

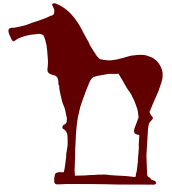


# B A B E S C H

*Twelfth BABESCH Byvanck Lecture*

Eric M. Moormann

*The impact of Winckelmann on Europe*



Tuesday December 4<sup>th</sup> 2018  
at the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden

The BABESCH Foundation



*The impact of Winckelmann on Europe*

Twelfth BABESCH Byvanck Lecture



*The impact of Winckelmann on Europe*

**Eric M. Moormann**

Institute of Historical, Cultural, and Literary Studies, Radboud University



The BABESCH Foundation

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## Colophon

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# *The impact of Winckelmann on Europe*

## *Abstract*

*Johann Joachim Winckelmann's birth and death years, 1717 and 1768, were commemorated in 2017 and 2018 with a series of exhibitions, congresses, book publications, and lectures. Winckelmann is generally seen as the founder of modern archaeology thanks to his ground-breaking works on the history of Graeco-Roman art. He tried to define the various 'arts' of Egyptians, Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans as cultural phenomena in order to explain the supremacy of Greek civilization. To achieve this Lehrgebäude he used knowledge from history, anthropology, medicine, geography, climate and, by doing so, expanded the narrow scope of antiquarian studies. The high level of Greek art made it the only valuable example for artists. Although most of his ideas became obsolete after some decades, scholars have always acknowledged the importance of his work and have hotly debated Winckelmann's publications.*

*What is more, Winckelmann has constantly fascinated a large audience with his personality. Rising from bitter poverty in Stendal (Prussia) to the status of a modest scholar in the Kingdom of Saxony around 1750, he had the chance to go to Rome in 1755. There he would work as a librarian of cardinals, advisor for the purchase of antiquities of cardinal Albani, and antiquities inspector of the pope. He was murdered in Trieste in 1768. Letters and testimonies account for vivid details about his life.*

*In sum, through his superb language and life, Winckelmann's impact includes influences in archaeological research and the reception of his person as an artist/poet. This talk focusses on his impact on scholarship, literature, and reception studies and on how his work has been perceived in various countries, and hopes to demonstrate why Winckelmann continues to fascinate us.*

In this conference I would like to sketch some outlines of a portrait of Johann Joachim Winckelmann and of his impact on European culture. Thanks to his 'jubilee' birthday of December 9, 1717 and day of murder June 8, 1768, Winckelmann has been subject of numerous exhibitions, round tables, and conferences in the past two years. The BABESCH Byvanck Lecture, held five days before Winckelmann's 301<sup>th</sup> anniversary, is the only celebration of this extraordinary archaeologist in the Netherlands. In the following, I will first reflect on him as the scientist, the *polyhistor* and constructor of his famous construct or *Lehrgebäude* of ancient art, at his time entirely new and original. Secondly, there is the question of the possible influence of his work on artistic practice. The third aspect will be the *persona* of Winckelmann, so to say quite a character in his days. Finally, I would like to single out some aspects of his international impact from his own time up to now, ending with the question of whether he still has something to say to us.



Fig. 1: Unknown artist, Johann Joachim Winckelmann in an Italianizing landscape, early 19th century, oil on canvas, 71 x 85 cm. Zamek Królewski w Warszawie-Muzeum, Warsaw.

## I. WINCKELMANN, ICON OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Recent proof of a certain interest in Winckelmann was the presence of a hitherto not well-known portrait by an unknown artist in one of the pavilions of the 14th Documenta in Kassel in 2017 (fig. 1). Here, he should be a symbol of an antiquated connection between ancient archaeology as the basis of western culture as an ideal and the reality of a devastated globe, full of bloodshed, war, discrimination, and pollution. In the vision of the organizers of the Documenta 14, Winckelmann apparently constituted a point of reference per modern people, but of a sort no longer relevant in modern society. Regardless, what we find of the Documenta – politically burdened and concentrated on the problems mentioned – I was struck by this icon, which was not brought at all into relationship with his birthday anniversary.

It brings me to a discussion of a couple of portraits that, in my opinion, mark his essence as the Alpha of classical archaeology. In the portrait at Warsaw we immediately recognize the impact of one of the most famous artists' portraits, the *Goethe in Campagna* by Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein from 1787, now in the Städelsches Institut in Frankfurt (fig. 3). Both great 18<sup>th</sup>-century men are resting in Roman campagna amidst ruins. They wear the same grand travel cloak, whereas Winckelmann is more antique-like, with a sort of red tunic and nude feet. He points with his right hand to some text in a book that he holds in his left hand, reference to



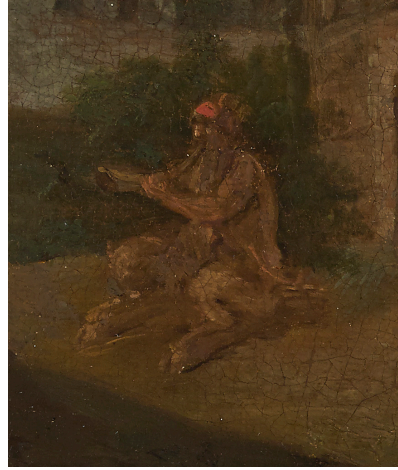
Fig. 2: Angelika Kauffmann, *Portrait of Winckelmann*, 1764, oil on canvas, 97 x 71 cm. Zurich, Kunsthaus.



