May 5, 1809. Pencil on vellum. 36 x 26.1 cm. Verso: *Bay with Cliffs – Stubbenkammer* (pencil). From the loose-leaf drawings of 1809. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Graphische Sammlung, Nuremberg. Inv. Hz 4156. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 512; Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, under n.º 92; Bernhard 1974, p. 498; Busch 2003, pp. 77-78, 83n6, 85, ill. n.º 19

An oak with three trunks, whose branches, except for a few in the area of the crown, have been broken or sawed off, fills the center of the sheet. The study essentially consists of a subtly executed outline supplemented by an internal structure that suggests its volume. It is striking that here the parallel hatching does not necessarily follow the direction of growth, but rather emphasizes the swellings of the trunk and the bases of the branches. The lower trunk, with predominantly hatched surfaces, appears in shadow, whereas the upper branches are brightly illuminated (Rainer Schoch in Nuremberg 1992, n.º 120; Busch 2003, p. 78). Friedrich made the drawing during his return to his homeland in the spring and summer of 1809.

As Fritz Zink was the first to note (in Hagen 1957, n.º 106), Friedrich used this tree study as the pattern for the oak on the left next to the ruin in the Berlin painting *Abbey in the Oak Forest* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, n.º 169) (Fig. 4, p. 26). Sumowski (1970, p. 83n1620) and Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ mention the same borrowing. Mayumi Ohara (1983, pp. 213, 219) also discusses its use in *Abbey in the Oak Forest*, pointing out the “modifications of the nature study” for use

in the painting. Ohara was first to observe that in the painting Friedrich combined two studies for the oak on the left next to the ruin. He replaced the short branch in the foreground of the present study with a zigzag-shaped single trunk found on the Oslo drawing from June 13-14, 1809 (Bernhard 1974, p. 508). By contrast, Werner Busch (2003, p. 77) argues that "Friedrich adopts it [the Nuremberg oak study] in his picture, clearly enlarging it, but rendering its complex branching in detail, only occasionally adding delicate twigs to the ends of the branches."



**CAT. 31**  
*Tree Studies*, June 9 and 12, 1809. Pencil on vellum. 35.8 x 25.7 cm. Verso: *Landscape Study Arkona* (pencil). From the loose-leaf drawings of 1809. Kunsthalle Bremen – Kupferstichkabinett – Der Kunstverein in Bremen, Inv. 1958/594. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.° 519; Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, under n.° 97, 181, 182, 189, 192, 298; Bernhard 1974, p. 506

This sheet presents four separate studies, one above the other. The top one features three trees (actually four) in close-up view, their trunks and foliage carefully rendered. The three studies below this are of dense lines of deciduous trees of various sizes. The Bremen catalogue from 1998 (p. 108) pointed out that the section of landscape on the verso can be precisely identified. It is the shore scarp near Witt on the northeast coast of Rügen, and is identical to the left fourth of the Vienna sheet *View of Arkona with Rising Moon* (Bernhard 1974, p. 378) (Fig. 6, p. 16).

The recto of the present sheet was used for the drawing *Rügen Landscape with Shepherd* (whereabouts unknown; Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.° 181), specifically for the oak in the middle distance above the dead branch, as well as for the oil painting *Landscape with Rainbow* that was formerly in Weimar (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.° 182), there for the "oak on the left in the middle distance." Börsch-Supan suspects that it was also used for the "edge of the woods in the middle distance" in the Stuttgart painting *Bohemian Landscape* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.° 189), but this cannot be confirmed. His assumption that it served as a pattern for the Winterthur painting *Landscape with Oaks and Hunter* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.° 192) is also questionable. Börsch-Supan pointed out that two rapidly sketched tree studies in front of the middle row of trees were used in the Berlin painting *Solitary Tree* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.° 298). Friedrich made the present drawing during his visit to his homeland in the spring and summer of 1809. The Nuremberg sheet *Study of an Oak Tree* (Cat. 30) is another of the loose-leaf drawings from 1809 in the exhibition. For the reconstruction of further sheets from this collection, see my forthcoming catalogue raisonné of Friedrich's drawings.



**CAT. 32**  
*Fir Tree*, June 4, 1813. Pencil on vellum. 19.3 x 12.2 cm. From the Krippen Sketchbook of 1813. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo. Inv. NG.KH.B.16036. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.° 608; Sumowski 1970, pp. 113, 167, ill. n.° 245; Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, under n.° 264, 449, 451; Bernhard 1974, p. 573 left; Hoch 1995, p. 64

A few days before Friedrich made this drawing he noted on a sheet now preserved in Essen: "the first drawing in a long while" (see Bernhard 1974, ill. p. 569). The filigree-like study depicts a small tree, apparently dead, identified in an inscription as a fir. Friedrich made the drawing in the immediate vicinity of Krippen, where Friedrich had taken refuge after the occupation of Dresden in 1813, at the home of the family of his friend Friedrich Gotthelf Kummer. In a letter to Frederik Christian Sibbern dated May 30, 1813, Friedrich writes: "I have been living in the country the

last two weeks, on the Elbe across from Schandau. You can readily imagine why I left Dresden. The shortage of food was so great that people are said to have literally starved to death" (Zschoche 2005, p. 79). The sheet was originally part of the heretofore unknown Krippen Sketchbook of 1813-15, from which, in addition to this drawing, a further twenty-one sheets have now been identified. For the reconstruction of all the sketchbooks mentioned here, see my forthcoming catalogue raisonné of Friedrich's drawings. A compilation of the Krippen drawings from 1813 is provided in Hoch 1995, pp. 64-65.

Friedrich repeatedly used this study in his painting. Werner Sumowski (1970, p. 113) rightly noted that it served as the pattern for the barren tree on the left in the Munich painting *Riesengebirge Landscape with Rising Mist* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.° 264), and Helmut Börsch-Supan agrees (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, under n.° 264).

The barren fir on the left in front of the window in the St. Petersburg painting *The Dreamer* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.° 451) was also based (though with changes) on this study (Sumowski 1970, p. 167; Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, under n.° 451). Finally, the withered fir in the group of trees in the right foreground of the oil painting *Mountain Peak with Scudding Clouds* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.° 449) derives from this tree study, as both Sigrid Hinz (1966, n.° 608) and Helmut Börsch-Supan have noted.



**CAT. 33**  
*Study of a Dead Tree*, October 6, 1815. Pencil on vellum. 18 x 10.6 cm. From the Pomeranian Sketchbook of 1815. Private collection. Literature: Auction catalogue VAN HAM 2006, p. 110

This previously unknown drawing only recently appeared on the art market, along with *Thatch-Roofed Cottage and Man with a Pipe next to a Fence* (Cat. 61).

Friedrich produced both drawings during a trip to his homeland in 1815. His note below the date, "departure from Greifswald," lets us know precisely when he set out on his return to Dresden. As we know from the Oslo drawing *Weirs, Nets and Boulders* (Cat. 60), dated October 7 and 8, 1815, he journeyed by way of Neubrandenburg, and from a letter he wrote from Dresden to Louise Seidler on October 18 it is clear that he had arrived home by that date (Zschoche 2005, p. 99). Two other sheets from the previously unknown Pomeranian Sketchbook of 1815 are also exhibited: Cats. 60 and 61.

## D. Plants



**CAT. 34**  
*Plant Studies and Tree Trunk*, ca. 1799. Pen and gray-black ink over pencil on handmade paper. 18.9 x 24 cm. Verso: *Plants and Deciduous Tree Studies* (pen and gray-black ink over pencil)

From the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799, p. 4. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 44 recto. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.° 122; Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, under n.° 271; Bernhard 1974, p. 103

Even though the motif of a few plants growing next to the trunk of a tree is altogether unimposing, Friedrich's draftsmanship is extremely sophisticated. The delicate lines of the tree trunk are clearly distinguished from the firmer strokes outlining the plants. The tree trunk appears more two-dimensional, whereas the plants have been perceived as fully three-dimensional objects. In the plant studies Friedrich indicates the shadows with extremely fine parallel hatching in pencil.

Helmut Börsch-Supan (1960, p. 56) was the first to note that Friedrich borrowed from this sheet for the Dresden painting *Cairn in Autumn* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, n.° 271), the composition he submitted to the Dresden academy on his election.

For other drawings from the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799, see Cats. 23, 24, 34, 35-37, 39-41 and 48.



**CAT. 35**  
*Plant and Leaf Studies*, June 26, 1799. Pen and gray-black ink over pencil, washed, with ink trials, on handmade paper. 23.8 x 18.9 cm. Verso: *Tree Crown* (pencil). From the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799, p. 29. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 57 recto.

Literature: Hinz 1966, n.° 135; Bernhard 1974, p. 119

Of the four studies of plants on this sheet, the one in the center is most striking, largely because of the carefully applied washes. The small plant study at the left edge is also washed, but in a much simpler manner. In the two studies at the bottom Friedrich did without washes altogether. The distribution of light and shadow in the plant study at the center of the sheet is striking, even though the location of the light source it is not altogether clear.

For other drawings from the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799, see Cats. 23, 24, 34, 35, 36, 39-41 and 48.



**CAT. 36**  
*Pole Beans*, July 21, 1799. Pen and gray ink over pencil on hand-made paper. 23.8 x 18.9 cm. Verso: *Tree Study* (pen and gray ink over pencil). From the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799, p. 32. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 58

recto. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.° 136; Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, under n.° 164; Bernhard 1974, p. 121

The precise identification of the vines depicted here has been disputed. Sigrid Hinz (1966, n.° 136) and Marianne Bernhard (1974, p. 121) saw them as field bindweed, whereas Werner Sumowski (1970, p. 62) and Helmut Börsch-Supan (Börsch-Supan/Jähniß 1973, under n.° 164) properly identified them as climbing pole beans.

Sumowski has shown (1970, p. 62n170) that Friedrich borrowed from this sheet, with variations,

for the climbing bean vines in the Munich oil painting *Summer* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, n.º 164).

In his carefully executed drawing the artist appears to have been concerned with precisely outlining the plant's typical leaf shape as well as the arrangement of its individual leaves along the pole, with their numerous overlaps in space. Here again one sees the artist's pen lines that grow thicker and thinner produced with differences in pressure (see Cat. 40).

For other drawings from the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799, see Cats. 23, 24, 34, 35, 37, 39-41 and 48.



CAT. 37  
*Plant Studies*, June 26, 1799. Pen and gray ink over pencil, washed, on handmade paper. 23.7 x 19 cm. Verso: *Thistles* (pen and brown ink over pencil, washed). From the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799, p. 37. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 61 recto. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 139; Grummt 2003, p. 112

Extremely fine line segments describe the outlines of the plant with the fleshy leaves in the center of the sheet. Its form is further clarified by the addition of washes to indicate shadows. Friedrich uses the same technique in his rendering of the smaller plant in the lower left.

The artist revisited these nature studies a number of times. Werner Sumowski (1970, pp. 62, 65) was the first to note their use in the Hamburg drawing *The Musician's Dream* (Bernhard 1974, p. 701) and also in the Munich painting *Summer* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, n.º 164) (for the plant to the right, in front of the bean poles). He also found them repeated in the vegetation in the foreground of the preliminary drawing (now in Düsseldorf, Bernhard 1974, p. 180) for an etching with a dedication to Quistorp (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, n.º 27). Börsch-Supan (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, under n.º 35) has also pointed out that the sheet served as the pattern (somewhat varied) for the coltsfoot in the foreground of a drawing in a private collection, *Lime Kiln in the Forest* (Bernhard 1974, p. 235).

In distinct contrast to the Berlin *Plant and Leaf Studies* (Cat. 35), the arrangement and orientation of the leaves of this plant were carefully plotted with the viewer in mind, the three main leaves clearly describing the shape of a cross. One is reminded of the Berlin drawing *Cliff Face with Trees* (Cat. 23), in which Friedrich depicts a cross created by the shadows in the clefts of the rock. Here Friedrich reflects the tradition of giving form to what he has discovered in his study of the "book of Nature" (Grummt 2003, pp. 112ff.).

Friedrich reproduced this cross-shaped plant eight years later, in an extremely delicate pencil drawing (Cat. 38).

For other drawings from the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799, see Cats. 23, 24, 34, 35, 36, 39-41 and 48.



CAT. 38  
*Coltsfoot*, January 3, 1807. Pencil on vellum. 18.3 x 17.7 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett. Inv. 1919-89. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 459; Bernhard 1974, p. 452

The subject of this drawing is a plant with fleshy leaves that scholars have generally identified as coltsfoot (Hinz 1966, n.º 459; Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, n.º 143; Bernhard 1974, p. 452), growing in a patch of meadow. To produce this drawing, Friedrich borrowed from a study he had made eight years before (Cat. 37). Although his inclusion of a date on the drawing suggests that this is a study from nature, it is clearly a pencil copy of his earlier rendering of the motif in pen.

For the arrangement of the plant's leaves in the shape of a cross and Friedrich's study of the "book of Nature," see the discussion of the original study (Cat. 37). The execution of the present sheet is virtuosic. The subtlety and delicacy of Friedrich's line, for example in the parallel hatching, as well as his use of multiple shades of gray, are especially noteworthy. Friedrich used a range of pencils with leads of differing hardness.



CAT. 39  
*Two Plant Studies and Tree Studies*, ca. 1799. Pen and gray ink over traces of pencil, washed, on handmade paper. 18.9 x 23.7 cm. Verso: *Plant Studies and Tree Study* (pen and gray ink over traces of pencil, washed). From the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799, p. 42.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 63 recto. Literature: Hinz 1966 n.º 141; Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, under n.º 463; Bernhard 1974, p. 99 without ill.

Friedrich used the verso side of this sheet for the Moscow drawing *Owl next to a Grave* (Bernhard 1974, p. 785), borrowing the two leafy plants, shown in outline, for the foreground of that drawing. Each is precisely copied, though their positions relative to each other are changed. Other drawings from the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799 that are exhibited here are Cats. 40 and 41.



CAT. 40  
*Plant Study*, ca. 1799. Pen and brown ink over traces of pencil, washed, brush and gray ink. 23.6 x 18.7 cm. Verso: *Tree Studies with Half-Timber Structure* (Pen and brown ink over traces of pencil, washed brush and gray ink). From the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799,

p. 45. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 65 recto. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 143; Bernhard 1974, p. 130

From the bottom left corner a large-leafed vine climbs gracefully to the right, then rises straight up, parallel to the central vertical axis of the sheet. Another example of extremely delicate draftsmanship, this plant study also features lines of varying thickness and washed shadows (see also Cat. 42). Here Friedrich clarifies the structure of the plant still further by applying washes almost exclusively to the undersides of the leaves.

