

**Zeitschrift:** Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte =  
Revue suisse d'art et d'archéologie = Rivista svizzera d'arte e  
d'archeologia = Journal of Swiss archeology and art history

**Herausgeber:** Schweizerisches Nationalmuseum

**Band:** 52 (1995)

**Heft:** 4: Alexander Trippel (1744-1793)

**Artikel:** Alexander Trippel and Bartolomeo Cavaceppi in the roman art market

**Autor:** Howard, Seymour

**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-169461>

### **Nutzungsbedingungen**

Die ETH-Bibliothek ist die Anbieterin der digitalisierten Zeitschriften auf E-Periodica. Sie besitzt keine Urheberrechte an den Zeitschriften und ist nicht verantwortlich für deren Inhalte. Die Rechte liegen in der Regel bei den Herausgebern beziehungsweise den externen Rechteinhabern. Das Veröffentlichen von Bildern in Print- und Online-Publikationen sowie auf Social Media-Kanälen oder Webseiten ist nur mit vorheriger Genehmigung der Rechteinhaber erlaubt. [Mehr erfahren](#)

### **Conditions d'utilisation**

L'ETH Library est le fournisseur des revues numérisées. Elle ne détient aucun droit d'auteur sur les revues et n'est pas responsable de leur contenu. En règle générale, les droits sont détenus par les éditeurs ou les détenteurs de droits externes. La reproduction d'images dans des publications imprimées ou en ligne ainsi que sur des canaux de médias sociaux ou des sites web n'est autorisée qu'avec l'accord préalable des détenteurs des droits. [En savoir plus](#)

### **Terms of use**

The ETH Library is the provider of the digitised journals. It does not own any copyrights to the journals and is not responsible for their content. The rights usually lie with the publishers or the external rights holders. Publishing images in print and online publications, as well as on social media channels or websites, is only permitted with the prior consent of the rights holders. [Find out more](#)

**Download PDF:** 11.07.2025

**ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, E-Periodica, <https://www.e-periodica.ch>**

# Alexander Trippel and Bartolomeo Cavaceppi in the Roman Art Market

by SEYMOUR HOWARD



Fig. 1 Courtyard of the Palazzo Valle-Capranica, by Maerten van Heemskerck, c. 1536. Etching by Jerome Cock, 1553. A Lorenzetto-like antico reconstruction of a Classical cortile decorated with restored ancient sculptures.

During the late eighteenth century, when Alexander Trippel came to Rome, the city's antiquities trade was flourishing with unprecedented intensity. That powerful art market had, of course, a long history.

The resurrected remains of antique sculptures, which once gave the ancient city as great a population of statues as of human inhabitants, everywhere substantiated accounts inherited from Cicero, Verro, Pliny, Quintilian, and others concerning taste and collecting practices in Rome from the late Republic to the decline of the city. Antiquities appropriated and assembled as *spolia* were in Medieval Rome regularly visited as *mirabilia* until the Renaissance, when such holdings were systematically enlarged, as the city became a major socio-political power in Italy and the rest of Europe. During the pagan revivals of the Middle Ages, Latin families and foreign legates in the papal government regularly excavated their properties in and about the city in search of antique remains.<sup>1</sup>

"The Courtyard of the Palazzo Delle Valle", drawn by Heemskerck (Fig. 1), gives some notion of the pride and expense involved in the dynastic and ornamental use of antiquities, also documented by Aldrovandi<sup>2</sup> and by Vasari, the latter when discussing the antiquarian career of Raphael's colleague, the sculptor Lorenzetto.<sup>3</sup>

The Vatican Belvedere sculpture garden, like the palaces and villas of the Cesi and other powerful families discussed by Hübner, Hülsen, Michaelis, and Ackerman, similarly presented quasi-public displays of antiquities, which by the time of Guglielmo Della Porta (died 1577) were being freely and independently restored, traded, and copied in plaster casts for private and commercial uses among the artists and collectors of Rome.<sup>4</sup> Bertolotti, Lanciani, and other archivists list many *scarpellini*, excavators, and dealers, along with major artists and collectors, who were engaged in restoration, sale, and exchange of antiquities before the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup>



Fig. 2 The Society of Dilettanti, by Joshua Reynolds, 1777–1779. Milords at home – a select initiated fraternity of gentlemen of virtù recalling the delights of antiquarianism on their Roman holidays. London, Society of Dilettanti.

Restorations by Donatello and Verrocchio,<sup>6</sup> fakes by Michelangelo and Cioli, and miniaturist antico copies and forgeries made as Florentine, Paduan, and Venetian coins, gems, minor statuary, and reliefs for sale and exchange document still earlier traffic in antiquities and their reproductions. Literary and sculptural remains attest to similar practices in Antiquity. All these phenomena contributed to the character and development of the Roman antiquarian market and its traditions.

By the seventeenth century the restoration, reproduction, and sale of antiquities – involving scholars, artists, and dealers and employing publication, prints, casts, copies, and translations into other media – were steady sources of income; antiquities became cultural capital for influential artists and patrons in Rome and, through them, all Europe.<sup>7</sup>

With the growing political and economic power of Catholic monarchs and Transalpine Protestant and Slavic nations during the eighteenth century and with the effects of the Enlightenment on increasingly secularized and politicized Rome (which was at once host to the Pretender and supporter of covert emissaries from Hanoverian England), dissenting views arose within the papacy about the Church Militant and its Jesuitic diplomacy. The Jesuit order and its *barocchetto* art style fell from favor.

The election of Pius VI (Braschi; 1775–1799), formerly treasurer for Clement XIV and founder of the Museo Pio-

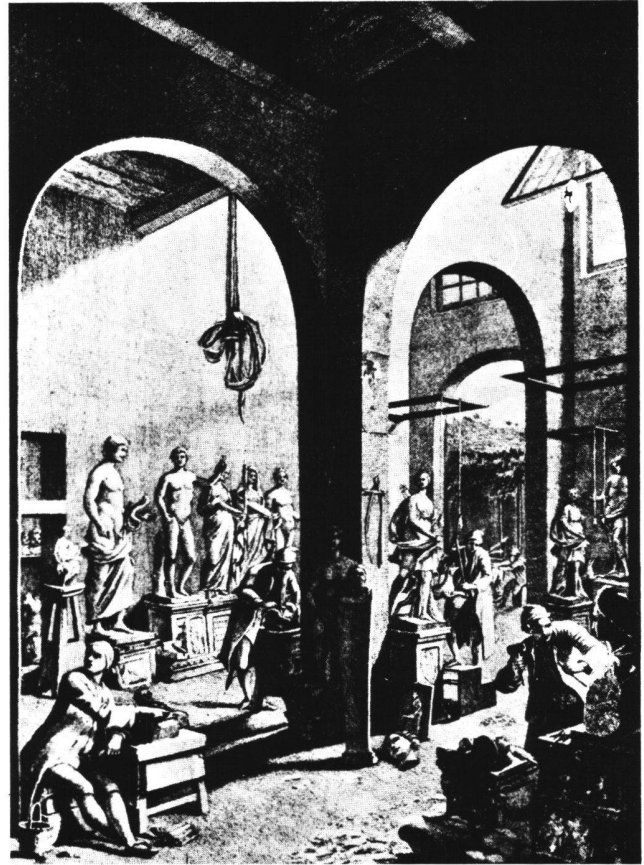


Fig. 3 The Studio of Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, 1769. Etching from BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI, *Raccolta d'antiche statue, busti, bassirilievi ed altre sculture restaurate...*, vol. II [1769], frontispiece. In a workshop and courtyard of the Museo Cavaceppi, the master restorer, sketching in clay at lower left, is shown surrounded by artisans engaged with copying machines, casts, fragments, and restored major sculptures, mainly destined for the collection of Frederick the Great at Potsdam.