Fig. 3: Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein, *Goethe in the Roman Campagna*, 1787-1788, oil on canvas, 104 x 206 cm. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt.

the three well-known portraits of his time, by Anton Raphael Mengs, Anton von Maron and Angelika Kauffmann. The face of the Kauffmann canvas (fig. 2) clearly served as a model for the unknown artist who still worked in a classicist way. Winckelmann is flanked by indeterminable monuments as well as the so-called Temple of Vesta in Tivoli. Within the composition there are two figures that ask for closer inspection (figs. 4-5). A monkey sits on a pilaster at the left; he holds a small palette and a pencil or rod in his right hand, whilst looking towards the onlooker. At the right there is a male, hairy figure, with a long beard and lower legs of a hare or donkey, wearing a hat with a red stain and wings, and sporting a sort of curved sword at his side. He plays a long horn. He also might be a sort of monkey, but has been interpreted as a Silenus. The left creature has rightly been identified as an association with the arts, illustrating the motto *Ars simia naturae*. This would splendidly match with the problem of imitation analysed by Winckelmann: in this case, the monkey represents the – stupid – imitation of nature, evidently to be avoided by artists who want to

follow Winckelmann's ideas. Unfortunately, this does not solve the question of the Silenus, or whatever monster he is, playing his enormous horn. He might refer to the grotesque low creatures like fauns and satyrs, including the Fauno Barberini, rejected by Winckelmann in his rigorous aesthetics. In this way, the two figures flank Winckelmann as the enemies of ideal art.

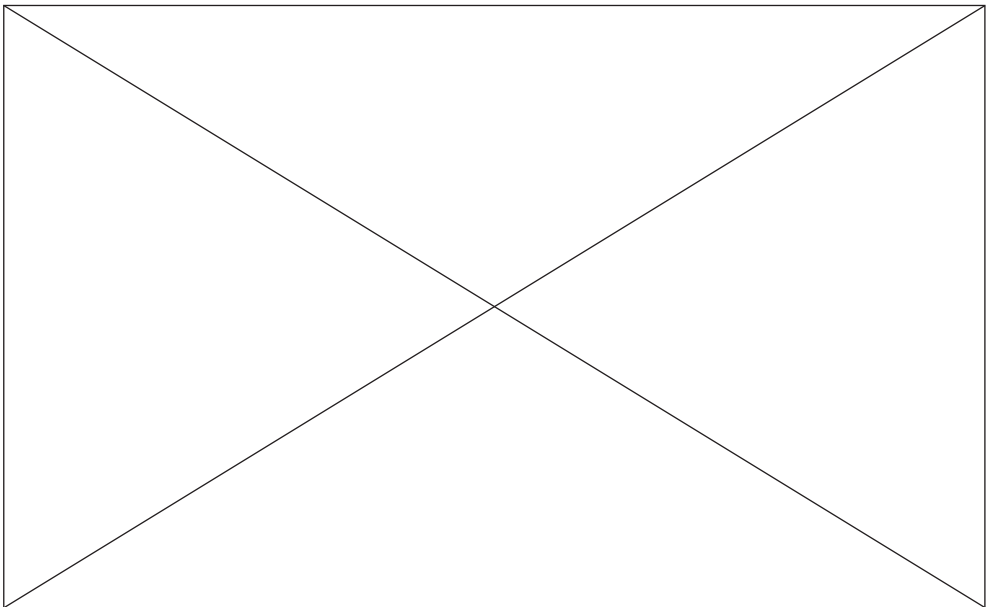


*Figs. 4-5: Details of fig. 1. Monkey with a palette (left), monster playing a horn (right).*

In the iconography of museums, academies and palaces, first of all in Germany, Winckelmann is depicted in the midst of great men of sciences and arts. The first example is that of the Pantheon in Rome around 1780. Here and later, the ideas of Winckelmann stood behind his symbolic value as a founder of art history. I recall the Walhalla at Regensburg, erected between 1830 and 1841 after the Pantheon's example, followed by the *Vorhalle* of the Altes Museum in Berlin (statue by Ludwig Wichmann, 1844-1848) and the façade of the Hermitage in Saint Petersburg (Leo von Klenze, 1842-1851). Wichmann would make a statue for Winckelmann's birth town Stendal in 1859. Pertaining to science, is the presence of a medallion in the façade of Palazzo Caffarelli that housed the German Archaeological Institute from the 1870s until the end of World War I.

Each year, all affiliations of this venerable institute and other German academies launch a *Winckelmann-Adunanz* on or around December 9, Winckelmann's birthday. He incorporates the German foundation of academic archaeology.

In this sphere some murals and canvases of the later 19<sup>th</sup> century can be recalled. I present a painting by Johann Wilhelm Brücke showing Winckelmann and his benefactor cardinal Alessandro Albani in the park of the Villa Albani (fig. 6). The two are in a private discussion in the way Winckelmann described in his letters. Brücke grasps the atmosphere of a late-night summer walk in the gardens of the villa rather well and represents Winckelmann in an informal dress, so that he is an artist. I conclude this *iconographia winckelmanniana* with a painting by Theobald von Oër from 1874 (fig. 7). Winckelmann presents his observations on the Apollo Belvedere in the library of his employer, the Count Heinrich Büнау, in his Schloss Nöthnitz. The persons around Winckelmann never met in reality, but played a role in Winckelmann's life, among others Büнау, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, Adam Friedrich Oeser, and Christian Gottlob Heyne. It is a conventionalist late Biedermeier construct, showing the social status of the men and the costumes they had to wear in public. Winckelmann looks like an operetta figure, well-dressed apart from the handkerchief hanging from his pocket, and is a master of German education in the classics.