Friedrich used this nature study in his Munich painting *Summer* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, n.º 164), as noted by Werner Sumowski (1970, p. 62), and the Hamburg drawing *The Musician's Dream* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, n.º 346; Bernhard 1974, p. 701) also borrows from it, at least in part. Sumowski was the first to notice this as well.



CAT. 41  
*Study of a Thistle and Tree Studies*, July 7 and August 24, 1799. Pen and black ink over pencil, washed. 23.8 x 18.9 cm. Verso: *Tree Studies* (pen and brown ink over pencil). From the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799, p. 48. Staatliche Museen zu

Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 66 recto. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 144; Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, under n.º 32, 58, 147, 316; Bernhard 1974, p. 132 right

The three separate studies on this sheet depict a thistle, a single deciduous tree and a copse made up of such trees. In places the studies are separated from one another by thin lines. The thistle takes up more than the upper half of the sheet, and the tree studies fill the rest. All three present strong contrasts between light and shadow. Friedrich notes the direction of the sunlight by means of a stylized little sun, just as he indicates the direction the wind when he made the drawing—with a little head with puffed cheeks.

Helmut Börsch-Supan has pointed out that

Friedrich borrowed from the present sheet when painting the *Hutten's Tomb* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, n.º 316) and for the sepia *Cairn by the Sea* (both preserved in Weimar; Börsch-Supan 1960, p. 49n4; Bernhard 1974, p. 428) (Fig. 6). The same author (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, n.º 461) rightly noted that the drawing was also used as a pattern for the Moscow drawing *Coffin next to a Grave* (Bernhard 1974, p. 373). Werner Sumowski (1970, pp. 61-62) noted that Friedrich used it in creating the Mannheim *Standing Boy* (Bernhard 1974, p. 312) and the Hamburg *Coffin atop a Fresh Grave* (Bernhard 1974, p. 372). Finally, Börsch-Supan was the first to recognize the copse at the bottom right, from July 24, 1799, as the preliminary drawing – reversed – for the etching *Group of Six Trees and Path* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, under n.º 32).

For other drawings from the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799, see Cats. 23, 24, 34, 35-37, 39-40 and 48.



CAT. 42  
*Plant Studies*, August 7, 1799. Pen and black-gray ink over pencil (p. 4); pen and gray-black ink over pencil, washed (p. 1). 24.2 x 37.8 cm.

Recto: *Plant Studies* (pen and black ink over pencil, washed). From the Berlin Sketchbook II of 1799-1800, pages 4 and 1. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 82 verso. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 161 (p. 1), 162 (p. 4); Bernhard 1974, n.º 149 (p. 1), 152 (p. 4)

This double sheet of various studies of types of leafy plants, all executed on the same day, show how painstakingly the young artist studied the shapes of leaves in nature, their arrangement on a stem, their different edge structure and the placement of their veins – and how successfully he was able to reproduce these in drawings. The left side of the sheet presents simple pen drawings; the studies on the right are also washed. When rendering the plants' outlines the artist changed the pressure on his pen to create lines of varying thickness, a technique he presumably learned while copying prints at the academy. His subtle washes were obviously an attempt to capture the play of light and shade on the plants' foliage.

As Sigrid Hinz was first to note (1966, p. 67n2), Friedrich used the plant studies from this sheet for the "pumpkin vine in front of the couple" and a plant at the bottom edge in the Munich painting *Summer* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniġ 1973, n.º 164).

For additional sheets from the Berlin Sketchbook II of 1799-1800, see Cats. 44, 47 and 49.



CAT. 43  
*Willow Stump with New Shoots*, August 12, 1799. Pen and black ink over traces of pencil, washed, on handmade paper. 19 x 24.2 cm. Verso: *Cloud Studies* (pencil). From the

Berlin Sketchbook II of 1799-1800, p. 13. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 86 recto. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 167; Bernhard 1974, p. 157; Grummt 2003, pp. 214, 216

Though it depicts an unpretentious motif, a willow stump with multiple new shoots in bright sunlight, the sheet is fascinating simply because of its artistry. Delicate outlines and minimal internal lines describe the form of the stump, which reaches upward from right to left and suddenly produces a great number of new shoots. Around its roots the willow is surrounded by various ferns, vines and leafy plants. The absence of leaves on the willow's summer branches is striking, especially because they produce the unique shimmer of a willow bush in bright sunlight. In his indication of light Friedrich gives the object itself a new and special quality that must have held a religious element for him (see Grummt 2003, p. 216).

With washes subtly distributed across the sheet Friedrich amazingly manages to imbue the areas left white with a special radiance, within the whole of his draftsmanly rendering.



CAT. 44  
*Plant Studies*, August 15, 1799. Pen and black ink over traces of pencil on handmade paper. 24.2 x 37.9 cm. Verso: *Plant Studies*, *Tree Crown* (pen and

black ink over traces of pencil). From the Berlin Sketchbook II of 1799-1800, pages 16-17. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 87 recto. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 168-169; Bernhard 1974, p. 158 right, 159 left; Vaughan 2004, p. 32, ill. n.º 18 (p. 17)

These two sketchbook pages are preserved as a folded sheet, and present several groups of plant studies. Most of them depict densely growing reeds; a plant with fleshy leaves is shown in the lower right corner and, finally, a pencil sketch of a head seen from below in extreme foreshortening.

The elegant, graceful movement in the reed studies is particularly striking, as is the breadth of variation in the draftsmanly approach and the composition of the slender leaves swaying in the wind.

Other sheets from the Berlin Sketchbook II of 1799-1800 are Cats. 42, 43 and 47.



CAT. 45  
*Plant Study*, December 30, 1806. Pencil on vellum. 15.9 x 13.5 cm. From the Robert Kummer album. Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden. Inv. 1988-587

In the center of this nearly square sheet are a number of plants of different kinds growing closely together in a patch of meadow. Among them is a tall, leafless stalk with a closed blossom, with a tiny bird perched on its tip.

The way Friedrich's pen lines widen and narrow as they describe the plants' contours, a feature also visible in the Berlin pen drawing, Cat. 36, is especially noteworthy. The fascinating beauty of the long, narrow leaves derives in large part from these variations. Extremely fine lines alternate with segments produced with much greater pressure, without compromising the overall effect of delicacy.

The drawing comes from an *album amicorum* put together by the landscape painter Carl Robert Kummer (1810-1889), one of Dresden's most important artists from the second generation of Romantics (see Nüdling 2008).

## E. Mountainscapes



CAT. 46  
*Rocks with Waterfall*, September 1798. Pencil on handmade paper, traces of brush. 27.4 x 23.2 cm. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung. Inv. n.º C 1974/2421. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 81; Bernhard 1974, p. 68 (with incorrect information); Stuttgart 1976, n.º 1639

What is striking about this sheet is the subject itself, for in addition to a *Waterfall* mentioned in the *Allgemeiner Literarischer Anzeiger* for April 29, 1799 (Sumowski 1970, p. 182, n.º 2), only a very few Friedrich drawings include waterfalls (Hinz 1966, n.º 80; Bernhard 1974, pp. 165, 594).

Here one notes that Friedrich experimented with broad and thin parallel hatching in an attempt to capture the wildly foaming water as it splashes over the rocks. Heavy lines such as these are rare in Friedrich's drawings, and can surely be explained as products of the young artist's as yet unpracticed hand. At the same time, one should not ignore the fact that, contrary to his temperament, he executed the drawing in great haste. The penciled accents on top of the actual drawing are typical in Friedrich's drawn oeuvre. These are also found in later watercolors and sepias, where they help to structure areas of color (see Cats. 13 and 50).



CAT. 47  
*Rock Studies*, October 7 and 8 [1799]. Pen and black ink over traces of pencil on handmade paper. 24.2 x 19 cm. Verso: *Tree Study*

and *Woman in an Outhouse* (pencil, pen and black ink over pencil). From the Berlin Sketchbook II of 1799-1800. Private collection, Berlin. Literature: Essen/Hamburg 2006-7, p. 365, ills. pp. 142 (verso), 166 (recto)

This sheet, which only recently came to light in a private collection, was previously wholly unknown to scholars. It is from the Berlin Sketchbook II of 1799-1800, but we do not yet know when it might have been removed. The circumstances under which the sheet found its way onto the art market are also completely unknown. The drawing presents two studies of boulders in bright sunlight, one above the other. Large areas of the sheet are left blank.

One suspects that the picture was removed from the sketchbook because of the image on the verso. There, in addition to a tree study, is a drawing of an outhouse with the door slightly ajar, and through the half-open door one can see a woman inside relieving herself.

Other drawings in the exhibition from the Berlin Sketchbook II are Cats. 42-44.



CAT. 48  
*Cliff Face*, ca. 1799. Pen and gray ink, washed, on handmade paper. 23.7 x 18.9 cm. Verso: *Rock Study* (pencil). From the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799, p. 25. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 55 recto. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º

133; Bernhard 1974, p. 116; Grütter 1986, p. 110; Grummt 2003, pp. 114, 116, Fig. 5

According to Tina Grütter (1986, p. 110), this sheet must have been produced in the Elbsandsteingebirge, but the precise location has not yet been identified. In the middle distance a precipice rises from the lower left to upper right. The foreground is made up of a slope left white, with only two small boulders in the center. The background is largely obscured by the cliff; only at the left edge is there a partial view onto a distant landscape. The whole scene is backed by a cloudy sky. The clouds are altogether amorphous, lacking clear contours; however, the complicated surface of the cliff face is rendered in exacting detail. Whole sections of it are left white, clearly reflecting the sunlight falling on them from the left, whereas others, in various shades of gray, are in shadow. The darkest grays also include parallel hatching. The sheet is certainly a study from nature, one that suggests something of the challenge that the imitation of nature can present to the artist.

For other drawings from the Berlin Sketchbook I of 1799, see Cats. 23, 24, 34, 35-37 and 39-41.



CAT. 49  
*Study of Rocks, Steps on the Right*, August 10 and 12, 1799. Pen and gray-black ink over traces of pencil, washed, on handmade paper; 19 x 24.2 cm. Verso: *Boulder and Tree*

*Root* (pen and gray-black ink over pencil). From the Berlin Sketchbook II of 1799, p. 11. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 85 recto. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 166; Börsch-Supan/Jähning 1973, under n.º 119; Bernhard 1974, p. 155; Berlin 2006-7, p. 21, ill. n.º 15

Standing on a path, the viewer gazes upward across a few stone steps at a rock formation on the left, with a bizarre surface. It rises nearly to the top edge of the sheet. Several flatter chunks of rock are shown at the right. Between the rocks left and right there is a narrow cleft. A broken, scraggly tree trunk stands on the right in front of the gap.

The contours were executed in fine pen lines drawn over pencil. A subtly rendered internal structure consisting of pen lines and washed areas in various shades provides a sense of the surface of the rock at the left, which is threaded with cracks and badly weathered.

Hein Schulze-Altcappenberg rightly feels that the present study was the pattern for the rock formation in the Berlin drawing *Autumn* (Berlin 2006-7, p. 21, ill. n.º 15). Friedrich translated the motif, with some modifications, into sepia. But Schulze Altcappenberg's assertion that the present drawing was made in Saxon Switzerland must be rejected. In a letter from Frank Richter dated February 22, 2008, I am assured that the formation pictured is most likely some form of igneous rock rather than the characteristic sandstone of that region. Based on his own observations, Richter suspects that Friedrich produced the drawing in either the Plauenscher Grund or the Rabenauer Grund near Dresden.



CAT. 50  
*Study of a Forest Brook*, ca. 1810. Watercolor, pencil, trial colors on vellum. 35.8 x 25.8 cm. Verso: *Boulders and Trees* (pencil, pen and brown

ink). From the loose-leaf drawings of 1810. Private collection.

This previously unknown watercolor was only recently discovered in a private collection. It is fascinating for its distinctly painterly quality—all the more impressive because Friedrich used the utmost economy of means in this study from nature. Limiting himself to green and brown, Friedrich recorded the view of a brook lined with grass, forest floor, ferns and stones. The study occupies only the top half of the sheet, and takes the form of a vignette.

The pencil lines supplement the balanced distribution of colors. They are by no means mere preliminary drawing; they are of various types, and effectively accent and structure the areas of color. Once the watercolors were dry, the artist drew very subtly varied pencil lines on top of them. They describe the shapes of various features—short strokes for grasses, zigzag lines for grassy edges, sinuous lines for large-leaved plants like ferns, curved ones to describe small-leaved plants such as smaller bushes, longer lines outlining tree trunks and parallel hatching for shadows. In addition, Friedrich depicts the play of light and shadow through the arrangement and density of his lines. The use of pencil not only for contours but also for surface structures can be seen in both Friedrich's watercolors (see Bernhard 1974, ill. pp. 722, 759, 518) and his sepias (Bernhard 1974, ill. pp. 281, 381, 451). See also the drawing in this exhibition *West Facade of the Eldena Ruins with Bake House and Barn* (Cat. 13). The present drawing was presumably executed during Friedrich's hiking tour through the Riesengebirge together with Georg Friedrich Kersting in 1810. It has the quality of a study, suggesting that it was produced from nature. For the documented stops on Friedrich's tour of the Riesengebirge in 1810, see the publications by Günther Grundmann (most recently Grundmann 1974, p. 104)

Other examples of the loose-leaf drawings of 1810 in the present exhibition are Cats. 51 and 52.

A second study takes up the bottom half of the same sheet, for which Friedrich turned the page 180 degrees. It is a swift sketch of a boulder lying between trees.

The verso repeats, in hasty strokes, portions of the drawing in a private collection mentioned above (Cat. 51).



CAT. 51  
*Boulders, Village and Ferns*, June 13, 14 and 15 [1810]. Pencil, pen and brown ink on vellum. 35.7 x 26 cm. From the loose-leaf drawings of 1810. Private collection. Literature: Zschoche 2000, p. 82, ill. n° 59; Essen/Hamburg 2006-7, p. 365, ill. p. 150

The present sheet includes several different studies. In the upper half is a drawing of a boulder lying in front of trees. In the center there is a farmyard, and in the bottom half are five separate studies of ferns and fir roots. They are all essentially executed in pencil. Only in the top study, a few spare lines and hatchings in pen and brown ink are distributed across the drawing. The pen lines are clearest on the two trees to the left of the boulder. A vertical line next to the boulder marks the height of a man at that spot, an indication frequently found in Friedrich's drawings (see Cats. 9 and 56). In connection with a related drawing in Dresden (Bernhard 1974, p. 485), Werner Busch refers to Valenciennes's *Practical Instruction in Linear and Atmospheric Perspective for Draftsmen and Painters*, published in German in 1803, which encouraged such markings (see the essay by Werner Busch in the present catalogue). They are found on the following drawings: Bernhard 1974, pp. 485, 554, 562, 589, 593, 633, 644, 677 right, 679 bot-

tom, 680 bottom, 703, 708 bottom, 709 bottom, 716-19, 766, 768, 775; Zschoche 2000, p. 48, ill. n° 25.