Clementino after the completion of the Museo Capitolino, ushered in a new era of Enlightenment, secularization, and commerce in antiquities as prime concerns of papal government.

The antiquarian activities of Pius VI's Arcadian champion and quasi-model Cardinal Alessandro Albani – at the Villa Albani and for the principal art institutions of Rome, including the Capitoline Museum – set a pattern for the Pope and the Visconti, who served him as scholar-agents, much as Baron von Stosch and Winckelmann had served Albani.

Justi, Michaelis, Noack, Ashby, Schudt, Ford, the Haskell team, and many others, citing journals, letters, travel books, etc., have documented the hordes of visitors to Rome who came from north of the Alps during the long reign of Pius VI. They included most of the principal political and cultural leaders of Europe, as well as artists and amateurs of the northern nations.

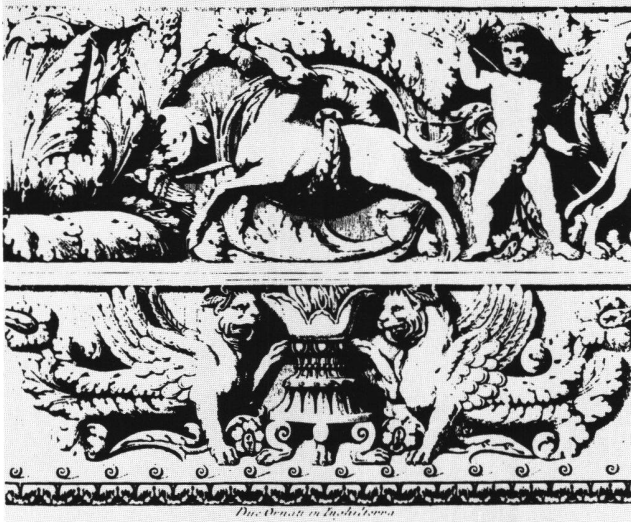


Fig. 4 Ornamental Reliefs, by the Cavaceppi studio, 1772. Etching from BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI, *Raccolta d'antiche statue, busti, bassirilievi ed altre sculture ristaurate...*, vol. III [1772], 19.

The Pope's jealous restrictions on exports – which nonetheless continued to increase – heightened the frenzy for antiquities and their copies and casts. An entire industry thrived in response to the growing furor, and distinctions between artist, entrepreneur, collector, dealer, excavator, restorer, and cicerone were blurred. We have, for example, the English painter, banker, dealer and covert diplomat Thomas Jenkins; the Scottish painter, excavator and agent Gavin Hamilton; the Prussian cicerone, scholar and curator J. J. Winckelmann; Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorf; Johann Friedrich Reiffenstein; Christian Hagedorn; and the native Roman restorer, dealer, collector and excavator Bartolomeo Cavaceppi and his students and colleagues, such as Trippel's friends Giuseppe Angelini and Vincenzo Pacetti.<sup>8</sup>

During their delicious and diverting Roman holiday, wonderfully described in Goethe's diary, visitors stayed mainly near the North Gate of Rome, in the artists' center, where an international population then, as now, toured and visited the various studios, galleries, coffee houses, and hotels, buying, talking, and vicariously living the antiquarian life (Fig. 2). As we learn from Cicognara and others, the artists of Rome, foreign and domestic, then represented its major industry.<sup>9</sup>

Trippel came to Rome from Schaffhausen and Zurich (1776) at an opportune moment in the history of Neoclassic antiquarianism. Pius VI had just been elected, and he began to augment Enlightenment policies dedicated to the civic improvement and beautification of Rome, furthering its cultural leadership. The Vatican Museum, with its immense collections of freshly excavated and restored antiquities, was the principal ornament of his reign. Artists and amateurs of taste and ambition flocked to Rome.



Fig. 5 Acanthus Frieze with Putto, Deer, Birds, and Leopard. by Alexander Trippel. Red chalk. Top, a copy of Fig. 4; below, an auxiliary architectural profile ornament. Zurich, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, Graphische Sammlung.

Among the first places that Trippel sought out – in addition to the studios of Phillip Hackert, Tobias Sergel, Gavin Hamilton, Anton Mengs, and other resident Transalpine artists – was the studio of Cavaceppi, an early and principal supplier to the new Museum (Fig. 3). Cavaceppi was famous throughout Europe for his many antiquarian commissions and rich holdings.<sup>10</sup> He, like Winckelmann, was renowned as the protégé and aide of Cardinal Albani and as the loyal and honored companion on Winckelmann's fatal return visit to Germany, planned to end at the court of Frederick the Great (1768). Though reticent about the inventions of the older sculptor, Trippel expressed great admiration for his antiquities collections, a "Museo" that included ancient fragments and restorations as well as modern casts, copies, *bozzetti*, medals, gems, prints, "Etruscan" vases, drawings, and so forth – all made famous throughout the Germanies by the writings and purchases of Winckelmann and others. Well before coming to Rome, Trippel apparently made painstaking student copies from Cavaceppi's sumptuously illustrated "Raccolta" (1768–1772) of antiquities, copies, and inventions once in his galleries (cf. Figs. 4, 5).<sup>11</sup> These volumes and Cavaceppi's collections, near Trippel's studio in Rome, seem to have remained a resource for him. Tracing the sources for his works to the studio of Cavaceppi, and to models for them both and for local artists in general, shows how profoundly Rome's flourishing antiquarian art market influenced contemporary taste.<sup>12</sup>

Consider, for example, sources for Trippel's figure "Charity" ("Wohltätigkeit") in the Johann Nepomuk von Schwarzenberg monument at Wittingau (1793; Fig. 6):<sup>13</sup> a summary of his means and a telling prefiguration of Bertel Thorvaldsen's more radically Archaic and Transalpine translation of a Classical personification into the crypto-Gothic image of a Christian virtue ("Hope", 1817).<sup>14</sup>

While the head with its distinctive coiffure resembles the fleshy Capitoline Venus, the upper portion of Trippel's "Charity" most directly improvises upon the venerated Villa Medici Niobe, Winckelmann's ideal of a beautiful and



Fig. 6 Grave monument of Prince Nepomuk von Schwarzenberg, by Alexander Trippel, 1793. "Charity" at left. Trebon, Schwarzenbergsche Familiengruft.



Fig. 7 Niobe and Her Youngest Daughter. Roman Imperial copy based upon a Scopaeic free-standing or pedimental group. Florence, Uffizi; formerly Villa Medici.



Fig. 8 Eirene and Plutus, by Kephisidotus, restored as "Leucothea" (Ino and Dionysos) by Bartolomeo Cavacceppi for Cardinal Albani, following J. J. Winckelmann. Munich, Glyptothek; formerly Villa Albani, Salone.