*Fig. 6: Wilhelm Brücke, Parc of the Villa Albani in Rome, 1864, oil on canvas, 99 x 140 cm. Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.*

*Due to matters of copyright, this image is not available for online publication.*





Fig. 7: Theobald Reinhold von Oër, *Winckelmann in the circle of scholars in the library at Nöthnitz, 1874*, oil on canvas, 105 x 140 cm. Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden.

### Winckelmann as a *Lieu de Mémoire*

In these works of art as well as in literature of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the archaeologist from Stendal has become a symbolic point of reference. A *lieu de mémoire* in the sense of Philippe Nora, who in the first work on this concept from 1984 and in subsequent volumes until 1992 included places *ad litteram* important within the history of France, like the Panthéon in Paris, but also objects (the French flag), feasts (Quatorze Juillet) and persons (Jeanne d'Arc). In this concept Winckelmann no longer has any relevance to active archaeology or the concept of art history, but is an iconic emblem of his field. The aforementioned *Adunanze* of December 9 would be equivalents of the Quatorze Juillet. Rightly, Winckelmann has been included in the volume on *Erinnerungsorte der Antike* edited by Elke Stein-Hölkeskamp and Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp (essay by Johan Schloemann 2010). If we take into account physical places connected with Winckelmann,

we might speak of mnemotopes; a good example is the Cortile Belvedere in the Vatican Palace, now part of the Vatican Museums where the key works of Winckelmann's epistemology were – and still are – exhibited. Ironically, as to the classical excavation archaeology the highly discussed figure of Heinrich Schliemann and his main excavation site, Troy, would be the first relevant *lieux de mémoire*.

In combination with archaeology in Germany, we should take the development of a new language in German Enlightenment. Winckelmann's position in the last decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was fundamental in starting the stabilization of German as a language of science, substituting Latin. Thanks to polemics and praise, to begin with Lessing's *Laokoon* from 1755, he is referred to by many great authors, among whom are Johann Gottfried Herder, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Friedrich Schiller.

I think that Winckelmann's stylistic talents come to the fore at most in his letters, a monument of both *Gelehrtenbriefe* and intimate confessions. It is after the publication of *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert* by Goethe in 1805 that the archaeologist was entombed and became a granite monument. In a certain way this book closed living memory and became an epitaph, despite the essay by Goethe himself in which Winckelmann still is a man of flesh and blood. It stimulated a process of becoming bourgeois and Victorian, depersonalizing Winckelmann and making him the symbol of archaeology only.

A sequence of top and down interest is similar in other countries. In France, the hero from Stendal enjoyed a great popularity from 1756 until circa 1810-1820. The first date coincided with the publication of reviews and translations of the *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Werke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst*. The same is true for Great Britain. In France, the first discussions concentrated on Winckelmann's aesthetics and relevance for the arts, while the accent was later laid on his freedom concept, clearly in tandem with the development of ideas leading to, and evolving from the French Revolution. In England, artists and theoreticians, among whom were Edmund Burke and Henri Fuseli (a Swiss friend of Winckelmann, known as Johann Heinrich Füssli), discussed the artistic theories. Painters and other artists like the President of the Royal Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds, as well as James Barry and William Hogarth, propagated the britishness of their work.

## Epistemology of a *Lehrgebäude*

Winckelmann is generally seen as the founder of modern archaeology thanks to his ground-breaking works on the history of Graeco-Roman art. He tried to define the various 'arts' of Egyptians, Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans as cultural phenomena in order to explain the supremacy of Greek civilization. To achieve his *Lehrgebäude*, he used knowledge from history, anthropology, medicine, geography, climatology and, by doing so, expanded the narrow scope of antiquarian studies. The high level of Greek art made it the only valuable example for artists. Even if most of his ideas became obsolete after some decades, scholars have always seen the importance of his work and hotly debated Winckelmann's publications. Goethe, Friedrich August Wolf and Otto Jahn were influential in seeing him as the basis of the 'Greek myth' of Germany, being the most ideal environment to study classics.

Among the numerous scriptures of Winckelmann, in my opinion, two can be singled out as the most influential and important ones. The first is his debut, the briefly mentioned *Gedancken über die Nachahmung der Griechischen Wercke in der Malerey und Bildhauerkunst*, which includes two successive essays, from 1755-1756, all immediately translated and debated. The second is the *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*. It had various moments of glory, already in 1764-1766 (publication and translation into French) and in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, when new translations were being published, in Italian and French, next to reworkings like that in Polish. An English version would come out in the 1850s only.

The *Gedancken* treatise addresses artists and questions what the scope of their arts is and which material they have to use as a basis. This is striking, since the author was not a learned artist and had only had some lessons in Dresden from Oeser. Artists should rely on Greek antiquity due to its perfection of contour and design, ideas put forward previously, but now defined with great scrupulousness. The reason to single out Greek art is formulated here for the first time and will be worked out in the *Geschichte*, now in conceptual sense. The two lines of thinking, therefore, are the artistic praxis and the study of Graeco-Roman archaeology. The latter studies clearly started in Rome only effectively with the observation on the art objects themselves rather than gypsum casts and engravings.