Disregarding an undated sheet from the Large Rügen Sketchbook of 1801-2 (Bernhard 1974, p. 644), the lines indicating the heights of figures are found in Friedrich's drawings beginning in 1810.

The artist drew this same rock formation a second time from virtually the same position (Cat. 50, verso), somewhat more quickly than in the present study. Everything would suggest that the sheet was produced during Friedrich's hiking tour of the Riesengebirge with Kersting in 1810 (see Cat. 50).

The other examples of the loose-leaf drawings of 1810 in the present exhibition are Cats. 50 and 52.



CAT. 52  
*Landscape in the Riesengebirge*, July 8, 1810. Pencil on vellum. 26 x 36 cm. From the loose-leaf drawings of 1810. Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie / The National Museum in Warsaw. Inv. Rys.Nm.XIX237. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.° 541; Börsch-Supan/Jähmig 1973, under n.° 388; Bernhard 1974, p. 523; Grundmann 1974, pp. 94n14, 95, 97, 104; Busch 2003, p. 91n26

Standing directly in front of a forest clearing, the viewer gazes across a wooded, descending slope at a series of mountain ridges rising from left to right. With only few lines, Friedrich captures the landscape and manages to create spatial depth. He clearly concentrated on the essentials, leaving whole portions of the landscape only vaguely suggested—including those near the edges of the drawing. A horizontal line marks the bottom of the sketch (see Cats. 9 and 25).

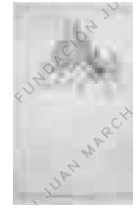
The drawing was first identified as a "view of Schreiberhau toward the Schneegruben" (Breslau 1937, n.° 66). The location is described in greater detail by Günther Grundmann (1958, p. 72); he explains that the drawing was made on the "descent from the Isergebirge, which they had just been hiking through, toward Schreiberhau," and in fact the artist was standing "just above the Josephinenhütte tram station, from which the western massif of the Riesengebirge suddenly looms up on the other side of a forested hollow. In distinct foreshortening, the view includes the Reifträger, the Schneegruben ... and in the distance the barely visible Mädelkamm."

Friedrich used the drawing for the watercolor *Landscape in the Riesengebirge* (Bernhard 1974, p. 755) in a private collection.

The drawing was made in the summer of 1810 during Friedrich's hiking tour of the Riesengebirge with Georg Friedrich Kersting.

Following Grundmann, scholars have assumed that the sheet originally came from a sketchbook, but there is no proof of this. Given the kind of paper, it is much more likely that the sheet belongs among the loose-leaf drawings of 1810.

The other examples of the loose-leaf drawings of 1810 in the present exhibition are Cats. 50 and 51, from private collections.



CAT. 53  
*Towering Rock*, June 10, 1813. Pencil on vellum. 19 x 11.8 cm. From the Krippen Sketchbook of 1813. Rainer Jochims. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.° 611; Bernhard 1974, p. 581; Hoch 1995, pp. 62, 64, ill. n° 40; Munich 1999, p. 144

Here an outcropping overgrown with evergreens in the Elbsandsteingebirge is seen from below. It takes the shape of a pyramid culminating in a tower-like projection.

The drawing is characterized by extremely fine lines placed close together in areas and that consist of contour and parallel lines that extend in different directions. The study is quite small, an indication that the artist was viewing the motif from a considerable distance.

Owing to the dense forestation, today it is impossible to identify the location of this outcropping and of the motifs in several similar sheets (Bernhard 1974, ill. pp. 575, 577, 585). Even so, Karl-Ludwig Hoch (1995, p. 62) suspects that Friedrich made the drawing in the rocky region of the Schmilka-Krippen section of the Elbe Valley. Citing Diedrich Graf, Hoch proposes that the subject is the Elbe Valley Tower (Bismarckfels) above Schmilka.

The drawing is among those that produced during Friedrich's stay in Krippen in the wartime summer of 1813. For another sheet from the Krippen Sketchbook of 1813, see Cat. 32.



CAT. 54  
*Mountain Landscape with Forested Valley*, not before 1825. Pen and gray ink over pencil, border line in pencil on vellum. 25.4 x 37 cm. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart,

Graphische Sammlung. Inv. C 1959/896. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.° 567; Börsch-Supan/Jähmig 1973, n.° 506; Bernhard 1974, p. 544; Stuttgart 1976, p. 52, n.° 271; Busch 2003, p. 55n25

Friedrich sketched this view across a wooded valley, toward mountains in the background, from a high vantage point. The contours of the mountain ridges are mainly described with long, straight segments of line; the lines describing the mountains in the middle distance are curved. The drawing does not extend to the edges of the sheet, but is bordered by framing lines. Tiny holes have been left by tacks at the intersection of the framing lines.

Ulrike Gauss (Stuttgart 1976, n.° 271) was the first to point out that the present drawing is another version of the Berlin drawing *Mountain Landscape with Wooded Valley* (Bernhard 1974, p. 539), but without the bushes and trees in the foreground.

Werner Busch (2003, p. 55) sees similarities between the present sheet (formerly in the Julius Freuden Collection, Berlin, and now in Stuttgart) and the contour engravings of the Chalcographic Society at Dessau, and concludes that Friedrich may have been familiar with the "optical glass plate" employed by Dessau artists.

This is probably an unfinished preliminary drawing for a watercolor or a sepia.



CAT. 55  
*Mountain Landscape with Forested Valley*, ca. 1810-25. Pen and gray ink over pencil on vellum. 24.9 x 37.5 cm.

Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 11. Literature: Berlin 1906, n.° 2463; Breslau 1937, n.° 63; von Einem 1938, ill. n° 35; de Prybram-Gladona 1942, p. 88n529 (1810); von Einem 1950, ill. n° 42; Grundmann 1958, p. 78; Hinz 1966, n.° 560 (ca. 1810); Sumowski 1970, p. 89 (1810); Börsch-Supan/Jähmig 1973, n.° 505 (ca. 1825); Bernhard 1974, ill. p. 539 (ca. 1810); Bielefeld/Wienna 1998, n.° 86; Busch 2003, p. 55n25

This view is the same as that depicted in Cat. 54 (Stuttgart), with minor deviations. Two hikers are visible on the slope, the closer one carrying a basket on his back and a walking staff in his right hand. Werner Sumowski (1970, p. 89) was the first to note the similarity of the two works. The present sheet includes pen and ink work in the foreground, lacking in the Stuttgart version. For other differences between the two, see



Börsch-Supan/Jähniig 1973, n.º 505, 506.

The topography was first identified by Grundmann (1958, p. 78), who recognized it as a landscape in the Riesengebirge. And Börsch-Supan rightly noted the connection between the Berlin and Stuttgart drawings to an oil painting (BS 413) formerly preserved in Königsberg. On the possible connection between this drawing and engravings produced by the Chalcographic Society in Dessau, see Cat. 54.

The work either dates from 1810, when Friedrich and Georg Friedrich Kersting took a hiking tour in the Riesengebirge, or sometime closer to the date of the Stuttgart, which cannot have been produced before 1825.

The sheet was acquired in 1906 from Prof. Harald Friedrich, Hannover.



CAT. 56  
*Hilly Landscape with Boulders near Teplice*, September 4, 1835. Watercolor, pencil on vellum. 13.1 x 20.5 cm. From the 1835 Sketchbook.

Kunsthalle Mannheim, Graphische Sammlung. Inv. G 432. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 760; Bernhard 1974, p. 768; Hoch 1987, p. 30; Dickel 1991, n.º 36; Busch 2003, p. 90n22

The drawing depicts a mountain peak rising above a valley landscape that is suggested in the background. Starting at roughly the center of the bottom edge, a road leads back toward the peak but then turns to the left to continue its climb. On the left side of the peak Friedrich indicates the height a man would have at that spot with a symbol found again and again in his drawings. It is simply a vertical line marked off at top and bottom by short horizontal strokes. For other instances of this in the exhibition, see Cats. 9 and 51, especially the commentary relating to the latter.

Friedrich made the present drawing while convalescing in Teplice from August 19 to the end of September 1835. He had suffered a stroke on June 26 (Börsch-Supan/Jähniig 1973, p. 42), and on August 19 he arrived in Teplice with his wife Caroline and their children Emma, Agnes and Adolf (Zschoche 2005, p. 129).

In a letter to Heinrich Friedrich's son Heinrich from the end of September 1835, the artist writes: "On the advice of my doctor I stayed on in Teplice for nearly six weeks, for the reasons known to you. I have been home again since day before yesterday. I am now pretty much on my feet again, and hope that the lingering effects of the spa will make my hand capable of working again" (quoted from Zschoche 2005, p. 218).

For additional dated nature studies in watercolor, see Bernhard 1974, ill. n.º 746, 747, 750 and 757.

## F. On the Water



CAT. 57  
*Coastal Landscape on Rügen*, June 29, 1806. Pencil, square grid, on vellum. 26 x 36 cm. From the loose-leaf drawings of 1806. Kunsthalle Mannheim,

Graphische Sammlung, Inv. G444

Friedrich apparently drew this strip of shoreline, which has not yet been precisely identified, from a boat. He produced the drawing while visiting his homeland and the island of Rügen in the spring and summer of 1806.

Börsch-Supan (Börsch-Supan/Jähniig 1973, p. 47n71) suspected that the sheet was from a disbound sketchbook; however, the most recent study of Friedrich's drawings has determined that identical dimensions alone are by no means a sure indication that a given sheet was once bound with others. As it happens, some sheets measuring 260 x 360 mm were derived from larger sheets of paper. Friedrich apparently had no further use for some 520 x 720 mm sheets he had bought, so cut them down into a more manageable size. The term "loose-leaf drawings" has been introduced to refer to unbound sheets produced in this way. The present drawing belongs to the loose-leaf drawings of 1806. For the reconstruction of additional leaves from the this collection, see my forthcoming catalogue raisonné of the drawings.



CAT. 58  
*Seacoast Scene with a Brig and Fishing Nets, Two Houses on the Left*, not before 1815. Pen and gray ink over traces of pencil on vellum. 13.3 x 18 cm. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen

Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett. Inv. C 1908-534. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 656; Börsch-Supan/Jähniig 1973, n.º 446; Bernhard 1974, p. 621; Ottawa/Hamburg/Copenhagen 1999-2000, under n.º 40

With a fine pen Friedrich captures the view across a strip of shoreline that extends to the left, toward a sailing ship (brig) anchored not far offshore in a bay. In the foreground on the left is a boulder surrounded by dune grass, and to the left and behind it two forked poles lie on the ground. A fishing net, hung up to dry on poles, fills the foreground on the right. In the middle distance, beyond the storm barrier, are two thatched houses close together, the one on the right partially obscured by trees and shrubs. The indication of a headland in the far distance lets us know that the strip of coastline we are looking at borders a bay.

It is interesting that the pictured objects are not presented in the same scale. The brig appears to be too large compared to the houses, the houses too small compared to the boulder in the foreground and the fishing net too large compared to the houses.

Clearly this is not a study from nature but rather an invented composition. To produce the work Friedrich borrowed from various studies from 1815, as Sigrid Hinz (1966, n.º 656) first noted, among them the drawings *Sailing Ship in the Entrance to the Harbor at Wieck, near Greifswald* (Bernhard 1974, p. 613 right), *Fishing Boats in the Greifswalder Bodden* (Bernhard 1974, p. 615 left) and *Weirs, Nets and Boulders* (Cat. 60), all of which are preserved in Oslo.

The style of the present sheet is very close to that of the Dresden drawing *Wieck Seashore near Greifswald with Sailing Ships* (Bernhard 1974, p. 620) and to the *Sailing Ships and Boats on the Shore*, only recently discovered in a private collection (Cat. 59)



CAT. 59  
*Sailing Ships and Boats on the Shore*, 1816-21. Pen and black ink on vellum. 21.8 x 17.9 cm. Courtesy Peter Eltz

A note at the bottom edge—not in Friedrich's handwriting—relates that Friedrich gave this drawing to an H. V. Endres, about whom nothing further is known, in 1821. The inscription reads: "Original drawing by the landscape painter Friedrich, member of the Royal Saxon Academy of the Fine Arts in Dresden, representing a portion of the Baltic seacoast. Presented to me as a memento during my stay in Dresden in 1821. A. V. Endres."

Friedrich was named a member of the Dresden art academy only in 1816, so he must have produced the drawing in 1816 at the earliest.

The sailing ship, seen from the stern, is identical to the ship in a study (Bernhard 1974, p. 613 right) in the Oslo Sketchbook of 1815.

The style of the present sheet is similar to that of the Dresden drawings *Shore at Wieck near Greifswald with Sailing Ships* (Bernhard 1974, p. 620) and *Seacoast Scene with a Brig and Fishing Nets, Two Houses on the Left* (Cat. 58).



CAT. 60  
*Weirs, Nets and Boulders*, ca. October 7-8, 1815. Pencil, trial colors, trial pen strokes on vellum (double sheet). 18 x 21.3 cm. From the Pomeranian Sketchbook of 1815. The National Museum of

Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo. Inv. NG.KH.B.16046. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 666; Börsch-Supan/Jähniig 1973, under n.º 224, 234, 238, 242, 394, 397, n.º 445, 446; Bernhard 1974, p. 633; Busch 2003, p. 82n1

This double sheet was originally two adjoining pages from a previously unknown sketchbook. For additional pages from the same sketchbook, see Cats. 33 and 61. The right half of the sheet presents several studies, one above the other: from top to bottom, weirs and nets blown together by the wind, nets drying on poles, clusters of boulders, an angled slope and two studies of a weir hung on poles, one sketchy and one carefully executed.

Friedrich turned the sketchbook 90 degrees for the left half of this double sheet, to create a horizontal format for his sketch of a net attached to six poles.