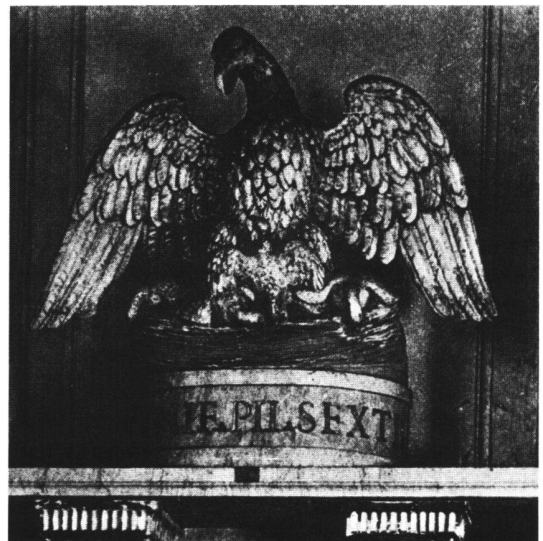


Fig. 9 Parenting Eagle, Nest, and Eaglets. Roman, Vatican, Pio-Clementino Museum, Sala degli animali.

caring mother (Fig. 7). This is clear from the tragic-mask-like pathos of its similarly upturned face and the weighty forms of its chiton and upper body. The pendant matronly figure and her sheltered young Thanatos, flanking the antico bust of Schwarzenberg, freely improvise upon the rest of the Niobe composition and an aggregate of other comparably enriching antiquarian sources. The Villa Medici group had been taken to the Uffizi in 1769, but casts and studies of it were plentiful in Rome and were for sale in Cavaceppi's studio, as were studies of the Capitoline Venus.<sup>15</sup>

The widespread cloak framing Trippel's figure of "Charity" and its thematic sentiment also bring to mind Winckelmann's so-called "Leucothea", the Eirene and Plutus of Kephisidotus, prominently featured in the Parnassus Gallery of the Villa Albani Casino. Cavaceppi, its restorer and Winckelmann's collaborator, published a fine illustration of it among the first and most select plates of his "Raccolta" (Fig. 8). The clasp and cloak of "Charity" and the Schwarzenberg portrait as a whole also bring to mind canonical Roman Imperial bust portraits of heroes and rulers, illustrated in the "Raccolta" volumes.<sup>16</sup>

Charity's lower garment, with its archaizing cascade of center folds between the legs, has various parallels in Greco-Roman ritual images, especially of Isis; that fetching pattern was also cast, copied and imitated by Cavaceppi.<sup>17</sup>

The cornucopia similarly relates to attributes in restorations and inventions of matronly figures of Fortuna by Cavaceppi, and to others by his colleagues and by ancient artists.<sup>18</sup>

The Eagle tending to her distressed chicks below resembles the well-known Mattei Eagle, duplicated among the casts in Cavaceppi's studio, and a recently discovered analogue in the Vatican Museum (Fig. 9).<sup>19</sup>

The overall appearance of Trippel's figure recalls in general ancient pensive formulae like the often heavily draped Apollo Musagete inspired to poetry and the arts among his Muses. So does the similarly posed but nude god in Anton Raphael Mengs's influential "Parnassus" at the Villa Albani, partly based upon Cavaceppi's restoration of Count Fede's Apollo from Hadrian's Villa. The Muses of Mengs seem also based partly on antiquities restored by Cavaceppi and illustrated in his "Raccolta".<sup>20</sup>

Like Mengs, Trippel used an iconographic welter of sources, as did Cavaceppi and other Roman restorers when they added "authentic" or validating archaeological attributes and attitudes to fragmented antiquities.

The thousands of antiquarian works in Cavaceppi's immense Museo and academy, like the galleries and shops of his colleagues working for the great museums and collections of Rome, and all Europe, were of inestimable importance to Trippel, both as models and as competition.

Trippel's early antico portraits of Nicolai Abilgaard, Johann Wolfgang Goethe, Johann Gottfried Herder, and others show the influence of Antonine "baroque" busts and their bases as well as similar restored, copied, and invented antiquarian portraits made by Cavaceppi and his fellows.



Fig. 10 The Verospi Zeus, by Alexander Trippel or Bartolomeo Cavaceppi (?). Terra cotta sketch, partly gilt. Rome, Palazzo Venezia; formerly Cavaceppi, Torlonia, and Gorga collections.

Trippel combined their pyrotechnic modeling and vestiges of Rococo realistic detail with his native Transalpine interests in literal renderings of nature.<sup>21</sup>

Trippel's copy of the "Farnese Homer" (Stuttgart)<sup>22</sup> and his portrait of Frederick the Great (Arolsen),<sup>23</sup> like other of his antiquarian productions in Rome, similarly profited from Cavaceppi's example. Trippel's early and rococo relief of Andromeda (1776), derived from older mutually used sources, more vaguely resembles ladies in distress by Cavaceppi and his Franco-Roman master Monnot, whose *bozzetti*, with those of kindred influential masters, were in Cavaceppi's large collections.<sup>24</sup>

Recently discovered *bozzetti* associated with that collection, once lavishly praised by Winckelmann, stem from the same cache as two closely related sketches apparently by Trippel.<sup>25</sup>

A study of the "Verospi Zeus" (Fig. 10), whose marble prototype dominates the Vatican Clementino main gallery and recalls the Olympian chryselephantine statue by Phidias, is rendered very much like other of Trippel's terra cottas and perhaps contributed to his lost plaster represent-



Fig. 11 Apollo and Hyacinth, by Alexander Trippel. Terra cotta, signed "A. T." on back of trunk. Rome, Palazzo Venezia; formerly Gorga collection.



Fig. 12 Menelaos and Patroclus (?). Marble statuette. Diminutive copy of an over-life-size Pergamene bronze of about 250 B.C. Vatican, Clementino Museum, Sala dei busti.

ing Jupiter. The bisque sketch was painted gold, apparently as an "archaeological" nicety. Possibly it or another *bozzetto* of the same subject by Cavaceppi was in the restorer's collection.<sup>26</sup>

An "Apollo and Hyacinth" is identically worked, and, like other sketches by Trippel, was painted black, simulating patinated bronze (Fig. 11). It is signed "A. T." in his manner on the trunk support, and Trippel is recorded to have made both a group and a relief of the subject.<sup>27</sup> The invention improvises mainly upon a famous ancient group: the "Pasquino" representing Menelaos and Patroclus, a type also known from a better-preserved copy formerly in the Villa Medici and, still more important in this context, a fragmentary statuette in the Clementino of more compatible size and of a sort recently supplied to the museum by Cavaceppi (Fig. 12).<sup>28</sup> Related *bozzetti* by Trippel's friends Tobias Sergel and Pacetti similarly improvised upon such groups.<sup>29</sup> The model for Trippel's head of the young god was, however, the Apollo Belvedere. That august prototype also influenced the head of Trippel's "Apollo and Admetos"<sup>30</sup>

and, less obviously so, his idealizing portrait of Goethe, which recalls heroic Baroque and Hellenistic models as well.<sup>31</sup> Flattering associations with the "Apollo Belvedere" – so rhapsodically praised by Winckelmann – surely link Goethe, an admiring yet critical biographer of the great art historian and archaeologist, more with Winckelmann's ideals concerning male beauty, friendship, and fraternity than with his homoerotic affectations,<sup>32</sup> such as were acted out in the burlesque Sturm und Drang passions of Füssli's letters to Lavater.<sup>33</sup>

Trippel's eclectic assemblages of well-known antico motifs illustrate, of course, methods of academic imitation and invention that had been used in training artists since the sixteenth century, but with a recent interest in archaeological literalism. These procedures were quite familiar to contemporary restorers, who had assimilated such practices from working with countless Greco-Roman copies and adaptations of famous ancient sculptures, an influence all too little recognized. Trippel himself described such an eclectic ap-

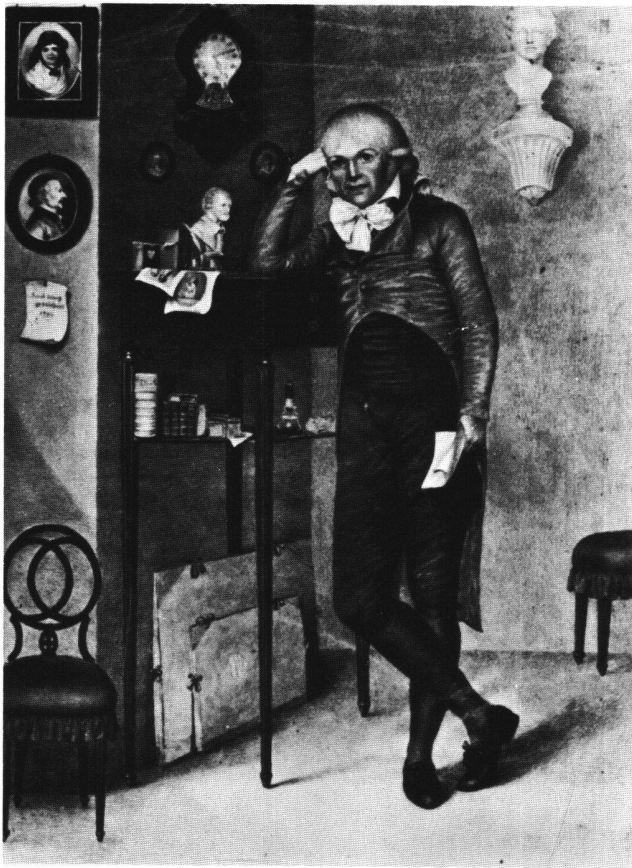


Fig. 13 Johann Wilhelm Veith in His Study, by Jacob Merz, signed and dated 1799. Chalk and watercolor drawing. A Trivialromantik portrait of the collector, Merz's patron, in a classicized pose; note bust casts of Shakespeare and a Classical Youth. Formerly London art market.