In France we observe a different situation, for here his ideas on political and moral liberty serving as the motor of the quality of Greek art, enter the political debate, for instance via various articles in the *Encyclopédie* for being extremely politicized in the French Revolution. Contemporaneously, one sees a major tendency towards classicizing and antique forms in the arts next to a new interest in the male nude instead of the Rococo female semi-nude. Archaeology itself does not show great developments and will profoundly change after the *Expédition d'Égypte*, without a Winckelmann impact. Therefore, it is difficult to establish the concrete impact on French archaeology, but in the end its results were not very concrete, and much more symbolic. This is also true for Germany, where Winckelmann's *Lehrgebäude*, a system with many uncertainties and contradictions, forms a concrete impetus for the formation of archaeology as a scientific discipline during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Like Winckelmann, German scholars concentrated on the history of ancient art, hence on objects and their iconography, style and connection with artists, whereas field archaeology gradually developed in tandem with this art-historical branch. All this happens in a fast-changing and professionalizing academic world simultaneously with the establishment of other disciplines, likewise new or more clearly defined instead of the old traditional generalization. Winckelmann becomes a mnemotope of primordial archaeology. The preference of Greek art, fundamental for Winckelmann, has hitherto dominated in many institutions and among European intellectuals – I recall the cliché treatment of the Documenta 14 – while the Roman world had become a belligerent realm, full of practical things and not as 'ideal' as the Greek one. All in all, as to archaeology if we look at the intellectual discourse, we should not forget Winckelmann with his attempts to include notions from the widest array of scientific disciplines possible to construct his ancient world and to give explanations for the phenomena observed by him in a field of studies *in statu nascendi*.

## II: ARTISTS AND THE IDEAS OF WINCKELMANN

In my opinion, it is not easy to establish whether the archaeologist and his ideas exerted a concrete influence on visual arts and the imagination of the classical Greek ideal. The *Gedancken* of 1755 certainly created an alternative for the artistic practice of the time, which we use to call baroque or rococo, but in France the debate on the apt manner of art continued. Ideas of Neoclassicism, for instance, also come to the fore in an essay by Winckelmann's friend Anton Raphael Mengs, *Gedanken über die Schönheit und den Geschmack in der Malerey* which he, a famous artist, published in 1762 at Zürich as the result of his own reflections and discussions with Winckelmann. Therefore, I am somewhat cautious regarding studies that connect Winckelmann in a direct line with a specific artist, unless it is known that he or she had a direct knowledge of his texts and expressed their debt to the master from Stendal in a more or less direct way.

There are probably only a few artists who worked under the influence of Winckelmann, so to say with his scriptures in their hands. For many, the notions on aesthetics rather than his texts and the concrete ideas defined in them were to be instrumentalized in Neoclassicism. The artists who were personal friends, such as Mengs and Kauffmann, but also Füssli, do not show changes in their works



Fig. 8: Anton Raphael Mengs, *The Parnassus*, copy of the fresco in the Villa Albani at Rome, after 1761, oil on wood, 55 x 101 cm. Hermitage State Museum, St. Petersburg.

(or a break) from a pre-Winckelmann to a full- or post-Winckelmann phase. To give an example, on the *Perseus* by Mengs in Saint Petersburg, made eight years after Winckelmann's death in the years 1774-1779, we see a hero modelled like the Apollo Belvedere, yet in a heroic nudity somewhat more adult than epehebic, although Mengs was long familiar with the works in the Belvedere. So we see on the ceiling fresco showing the *Parnassus* in the Villa Albani, executed in 1761 in collaboration with Winckelmann, an Apollo who rather corresponds with the epehebic ideal Winckelmann preferred (fig. 8; cf. fig. 9). We can be sure about the familiarity the generation of Mengs had with the emblematic statues, Roman or Greek, for which Winckelmann's work was not compulsory. This choice does not reflect an entirely original selection but follows a canon more or less fixed from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards.



Fig. 9: *Apollo Sauroktonos*, from the Borghese Collection in Rome, attributed to Praxiteles by Winckelmann, marble from Paros. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

statues, Roman or Greek, for which Winckelmann's work was not compulsory. This choice does not reflect an entirely original selection but follows a canon more or less fixed from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards.

A similar doubt about Winckelmann's immediate influence may be justified for artists like Antonio Canova and Bertel Thorvaldsen, both known for their white, nude, and epehebic figures. The ancient pugilists Creugas and Damoxenos by Canova in the Vatican Museums (fig. 10) might belong to the category of Winckelmann's divine statues thanks to the athletic bodies eternizing the 'strong gender' and they contrast with the epehebic Amor and Psyche in the Louvre. Canova created a sublimation of 'friendship' according to the ideas of Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, also fostered by Winckelmann. Neither in his work nor in that of Thorvaldsen can a specific eroticism, either male or female, be detected.