Friedrich drew on these studies in his creation of several other works. Sigrid Hinz (1964, pp. 241-68) was the first to observe that they served as a pattern for the Oslo oil painting *Greifswald in Moonlight* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniig 1973, n.º 224), for the Hannover oil *Morning* (B-S/J 234), for Schweinfurt's *Moonlit Night on the Baltic Seacoast* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniig 1973, n.º 238) and for the Lübeck painting *Coastal Landscape in Evening Light* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniig 1973, n.º 242). He also borrowed from them when making other drawings, namely the Dresden sheets *Wieck Shoreline near Greifswald with Sailing Ships* (Bernhard 1974, p. 620) and *Seacoast Scene with a Brig and Fishing Nets* (Cat. 58) (Hinz 1964, pp. 241-48; Börsch-Supan/Jähniig 1973, under n.º 445, 446).

Friedrich produced these studies in the summer and autumn of 1815, during a trip to his homeland and the island of Rügen with Friedrich Gotthelf Kummer (Cat. 33).



CAT. 61  
*Thatch-Roofed Cottage and Man with a Pipe next to a Fence*, September 25, 1815. Pencil, pen and brown ink over pencil, watercolor; pen and brown ink over pencil on vellum. 18 x 10.6 cm. From the Pomeranian Sketchbook of 1815. Klüser Collection, Munich. Literature: Auction catalogue VAN

HAM 2006, p. 110

This is one of two wholly unknown Friedrich drawings that only recently appeared on the art market; the other is *Study of a Dead Tree* (Cat. 33). The artist made them during an 1815 journey to “Swedish Pomerania and Rügen” (letter from Caspar David Friedrich to Louise Seidler dated May 9, 1815; see Zschoche 2005, p. 98).

In the upper half of the present sheet Friedrich depicted a cottage accessed by a path with water on either side. A tiny child dressed in blue is directly in front of the cottage. The accents added with a pen and brush to this drawing, which has been primarily executed in pencil, are remarkable: with a few strokes of his pen Friedrich emphasizes the peak of the roof; with a brush he adds colors in the areas of the water, the adjacent meadow and the bottom part of the cottage. The coloring is extremely delicate.

By contrast, the bottom half of the sheet is executed in pen and brown ink over pencil. It depicts a man standing in front of a fence with a closed gate. Behind him a flat landscape stretches off into the distance.

The most recent study of Friedrich’s drawings has determined that the Oslo sheet *Weirs, Nets and Boulders* from ca. October 7 and 8, 1815 (Cat. 60), like the present sheet and the *Study of a Dead Tree* (Cat. 33), came from a sketchbook. They were not part of the Oslo Sketchbook of 1815, however, as there are evident differences in the paper—the corners differ, for example. Instead, the three works came from a previously unknown 1815 sketchbook.

From surviving letters from Friedrich to the painter Louise Seidler (Zschoche 2005, pp. 98, 100) we know that the artist undertook his tour in 1815 together with the Dresden mint master Friedrich Gotthelf Kummer. It is therefore likely that the man Friedrich pictures here, wearing a hat and coat and smoking a pipe, was his traveling companion.



CAT. 62  
*Rowboat in Nine Different Views*, ca. 1806. Pencil on vellum. 19.5 x 24.5 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 34. Literature: Hinz

1966, n.º 455; Bernhard 1974, p. 449; Bielefeld/Vienna 1998, n.º 18

Here, with extraordinarily fine, delicate pencil lines, Friedrich has captured nine different impressions of a single rowboat. Yet the sheet by no means gives the impression that he was interested in approaching the concept of “boat” on a narrative level. Instead, the mere fact that nine different views of a single object are presented, not to mention the play of light and shadow and the reflections on the surface of the water, makes it clear that the artist’s dedication to the motif was motivated solely by aesthetics. This sort of presentation of an object is uncommon in Friedrich’s drawings.

The manner of the surface modeling recalls Friedrich’s early portrait drawings from 1806 (see Bernhard 1974, pp. 384, 386, 387).



CAT. 63  
*On the Ryck in Greifswald with a View of the Mills in front of the Steinbeck Barrier*. ca. 1822-23. Oil on canvas. 27.7 x 41.1 cm. Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Potsdam. Inv. GK I 30094. Literature: BörschSupan/Jähning 1973, n.º 303

Here Friedrich pictures the view from shore across a stretch of water with a fishing boat, toward several women who are washing large pieces of cloth and bleaching them by laying them in the fields. A small white structure directly behind the women separates the hilly middle distance on the right side – filled with houses, trees, shrubs and a windmill – from the meadow landscape stretching into the far distance on the opposite side of the sheet. A short but pointed church tower punctuates a row of houses on the horizon at the left, while a second windmill is visible in the middle distance. A mostly overcast sky takes up more than two-thirds of the picture’s height.

It is clear that Friedrich made use of the Oslo drawing *Landscape with Windmills* (Bernhard 1974, p. 261) in the composition of this oil painting, as Sumowski (1970, p. 76n89, ill. n.º 408) was the first to point out (see Börsch-Supan/Jähning 1973, under n.º 303; London 1990, p. 27). For the fishing boat he reached back to his *Fishing Boats in the Greifswalder Bodden, Wieck Shoreline and Eldena Ruins* (Bernhard 1974, p. 615 left).

It was Friedrich’s habit to use his single studies over and over again, combining their motifs with those of other studies and placing them in new contexts. Hinz (1966, p. 82n1) rightly noted that Friedrich again used the two men seated in a skiff from the above-mentioned Oslo sheet in his Potsdam oil painting *View of a Harbor* (Börsch-Supan/Jähning 1973, n.º 220) and also for the Lübeck painting *Coastal Landscape in Evening Light* (Börsch-Supan/Jähning 1973, n.º 242; Greifswald 1967, n.º 33).

## IV. Figures



CAT. 64  
*Study of a Young Man with Legs Crossed*, May 7, 1798. Pencil on hand-made paper. 14.6-14.9 x 20.6-20.9 cm. Probably from the Copenhagen Sketchbook of 1798. Národní galerie v Praze / The National Gallery in Prague. Inv. DK 464. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 63, Bernhard 1974, p. 54

The drawing is a full-figure study of a young man seated in a casual pose and wearing a hat, a jacket with wide lapels, wide trousers and shoes. In the 1974 Hamburg catalogue the subject is identified as Johann Ledder, a name that appears next to one of the figures in the Greifswald *Study Drawing with Two Figures* (Bernhard 1974, ill. p. 53; Hamburg 1974, n.º 8). Yet some of the young man’s features seem to have so little in common with those of Johann Ledder that the identification seems unconvincing. Another fellow student, Joachim Friedrich Pillip, is pictured in the *Study Drawing with Three Figures* (Bernhard 1974, ill. p. 52), but again he exhibits no similarity to the present figure. One presumes that the name of the present subject was noted on the strip missing from the bottom of the sheet, so it is impossible to know who he might have been. On May 5 and 6, 1798, Friedrich apparently found himself, along with fellow students, on a sailboat anchored outside of Copenhagen (Bernhard 1974, ill. pp. 52, 53). On May 7 the wind must have come up, for on the present sheet Friedrich notes his location as “out to sea.”



CAT. 65  
*Standing Woman and Seated Woman with Child*, August 5 and 6, 1801. Pen and brown ink over pencil, washed. 18.5 x 11.7 cm. Verso: *Woman with Parasol and Goose* (pen and brown ink over pencil, washed; pencil). From the Small Mannheim Sketchbook of 1800-2. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Graphische Sammlung. Inv. G425. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 291; Bernhard 1974, pp. 286 (recto), 287 (verso); Dickel 1991, n.º 19, ill. pp. 171-2 (recto and verso)

Werner Sumowski (1970, p. 103) first associated this sheet with the Small Mannheim Sketchbook, to which he referred simply as the “Mannheim Sketchbook.”

According to Hans Dickel (1991, pp. 8-9), Andreas Aubert also included the work in the list he drew up on 1906, on which Dickel based his reconstruction of the sketchbook. Other drawings from the Small Mannheim Sketchbook in the present exhibition are Cats. 16, 17 and 66.

The drawing presents two figure studies on the center vertical axis, one above the other. The upper one is an elegantly dressed woman standing in profile, her head turned away from the viewer. She is about to lift her floor-length skirt in order to ascend the steps to the left. The lower study depicts a woman wearing a bonnet and long dress and seated on a chair placed at a diagonal. She turns her gaze toward the viewer, and on her lap she balances a little girl, also dressed in a long dress and bonnet, who is standing up and also looking at the viewer. These figures do not exhibit the despondent poses typical of the majority of the figures in the Small Mannheim Sketchbook, and neither does the woman holding a parasol on the verso, who adopts a theatrical, almost dancelike pose.

Here Friedrich applied fluid lines to the paper with a fine pen, complementing the delicate contours with washes to underscore the gracefulness of these studies. Friedrich took up the pose of the woman with a parasol

on a later sheet from the same sketchbook (Bernhard 1974, ill. p. 295), but the contrast between the elegance of this figure and the simplicity of the later country girl is striking.



CAT. 66  
*Figure Study of an Old Woman and Study of a Horse's Head*, November 23, 1801. Pen and brush and brown ink over pencil, washed; pencil on vellum. 18.6 x 11.9 cm. From the Small Mannheim Sketchbook of 1800-2. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Graphische Sammlung. Inv. G427. Literature: Hinz 1966, n.º 304; Bernhard 1974, p. 303; Dickel 1991, n.º 22, ill. p. 175

The attribution of this sheet to the Small Mannheim Sketchbook goes back to Helmut Börsch-Supan (Börsch-Supan/Jähniq 1973, p. 47n57).

According to Hans Dickel, Andreas Aubert also included the sheet in his list from 1906, on which Dickel (1991, pp. 10-11) based his reconstruction of the Small Mannheim Sketchbook.

Along the central vertical axis of the sheet and occupying its upper half, a old woman, standing on what appears to be a small patch of ground, turns slightly to the left, her left hand grasping her right at waist level. Facing the viewer, she gazes out of the picture. She wears a floor-length skirt with an apron, a skirted jacket and a neck scarf and kerchief. Sigrid Hinz (1966, n.º 304), Marianne Bernhard (1974, n.º 303) and Helmut Börsch-Supan (Börsch-Supan/Jähniq 1973, p. 47n57) all identify the subject as a "folk-costume figure," and Peter Rautmann (1979, p. 137) calls her a "peasant woman." Hans Dickel (1991, n.º 22) disagrees. He points out that the drawing does not include any significant features identifying her as a peasant woman, and argues that she is in fact the "Mother Heiden" (Bernhard 1974, ill. p. 62) who kept house for Friedrich's father after his mother's death in 1781. Such an identification seems plausible; however, this figure and the Greifswald portrait Dickel reproduces are only vaguely similar.



CAT. 67  
*Man with a Cane and Woman, Two Girls*, ca. 1825. Pen and brush and brown and black ink on tracing paper. 40.7 x 26.7 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 6. Literature: Geismeyer 1965 pp. 54ff., ill. n.º I; Hinz 1966, n.º 786; Bernhard 1974, p. 734

This sheet presents three groups of figures, and in each case the spatial context is suggested. On the left a couple stands close together. The man, wearing a beret and cloak, is leaning on his cane, and the woman, with her hair pinned up and wearing a long dress, stands behind him and has placed her hand on his right shoulder. Both look toward the center of the sheet. In the upper right corner are two somewhat smaller female

figures seen from the back, perhaps a mother and daughter standing at a balustrade. The daughter has placed her right arm around her mother's waist. They both wear ankle-length, high-belted dresses and shawls. Whereas these two groupings were drawn with a brush, a third in the bottom right corner was executed in pen. It depicts a girl seated on a stool, who is carving something into a windowsill with the stylus in her right hand. Willi Geismeyer (1965, pp. 54ff.) rightly pointed out that all these figures are tracings. This is not only suggested by the extremely thin paper but also by the retraced outlines and schematic hatching. In contrast to Friedrich's figure studies from nature (for example, Cats. 64, 65, 66), tracings of figures constitute a special category within Friedrich's draftsmanly oeuvre (Bernhard 1974, ill. pp. 739, 669, 647, 734, 667, 649, 645, 646, 671, 670, 666, 668, 735, 672; Hinz 1966, nos. 783, 772). The connection between Friedrich's tracings and his oil paintings is obvious; for example, compare the mother-daughter grouping in the upper right to the same pair in the oil painting *Evening Hour*, formerly in Munich. The purpose of such tracings has not yet been adequately explained in the scholarly literature. Since these tracings cannot be connected to any of Friedrich's known studies, Geismeyer (1965, p. 57) suspected that they might have been made from figures that Friedrich's friend Georg Friedrich Kersting drew directly onto the canvas, and Friedrich, thinking he might have use for them later, made tracings. However, the most recent conservation report on the Berlin tracing of the *Seated Man* (Cat. 68) indicates that it was not made from the underdrawing but from the finished painting.



CAT. 68  
*Seated Man*, ca. 1822  
Brush and black ink on tracing paper (mounted). 9.9 x 6 cm. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv. SZ 13. Literature: Geismeyer 1965, pp. 54ff.; Hinz 1966, n.º 792; Börsch-Supan/Jähniq 1973, under n.º 299; Bernhard 1974, p. 666; Busch 2003, p. 52n13, 175n90; Timm 2004, p. 108, ill. n.º 32

This drawing depicts a seated man dressed in a hat and coat, seen from the back. Willi Geismeyer (1965, pp. 54ff.) observed that this is a tracing of the man in the Berlin oil painting *Moonrise by the Sea* (Börsch-Supan/Jähniq 1973, n.º 299). For the tracings in Friedrich's draftsmanly oeuvre and their characteristics, see Cat. 67. According to the most recent research, this tracing was made from the finished, painted figure and not from the underdrawing (Timm 2004, p. 108).



CAT. 69  
*Woman with Candle Holder and Child*, ca. 1825. Brush and black ink on tracing paper. 24.3 x 17.5 cm. Kunsthalle Mannheim, Graphische Sammlung. Inv. G440



CAT. 70  
Delettre, *Schematic Representation of the Reduced Perspective of Figures at Different Distances*, in Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes, *Éléments de perspective pratique, à l'usage des artistes, suivis de réflexions et conseils à un élève sur la Peinture, et particulièrement sur le genre du Paysage*. Paris, Year VIII [1799/1800], pl. XXXV. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

“Every manifestation  
of Nature, recorded  
with precision,  
with dignity and  
with feeling  
can become the  
subject of art”

Caspar David Friedrich

Two Sketchbook  
Pages: New  
Discoveries in  
Friedrich  
Scholarship

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Christina Grummt

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Gaspar David Friedrich drawings that are completely unknown to scholars will occasionally surface on the art market. Examples are the *Thatch-Roofed*

*Cottage and Man with a Pipe next to a Fence*, dated September 25, 1815 (Fig. 1/Cat. 61), and *Study of a Dead Tree* dated October 6, 1815 (Fig. 2/Cat. 33).<sup>1</sup> The upper half of the first sheet depicts a cottage lying directly behind a smooth pond, and reached by a path lined with field stones. It is mostly executed in pencil, with a few lines retraced in a pen and brown ink in the area of the peak of the thatched roof. The portions of the drawing executed in watercolor – blue for the water and the tiny figure in front of the cottage, green for the meadow next to the pond and brown for the roof and the half-timbering – are also only suggested.