propriation of ancient motifs in J. L. David's "Oath of the Horatii", which was exhibited with great pomp and circumstance in Rome before its triumph in Paris (1782).<sup>34</sup>

These pastiche or aggregate methods used by eighteenth-century restorers and academicians influenced sculptural inventions by resident and visiting artists in Rome well before their glibly assimilated exploitation in the New Classics of Jacques Louis David and Antonio Canova.

Trippel would have encountered eclectic and antio aspects of academicism even prior to working at the Copenhagen academy with Johannes Wiedewelt, Winckelmann's friend and a founding Neoclassic sculptor in Rome. These methods, promoted by Johann Georg Sulzer, were already practiced in Rome by Füssli, as they would be in Zurich by Heinrich Lips, Lavater's illustrator and the companion of Goethe when they visited Trippel in Rome. This approach also would become an important component in the education of Lips's young student Jacob Merz (1783–1807), who further developed his Neoclassic taste and training at the Vienna Academy with Trippel's colleagues from Rome: the Directors Heinrich Füger and Franz Zauner, members of

their faculty, and a visitor, Canova. In his path Merz followed the lead of a Schaffhausen patron, the art collector and cultured entrepreneur Pastor Johann Wilhelm Veith of Andelfingen, friend of Lips, Lavater, and fellow-amateurs – all founders of an academy of artists and friends in Zurich, where Trippel garnered support.<sup>35</sup> Veith knew and poetically praised in Sturm und Drang terms the work and aspirations of Trippel, a native of Schaffhausen (Fig. 13). Veith owned two terra cotta sculptures by Trippel and almost two hundred of his drawings.<sup>36</sup>

The classicizing attitudes then and afterward routinely used in academic studies and assumed by artists' models illustrate to what degree ubiquitous assimilation of academic eclecticism, resulting from constant imitation of antiquities and their reproductions, eventually became second nature – an imprinted way of seeing and being.

Even after academic training in Copenhagen and further work in London and Paris, where he became an accomplished technician, Trippel developed a purist, a Romanist archaeological Neoclassicism slowly, haltingly, like Merz



Fig. 14 William Tell Embracing His Son, who Presents Him the Target Apple, by Alexander Trippel, c. 1780. Wood. Wineglass stand for the Helvetische Gesellschaft. Zurich, Swiss National Museum.

and other Transalpine artists. The idiom preferred by Veith, Lavater and their Zurich canton friends was an aggregate combination of historic and “Trivialromantik” anecdotalism (see again Fig. 13), used by Swiss illustrators working in the Rococo vein of Chodowiecki, combined with a veristic and characteristically Protestant literal naturalism espoused by Anton Graff and Goethe – a naturalism sometimes given an ameliorating classicizing gloss.<sup>37</sup> That taste characterizes Trippel’s first Swiss studies and subsequent commissions awarded for local use by his countrymen (Fig. 14).<sup>38</sup>

It was only after the French Revolution, Napoleon’s invasion of Italy, and the modern plunder of masterpieces following the Treaty of Tolentino that Rome ceased to be Europe’s principal market and Mecca for Fine Art. The Louvre superseded the Pio-Clementino, and Paris finally became Europe’s cultural as well as political capital.

Until then, Rome – the inviolate sacred and pagan city – was a center for subtle revolutionary as well as traditional political and cultural ideas. This factor certainly supported its importance in the late eighteenth century as a diverting locus for notables on the Grand Tour and as an emanci-

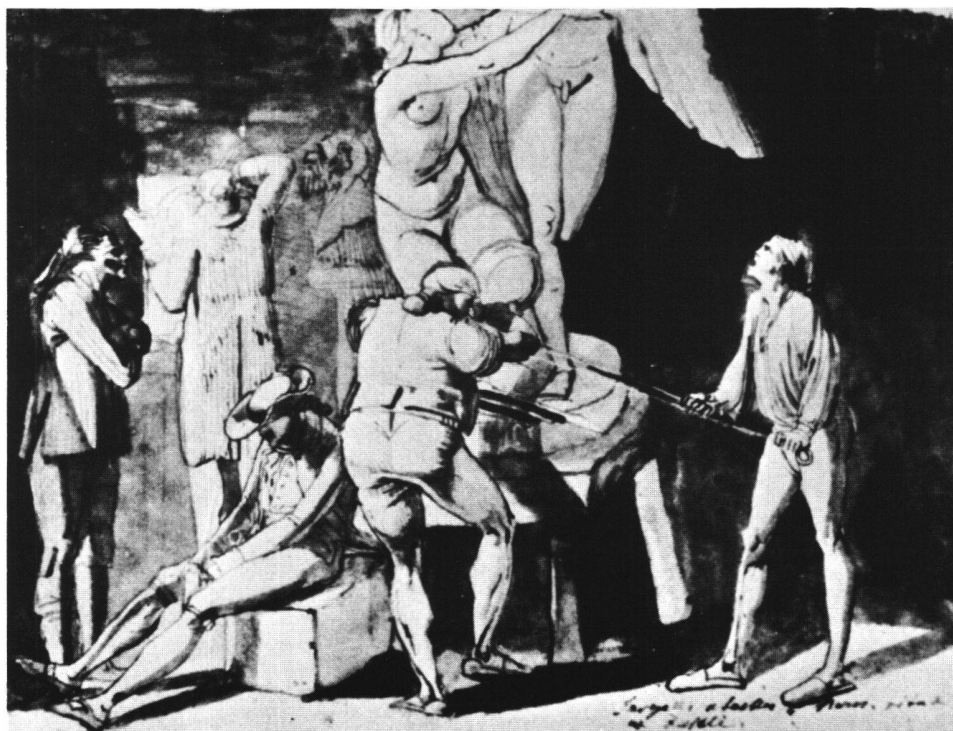


Fig. 15 Sergel’s Studio, by Johann Heinrich Füssli, c. 1776–1777. Ink and wash. Sergel works on his marble version of “Cupid and Psyche”, surrounded by assistants and friends; J. H. Füssli slouches beside him. Stockholm, National Museum, from Sergel collection.

Lavater, Veith and their circle knew and admired the activities of their Germanic brethren in Rome through the writings of Winckelmann, Füssli and others. After mid century, it was expected that artists and amateurs of consequence would sojourn there and assimilate its taste, to acquire a modish classicizing finish (Fig. 15). As an ancillary and necessary result of their interests, archaeologically based images were increasingly exported from Rome to northern academies and collections for study, most often in the form of casts, copies, and other reproductions of Classical canons of taste.<sup>39</sup>

pating residence for their agent-dealers, ciceroni, and art suppliers.