Among the artists familiar with Winckelmann's work, the French painter and politician Jacques Louis David stands out: he should have taken his ideas of form and iconography, but takes other ways, in a good French tradition, markedly during the French Revolution, when he selects Roman themes next to Greek ones. The eroticism in some canvases, e.g. *Leonidas in Thermopylae* from 1800-1814, would not only be a reference to the idealism of Winckelmann, but at the same time to the masculine erotic atmosphere adhering to the strictly male friendships in Winckelmann's circles – and in those of David – and the masculinism in political and social circles in revolutionary France, in which women did not occupy a position of any significance. The *Leonidas* perfectly embodies the idea of liberty and the models prescribed by Winckelmann (fig. 11). The protagonist is perfectly tranquil and does not express too strong emotions. His body is that of an ancient marble hero, akin to the Torso Belvedere, and shows the perfect *Ausdruck* of the spirit of the portrayed man.



Fig. 10: Antonio Canova, *Creugas and Damoxenos, flanking Perseus*, marble from Carrara.  
Rome, Vatican Museums, Cortile del Belvedere.



Fig. 11: Jacques Louis David, *Leonidas at Thermopylae*, 1814, oil on canvas, 395 x 531 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

Recently, a specific connection between an artist and Winckelmann was proposed by Augusto C. Ferrari (2017). He has linked the *Mars Restrained by Cupid* by John Gibson (fig. 12) with its patron, William George Spencer Cavendish the sixth Duke of Devonshire, and Winckelmann, in that all three are stylized by Ferrari in clear words as homosexuals. The two nudes would be a fine theme for a specific sculptor to execute for a specific clientele (Ferrari 2017, 226):

*“Aware of the writings of Johann Joachim Winckelmann and inspired by ancient sculptures in Rome, such as the paired figures of Castor and Pollux and the height of idealized beauty, the Apollo Belvedere, artists such as Gibson and collectors such as Devonshire participated in the then-popular practice of representing and displaying homoerotic male subjects in Neoclassical art. In so doing, they made the nude male, especially when paired with another nude male, a private object of admiration and desire, while maintaining the public integrity of these works as modern recreations of ancient Greek civilization.”*



In favour of Ferrari's suggestion speaks the fact that Gibson knew some of Winckelmann's works and visited sites also visited by Winckelmann.

While the male nude almost completely vanishes from the arts in the years 1820-1830 (apart from drawing after life models) giving way to a new approach of the human figure, one observes a certain return to ideas maybe indirectly inspired by Winckelmann in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with artists like Adolf Hildebrand and Anton von Marées in Germany, Auguste Rodin in France, and Solomon Joseph Solomon as well as Frederick Leighton in England. As in the previous era briefly discussed, in some cases a homosocial atmosphere might have reigned among some artistic circles, although Elizabeth Prettejohn (2012, 166) calls for caution:

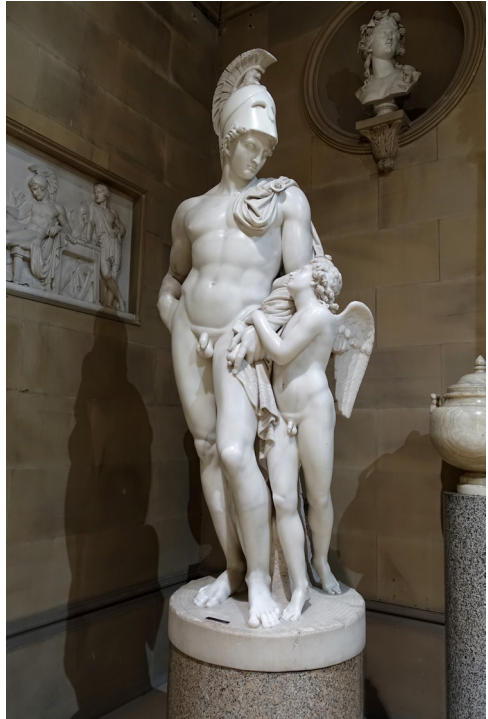


Fig. 12: John Gibson, *Mars and Cupid*, 1825, Carrara marble. Chatsworth House.

*“I should have easier work if I were to propose that Pater and Leighton had a concealed agenda to validate their own homoerotic impulses through their explorations of the male body in sculpture (either in contemplation, in Pater’s case, or in making in Leighton’s). That kind of interpretation has become acceptable only in the past decade or two, supported by important theoretical work in gay and lesbian studies and queer theory. [...] Yet the risk here is that sexuality may become a new master discourse – that the homoerotic dimension than can now be characterized as a progressive element in later-nineteenth-century male nudes will seem a sufficient explanation.”*

Among the Germans of that time, Hildebrand was considered as the ideal plasmator of the ideas of Winckelmann – and, consequently, of those classicistic ones.

### III: THE *PERSONA* OF WINCKELMANN: ARCHAEOLOGIST, HUMANIST, *FREIDENKER* AND *AUSSENSEITER*

Winckelmann has constantly fascinated a large audience by his personality. Risen from bitter poverty in Stendal (Prussia) to the status of a modest scholar in the Kingdom of Saxony around 1750, he had the chance to go to Rome in 1755, where he would work as a librarian of cardinals, advisor for the purchase of antiquities of cardinal Alessandro Albani, and antiquities inspector of the pope. He was murdered in Trieste in 1768. Letters and testimonies account for vivid details about his life. In sum, his impact includes influences in archaeological research and the reception of his person as an artist/poet thanks to his superb language and life.