The manner in which the pen lines and colors are executed underscores the fact that this is only a study drawing. The lower half of the sheet is executed in pen and brown ink over pencil. Here we see a man in profile facing to the left, wearing a hat and coat and standing in front of a closed gate. He is smoking a pipe, his head slightly bent in contemplation. Behind this foreground scene is an expansive meadow landscape, with a narrow stream and a rowboat in the middle distance. Several church towers loom above the distant horizon.

The second of these two previously unknown drawings depicts an old, rotting tree with a hollow trunk and limbs that have been lopped off. The drawing style of the two sheets unequivocally identifies them as the work of Friedrich, and the attribution is further bolstered by the authentic handwriting of the notations on the sheets, as well as the estate note on the verso of the *Study of a Dead Tree* (Fig. 3/Cat. 33 verso) in Johan Christian Dahl's hand.

Both works are on vellum paper, and both measure 18 x 10.6 cm. Each bears the watermark "J Whatman," and finally, both have marks on the left side that were made by the threads of a binding. The corners on the opposite side are very slightly rounded. From these facts alone one can conclude

not only that these were sketchbook pages, but also that both came from the same sketchbook.

In the following I have tried to relate these previously unknown pages to the life and work of Caspar David Friedrich, taking into account the fact that they were originally part of a sketchbook. It is easy enough to determine the biographical context in which the works were produced, for as the dating on the two sheets attests they were produced in the late summer and fall of 1815. A few months before, in a letter dated May 1, 1815, Friedrich had declined an invitation from Baron von Berlepsch to spend the summer in Brückenau. Friedrich expressed his gratitude, and explained his inability to accept the invitation with a certain amount of diplomacy:

Your kind proposal that I come to Brückenau is deserving of my most heartfelt thanks, Herr Baron .... Were I not who and how I am, it would be permitted to me, or I would not have to forego all pleasant society

and deny myself so many of life's joys: you would perhaps soon see me enjoying your hospitality. In God's great outdoors one man opens up to another, and through give and take he becomes better and better .... I believe that a journey planned for this summer to my homeland and to the island of Rügen will be of benefit to me. Let us both surrender ourselves to the soothing influence of nature. You in the peaceful valley beneath shady trees, I on the shore of the Baltic, gazing out at the greenish tide.<sup>2</sup>

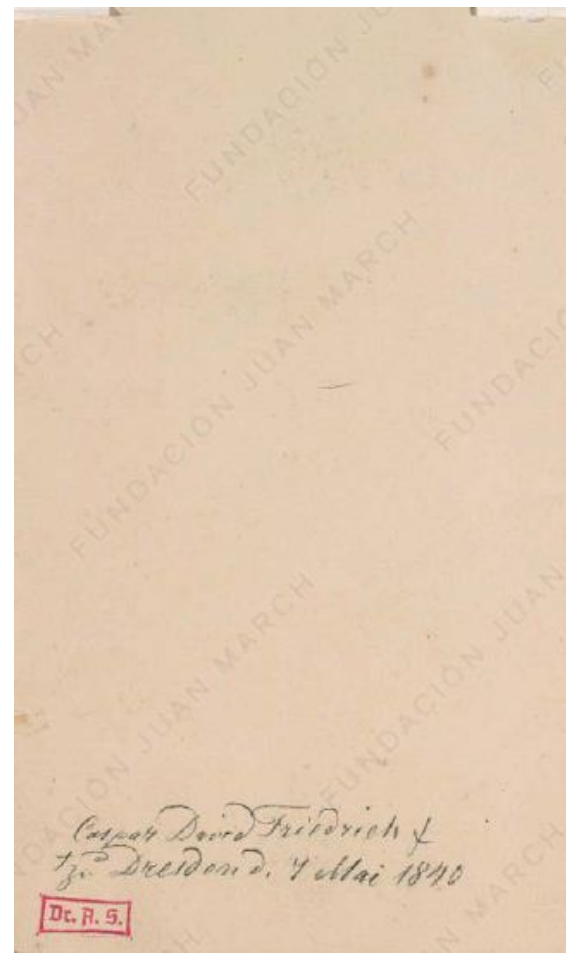
On the basis of that document we can conclude that the two drawings were executed either during or immediately following a journey to the painter's homeland in the summer and fall of 1815. A letter from Friedrich to his friend the painter Louise Seidler from May 9 [1815] further informs us that the artist planned to take along his friend Friedrich Gotthelf Kummer (1782–1854), master of the Dresden mint. "I am planning," he writes "to take a trip with Kummer this summer to Swedish Pomerania and Rügen."<sup>3</sup>

These letters are by no means the only sources relating to Friedrich's trip with Kummer. Kummer himself published his diary entries in 1845 in *Sundine, Unterhaltungsblatt für Neu-Vorpommern*, under the title "The Day of Terror on Rügen

■ ■ ■  
Fig. 1. Caspar David Friedrich.  
*Thatch-Roofed Cottage and  
Man with a Pipe next to a Fence*,  
September 25, 1815. Klüser  
Collection, Munich (CAT. 61)

■ ■ ■  
Fig. 2. Caspar David Friedrich.  
*Study of a Dead Tree*, October  
6, 1815. Pencil on vellum.  
18 x 10.6 cm. Private collection  
(CAT. 33)

■ ■ ■  
Fig. 3. Caspar David Friedrich.  
Notations by Johan Christian  
Dahl. (verso of *Study of a Dead  
Tree*, Fig. 2). Private collection



in 1815 (from the diary of a traveler).<sup>4</sup> The *Sundine* had already reported in 1828 that the “bookkeeper of the royal mint Friedrich Gotthelf Kummer” had accompanied the painter Caspar David Friedrich on his trip to Rügen in 1815.<sup>5</sup> And in 1830, in his *Miniaturgemälde von Rügen und Usedom* (Miniatures from Rügen and Usedom), Wilhelm Meinhold recalled “a visitor to the Stubbenkammer in the company of the famous landscape painter F.” What had happened?

According to Hermann Zschoche, the two friends crossed over to Rügen by sailboat from Wieck, near Greifswald, on August 2, 1815.<sup>7</sup> Zschoche based his assumption on the first page of the surviving Oslo sketchbook from 1815, *Sailboats in Wieck and Bathing Wagons in Lauterbach* (Fig. 4), which bears this date and the inscription “die Mönchguter zu Wieck.”<sup>9</sup> The sheet depicts a row of sailboats and a wooden bathing wagon of the sort introduced in mid-18<sup>th</sup> century England, and later in Germany as well, as a place to change into a bathing costume and a way in which to enter the water unobserved.<sup>9</sup>

On August 11, 1815, Friedrich was sketching in the vicinity of the Klein Stubbenkammer (Fig. 5).<sup>10</sup> Kummer describes this area as follows:

F. now introduced me to the indescribably grandiose Stubbenkammer .... Along all the chalk cliffs one can see the continuous reshaping of the face of this part of the coast from rain showers; but in places where the chalk is firmer and the soil behind has been washed away one sees the most fantastic shapes towering up from below, others rearing up in the loveliest spirals. Klein Stubbenkammer, south of the Königsstuhl, is mainly made up of the latter. Two similar formations tower at the northern base of the Königsstuhl.<sup>11</sup>

In order to get a better look, Kummer climbed out onto the chalk cliffs, where he suddenly found himself in danger of falling, and there was nothing “left for me but to call out to my good friend F. and let him know of my dangerous situation .... After I had precisely described my location to Friend F. and told him that he had to help me by letting down a rope,

he urged me to stay calm and raced to the Baumhaus.”<sup>12</sup> Friedrich went to the Baumhaus Hagen, which is two kilometers from the Stubbenkammer, and – as we also learn from Kummer’s report – begged the orchardist Hans Ruge for help. Finally Ruge, together with his wife and his farm hand, managed to rescue Kummer. To recover, Kummer spent “several nights in Ruge’s dwelling.” The tree house that Friedrich sketched on page 6 of the 1815 Oslo Sketchbook (Fig. 6) was doubtless the Baumhaus in question.

Friedrich mentions his adventure with Kummer once again, in a letter to Louise Seidler dated October 18, 1815, where he writes:

Dear Seidler, a full three months the polar bear, whom you so kindly recall, wandered around along the Baltic coast, frequently dipping into the green swells. And experienced dangers in the water and dangers on land . . . with Kummer I took a trip through Mecklenburg, Pomerania, and the island of Rügen. For several hours Kummer’s life was in great danger, and another time we got trapped on a sand bank where we spent 2½ hours.<sup>13</sup>





There is reason to suppose that the man who smokes a pipe in the drawing *Thatch-Roofed Cottage and Man with a Pipe next to a Fence* is Friedrich's friend Kummer. The fact that Friedrich managed to integrate his travel companion into his nature studies in one way or another can be seen many times in the 1815 Oslo Sketchbook.<sup>14</sup> Many similar examples are found in other drawings as well. One is the Hamburg sheet *Boulder, Trees and Figure: Rocks and Trees* (Fig. 7), from July 12, 1810, in which it seems that Friedrich depicted Georg Friedrich Kersting, his companion on a hiking tour through the Riesengebirge in the summer of 1810, standing on top of a boulder.

Friedrich's stay on Rügen in 1815 must have ended on September 10, at the latest, for on that day he is known to have been in Greifswald, as we see from the single sheet *Greifswald Harbor with the Steinbecker Bridge* (Fig. 8). Accordingly, the newly discovered drawing must have been produced in the vicinity of Greifswald. If so, what we see in the bottom half of the sheet is the view across the meadows outside the Greifswald city gates, with the river Ryck and the city's church towers on the horizon. It was previously assumed that Friedrich

“returned to Dresden in the second half of September.”<sup>15</sup> However, it is possible to correct this biographical detail with the help of the newly discovered *Study of a Dead Tree* (Fig. 2), for on it the artist noted the precise date of his departure from his hometown. In the upper right Friedrich wrote: “den 6<sup>t</sup> Oktober / 1815 / Abreise von Greifsw[ald]” (the 6th of October / 1815 / departure from Greifsw[ald]). He apparently traveled by way of Neubrandenburg<sup>16</sup> and arrived back in Dresden by October 18 at the latest – as we know from the above-mentioned letter to Louise Seidler, written from Dresden on that date.<sup>17</sup>

We know that Friedrich made drawings during his 1815 journey in a sketchbook that is preserved in Oslo<sup>18</sup> – a likely source for the two previously unknown sketchbook pages. In fact, the two sheets nearly match those from the Oslo Sketchbook in format. The new sheets measure 18 x 10.6 cm, those of the Oslo Sketchbook 17.7 x 11.3

Fig. 4. Caspar David Friedrich. *Sailboats in Wieck and Bathing Wagons in Lauterbach*, August 2-3, 1815. Pencil on vellum. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo

Fig. 5. Caspar David Friedrich. *Klein Stubbenkammer*, August 11, 1815. Pencil on vellum. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo

Fig. 6. Caspar David Friedrich. *Cairn and Hut on Posts*. [August] 4, [1815]. Pencil on vellum. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo

Fig. 7. Caspar David Friedrich. *Boulders, Trees and Figure: Boulders and Trees*, July 12, 1810. Watercolor, pencil, color sample on vellum. Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg

Fig. 8. Caspar David Friedrich. *Greifswald Harbor with the Steinbecker Bridge*, September 10, 1815. Pencil, old mount of handmade paper, black edged in red, on vellum. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo



cm. Discrepancies on this order could be caused by the different ways the paper has responded to the different climatic conditions to which the pages have been exposed since the sketchbook was taken apart. But what is somewhat disturbing here is the fact that the newly discovered sheets are both taller and narrower than the pages of the 1815 Oslo Sketchbook.

As a consequence, it is impossible to determine solely on the basis of format whether the newly discovered sheets actually belonged to the Oslo Sketchbook. A comparative analysis of the papers must be undertaken. As it happens, both the new sheets and the pages of the Oslo Sketchbook are vellum, specifically a high-quality Whatman paper. We must then compare the shapes of the pages, especially the shapes of the outside corners across from the edge secured by the binding. The corners of single sheets, unlike those of sketchbook pages, tend to have no special treatment. Single sheets almost without exception have sharp, right-angled corners, whereas the corners of sketchbook pages frequently have a rounded or beveled shape. Among Friedrich's sketchbooks one now and again sees examples whose pages have right-angled corners, but these are clearly rounded. The two outside corners can have the identical

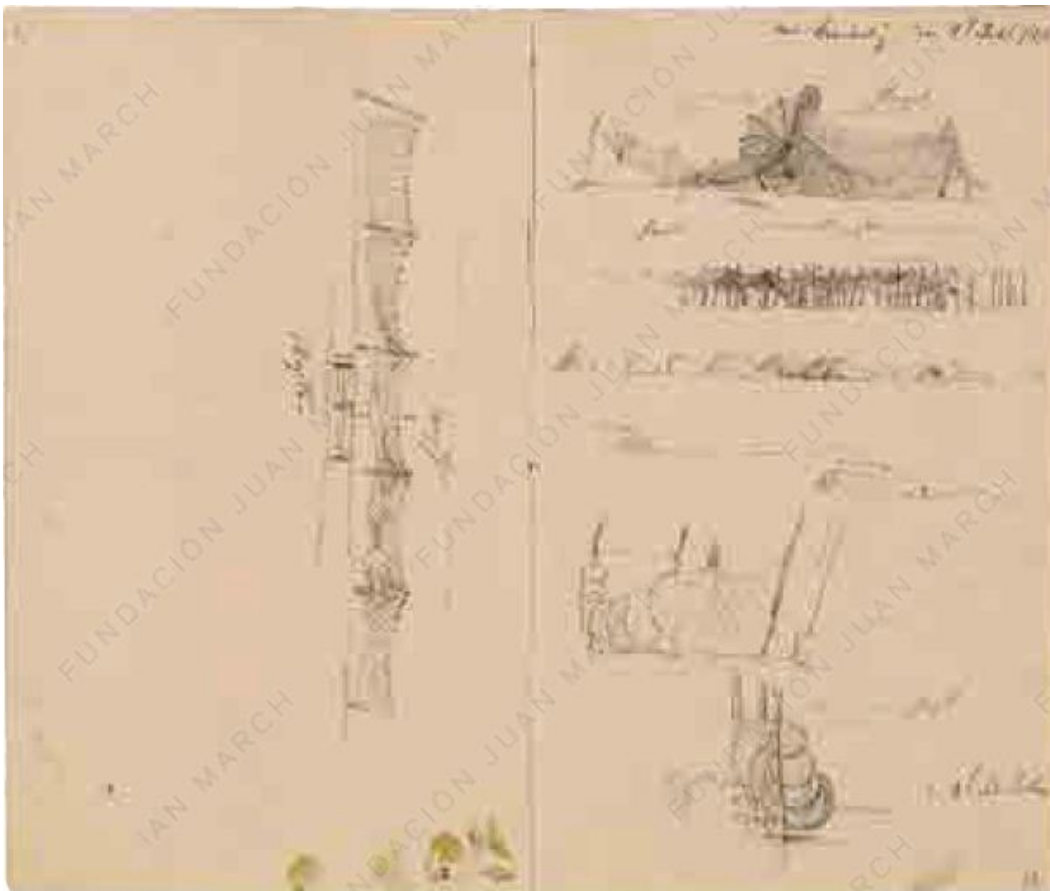
shape or different ones. For example, the pages from Friedrich's Large Mannheim Sketchbook (Cats. 8, 15, 25) have one right-angled corner and one that is rounded, whereas the pages of the sketchbook from 1804 in a private collection in Karlsruhe (Cat. 26) have one beveled and one rounded corner. The pages of the Oslo Sketchbook from 1806-8 again present two rounded corners.