As noted by Quatremère de Quincy, Missirini and Fernow, the principal artistic attraction and basis for Roman commerce in sculpture at that time were antiquities renovated by sculptors like Cavaceppi, until Canova began to make the successful New Classics these critics championed. Pius VI had bought 2000 sculptures, but none were modern!<sup>40</sup> This useful propagandistic overstatement and simplification favoring Canova ignored the important contributions of Trippel and his fellows. They, too, contributed to the cre-

ation of New Classics that reflected and competed with the articles of antiquarian commerce. In this movement, Trippel's own studio, with its informal academy, was an influential meeting place.<sup>41</sup>

John Flaxman, Thorvaldsen, Gottfried Schadow, John Gibson – virtually every noted Transalpine sculptor of the Neoclassic generation from the end of the eighteenth century onward followed in the footsteps of Trippel and his friends, who themselves were preceded by Northern artists of the generation of Hamilton, Wiedewelt, Thomas Banks, Sergel, and Füssli, as well as by native Roman artists, including Cavaceppi and his followers. The slowly evolving scholarly and self-consciously affected antiquarian style

of these artists produced the first commercially successful international idiom and “ism” or “mode” of the Modern age. Their Neoclassicism – a subtly informed and ostensibly pristine moral analogue for a clean slate or *tabula rasa* – suited the profound material and spiritual revolutions of that era.<sup>42</sup>

Nowadays, another commercially successful and “revolutionary” world-wide art movement – Post-Modern Neo-Neoclassicism – with its art historically informed “deconstructions,” seriously, playfully, and ironically again re-views both Antiquity and the initial imagery of the Early Modern age that Trippel and his colleagues helped to establish. Such eternal returns are delightful to contemplate.<sup>43</sup>

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Ancient through modern antiquities collecting in Rome: See generally for sources and reviews, JEROME J. POLLITT, *The Art of Rome and Late Antiquity: Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs 1966. – ERNEST NASH, *A Pictorial History of Ancient Rome*, London 1968, 2 v. – HEINZ LADENDORF, *Antikenstudium und Antikenkopie*, Berlin, 2nd ed., 1958. – CORNELIUS C. VERMEULE, *European Art and the Classical Past*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964. – MICHAEL GREENHALGH, *The Classical Tradition in Art*, New York 1978. – FRANCIS HASKELL/NICHOLAS PENNY, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Greek Sculpture 1500–1900*, New Haven 1981. – PHYLLIS P. BOBER/RUTH RUBENSTEIN, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources*, London/New York 1986. – SEYMOUR HOWARD, *Antiquity Restored: Essays on the Afterlife of the Antique*, Vienna 1990. – idem, in the notes below; see also sundry bibliographic indexes and data bases, especially of the Hertziana Library and the German Archaeological Institute in Rome and the Warburg Institute, London.
- <sup>2</sup> ULISSE ALDROVANDI, *Delle statue antiche, che per tutta Roma, in diversi luoghi, e case si veggono*, in: LUCIO MAURO, *Le antichità della città di Roma...*, Venice 1556.
- <sup>3</sup> GIORGIO VASARI, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, Florence 1878–85; ed. GAETANO MILANESI, Florence, 1906, IV, 597ff. (Lorenzetto).
- <sup>4</sup> PAUL G. HÜBNER, *Le statue di Roma*, Leipzig 1912. – CHRISTIAN HÜLSEN, *Römische Antikengärten des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Heidelberg 1917. – ADOLF MICHAELIS, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, tr. C. A. M. Fennell, Cambridge 1882. – idem, in: HEINZ LADENDORF (cf. note 1), p. 189 (19 entries). – JAMES S. ACKERMAN, *The Cortile del Belvedere*, Vatican City 1954.
- <sup>5</sup> ANTONINO BERTOLOTTI, *Esportazione di oggetti di belle arti de Roma nei secoli XVI, XVII, e XVIII*, in: Archivio storico artistico archeologico e letterario della città e provincia di Roma, 1, 1875, 173–185; 2, 1877, 20–25, 209–224, 266–300; 3, 1878–89, 171–181; 4, 1880, 74–89. – idem, *Artisti lombardi a Roma nei secoli XV, XVI, e XVII*, Milan 1881; repr. Bologna 1969–70, 2 v. – RODOLFO LANCIANI, *Storia degli scavi di Roma e notizie intorno le collezioni romane di antichità*, Rome 1902–12, 4 v. Della Porta: SEYMOUR HOWARD (cf. note 1), pp. 65–68, 252f. nn. 5–6, 14–17.
- <sup>6</sup> GIORGIO VASARI (cf. note 3), II, 366f. (Verrocchio); II, 407 (Donatello).

- <sup>7</sup> For pre-Renaissance through Late Baroque antiquarianism generally, see again critiques and bibliographies in note 1.
- <sup>8</sup> Eighteenth-century and Early Modern antiquarianism and collecting in Rome; Albani, Winckelmann, Pius VI, et al.: JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN, *Sämtliche Werke* (1755–), ed. JOSEPH EISELEIN (1825–), Osnabrück 1965, 12 v. – CARL JUSTI, *Winckelmann und seine Zeitgenossen* (1866), 5th ed., ed. W. REHM, Cologne 1956. – ADOLF MICHAELIS (cf. note 4). – FRIEDRICH NOACK, *Deutsches Leben in Rom, 1700 bis 1900*, Stuttgart 1907. – idem, *Das Deutschtum in Rom seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters* (1927), Aalen 1974, 2 v. – THOMAS ASHBY, *Thomas Jenkins in Rome*, in: Papers of the British School of Archaeology at Rome, 6, 1913, 487–511. – MICHELANGELO CAGIANO DE AZEVEDO, *Il gusto nel restauro delle opere d'arte antiche*, Rome 1948. – LUDWIG SCHUDT, *Italienreisen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Vienna 1959. – BRINSLEY FORD, *Six Notable English Patrons in Rome*, in: Apollo, 99, 1974, passim. – *Forschungen zur Villa Albani: Antike Kunst und die Epoche der Aufklärung*, eds. HERBERT BECK/PETER C. BOL, Berlin, 1982. – SEYMOUR HOWARD, *Albani, Winckelmann, and Cavaceppi: The Transition from Amateur to Professional Antiquarianism*, in: Journal of the History of Collections, 4, 1992, 27–38. – SEYMOUR HOWARD (cf. note 1), pp. 312ff. (bibl.). – LUDWIG PASTOR, *History of the Popes*, London 1891–1952, XXXIX, 52–110 (Pius VI's antiquarian enterprises). – See also notes 1, 31.
- <sup>9</sup> JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE, *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert in Briefen und Aufsätzen* (1805), ed. HELMUT HOLTZHAUER, Leipzig 1969. – JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE, *Italienische Reise* (1786), ed. CHRISTIAN SCHUCHARDT, Stuttgart 1862, 2 v. – LEOPOLDO CICOGNARA, *Storia della scultura dal suo risorgimento in Italia* (1813–18), Prato 1823–25, VII, 63.
- <sup>10</sup> Cavaceppi: BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI, *Raccolta d'antiche statue, busti, bassirilievi ed altre sculture restaurate...*, Rome 1768–72, 3 v. – FRIEDRIKE BRUN, *Tagebuch über Rom*, Zurich 1801, I, 345f. (account of studio, patrons, and reputation in Germany). – SEYMOUR HOWARD, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi Eighteenth-Century Restorer* (1958), New York 1982. – CARLOS A. PICON, *Bartolomeo Cavaceppi...*, catalogue, London (Clarendon Gallery Ltd.), 23 November–22 December 1983. – SEYMOUR HOWARD (cf. note 1), passim. – SEYMOUR HOWARD, *Some Eighteenth-Century 'Restored' Boxers*, in: Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 56, 1993, 238–255. – MARIA G. BARBERINI, et al.,