Therefore, speaking about the *persona* of Winckelmann, as a mnemotope or *lieu de mémoire*, we might recur to similar personalities of his time who can be defined as adventurers. In his sketch of Giacomo Casanova from 1928, Stefan Zweig presents a brilliant aperçu of 18<sup>th</sup>-century adventurers called *Abenteurer*, to begin with Casanova. Most of them stem from modest houses, have a touch of speculator, are fascinating seducers, practice transvestitism and often end up in bitter poverty after a shining life. Some of them become entrepreneurs or have mighty and wealthy patrons as supporters. Many are avid travellers for whom changing country and/or climate is fundamental. The morale may be libertine and not strictly defined. Change of religion for reasons of career may not be a problem; I recall Mengs and Winckelmann. Among these *Abenteurer* we may recall Alessandro Cagliostro or the fictitious Baron von Münchhausen, as well as Pierre-Hugues d'Hancarville, a fellow archaeologist of Winckelmann and his companion on an active Vesuvius in 1767, and Mozart's friend Lorenzo da Ponte, the poet-text writer who compiled critical opera libretti on themes touching contemporary nobility for Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and *Le nozze di Figaro*. Even if Winckelmann was no womanizer or swindler and had problems in engaging with nobility and high-ranking prelates in Rome, he undoubtedly possessed some similar characteristics. Ironically, his cruel death implied an encounter with lawlessness and crime, as happened in the lives of various libertines.

In this company, Winckelmann would be an *Abenteurer* who acquired a fine position in Rome thanks to his pertinacity, personality and, gradually, his publications, which were widely read in international circles. Unwillingly, he became a wanted guide within the international beau monde of the 1760s.

Thanks to his letters, it can be shown that Winckelmann enjoyed a certain degree of social liberties in Rome. The fact that he refers to amorous adventures can be explained by this libertinage or freethinking among the patrons and friends in his environment, such like cardinal Albani. Whereas in the last decades an increasing attention is paid to the personal motifs of Winckelmann, next to his character and his sexual orientation, we have to go back to the first biographic authors Herder and Goethe to find a similar, tolerant attitude. Both German authors observed that Winckelmann had not been able to construct his theories on Greek artistic supremacy in a different way, if not thanks to his particular constellation. These observations fit into late 18<sup>th</sup>-century thinking, which we meet in persons like the *Abenteurer* such as Casanova, but will even vanish from Goethe's work.

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century Winckelmann would become a symbol of oppressed persons, an example of an exemplary liberation, in the work of Karl Heinz Ulrichs and Walter Pater, to name a few, and later also for Stefan George and others. At the same time, in an allegedly not homosocial world and most specifically in the official German academia, this 'vice' was deemed not to exist. The 'gay studies' of the 1970s opened a way to a greater awareness of Winckelmann as a queer person, with many consequences for his life and work.

I realize that I now enter into the difficult field of biography: do we have to take into account the most intimate details and sexual preferences to understand his or her professional aspects, *in casu* archaeology? Is it relevant to know a person's intern personality to comprehend his or her scientific ideas and their development as the fundament of a *Gelehrtenbiographie*? What if we consider his other side, the artistic personality? Winckelmann's eminent biographer Carl Justi says little about this matter in his grandiose biography (Justi 1868-1872), not able to accept this 'illness'. Apparently, Justi saw himself confronted with an unnegotiable 'problem', gleaned from the letters and testimonies of some friends. Therefore, even with this bias in mind, I think that the question should be answered positively, just because Winckelmann is not only of interest as a pioneer in archaeology, but as a phenomenon in an Illuminist context as well as in the specific environment of Rome in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It is no matter of debate that his model of the arts is based on a clear-cut preference for statues of adolescents. Or, as Jenifer Neils (2017, 11) said recently in respect to the Apollo Sauroktonos and Winckelmann's attribution of the type to Praxiteles (fig. 9):

“(...) his iconic statue deserves close scrutiny not only in terms of its place in classical art history but also in the context of the long trajectory of art historical exegesis of this peculiar sculptural type. The results lead us to impugn the authority of our best source for ancient art, Pliny, question an ironclad and largely unquestioned attribution going as far back as Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1760), and suggest that the aesthetic attraction of pretty boys was stronger than that of prettified gods, and that the construction of our history of Greek art is partially predicated on homoerotic tastes.”

#### IV: THE IMPACT OF WINCKELMANN IN EUROPE

This paper follows upon a lecture, read on June 21 of this year as the final presentation of a series of conferences organized by the German Archaeological Institute in Rome. This presentation at Rome gave a sort of synthesis of Winckelmann's fortune in various European countries from his first publications to our days, on the basis of papers given in the months before by illustrious colleagues. I take out a few points relevant for this paper. In Germany, Winckelmann clearly has experienced the greatest fortune; we have seen some examples above. I want to recall that one of his greatest propagators, the briefly mentioned Göttingen professor Heyne – himself a social *Aufsteiger* like Winckelmann – discussed the ideas of his colleague in his university lectures, as we know from various *Mitschriften* or transcripts that show the fascinating criticism of the professor of poetry and rhetoric (*Poesie und Beredsamkeit*). As we have seen, Winckelmann becomes the icon of classical archaeology, a discipline that boasts to be of paramount importance and to express the German culture as a sequel of the Greek one, ordinarily seen as the idea of the German *Griechenmythos* (see Andurand 2013 and Sünderhauf 2004), explained *in bono* and *in malo*.