Comparing only the shapes of the outside corners of the two newly discovered sheets with those of the 1815 Oslo Sketchbook, one notes that the former form a right angle with only a tiny amount of rounding. By contrast, the corners of the pages in Oslo are distinctly rounded, so the new sheets were definitely not taken from that sketchbook – hence the different dimensions.

We can therefore conclude that during his trip with his friend Kummer in the summer and fall of 1815, Friedrich used not one but two different sketchbooks.

But the two new leaves do not appear to have come from any of Friedrich's known sketchbooks. Since they are unquestionably sketchbook pages, they must have come from a sketchbook previously unknown to scholars. Yet even if it is impossible to identify the sketchbook from which the new sheets came, other sheets too might have come from it. My research has determined that a double sheet in Oslo titled *Weirs, Nets and Boulders* (Fig. 9/Cat. 60) precisely matches the new sheets in format, type of paper, and shape of the outside corners. It measures 18 x 21.3 cm. Were one to cut it along the center fold, each of the resulting sheets would measure 18 x 10.6 cm – precisely the format of the new sheets. The Oslo double sheet is also vellum, and its outside corners likewise form right angles with only a tiny amount of rounding.

The watermarks must also be compared to be certain that the pages came from the same sketchbook. But as a result of the way that sketchbooks were produced – their pages cut from larger sheets--the double sheet in Oslo has no watermark. This does not necessarily mean that the paper came from a different mill than that of the newly discovered sheets; only a different watermark would prove this.



■ Fig. 9. Caspar David Friedrich. *Weirs, Nets and Boulders*, ca. October 7-8, 1815. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo (CAT. 60)

To summarize, the two new drawings are certainly the work of Caspar David Friedrich. They were produced during the journey he took to his homeland in the summer of 1815 accompanied by his friend Friedrich Gotthelf Kummer. From the verso of the *Study of a Dead Tree* we now know, for the first time, the date when Friedrich set out on his return to Dresden. It was not in the second half of September as scholars had long presumed, but on October 6. The two new drawings did not come from the 1815 Oslo Sketchbook, as one might have thought, but from another sketchbook previously unknown to Friedrich scholars, one that also once included a folded double sheet. Therefore we can identify three leaves from this previously unknown sketchbook.

1 *Alte Kunst, Teil II, Bronzen, Skulpturen, Gemälde Alter und Neuerer Meister*, auction catalogue, Van Ham Kunstauktionen, 247<sup>th</sup> auction, April 6-8 (Cologne, 2006), n.<sup>os</sup> 1793, 1794.

2 Letter from Caspar David Friedrich to Gottlob Baron von Berlepsch dated May 1, 1815; see Hermann Zschoche,

ed., *Caspar David Friedrich: Die Briefe*, with commentary (Hamburg, 2005), p. 93.

3 Letter from Caspar David Friedrich to Louise Seidler dated May 9, 1815; see Zschoche 2005 (see above note 2), p. 98.

4 Friedrich Gotthelf Kummer, "Der Schreckenstag auf Rügen im Jahre 1815 (Aus dem Skizzenbuch eines Reisenden)," *Sundine* 51 and 52 (1845), pp. 401-3 and 409-11; see also Martin Holz, "Ein gefährliches Abenteuer bei der Besteigung des Königsstuhls im Jahre 1815," *Baltische Studien*, new series 78 (1992), pp. 60-64; Herrmann Zschoche, *Caspar David Friedrich auf Rügen* (Dresden and Amsterdam, 1998), pp. 80ff.

5 Anonymous [no title] in *Sundine* 36 (1828), pp. 281ff.; see also Holz, "Ein gefährliches Abenteuer" (see above note 4), p. 58.

6 Wilhelm Meinhold, *Miniaturgemälde von Rügen und Usedom* (Greifswald, 1830), pp. 24-25, quoted from Holz, "Ein gefährliches Abenteuer" (see above note 4), p. 58.

7 Zschoche 1998 (see above note 4), p. 80.

8 Marianne Bernhard, ed., *Caspar David Friedrich, Das gesamte graphische Werk*, (Munich, 1974), henceforth abbreviated Bernhard 1974, illus. p. 600 left.

9 *Seestücke. Von Caspar David Friedrich bis Emil Nolde*, exh. cat. Hubertus-Wald-Forum, Kunsthalle, Hamburg (Munich, 2005), p. 169.

10 B, illus. p. 610 right, left, and illus. p. 611 right; here erroneously identified as the "Wissower Klinken"; see Zschoche 1998 (see above note 4), p. 86.

11 Kummer 1845 (see above note 4).

12 Ibid.

13 Letter from Caspar David Friedrich to Louise Seidler dated October 18, 1815; see Zschoche 2005 (see above note 2), pp. 99-100.

14 Bernhard 1974, illus. p. 605 right, 606.

15 Zschoche 1998 (see above note 4), p. 88.

16 This comes from a note on a Friedrich drawing dated October 7-8, 1815; see Bernhard 1974, illus. p. 633.

17 Letter from Caspar David Friedrich to Louise Seidler dated October 18, 1815; see Zschoche 2005 (see above note 2), p. 100.

18 Caspar David Friedrich, *Oslo Sketchbook from 1815*. The National Museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo, inv. NG.K.H. 1962.0045-001-026.

“I must surrender  
what surrounds  
with the clouds a  
order to be what  
solitude in order  
with nature”

Caspar David Friedrich

myself to  
me, unite myself  
and rocks, in  
I am. I need  
to communicate

# Biography

## Caspar David Friedrich

Greifswald, 1774 – Dresden, 1840

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### 1774

September 5. Caspar David Friedrich is born in Greifswald, a small port and university town in western Pomerania, a region under Swedish rule from 1648 to 1815. He is the sixth of ten children of Adolph Gottlieb Friedrich (1730-1809), a soap and candle maker, and Sophie Dorothea Bechly (1747-1781), both of whom were from Neubrandenburg. His childhood was deeply influenced by Lutheran religion, a sense of duty towards others and family unity. Throughout his life, Friedrich would maintain close ties to Neubrandenburg and his homeland of Pomerania.

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### 1787

December 8. His brother Christoffer drowns while trying to rescue the young Caspar David from the water, a traumatic event that marked the painter for life.

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### 1794

Friedrich takes drawing lessons from Johann Gottfried Quistorp (1755-1835), professor at the University of Greifswald. His teachings are fundamental, as are his splendid collections of books and copper etchings, to which Friedrich has access. Quistorp encourages Friedrich to experience the world of nature. Together they go on outdoor drawing excursions to the Pomeranian countryside. The landscape captivates Friedrich. He discovers locations such as Eldena, Gützkow and the island of Rügen. He becomes acquainted with the poet and pastor Gotthard Ludwig Theobald Kosegarten (1758-1818), a friend of Quistorp, who plays a decisive role during these years. The painter is strongly influenced by his doctrines of pantheist and romantic pietism.

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### 1796

Friedrich commences art studies at the Royal Academy of Art, Copenhagen (Akademi for de Skøne Kunster), which in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century was one of the most advanced and liberal schools in Europe. At first he studies free-hand drawing. Oil painting is barely taught at the Academy. The influence of his professors is significant and will be felt throughout his career. Among these teachers three stand out, Jens Juel (1745-1802), the painter of Norwegian *vedute*, Christian August Lorentzen (1749-1828) and the Ossianic illustrator Nicolai Abilgaard (1743-1809). The latter is one of the exponents of the so-called “Norwegian Renaissance,” whose rendering of figures deeply influenced the painter.

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## 1798

May 5. After completing his studies in Denmark and following a brief stay in Berlin, Friedrich returns to Greifswald. October. He settles in Dresden, where he will continue to live until the end of his life, interrupted only by visits to Central Germany and Bohemia. He enrolls in drawing lessons at the Academy of Fine Arts, where some of his works are first exhibited the following year.

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## 1799

Friedrich's works are exhibited for the first time at the Dresden Academy art exhibition. From that point on they are exhibited at the academy almost every year. His work receives critical acclaim.

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## 1801

In spring, Friedrich embarks on a trip to his native Pomerania, Neubrandenburg, Greifswald and the island of Rügen, where his personal style is shaped by his experience of nature. He begins to recreate a repertoire of Christian symbols that will appear frequently in his compositions. He depicts, both in pencil and sepia drawings, the Nordic landscape's climatology and orography, its expansive skies, coasts, cliffs and escarpments, morning mists, the radiant or veiled sun and cold moon. The studies he produces on these journeys are an important part of his body of work.

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## 1803

Friedrich specializes in sepia. He executes large landscapes of Rügen, which sell quickly. His circle of friends grows thanks to his increasing success. Among his acquaintances are the painters Philipp Otto Runge, Gerhard von Kügelgen (1772-1820) and Georg Friedrich Kersting (1785-1847), as well as the poet Ludwig Tieck (1773-1853).

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## 1805

August 25. Friedrich submits two works to the Weimar Friends of Art Exhibition and wins second prize.

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## 1806

October. The physicist and philosopher Gotthilf Heinrich Schubert (1780-1860), whose writings on natural philosophy influenced German romantic literature, arrives in Dresden.

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## 1808

Friedrich presents his first major oil painting, *Cross in the Mountains (The Tetschen Altar)* (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Galerie Neue Meister), which is harshly criticized by Friedrich von Ramdohr and provokes a dispute in which other artists and writers take part.

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## 1810

July. Friedrich embarks on a long walking tour together with painter Friedrich Georg Kersting, which would inspire several oil paintings. He exhibits two paintings at the Academy of Berlin's Art Exhibition, *Monk by the Sea* and *Abbey in the Oak Forest* (both, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Alte Nationalgalerie). Both are purchased by Crown Prince Frederick William of Prussia. September 18. J. W. Goethe (1749-1832) visits Friedrich in Dresden. November 12. Friedrich is appointed foreign member of the Royal Academy of Berlin.

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## 1811

June. Friedrich goes on a walking tour through the Harz Mountains with sculptor Gottlieb Christian Kühn (1780-1828). July. Friedrich visits Goethe in Jena. He plans a trip to Iceland, never realized.

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## 1813

An ardent patriot, Friedrich joins publicist and professor Ernst Moritz Arndt (1769-1860) in the reform and liberation movement. June-July. Friedrich stays in the Elbsandsteingebirge during Napoleon's occupation of Dresden.

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## 1814

Dresden is liberated by French troops. Friedrich takes part in the Exhibition of Patriotic Art in Dresden presenting two works, *Tomb of Arminius* (Kunsthalle Bremen – Der Kunstverein in Bremen) and *Hunter in the Woods* (private collection, Germany).

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## 1816

Friedrich is elected member of the Dresden Academy of Fine Arts. Though he is not appointed professor, he receives a salary of 150 *thalers*.

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## 1818

January 21. Friedrich marries the young Christiane Caroline Bommer. With his wife he travels to Greifswald, Wolgast, Stralsund and Rügen during the summer. In autumn, he meets Norwegian landscape painter Johan Christian Clausen Dahl (1788-1857), who is witness to Friedrich's favorable sales and critical appraisal.

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## 1819

August 30. His daughter Emma is born.

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## 1821

First visit by Russian poet Wassily A. Shukovsky (1713-1852), who purchases several paintings on behalf of Grand Duke Nicholas.

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## 1823

September 2. His daughter Agnes Adelheid is born.

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## 1824

Friedrich is made associate professor of landscape painting at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Dresden. However, he is not offered the chair. December 23. His son Gustav Adolf is born.

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## 1826

Friedrich suffers from a serious illness. Two years later his condition worsens. During his convalescence, he spends time in Rügen on what is to be his last trip to his "little fatherland." In bad health and financial difficulties, he does not work much during this painful period of his life.

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## 1828

Friedrich is elected member of the Art Association of Saxony.

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## 1834

Friedrich takes part in the Art Association exhibition in Hannover and Berlin.

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## 1835

June 26. Friedrich suffers a stroke and recovers at the health resort of Teplice in Bohemia. He works only in sepia and watercolor. Although Shukovsky manages to sell some of his paintings to the Russian court, the painter's financial situation worsens.

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## 1836

Friedrich presents his last oil painting, *Moon behind Clouds on the Sea Shore* (Hamburger Kunsthalle, Hamburg), at the Dresden Academy Exhibition. The Art Association of Saxony purchases it the following year.

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## 1837

Friedrich suffers a second stroke, which leaves him almost completely paralyzed.

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## 1840

May 7. Friedrich dies in Dresden and is buried in the Trinitatis cemetery.

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# Bibliography

The publications on Caspar David Friedrich and his age are numerous. In this catalogue, dedicated to Friedrich's drawings, we provide a selected bibliography of the monographic texts on the artist, as well as those publications devoted to his work on paper and his role as a draftsman, in addition to exhibition catalogues and collections. Here, the reader will find the complete references to the abbreviated citations provided in the "Catalogue Entries" (pp. 137-149).