- Bartolomeo Cavaceppi scultore romano*, catalogue, Rome (Museo del Palazzo di Venezia), 25 January – 15 March 1994.
- <sup>11</sup> Cf. *Alexander Trippel (1744–1793). Skulpturen und Zeichnungen*, catalogue, text by DIETER ULRICH (chronicles and sculpture) and DAISY SIGERIST (drawings), Schaffhausen (Museum zu Allerheiligen), 25. September–21. November 1993, no. 29 (Acanthus Frieze, red chalk; no prototype cited; Zurich, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule; cf. Fig. 5), and BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI (cf. note 10), III, no. 19 (England), a relief related to the heavy Palace salon frieze, designed by Friedrich Wilhelm von Erdmannsdorf, made for Cavaceppi's royal patrons in Anhalt-Dessau.
- <sup>12</sup> For examples of Trippel's pieces variously related to Cavaceppi, see the following items and see corresponding busts, statues, and reliefs in CAVACEPPI's *Raccolta* (cf. note 10) and in inventories of his collection (SEYMOUR HOWARD [cf. notes 1, 10, 18]). *Swiss Hercules (Alexander Trippel (1744–1793). Skulpturen und Zeichnungen* [cf. note 11], no. 3; 1775); cf. Seated Hercules (Cavaceppi, I, 41, England), a Lysippan Herakles Epitrapezios type (e.g., MARGARETE BIEBER, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* [1955], New York 1961, figs. 80–83). *Vestal (Alexander Trippel (1744–1793). Skulpturen und Zeichnungen* [cf. note 11], no. 12; 1781); cf. lower body and garment with Cavaceppi's *Flora* (SEYMOUR HOWARD [cf. note 1], fig. 197; before 1776, Cassel), which in turn improvises on the *Flora Farnese*; cf. the upper garment and pose with Cavaceppi's sketch of the *Cesi Juno*, related to the restoration of that work in the Capitoline Museum by his second master, Carlo Napolioni (MARIA G. BARBERINI [cf. note 10], p. 92, fig.), and with Cavaceppi's own restoration of the *Albani Athena* (Cavaceppi, I, 1); see also sundry ancient marble furniture and low-relief figures in BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI (cf. note 10), *passim*. *Government*, in the Tschernyschew monument (*Alexander Trippel (1744–1793). Skulpturen und Zeichnungen* [cf. note 11], fig. 25; 1789); cf. *Fede Venus* pose (BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI [cf. note 10], I, 32), the reed bundle of a *Ceres* (ibid., II, 36), and *Empress portraits* (ibid., I, 12, *Agrippina*; III, 50, *Sabina*).
- <sup>13</sup> "Charity" and the *Schwarzenberg Monument*: *Alexander Trippel (1744–1793). Skulpturen und Zeichnungen* (cf. note 11), p. 30, fig. 30, and nos. 96–97 (preparatory drawings in Krumlov [Tschechien] State Archives). – CARL HEINRICH VOGLER, *Der Bildhauer Alexander Trippel aus Schaffhausen...*, in: *Kunstverein Schaffhausen: Neujahrsblatt*, 1892/93, pp. 47–49, 51–73 (a list of documented works), 62, 79, and pl. 3, left.
- <sup>14</sup> Thorvaldsen's "Hope": SEYMOUR HOWARD, *Archaism and Attitudes in Italianate Neo-Classical Sculpture*, in: *La scultura nel XIX secolo* (1979), ed. HORST W. JANSON, Bologna 1984, pp. 11f., 15 n. 13, fig. 8. – see also *Bertel Thorvaldsen*, catalogue, Cologne (Kunsthalle), 5 February – 3 April 1977, pp. 186f., no. 54.
- <sup>15</sup> *Niobe group* and *Capitoline Venus*: JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN (cf. note 8), XII, 116 (23 entries on *Niobe*). – FRANCIS HASKELL/NICHOLAS PENNY (cf. note 1), nos. 66, 84. See also BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI (cf. note 10), I, frontispiece (Cavaceppi with a *Capitoline Venus bozzetto* improvisation). – SEYMOUR HOWARD, *Ancient Busts and the Cavaceppi and Albacini Casts*, in: *Journal of the History of Collections*, 3/2, 1991, 199–217, esp. 209ff., nos. 138, 221, 228, 253, 299 (*Niobe casts*), and 162, 198, 244, 262 (*Venus casts*).
- <sup>16</sup> *Albani Eirene* and *Plutus* or "Leucothea": JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN, *Monumenti antichi inediti...*, Rome, 1767–, I, no. 54, II, 67f. – BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI (cf. note 10), I, 2. – SEYMOUR HOWARD (cf. note 8), pp. 32, 37, n. 13, fig. 11. Cf. also cloaked bust portraits in BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI (cf. note 10), II–III, and Cavaceppi's "Museo" inventories (SEYMOUR HOWARD, 1982 [cf. note 10], Appendixes).
- <sup>17</sup> *Archaising central folds*: see, e.g., SEYMOUR HOWARD (cf. note 10), pp. 113, 115, no. 56, fig. 150 (*Isis-like Nymph with a Vase, bozzetto* at Wörlitz). – BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI (cf. note 10), I, 54 (*Venus with Shell*, Cavaceppi studio); II, 14 (*Isis*, Cavaceppi studio).
- <sup>18</sup> *Cornucopia*: BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI (cf. note 10), I, 51, 52 (*Fortuna* [2]; Potsdam). – SEYMOUR HOWARD (cf. note 1), p. 98, fig. 120 (*Fortuna*, Holkham Hall; modern?).
- <sup>19</sup> Cf. SEYMOUR HOWARD (cf. note 15), p. 209, no. 69 (cast of Mattei Eagle). – *Monumenti Matthaiana*, Rome 1778, 3 v. (published after sale). – WALTHER AMELUNG, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, Berlin 1903–1908, II, no. 140, pl. 34 (Eagle, nest, and chicks; found 1777).
- <sup>20</sup> *Apollo Musagete*: BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI (cf. note 10), I, 33 (*Fede Apollo*); cf. also ibid., II, 24 (*Apollo* [?] restored as a *Muse with a Cithara*). – SEYMOUR HOWARD (cf. note 10), 1993, p. 245, pl. 37c (*Apollo Kitharoidos* restored by L. S. Adam as *Achilles* with a portrait of Baron von Stosch). – SALOMON REINACH, *Répertoire de la statuaire grèque et romaine*, Paris 1897–1930, 6 v., *Apollo*, *passim*. *Mengs's Muses*: cf. BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI (cf. note 10), I, 15, 29f., 45f. – *Forschungen zur Villa Albani* (cf. note 8), figs. 119–122, 125.
- <sup>21</sup> *Alexander Trippel (1744–1793). Skulpturen und Zeichnungen* (cf. note 11), nos. 9 ("Abildgaard", 1776/7), 13 "French Officer", 1782), 17 ("Goethe", 1790), 18 ("Herder", 1790), and other antique busts. Cf., in addition to sources cited in the catalogue, busts found in BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI (cf. note 10), II–III, and in inventories of Cavaceppi's antiquities, *bozzetti*, copies, casts, and inventions (SEYMOUR HOWARD [cf. note 1], figs. 131ff. – idem [cf. notes 10, 15]).
- <sup>22</sup> "Homer": *Alexander Trippel (1744–1793). Skulpturen und Zeichnungen* (cf. note 11), fig. 29; cf. Cavaceppi copy in KLAUS FITTSCHEN, in: *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Wallmoden. Ausstellung zum Gedenken an Christian Gottlieb Heyne*, catalogue, Göttingen (Archäologisches Institut der Universität Göttingen), 1979, no. 52, pl. 52; also cast reproductions in SEYMOUR HOWARD (cf. note 15), pp. 210, 213, nos. 143, 211 (Cavaceppi), no. 219 (Albacini). – CARL HEINRICH VOGLER (cf. note 13), p. 67, lists the following copies by Trippel; they have possible counterparts among Cavaceppi's casts, copies, and antiquities (see, e.g., SEYMOUR HOWARD [cf. note 15], cast numbers cited here in brackets [ ]; and SEYMOUR HOWARD [cf. note 10], inventories): *Tragedy* [41]; *Muse* [32, 245]; *Clementino "Nemesis"* [?]; *Mercury* [22, 70, 303]; *Niobe's Daughter* [142; for *Niobe*, see n15]; *Philosophers* (3) [35, 101, 107, 115, 121, and 15 others]; *Mattei Cicero* [52, 188]; *Cato* [169, 266]; *Seneca* [29, 39, 44, 159]; *Ariadne* [45, 207]; *Melpomene* [see *Tragedy and Muse*]; *Apollo Belvedere* [312, and 6 *Apollos*]; *Commodus* [258, 288].
- <sup>23</sup> "Frederick the Great": *Alexander Trippel (1744–1793). Skulpturen und Zeichnungen* (cf. note 11), fig. 17.3 (*Arolsen*); cf. physiognomic and other details with Cavaceppi's portrait in Potsdam, formerly Wörlitz (SEYMOUR HOWARD [cf. note 10], 1982, pp. 132f., figs. 277–299). Trippel also made portraits of Cavaceppi's other great patrons; cf. CARL HEINRICH VOGLER (cf. note 13), nos. 50 (*Pius VI*, statuette), 74 (*Leopold of Braunschweig*, sketch), 82 and 98 (*Cardinal Albani*, statuette and bust).
- <sup>24</sup> "Andromeda": *Alexander Trippel (1744–1793). Skulpturen und Zeichnungen* (cf. note 11), no. 5b, 1776; cf. BARTOLOMEO CAVACEPPI (cf. note 10), III [1772], 29 (*Nessus and Deianeira*; Townley Collection, British Museum; modern), and Monnot's Metropolitan Museum "Andromeda" and Monnot entries in Cavaceppi inventories (SEYMOUR HOWARD, 1982 [cf. note 10], pp. 370–372, Appendix III, nos. 26, 36, 37, 57, 58, 96 [*bozzetti*];