Despite Winckelmann's caustic depreciation of the French – barbarians in his eyes – exactly in this country he received an immediate interest thanks to many contemporary translations and discussions of his works. As we have seen, it was the notion of political and personal liberty that entered the social debates in the run of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, as has been observed by Édouard Pommier (1991, 1992) and worked out by Elisabeth Décultot (2000): they matched the political tendencies of French Enlightenment, for instance in circles around Voltaire (avidly read by

Winckelmann) and the *Encyclopédistes*. Especially in the aftermath of the French Revolution we see a strong acceptance of this notion of freedom, which led to the exposition of Winckelmann portraits in public spaces. Winckelmann's texts became reference works in the education of young people in the year V of the French Revolution. Unfortunately, we do not know how real the effect of this ideal was.

This *hausse* was followed by a long *baisse*, without particular mention of and interest in Winckelmann. There are nowadays various modern studies, partly concentrating on Winckelmann and revolutionary arts, and – to mention an innovative work – on Winckelmann's sources (Décultot *et alii* 2017). In gay context we can mention a novella from 1981 of a member of the Académie Française, Dominique Fernandez. In *Signor Giovanni* two friends search for the motifs of Winckelmann's assassination in Trieste. They conclude that Winckelmann sought a sexual encounter after his fifty years living as a conformist without sexual activity. As a life-long gay rights activist, the French author sees Winckelmann as a prime example of oppression. Even if the novella is interesting and well-written, Fernandez has entered an anachronistic field of a militant gay approach.

Italy evidently was the country where Winckelmann mainly worked in the field of archaeology. Whereas Winckelmann's publications formed basic material for the study of archaeology and inspired colleagues like Ennio Quirino Visconti during his life and the first decades after his death, modern attention focusses on his studies on 'national' archaeology, as was shown in an exhibition on Winckelmann and Etruria in Florence (2016-2017) and in those on Winckelmann and the collections in Naples and Rome's Capitoline and Vatican Museums (2018). Furthermore, there are various philological studies and monumental editions of his works, e.g. that of his letters. Winckelmann's immediate impact is difficult to assess. He had difficult relations with Neapolitan colleagues, but also fostered friendship with other Italians.

Due to the strong relations between Spain and southern Italy, and the impact of the excavations in Pompeii and Herculaneum, this country can boast various *winckelmanniana*. To begin with, influences of his dear friend Mengs as the consequence of his activity as court painter in Madrid penetrated into learned circles. As to his artistic output, it is by no means easy to single out specific Winckelmann influences. In later years, Winckelmann influenced the *bon goût*, as has been made clear by Jorge Maier Allende (in Kunze/Maier Allende 2014).

Great Britain knows various moments of specific attention for Winckelmann. Traditionally, England used to foster a greater love for things Roman than for things Greek. Winckelmann probably incited people to foster a novel enthusiasm for Greece, but this might also have been caused by local publications of genuine Greek monuments like those of James Stewart and Nicholas Revett in their rich documentation of Athens and its acropolis, *The Antiquities of Athens*, of which the first volume came out in 1762. In aesthetics ideas on Greek beauty expanded simultaneously. Some British travellers to Rome were inspired by Winckelmann – or had a direct relationship with him – when they acquired ancient sculpture for their country houses.

After a lack of interest in the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, attention is paid to Winckelmann in a peculiar and influential manner by Walter Pater. His essay on Winckelmann's aesthetics from 1867 became the final chapter of his 1873 *Studies in the Renaissance*: he defines Winckelmann not as the founder of Neoclassicism and, hence, as the initiator of a new era, but as the last hero of the Renaissance and concluding point of an era. I quote: "*He is the last fruit of the Renaissance, and explains in a striking way its motive and tendencies.*" (Pater 2010 (1873)<sup>1</sup>, 6). This provoked a new attention for the personality of Winckelmann, based on both aesthetics and a strong infatuation for the male figure (fig. 7). In the footsteps of Goethe – an unfailing source for Pater - Pater recalls the friendships with men that incited Winckelmann to cast a special look on nude male statues. Pater, and after him more explicitly Edward Carpenter and others, show a particular interest in the 'third gender' as defined by the German sexologist Karl Heinz Ulrichs. Winckelmann would become one of the emblems for late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup>-century homosexuals in Britain and beyond.

Russia has seen an early reception of Winckelmann's ideas and ideals, as has been shown by Konstantin Yuriy Lappo-Danilewski (2007) and others in recent contributions. Catherina the Great embraced philosophical conceptions of Enlightenment, not so much to disclose the notion of spiritual and political liberty, but rather to import cultural conceptions from Western Europe into her Slavic world. The fervid acquisition of international works of art by Catherina and her court included neoclassical and ancient sculptures by men like Canova. Winckelmann's works were bought and read and the formation of collections of gypsum casts corresponded with the norms defined by Winckelmann. Similar developments were visible in other countries in Eastern Europe like Poland and Bohemia, but also in The Netherlands. Drawing academies instructed (almost