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**Scheven 1966**

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**Zschoche 2005**

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## CASPAR DAVID FRIEDRICH: THE ART OF DRAWING

Fundación Juan March, Madrid  
October 16, 2009 – January 10, 2010

### CONCEPT:

Dr. Christina Grummt, guest curator

Department of Exhibitions,  
Fundación Juan March

Manuel Fontán del Junco (Exhibitions Director),  
Deborah L. Roldán and Daniela Heinze (Exhibition Coordinators)

### ORGANIZATION:

Department of Exhibitions,  
Fundación Juan March, Madrid

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AND OTHER  
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BY THE FUNDACIÓN  
JUAN MARCH

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KEY: Out of print | Available publications in September 2009 |  Exhibition at the Museu Fundación Juan March, Palma |  Exhibition at the Museo

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## 1966

CATÁLOGO MUSEO DE ARTE ABSTRACTO ESPAÑOL. CUENCA

[Guide to the Museo de Arte Abstracto Español]

Text by Fernando Zóbel

Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)  
Published by the Museo de Arte Abstracto Español, Cuenca, 1966

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## 1969

MUSEO DE ARTE ABSTRACTO ESPAÑOL. CUENCA

[Guide to the Museo de Arte Abstracto Español]

Texts by Gustavo Torner, Gerardo Rueda and Fernando Zóbel

Published by the Museo de Arte Abstracto Español, Cuenca, 1969

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## 1973

ARTE'73

Multilingual ed. (Spanish, English, French, Italian and German)

---

## 1974

MUSEO DE ARTE ABSTRACTO ESPAÑOL. CUENCA

[Guide to the Museo de Arte Abstracto Español]

Essays by Gustavo Torner, Gerardo Rueda and Fernando Zóbel

Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)  
Published by the Museo de Arte Abstracto Español, Cuenca, 1974 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., rev. and exp.)

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## 1975

OSKAR KOKOSCHKA. Óleos y acuarelas. Dibujos, grabados, mosaicos. Obra literaria  
Texts by Heinz Spielmann

---

EXPOSICIÓN ANTOLÓGICA DE LA CALCOGRAFÍA NACIONAL

Texts by Enrique Lafuente Ferrari and Antonio Gallego

---

I EXPOSICIÓN DE BECARIOS DE ARTES PLÁSTICAS

---

## 1976

JEAN DUBUFFET  
Texts by Jean Dubuffet

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ALBERTO GIACOMETTI. Colección de la Fundación Maeght

Texts by Jean Genêt, Jean-Paul Sartre, Jacques Dupin and Alberto Giacometti

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II EXPOSICIÓN DE BECARIOS DE ARTES PLÁSTICAS

---

## 1977

ARTE USA

Texts by Harold Rosenberg

---

ARTE DE NUEVA GUINEA Y PAPÚA. Colección A. Folch y E. Serra

Texts by B. A. L. Cranstone and Christian Kaufmann

---

PICASSO

Texts by Rafael Alberti, Gerardo Diego, Vicente Aleixandre, Eugenio d'Ors, Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, Ricardo Gullón, José Camón Aznar, Guillermo de Torre and Enrique Lafuente Ferrari

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MARC CHAGALL.

18 pinturas y 40 grabados  
Texts by André Malraux and Louis Aragon (in French)

---

**P**

ARTE ESPAÑOL CONTEMPORÁNEO. COLECCIÓN DE LA FUNDACIÓN JUAN MARCH

[This catalogue accompanied the exhibition of the same name that traveled to 67 Spanish venues between 1975 and 1996; at many venues, independent catalogues were published.]

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III EXPOSICIÓN DE BECARIOS DE ARTES PLÁSTICAS

---

## 1978

ARS MEDICA

Text by Carl Ziggrosser

---

FRANCIS BACON

Text by Antonio Bonet Correa

---

BAUHAUS

Texts by Hans M. Wingler, Will Grohmann, Jürgen Joedicke, Nikolaus Pevsner, Hans Eckstein, Oskar Schlemmer, László Moholy-Nagy, Otto Stelzer and Heinz Winfried Sabais

Published by the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, Stuttgart, 1976

---

KANDINSKY: 1923-1944

Texts by Werner Haftmann, Gaëtan Picon and Wasili Kandinsky

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ARTE ESPAÑOL CONTEMPORÁNEO. COLECCIÓN DE LA FUNDACIÓN JUAN MARCH

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IV EXPOSICIÓN DE BECARIOS DE ARTES PLÁSTICAS

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## 1979

WILLEM DE KOONING.

Obras recientes

Texts by Diane Waldman

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MAESTROS DEL SIGLO XX. NATURALEZA MUERTA

Texts by Reinhold Hohl

---

GEORGES BRAQUE. Óleos, gouaches, relieves, dibujos y grabados

Texts by Jean Paulhan, Jacques Prévert, Christian Zervos, Georges Salles, André Chastel, Pierre Reverdy and Georges Braque

---

V EXPOSICIÓN DE BECARIOS DE ARTES PLÁSTICAS

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GOYA. CAPRICHOS, DESASTRES, TAUROMAQUIA, DISPARATES

Texts by Alfonso E. Pérez-Sánchez

---

## 1980

JULIO GONZÁLEZ.

Esculturas y dibujos

Text by Germain Viatte

---

ROBERT MOTHERWELL

Text by Barbaralee Diamonstein and Robert Motherwell

---

HENRI MATISSE. Óleos, dibujos, gouaches, découpées, esculturas y libros

Texts by Henri Matisse

---

VI EXPOSICIÓN DE BECARIOS DE ARTES PLÁSTICAS

---

## 1981

MINIMAL ART

Text by Phyllis Tuchman

---

PAUL KLEE. Óleos, acuarelas, dibujos y grabados

---

Texts by Paul Klee

---

MIRRORS AND WINDOWS. AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY SINCE 1960

Text by John Szarkowski  
English ed. (Offprint: Spanish translation of text by John Szarkowski)

Published by The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1980

---

MEDIO SIGLO DE ESCULTURA: 1900-1945

Texts by Jean-Louis Prat

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MUSEO DE ARTE ABSTRACTO ESPAÑOL. CUENCA

[Guide to the Museo de Arte Abstracto Español]

Texts by Gustavo Torner, Gerardo Rueda and Fernando Zóbel

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## 1982

PIET MONDRIAN. Óleos, acuarelas y dibujos

Texts by Herbert Henkels and Piet Mondrian

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ROBERT Y SONIA DELAUNAY

Texts by Juan Manuel Bonet, Jacques Damase, Ramón Gómez de la Serna, Isaac del Vando Villar, Vicente Huidobro and Guillermo de Torre

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PINTURA ABSTRACTA ESPAÑOLA: 1960-1970

Text by Rafael Santos Torroella

---

KURT SCHWITTERS

Texts by Werner Schmalenbach, Ernst Schwitters and Kurt Schwitters

---

VII EXPOSICIÓN DE BECARIOS DE ARTES PLÁSTICAS

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## 1983

ROY LICHTENSTEIN: 1970-1980

Texts by Jack Cowart

English ed.

Published by Hudson Hill Press, New York, 1981

---

FERNAND LÉGER

Text by Antonio Bonet Correa and Fernand Léger

---

PIERRE BONNARD

Texts by Ángel González García

---

ALMADA NEGREIROS

Texts by Margarida Acciaiuoli, Antonio Espina, Ramón Gómez de la Serna, José Augusto

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França, Jorge de Sena, Lima de Freitas and Almada Negreiros  
Published by the Ministério de Cultura de Portugal, Lisboa, 1983

ARTE ABSTRACTO ESPAÑOL EN LA COLECCIÓN DE LA FUNDACIÓN JUAN MARCH [Guide to the Museo de Arte Abstracto Español]  
Texts by Julián Gállego

GRABADO ABSTRACTO ESPAÑOL. COLECCIÓN DE LA FUNDACIÓN JUAN MARCH  
Texts by Julián Gállego  
[This catalogue accompanied the exhibition of the same name that traveled to 44 Spanish venues between 1983 and 1999.]

## 1984

EL ARTE DEL SIGLO XX EN UN MUSEO HOLANDÉS: EINDHOVEN  
Texts by Jaap Bremer, Jan Debbaut, R. H. Fuchs, Piet de Jonge and Margriet Suren

JOSEPH CORNELL  
Texts by Fernando Huici

FERNANDO ZÓBEL  
Text by Francisco Calvo Serraller  
Madrid, Cuenca

JULIA MARGARET CAMERON: 1815-1879  
Texts by Mike Weaver and Julia Margaret Cameron  
English ed. (Offprint: Spanish translation of text by Mike Weaver)  
Published by John Hansard Gallery & The Herbert Press Ltd., Southampton, 1984

JULIUS BISSIER  
Text by Werner Schmalenbach

## 1985

ROBERT RAUSCHENBERG  
Texts by Lawrence Alloway

VANGUARDIA RUSA: 1910-1930. Museo y Colección Ludwig  
Texts by Evelyn Weiss

DER DEUTSCHE HOLZSCHNITT IM 20  
Texts by Gunther Thiem  
German ed. (Offprint: Spanish translations of texts)  
Published by the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, Stuttgart, 1984

ESTRUCTURAS REPETITIVAS  
Texts by Simón Marchán Fiz

## 1986

MAX ERNST  
Texts by Werner Spies and Max Ernst

ARTE, PAISAJE Y ARQUITECTURA. El arte referido a la arquitectura en la República Federal de Alemania  
Texts by Dieter Honisch and Manfred Sack  
German ed. (Offprint: Spanish translation of introductory texts)  
Published by the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, Stuttgart, 1983

ARTE ESPAÑOL EN NUEVA YORK: 1950-1970. Colección Amos Cahan  
Text by Juan Manuel Bonet

OBRAS MAESTRAS DEL MUSEO DE WUPPERTAL. De Marées a Picasso  
Texts by Sabine Fehleman and Hans Günter Wachtmann

## 1987

BEN NICHOLSON  
Texts by Jeremy Lewison and Ben Nicholson

IRVING PENN  
Text by John Szarkowski  
English ed. Published by The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1984 (reimp. 1986)

MARK ROTHKO  
Texts by Michael Compton and Mark Rothko

## 1988

EL PASO DESPUÉS DE EL PASO EN LA COLECCIÓN DE LA FUNDACIÓN JUAN MARCH  
Text by Juan Manuel Bonet

ZERO, A EUROPEAN MOVEMENT. The Lenz Schönberg Collection  
Texts by Dieter Honisch and Hannah Weitemeier  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)

COLECCIÓN LEO CASTELLI  
Texts by Calvin Tomkins, Judith Goldman, Gabriele Henkel, Leo Castelli, Jim Palette, Barbara Rose and John Cage

## 1989

RENÉ MAGRITTE  
Texts by Camille Goemans, Martine Jacquet, Catherine de Croës, François Daulte, Paul Lebeer and René Magritte

EDWARD HOPPER  
Text by Gail Levin

ARTE ESPAÑOL CONTEMPORÁNEO. FONDOS DE LA FUNDACIÓN JUAN MARCH  
Texts by Miguel Fernández-Cid

## 1990

ODILON REDON. Colección Ian Woodner  
Texts by Lawrence Gowing, Odilon Redon and Nuria Rivero

CUBISMO EN PRAGA. Obras de la Galería Nacional  
Texts by Jiří Kotalík, Ivan Neumann and Jiří Šetlík

ANDY WARHOL. COCHES  
Texts by Werner Spies, Christoph Becker and Andy Warhol

COL·LECCIÓ MARCH. ART ESPANYOL CONTEMPORANI. PALMA  
[Guide to the Museu d'Art Espanyol Contemporani]  
Texts by Juan Manuel Bonet  
Multilingual ed. (Spanish, Catalan, English and German)

## 1991

PICASSO. RETRATOS DE JACQUELINE  
Texts by Hélène Parmelin, María Teresa Ocaña, Nuria Rivero, Werner Spies and Rosa Vives

VIEIRA DA SILVA  
Texts by Fernando Pernes, Julián Gállego, M<sup>a</sup> João Fernandes, René Char (in French), António Ramos Rosa (in Portuguese) and Joham de Castro

MONET EN GIVERNY. Colección del Museo Marmottan de París  
Texts by Arnaud d'Hauterives, Gustave Geffroy and Claude Monet

MUSEO DE ARTE ABSTRACTO ESPAÑOL. CUENCA  
[Guide to the Museo de Arte Abstracto Español]

Texts by Juan Manuel Bonet  
(2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1988)

## 1992

RICHARD DIEBENKORN  
Text by John Elderfield

ALEXEJ VON JAWLENSKY  
Text by Angelica Jawlensky

DAVID HOCKNEY  
Text by Marco Livingstone

## 1993

MALEVICH. Colección del Museo Estatal Ruso, San Petersburgo  
Texts by Eugenija N. Petrova, Elena V. Basner and Kasimir Malevich

PICASSO. EL SOMBRERO DE TRES PICOS. Dibujos para los decorados y el vestuario del ballet de Manuel de Falla  
Texts by Vicente García-Márquez, Brigitte Léal and Laurence Berthon

MUSEO BRÜCKE BERLÍN. ARTE EXPRESIONISTA ALEMÁN  
Texts by Magdalena M. Moeller

## 1994

GOYA GRABADOR  
Texts by Alfonso E. Pérez-Sánchez and Julián Gállego

ISAMU NOGUCHI  
Texts by Shoji Sadao, Bruce Altshuler and Isamu Noguchi

TESOROS DEL ARTE JAPONÉS. Período Edo: 1615-1868. Colección del Museo Fuji, Tokio  
Texts by Tatsuo Takakura, Shin-ichi Miura, Akira Gokita, Seiji Nagata, Yoshiaki Yabe, Hirokazu Arakawa and Yoshihiko Sasama

FERNANDO ZÓBEL. RÍO JÚCAR  
Texts by Fernando Zóbel and Rafael Pérez-Madero



## 1995

KLIMT, KOKOSCHKA, SCHIELE. UN SUEÑO VIENÉS: 1898-1918  
Texts by Gerbert Frodl and Stephan Kojá



ROUAULT  
Texts by Stephan Koja, Jacques Maritain and Marcel Arland

MOTHERWELL. Obra gráfica: 1975-1991. Colección Kenneth Tyler  
Texts by Robert Motherwell  
C

## 1996

TOM WESSELMANN  
Texts by Marco Livingstone, Jo-Anne Birnie Danzker, Tilman Osterwold and Meinrad Maria Grewenig  
Published by Hatje Cantz, Ostfildern, 1996

TOULOUSE-LAUTREC. De Albi y de otras colecciones  
Texts by Danièle Devynck and Valeriano Bozal

MILLARES. Pinturas y dibujos sobre papel: 1963-1971  
Texts by Manuel Millares  
P C

MUSEU D'ART ESPANYOL CONTEMPORANI. FUNDACION JUAN MARCH. PALMA  
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Bilingual eds. (Spanish/Catalan and English/German)

PICASSO. SUITE VOLLARD  
Text by Julián Gállego  
Spanish ed., bilingual ed. (Spanish/German) and trilingual ed. (Spanish/German/English)  
[This catalogue accompanies the exhibition of the same name that, since 1996, has traveled to five Spanish and foreign venues.]