- pp. 385, 388ff., Appendix V, Monumenti, no. 362, and Modelli, nos. 20, 147, 203).
- <sup>25</sup> Cavaceppi *bozzetti*: JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN (cf. note 8), IV, 225. – SEYMOUR HOWARD 1982, (cf. note 10), pp. 370–372, 398–340, 423f. (inventories). – idem (cf. note 1), pp. 106ff. – MARIA G. BARBERINI (cf. note 10), pp. 71ff. (Howard), 79ff. (Barberini), *bozzetti* formerly in the Torlonia and Gorga collections, now in the Palazzo Venezia.
- <sup>26</sup> Zeus Verospi: Palazzo Venezia no. 13266 – CARL HEINRICH VOGLER (cf. note 13), no. 67 (standing plaster Jupiter with lightning in his right hand). – SEYMOUR HOWARD (cf. note 10), 1982, p. 398 (Inventory of Modelli, no. 1 “figura di Giove de Verospi... 2 [scudi]”). Cf. WALTHER AMELUNG (cf. note 19), II, no. 326, pl. 73 (found in 1771), and *Winckelmann Writings on Art*, ed. DAVID IRWIN, London 1972, fig. 4 (Zeus prominently featured in Vincenzo Feoli’s formal “portrait” of the Clementino and its central Gallery of Busts; Albertina).
- <sup>27</sup> “Apollo and Hyacinth”: Palazzo Venezia photo 148166. – CARL HEINRICH VOGLER (cf. note 13), nos. 58 (group), 59 (relief); cf. WALTHER AMELUNG (cf. note 19), II, no. 384a, pl. 66; and SEYMOUR HOWARD (cf. note 10), pp. 165–179 (Pio-Clementino acquisitions). – See ANTON PIGLER, *Barockthemen*, Budapest 1974, II, 30 (9 entries); cf. the post-David Primitif and homoerotic rendering of the rare motif by Jean Broc, using balletic Meidias-Painter red-figure poses preferred by the generation of Ingres (ROBERT ROSENBLUM/HORST W. JANSON, *19th-Century Art*, Englewood Cliffs, 1984, pp. 64f., pl. 8, Salon of 1801). Dieter Ulrich informed me that Zeus and Apollo sketches appear in Trippel’s manuscripts and that the sculptor painted and signed *bozzetti* in this manner. A black-painted terra cotta copy of the Seated Agrippina, from the Gorga collection and probably not by Trippel, is similar but finer work (Palazzo Venezia no. 13439). N.B. Furtuitous-looking breaks, repairs and minutiae of execution indicate that the Vatican Clementino group may be modern.
- <sup>28</sup> For Menelaos and Patroclus, and also the related Pergamene Gaul and His Wife and the Achilles and Penthesilea groups, see MARGARETE BIEBER (cf. note 12), figs. 272–283. – FRANCIS HASKELL/NICHOLAS PENNY (cf. note 1), nos. 68, 92.
- <sup>29</sup> *Johann Tobias Sergel 1740–1814*, catalogue, Hamburg (Kunsthalle), 22 May – 21 September, Munich 1975, p. 33, fig. (Pacetti, “Achilles and Penthesilea”, 1773; Museo Accademia di San Luca), and p. 34, fig. (Sergel, “Mars and Venus”, 1771–1772; Stockholm).
- <sup>30</sup> “Apollo and Admetos”: *Alexander Trippel (1744–1793). Skulpturen und Zeichnungen* (cf. note 11), fig. 15 (1778–1775, destroyed, formerly in Frankfurt, Bethmannsches Ariadneum).
- <sup>31</sup> “Goethe”: *Alexander Trippel (1744–1793). Skulpturen und Zeichnungen* (cf. note 11), no. 17. Cf. FRANCIS HASKELL/NICHOLAS PENNY (cf. note 1), no. 8 (Apollo Belvedere), and the more kindred Hellenistic baroque coiffure in no. 2 (Medici Dying Alexander).
- <sup>32</sup> For Winckelmann’s idiosyncratic eroticism, see WOLFGANG LEPPMANN, *Winckelmann*, New York 1970, passim, and SEYMOUR HOWARD (cf. note 1), pp. 162–174, 278–283, esp. pp. 167, 279, fig. 211 (Apollo Belvedere interpretations) and pp. 168, 280f., fig. 213 (the Verospi Zeus and Apollo Belvedere as homoerotic motifs in Mengs’s antico fake “Zeus and Ganyমেদে”, which deceived Winckelmann).
- <sup>33</sup> *The Mind of Henry Fuseli: Selections from His Writings*, ed. ENDO C. MASON, London 1957, pp. 96–103.
- <sup>34</sup> See transcription in CARL HEINRICH VOGLER (cf. note 13), pp. 91ff., brought to my attention by D. Ulrich.
- <sup>35</sup> Academic antiquarianism in the circle of Veith, Trippel, Lips, and Merz: JOHANN GEORG SULZER, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, Leipzig, 1773–1775, 3 v., esp. I, 10f. – JOHANN WILHELM VEITH, *Notizen aus dem Leben von Jakob Merz, Mahler und Kupferstecher...*, Tübingen, 1810. – NICOLAUS PEVSNER, *Academies of Art Past and Present* (1940), New York 1973. – SEYMOUR HOWARD, *Jacob Merz 1783–1807, Zeichnungen aus dem Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, Kalifornien*, tr. Guido Meister, catalogue, Zurich (Haus zum Rechberg), 1 January – 8 February 1981. – JOACHIM KRUSE, *Johann Heinrich Lips 1758–1817*, catalogue, Coburg (Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg), 7 July – 11 November 1989, and Zurich (Wohnmuseum Bäregasse), 24 January – 18 March 1990. – *Alexander Trippel (1744–1793). Skulpturen und Zeichnungen* (cf. note 11), pp. 19ff., 134f.
- <sup>36</sup> Veith and Trippel: JOHANN WILHELM VEITH, *An Trippel in Rom: Im Maimond 1789*, in: Verhandlungen der Helvetischen Gesellschaft in Olten im Jahre 1789, pp. 158f. (poem and accolade). Trippel works listed in Veith sales catalogues: Part I. *Kunstsammlung des verstorben. Hrn. Antistes und Dekan Veith in Schaffhausen: Erster Theil, Holzschnitte, Originalhandzeichnungen und die Kupferstiche der deutschen Schule enthaltend*, ed. R. WEIGEL, auction catalogue, Leipzig, November 1835, p. 35, no. 906b (183 drawings: anatomical studies, figures, groups, historical compositions, monuments, in pen and wash, red and black chalk, folio and royal folio); Part II. *Critisches Verzeichniss der Kunst-Sammlung des sel. Herrn Antistes und Dekan Veith zu Schaffhausen in der Schweiz. Bestehend in Oel- und Gouache-Gemälden, vorzüglichen Handzeichnungen, Schnitzwerken in Elfenbein und Holz etc.*, p. 49, no. 9 (“Salomon Gessner”, terra cotta bust relief by Trippel, after original monument in Zurich), no. 16 (“William Tell and His Son”, terra cotta, forearm and beak of hat damaged); cf. *Alexander Trippel (1744–1793). Skulpturen und Zeichnungen* (cf. note 11), nos. 19b (“Gessner” relief, plaster[!], from Veith collection?), 6a (“Tell and Son”, porcelain); 11 (“Tell and Son”, wood); and pp. 129–176 (Trippel drawings; Veith collection not cited). See also SEYMOUR HOWARD, *Two Portraits of J. W. Veith by Jacob Merz*, in: Schaffhauser Beiträge zur Geschichte, 72, 1995 pp. 77–102.
- <sup>37</sup> Trivialromantik in Zurich: EDUARD KORRODI, *Schweizer Biedermeier*, Zurich 1936. – PAUL WESCHER, *Die Romantik in der Schweizer Malerei*, Frauenfeld 1947. – *Zürcher Malerei im 18. Jahrhundert*, catalogue, Zurich (Haus zum Rechberg), 31 May – 6 July 1969 (bibliog.); pp. 77–102.
- <sup>38</sup> Trippel Trivialromantik: see *Alexander Trippel (1744–1793). Skulpturen und Zeichnungen* (cf. note 11), nos. 6a–b (“William Tell”; an “Amazon”), 7 (“Albrecht von Haller”), 8 (“Maria Barbara Trippel”), 11 (“William Tell and His Son”, a wineglass stand for the Helvetische Gesellschaft); and the minutiae and sentiments of no. 19 (the strongly Classicized Salomon Gessner monument for Zurich).
- <sup>39</sup> Casts and copies in Transalpine collecting: JOHANN GOTTLÖB MATTHAEY, *Verzeichniss der im Königl. Sächs. Mengs’schen Museum enthaltenen antiken und modernen Bildwerke in Gyps*, Dresden/Leipzig 1831. – HEINZ LADENDORF (cf. note 1), esp. pp. 62ff., 183. – SEYMOUR HOWARD, *The Vienna Academy as an Instrument of Habsburg Foreign and Domestic Policy During the Napoleonic Era*, in: Austrian History Yearbook, 19/20, 1983/4, 89–95. – SEYMOUR HOWARD (cf. note 15), esp. p. 216 nn. 27, 29.
- <sup>40</sup> ANTOINE CHRYSOSTOME QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY, *Canova et ses ouvrages* (1804), Paris 1834. – MELCHIOR MISSIRINI, *Della vita di Antonio Canova*, 3rd ed., Milan 1824, pp. 140f. – CARL LUDWIG FERNOW, *Römische Studien*, Zurich 1806, I, 16.
- <sup>41</sup> *Alexander Trippel (1744–1793). Skulpturen und Zeichnungen* (cf. note 11), pp. 16ff. (chronicle, 1776–1793); many visitors