only) male artists in drawing the nude from male models or plaster casts and advocated the imitation of a mix of nature and ideal, in the way Winckelmann had suggested as early as 1755 in his first published essay we have seen above. Sometimes paramount figures come to the fore, such as Stanisław Kostka Potocki – the Polish Winckelmann, as was his sobriquet – who translated the *Geschichte der Kunst* into Polish and published treatises on aesthetics and on a neohumanistic pedagogic system. Moreover, he was an avid traveller of Italy and collector of antiquities and modern neoclassicist art. In Bohemia, one of the founders of the Academy of Sciences in Prague was Kaspar Maria duke Sternberg who, with Mirloslav Tyrš, is considered as one of the most important reformers of school systems and artists' instruction in the early and late 19<sup>th</sup> century respectively. Yet, Hugo Rokyta (1979) has shown that it is difficult to assess the real impact of these scholars on Czech society. As to The Netherlands, little has been done on the possible relationship between Winckelmann and Dutch scholars. I recall his negative judgment of two Dutch travellers, the cousins Hope from Amsterdam, who did not show a great interest in him. However, he mentions Jan, Jean or John Hope as a possible travel mate for a never realized trip to Greece. I cannot but finish with Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvens, the first professor of archaeology in Leiden, who devotes some words to Winckelmann in his inaugural address as one of his main forerunners (Moormann forthcoming).

## V: CONCLUSION

At the end of my *tour d'horizon* along various aspects of Winckelmann's fortune and his impact on European culture – that is, as an archaeologist and scholar, as an instigator of artists, and as a man of Enlightenment with artistic and libertarian touches – I ask myself what Winckelmann's relevance for us might be.

In the first place, I see him as an historical personality, fundamental for diverse cultural developments in Europe as a linchpin between the antiquarian past and the new specialist field of research, and for that reason, as a scientific pioneer. His importance for archaeology does not simply consist in his ideas as such, evidently no longer valid, but rather in the innovation and development of an epistemology for the new field of archaeology (not only classical, I would say), whereas his methodology standing at the beginning of his *Lehrgebäude* proves to be really innovative thanks to the involvement of a wide spectrum of methods and approaches (climatology, medicine, history, geography, anthropology, sociology). These methodological approaches turn him into a philosopher and creative thinker. This has a longstanding value of exemplarity as a touchstone of thinking. In times of hyperspecialization, we can no longer pretend to have a complete command of our field of research, but the plurality of his studies might relentlessly serve as a source of inspiration.

We keep his system as a conundrum and the debate on the possible relationship between his model and later concepts can still evoke new insights. The image presented at the Documenta 14 of 2017 does not match the fundamental conceptions of Winckelmann and those on Winckelmann: it rather is a cliché of a wrong sort of nostalgic longing for ancient Greece. In contrast, Winckelmann looked for social and historical systems that had provoked such an enthusiasm for that far-gone culture.

Furthermore, the artistic and spiritual personality of Winckelmann continues to wonder us. As a cultural *persona* moving in an ideologically and culturally high-ranking world of antiquarians and artists, he is a fundamental player in debates on the culture of the time after the French Revolution, he inspires and calls into question fixed ideas. Remember the notion of the restless traveller who tries to widen his horizon, or that of the *Aussenseiter* and the *Freidenker* and, not less meaningful, the concept of the libertine, all coming together in the quality of the original artist. As such, he has been a source of inspiration for persons of



many 'categories'. Winckelmann, versatile as he was, can still be such a stimulus for us. We can be sure that he is not fully dead and forgotten and I believe that that will not happen in the future. New times, new approaches, new questions, and Winckelmann can step in just thanks to the richness of his many *personae*.

*Note:*

This text is an abridged version of an Italian essay, '*L'impatto di Winckelmann in Europa*', to be published in a volume of the Cyriacus series, edited by Ortwin Dally and Arnold Nesselrath. The conference was given on June 14, 2018, in the Capitoline Museums in Rome as the last of a series of commemorative conferences on '*Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) fenomeno europeo della ricezione*', organized by the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, local museums, and the Casa di Goethe.

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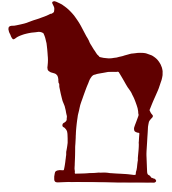
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Eric M. Moormann was appointed professor of Classical Archaeology at the Radboud University Nijmegen in 2002, where he completed his PhD research in 1986 on the connection between Roman wall painting and ancient sculpture. Later he became assistant professor at the University of Amsterdam in 1987. He worked in the Netherlands Institutes in Rome (1992-



1997) and Athens (2000) and carried out extensive research in Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Rome. Between 2001 and 2004, he directed fieldwork on Nemrud Dağ in Turkey and since 2009 he co-directs the project 'Mapping the Via Appia' with his Nijmegen colleague Stephan Mols. His research focuses on Graeco-Roman art, especially sculpture and wall painting, and on the history of scholarship as well as reception studies. He has (co-)organized various exhibitions and is involved in a forthcoming exhibition on the emperor Domitian in the National Museums of Antiquities in Leiden and the Musei Capitolini in Rome. Since 2001, Eric M. Moormann is editor-in-chief of the journal *BABESCH*.

Moormann's publications include *Ancient Sculpture in the Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 2000; *Divine Interiors. Mural Paintings in Greek and Roman Sanctuaries*, Amsterdam 2011; *Le decorazioni dipinte e marmoree della Domus Aurea di Nerone a Roma I-II* (BABESCH Supplement 20; with P.G.P. Meyboom), Leuven/Paris/Walpole 2013; and *Pompeii's Ashes. The Reception of the Cities Buried by Vesuvius in Literature, Music, and Drama*, Boston/Berlin/München 2015.

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