## 1997

MAX BECKMANN  
Texts by Klaus Gallwitz and Max Beckmann

EMIL NOLDE. NATURALEZA Y RELIGIÓN  
Texts by Manfred Reuther

FRANK STELLA. Obra gráfica: 1982-1996. Colección Tyler Graphics  
Texts by Sidney Guberman, Dorine Mignot and Frank Stella  
P C

EL OBJETO DEL ARTE  
Text by Javier Maderuelo  
P C

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Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)

## 1998

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PAUL DELVAUX  
Text by Gisèle Ollinger-Zinque

RICHARD LINDNER  
Text by Werner Spies

## 1999

MARC CHAGALL. TRADICIONES JUDÍAS  
Texts by Sylvie Forestier, Benjamín Harshav, Meret Meyer and Marc Chagall

KURT SCHWITTERS Y EL ESPÍRITU DE LA UTOPIA.  
Colección Ernst Schwitters  
Texts by Javier Maderuelo, Markus Heinzelmann, Lola and Bengt Schwitters

LOVIS CORINTH  
Texts by Thomas Deecke, Sabine Fehlemann, Jürgen H. Meyer and Antje Birthälmer

MIQUEL BARCELÓ.  
Cerámiques: 1995-1998  
Text by Enrique Juncosa  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/Catalan)  
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FERNANDO ZÓBEL. Obra gráfica completa  
Texts by Rafael Pérez-Madero  
Published by Departamento de Cultura, Diputación Provincial de Cuenca, Cuenca, 1999  
P C

## 2000

VASARELY  
Texts by Werner Spies and Michèle-Catherine Vasarely

EXPRESIONISMO ABSTRACTO. OBRA SOBRE PAPEL. Colección de The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nueva York  
Text by Lisa M. Messinger

SCHMIDT-ROTTLUFF.  
Colección Brücke-Museum Berlin  
Text by Magdalena M. Moeller

NOLDE. VISIONES. Acuarelas. Colección de la Fundación Nolde-Seebüll  
Text by Manfred Reuther  
P C

LUCIO MUÑOZ. ÍNTIMO  
Text by Rodrigo Muñoz Avia  
C

EUSEBIO SEMPERE. PAISAJES  
Text by Pablo Ramírez  
P C

## 2001

DE CASPAR DAVID FRIEDRICH A PICASSO. Obras maestras sobre papel del Museo Von der Heydt, de Wuppertal  
Texts by Sabine Fehlemann

ADOLPH GOTTLIEB  
Texts by Sanford Hirsch

MATISSE. ESPÍRITU Y SENTIDO. Obra sobre papel  
Texts by Guillermo Solana, Marie-Thérèse Pulvenis de Séligny and Henri Matisse

RÓDCHENKO. GEOMETRÍAS  
Texts by Alexandr Lavrentiev and Alexandr Ródchenko  
P C

## 2002

GEORGIA O'KEEFFE. NATURALEZAS ÍNTIMAS  
Texts by Lisa M. Messinger and Georgia O'Keeffe

TURNER Y EL MAR. Acuarelas de la Tate  
Texts by José Jiménez, Ian Warrell, Nicola Cole, Nicola Moorby and Sarah Taft

MOMPÓ. Obra sobre papel  
Texts by Dolores Durán Úcar  
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RIVERA. REFLEJOS  
Texts by Jaime Brihuega, Marisa Rivera, Elena Rivera, Rafael

Alberti and Luis Rosales  
C

SAURA. DAMAS  
Texts by Francisco Calvo Serraller and Antonio Saura  
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GOYA. CAPRICHOS, DESASTRES, TAUROMAQUIA, DISPARATES  
Texts by Alfonso E. Pérez-Sánchez

## 2003

ESPÍRITU DE MODERNIDAD. DE GOYA A GIACOMETTI. Obra sobre papel de la Colección Kornfeld  
Text by Werner Spies

KANDINSKY. ORIGEN DE LA ABSTRACCIÓN  
Texts by Valeriano Bozal, Marion Ackermann and Wassily Kandinsky

CHILLIDA. ELOGIO DE LA MANO  
Text by Javier Maderuelo  
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GERARDO RUEDA. CONSTRUCCIONES  
Text by Barbara Rose  
C

ESTEBAN VICENTE. Collages  
Texts by José María Parreño and Elaine de Kooning  
C

LUCIO MUÑOZ. ÍNTIMO  
Texts by Rodrigo Muñoz Avia and Lucio Muñoz  
P

MUSEU D'ART ESPANYOL CONTEMPORANI. FUNDACION JUAN MARCH. PALMA  
[Guide to the Museu d'Art Espanyol Contemporani]  
Texts by Juan Manuel Bonet and Javier Maderuelo  
Bilingual eds. (Catalan/Spanish and English/German)

## 2004

MAESTROS DE LA INVENCIÓN DE LA COLECCIÓN E. DE ROTHSCHILD DEL MUSEO DEL LOUVRE  
Texts by Pascal Torres Guardiola, Catherine Loisel, Christel Winling, Geneviève

Bresc-Bautier, George A.  
Wanklyn and Louis Antoine Prat

FIGURAS DE LA FRANCIA  
MODERNA. De Ingres a  
Toulouse-Lautrec del Petit  
Palais de París

Texts by Delfin Rodríguez,  
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José de los Llanos  
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LIUBOV POPOVA  
Text by Anna María Guasch  
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ESTEBAN VICENTE. GESTO Y  
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Text by Guillermo Solana  
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LUIS GORDILLO. DUPLEX  
Texts by Miguel Cereceda and  
Jaime González de Aledo  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)  
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NEW TECHNOLOGIES,  
NEW ICONOGRAPHY,  
NEW PHOTOGRAPHY.  
Photography of the 80's and 90's  
in the Collection of the Museo  
Nacional Centro de Arte Reina  
Sofía  
Texts by Catherine Coleman,  
Pablo Llorca and María Toledo  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)  
P C

KANDINSKY. Acuarelas.  
Städtische Galerie im  
Lenbachhaus, Munich  
Texts by Helmut Friedel and  
Wassily Kandinsky  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/German)  
P C

## 2005

CONTEMPORANEA.  
Kunstmuseum Wolfsburg  
Texts by Gijs van Tuyt, Rudi  
Fuchs, Holger Broeker, Alberto  
Ruiz de Samaniego and Susanne  
Köhler  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)

ANTONIO SAURA. DAMAS  
Texts by Francisco Calvo  
Serraller and Antonio Saura  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)

CELEBRATION OF ART: A Half  
Century of the Fundación Juan  
March  
Texts by Juan Manuel Bonet,  
Juan Pablo Fusi, Antonio Muñoz  
Molina, Juan Navarro Baldeweg  
and Javier Fuentes  
Spanish and English eds.

BECKMANN. Von der Heydt-  
Museum, Wuppertal  
Text by Sabine Fehleemann  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/German)  
P C

EGON SCHIELE: IN BODY  
AND SOUL  
Text by Miguel Sáenz

Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)  
P C

LICHTENSTEIN: IN PROCESS  
Texts by Juan Antonio Ramírez  
and Clare Bell  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)  
P C

FACES AND MASKS:  
Photographs from the Ordóñez-  
Falcón Collection  
Texts by Francisco Caja  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)  
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## 2006

OTTO DIX  
Texts by Ulrike Lorenz  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)

CREATIVE DESTRUCTION:  
Gustav Klimt, the Beethoven  
Frieze and the Controversy about  
the Freedom of Art  
Texts by Stephan Koja, Carl E.  
Schorske, Alice Strobl, Franz A.  
J. Szabo, Manfred Koller, Verena  
Perhelfter and Rosa Sala Rose,  
Hermann Bahr, Ludwig Hevesi  
and Berta Zuckerkandl  
Spanish, English and German eds.  
Published by Prestel, Munich/  
Fundación Juan March, Madrid,  
2006

Supplementary publication:  
Hermann Bahr. CONTRA  
KLIMT  
Original text by Hermann Bahr  
(1903), with additional texts

by Christian Huemer, Verena  
Perhelfter, Rosa Sala Rose and  
Dietrun Otten

LA CIUDAD ABSTRACTA:  
1966. El nacimiento del Museo  
de Arte Abstracto Español  
Texts by Santos Juliá, María  
Bolaños, Ángeles Villalba, Juan  
Manuel Bonet, Gustavo Torner,  
Antonio Lorenzo, Rafael Pérez  
Madero, Pedro Miguel Ibáñez  
and Alfonso de la Torre

GARY HILL: IMAGES OF  
LIGHT. Works from the  
Collection of the Kunstmuseum  
Wolfsburg  
Text by Holger Broeker  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)  
P C

GOYA. CAPRICIOS,  
DESASTRES, TAUROMAQUIA,  
DISPARATES  
Texts by Alfonso E. Pérez-  
Sánchez  
(11<sup>a</sup> ed., 1<sup>a</sup> ed. 1979)  
[This catalogue accompanied  
the exhibition of the same name  
that, since 1979, has traveled  
to 173 Spanish and foreign  
venues. The catalogue has been  
translated into more than seven  
languages.]

## 2007

ROY LICHTENSTEIN:  
BEGINNING TO END  
Texts by Jack Cowart, Juan  
Antonio Ramírez, Ruth Fine,

KEY: Out of print | Available publications in September 2009 | P Exhibition at the Museo Fundación Juan March, Palma | C Exhibition at the Museo

Cassandra Lozano, James de Pasquale, Avis Berman and Clare Bell  
Spanish, French and English eds.

Supplementary publication:  
Roy Fox Lichtenstein.  
PAINTINGS, DRAWINGS AND  
PASTELS: A THESIS  
Original text by Roy Fox  
Lichtenstein (1949), with  
additional texts by Jack Cowart  
and Clare Bell

THE ABSTRACTION OF  
LANDSCAPE: From Northern  
Romanticism to Abstract  
Expressionism  
Texts by Werner Hofmann,  
Hein-Th. Schulze Altcappenberg,  
Barbara Dayer Gallati, Robert  
Rosenblum, Miguel López-  
Remiro, Mark Rothko, Cordula  
Meier, Dietmar Elger, Bernhard  
Teuber, Olaf Mörke and Víctor  
Andrés Ferretti  
Spanish and English eds.

Supplementary publication:  
Sean Scully. BODIES OF LIGHT  
Original text by Sean Scully  
(1998)  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)

EQUIPO CRÓNICA. CRÓNICAS  
REALES  
Texts by Michèle Dalmace,  
Fernando Marías and Tomàs  
Llorens  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)  
P C

BEFORE AND AFTER  
MINIMALISM: A Century  
of Abstract Tendencies in the  
Daimler Chrysler Collection.  
Virtual guide: [www.march.es/arte/palma/antiores/CatalogoMinimal/index.asp](http://www.march.es/arte/palma/antiores/CatalogoMinimal/index.asp)  
Spanish, Catalan, English and  
German eds.  
P

## 2008

MAXImin: Maximum  
Minimization in Contemporary  
Art  
Texts by Renate Wiehager, John  
M Armleder, Ilya Bolotowsky,  
Daniel Buren, Hanne Darboven,  
Adolf Hölzel, Norbert Kricke,  
Heinz Mack and Friederich  
Vordemberge-Gildewart  
Spanish and English eds.

TOTAL ENLIGHTENMENT:  
Conceptual Art in Moscow 1960-  
1990  
Texts by Boris Groys, Ekaterina  
Bobrinskaya, Martina Weinhart,  
Dorothea Zwirner, Manuel  
Fontán del Junco, Andrei  
Monastyrski and Ilya Kabakov  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)  
Published by Hatje Cantz,  
Ostfildern/Fundación Juan  
March, Madrid, 2008

ANDREAS FEININGER: 1906-  
1999  
Texts by Andreas Feininger,  
Thomas Buchsteiner, Jean-

François Chevrier, Juan Manuel  
Bonet and John Loengard  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)  
P C

JOAN HERNÁNDEZ PIJUAN:  
THE DISTANCE OF DRAWING  
Texts by Valentín Roma, Peter  
Dittmar and Narcís Comadira  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)  
P C

Supplementary publication:  
IRIS DE PASCUA. JOAN  
HERNÁNDEZ PIJUAN  
Text by Elvira Maluquer  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)

MUSEO DE ARTE  
ABSTRACTO ESPAÑOL.  
FUNDACIÓN JUAN MARCH.  
CUENCA  
[Guide to the Museo de Arte  
Abstracto Español]  
Texts by Juan Manuel Bonet and  
Javier Maderuelo  
Bilingual ed. (Spanish/English)  
(2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1<sup>st</sup> ed. 2005)

## 2009

TARSILA DO AMARAL  
Texts by Aracy Amaral,  
Juan Manuel Bonet, Jorge  
Schwartz, Regina Teixeira  
de Barros, Tarsila do Amaral,  
Mário de Andrade, Oswald de  
Andrade, Manuel Bandeira,  
Haroldo de Campos, Emiliano  
di Cavalcanti, Ribeiro Couto,  
Carlos Drummond de Andrade,  
António Ferro, Jorge de Lima

and Sérgio Milliet  
Spanish and English eds.

Supplementary publication:  
Oswald de Andrade. PAU  
BRASIL  
Semi-facsimile Spanish ed.,  
Spanish translation by Andrés  
Sánchez Robayna

Blaise Cendrars.  
HOJAS DE RUTA  
Semi-facsimile Spanish ed.,  
Spanish translation by José  
Antonio Millán Alba

CARLOS CRUZ-DIEZ: COLOR  
HAPPENS  
Texts by Osbel Suárez, Carlos  
Cruz-Diez, Gloria Carnevali and  
Ariel Jiménez  
Spanish and English eds.  
P C

Supplementary publication:  
Carlos Cruz-Diez.  
REFLECTION ON COLOR  
Original text by Carlos Cruz-  
Diez (1989), rev. and exp.  
Spanish and English eds.

CASPAR DAVID FRIEDRICH;  
THE ART OF DRAWING  
Texts de Christina  
Grummt, Helmut Borch-Supan,  
y Werner Busch  
Spanish and English eds.

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