shared the Zurich, Schaffhausen, and Vienna society of Veith, Lips, Merz, and their friends (see note 35).

- <sup>42</sup> Neoclassicism: LOUIS HAUTECOEUR, *Rome et la Renaissance de l'antiquité à la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 1912. – ELLIS K. WATERHOUSE, *The British Contribution to the Neo-Classical Style in Painting*, in: Proceedings of the British Academy, 40, 1954, 57–74. – MARIO PRAZ, *Gusto neoclassico*, Florence, 1940. – ROBERT ZEITLER, *Klassizismus und Utopia...David, Canova, Carstens, Thorwaldsen*, Stockholm 1954. – ROBERT ROSENBLUM, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art*, Princeton 1967. – HUGH HONOUR, *Neo-classicism*, Middlesex 1968. – *The Age of Neo-Classicism*, catalogue, London (The Royal Academy and The Victoria & Albert Museum), 9 September – 19 November, 1972. – NANCY L. PRESSLY, *The Fuseli Circle in*

*Rome: Early Romantic Art of the 1770s*, catalogue, New Haven (Yale Center for British Art), 12 September – 11 November, 1979. – CAROLINE CLIFTON-MOGG, *The Neo Classical Source Book*, London 1991. – notes 1, 8.

- <sup>43</sup> Post-Modern eclecticism: CHARLES JENCKS, *Post Modernism: The New Classicism in Art and Architecture*, New York 1987. – *The Post-Modern Object*, ed. ANDREAS C. PAPADAKIS, London 1987. The current practice of “deconstructing” and “reconstructing” antiquities in plaster casts, by Giulio Paolini, et al., is symptomatic; see, e.g., SEYMOUR HOWARD, *Fakes, Intention, Proofs, and Impulsion to Know: The Case for Cavaceppi and Clones*, in: Why Fakes Matter, ed. MARK JONES, London 1992, pp. 51ff., esp. 53. – SEYMOUR HOWARD (cf. note 15), pp. 208f., 216f., fig. 13.

## PHOTOGRAPHS

Fig.1–5, 7–9, 12, 13, 15: Author and University of California collections.

Fig. 6, 14: Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, Zurich.

Fig.10, 11: Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Roma, Gabinetto Fotografico, Rome.

## SUMMARY

Restorations of ancient sculpture fragments, inventions that dominated the late eighteenth-century Roman art market – especially the production of Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, its leading impresario – profoundly influenced the antique approach of Alexander Trippel, whose eclectic works helped to lay the foundations of Transalpine Neoclassicism.

## RÉSUMÉ

Les restaurations de fragments de sculptures de l'antiquité et les reconstructions ont conduit à de nouvelles créations qui ont dominé les marchés d'art du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'accès aux sculptures de l'antiquité a été beaucoup influencé par la production de Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, le plus important négociant d'objets d'art de l'époque; c'était le cas aussi pour Alexandre Trippel dont l'œuvre éclectique a contribué considérablement à l'essor du classicisme dans les régions des Alpes du Nord.

## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Restaurierungen antiker Skulpturenfragmente und deren Ergänzungen führten zu Neuschöpfungen, die den Kunstmarkt in Rom im 18. Jahrhundert beherrschten. Den Zugang zur Plastik der Antike beeinflusste die Produktion des damals führenden Kunstimpresarios, Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, besonders nachhaltig, auch im Falle Alexander Trippels, der mit seinem eklektischen Werk zur Begründung des nordalpinen Klassizismus beitrug.

## RIASSUNTO

Il restauro di antichi frammenti di sculture e le invenzioni che dominarono il mercato dell'arte romano del XVIII secolo – in particolare la produzione di Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, il maggiore impresario dell'epoca – influenzarono profondamente l'approccio ai reperti antichi di Alexander Trippel, la cui opera eclettica contribuì a porre le fondamentazioni del Neoclassicismo transalpino.